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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE COMPARING THE EFFECTS OF TRADITIONAL VERSUS COMMUNITY POLICING ON QUALITY OF LIFE AND ASSOCIATED QUALITY OF LIFE ISSUES

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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2010

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE COMPARING THE EFFECTS OF TRADITIONAL VERSUS COMMUNITY POLICING ON QUALITY OF LIFE AND ASSOCIATED QUALITY OF LIFE ISSUES

Rodney Polite, Ph.D.

Lynn University, 2010

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ABSTRACT

There are two major issues that will be addressed in this study to determine if they influence the selection of an appropriate policing strategy. The first is citizen perception of whether crime has decreased or increased in their community. The second is whether the length of time a citizen has lived in the community has an effect on their perception of crime and their attitude towards a specific policing strategy.

Historically, each policing strategy, although at times labeled differently (professional policing, team policing, neighborhood policing, zero-tolerance policing), has evolved and adapted based on various dynamics within police organizations and the communities they serve.

This study provides the background to the problems faced by today's police organizations in determining which policing strategy effectively meets their goals, and how community perceptions of crime and the fear of crime influence, police and community selection of the appropriate strategy that meets their needs.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction and Background to the Problem

Every 30 minutes, one murder, 30 robberies, 120 burglaries, and 450 larcenies will occur somewhere in the United States (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007). These alarming statistics illustrate the epidemic crime has become in the United States, and why community fear of crime is justified. This chapter provides the background to the problems faced by today's police organizations in determining which policing strategy effectively meets the goals of deterring crime and reducing the fear of crime.

In 2007 (as compared to 2006), violent crime in the United States rose 1.1 percent in non-metropolitan counties and in cities with populations between 10,000 and 24, 999. Murder rates jumped 4.9 percent in metropolitan counties, 3.2 percent in cities with 50,000 to 99,999 inhabitants, and 1.3 percent in non-metropolitan counties. Burglary offenses increased 3.5 percent in communities with populations of 1 million or more (FBI, 2007). These statistics illustrate the nationwide need for an adjustment in police strategy to reduce crime and the fear of crime.

Central issues to be addressed in this chapter are citizen's perception of crime and disorder, citizen's fear of crime and perception of safety, and what role social cohesion plays in how communities view their quality of police services.

Perceptions of crime and disorder as well as the ability of the police to respond to those perceptions have become important elements in police efforts to secure community support. Police agencies seeking to satisfy the communities they serve must be attuned to

perceptions of both criminal and public disorder. Effective policing, according to Wilson and Kelling (1982), is more closely tied to the public's perception of crime and disorder than to actual levels of crime. If dimensions of crime and disorder are similarly perceived, then an organization can develop a general policy regarding countywide suppression and prevention practices.

Studies examining community level data support the notion that perceptions of safety tend to be community specific (Lewis & Salem, 1980). Many studies point to various dimensions of social integration as an important determinant of neighborhood fear. For example, where social integration is high, neighborhood levels of fear are low (Hunter & Baumer, 1982). Other studies have found a link between low levels of community disorder and low levels of fear (McGarrell et. al., 1997).

Social cohesiveness is the perception of neighborliness or the similarity among neighborhoods. Haeberle (1987), in his study of Birmingham, Alabama neighborhoods, concluded that areas that are neighborly, and communities where social bonds link residents, are more likely to result in citizen participation. Therefore, areas of high social cohesion may be conducive to community policing, a practice which relies on substantial citizen participation in the co-production of order. Low social cohesiveness, on the other hand, suggests that it would be difficult for the police to take into consideration issues of local identity in the formulation of policy. Research suggests that cohesiveness may vary locally, and that it affects the way residents view the quality of police services.

Statement of the Problem

Over the last three decades, many studies have investigated which policing strategies best addressed reduction in crime and the community's fear of crime. Some investigations state that these endeavors are marked by narrow conceptualizations of attitudinal development (Leiber, Nalia, and Farnworth, 1998). However two distinct models have emerged as most prevalent: traditional policing and community policing. This leads to a discussion of the problem areas.

Factors Influencing the Selection of an Appropriate Policing Strategy

There are two major issues that will be addressed in this study which influence the selection of an appropriate policing strategy: citizen perception of whether crime has decreased or increased in their community, and if the length of time a citizen has lived in the community has an effect on their perception of crime and their attitude towards a specific policing strategy.

Historically, each policing strategy, although at times labeled differently (professional policing, team policing, neighborhood policing, zero-tolerance policing), has evolved and adapted based on different dynamics within various police organizations and the communities in which they serve.

Since Sir Robert Peel first introduced the concept of an organized form of policing in the late 1820's, police agencies have attempted to utilize more effective ways of deterring crime and criminal behavior. Peel established nine principles of policing, which in their barest form is at the foundation of basic policing today (Greene & Mastroski, 1998), they are as follows:

- The basic mission for whom the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.

- The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police action.

- Police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.

- The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.

- Police seek and preserve public favor not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.

- Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.

- Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of community welfare and existence.

- Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.

- The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

This policing model presented a narrow focus when dealing with crime and criminals, relying almost entirely on the coercive power of criminal law to gain control of crime and criminals (Bittner, 1970). The threat of arrest is the dominant mode of acquiring compliance from the community (Greene, 2002).

In traditional policing today, application of the law and the deterrence of crime is the central focal point of all police activities. Police are crime-fighters and there is little room for social work activities or interaction with the community. The focus is on apprehending criminals and responding to calls for assistance.

The threat of arrest is the dominant mode of acquiring compliance from the community. Aggressive street tactics coupled with application of the criminal law leads to a tremendous amount of line officer discretion, which for the most part is unregulated.

Although police organizations create the appearance of control through high levels of command and control systems, police officers have wide latitude in decision making in the field (Manning, 1988). The values of the police culture adopted under traditional policing include skepticism and cynicism among the police, the development of a code of secrecy to fend off external control and oversight, and a general disdain for the public at large. The police take on a professional mantle in which they identify themselves as authoritatively independent from the public (Van Maanen, 1974).

Measures of success are primarily focused on crime and crime control, particularly serious violent and property crime, as counted through the Uniform Crime Reports Part I Crimes. The organization defines its efforts, measures them, and then declares success on the basis of such organizationally defined imperatives. This model is means, not ends, focused (Goldstein, 1990), and it measures efforts, not results.

Although crime in recent years has decreased throughout the United States, the limited scope of traditional policing has done little to reduced citizen fear of crime and the reduction of criminal behavior (Greene, 2002).

Community policing suggests that law enforcement can be more focused, proactive, and community centered. The idea is to involve the community and the police in a partnership in order to deal with crime and criminals (Oliver, 1998).

Beginning in the 1970s the police as an institution began to experiment with ways that put them into a closer interaction with the public, on matters of mutual interest. The community relations movement begun in the late 1940s and 50s carried over to this day in the form of alternative policing, such as team policing. Community relations and team policing function to create more public support for the police, while at the same time providing them with a clearer preventative role in community public safety (Oliver, 1998). Community relations issues were more politically motivated than substantive in many communities, and were utilized as a way to placate the public. Team policing however, was an important attempt to change the focus and structure of the police. Despite the general failure of community relations and team policing, it is from these early efforts that the community policing movement can be traced (Greene & Pelfry, 1997).

According to James Skolnick and David Bayley in an article entitled "Theme and Variation in Community Policing," core elements of community problem solving programs include a redefinition of the police role to increase crime prevention activities, greater reciprocity in police and community relations, area decentralization of police services and command, and some form of civilianization. These measures were taken to

insure greater police accountability to the community, and more effective and efficient policing.

According to Herbert (2006), in order to counteract the heavy-handed approach of traditional policing, community policing aims to improve the connection with citizen groups and decentralize police operations so that small groups of neighbors make decisions about the kind of policing they want and are prepared to accept. Police administration allows decision making to take place at lower levels so that officers closest to the action may make key decisions about which areas and activities to focus on. The aim of community policing, according to Weisburd & Tuch (2006), then is to have the police and the community collectively – and in ways that local residents believe will be effective – solve problems such as loitering, noise, gangs, abandoned cars, and break-ins.

Community policing, according to Greene (2002), promises to (a) strengthen the capacity of communities to resist and prevent crime and social disorder; (b) create a more harmonious relationship between the police and the public, including some power sharing with respect to police policymaking and tactical priorities; (c) restructure police service delivery by linking it with other municipal services; (d) reform the police organization model; and (e) create larger and more complex roles for individual police officers.

Greene further states that community policing will produce more committed, empowered, and analytic police officers, flatten police hierarchies, and open the process of locally administered justice to those who are often the object of justice decision-making. The goal of policing becomes crime prevention not crime suppression.

There are several requirements necessary for the police to shift from traditional to community policing, which were outlined by Goldstein (1990):

- The adoption of community policing requires that it be an organizing philosophy integrated into the entire police agency and not be seen simply as a new project or a temporary specialization.

- For community policing to take root in police agencies, it must help create a new working environment within these agencies so that new values of policing emerge in the management and tactics of the police

- Community policing must overcome resistance from the subculture of the police that is focused on danger, authority, and efficiency (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988), which are the values of more traditional policing.

- To be adopted by both the police and the public, community policing must focus on resolving substantive community crime and disorder problems, not simply responding quickly to calls for service and then completing paperwork.

Because many police agencies which have adopted a community policing strategy have failed to accomplish these goals, community policing has failed. Herbert (2006), lays much of the blame for this failure on "structural problems" inherent in both police organizations and the community.

In a study on community policing conducted in West Seattle, Washington, Herbert found that working-class people did not have the time or energy to attend evening meetings with the police month after month. The few activists who did have the time and energy to participate in police-citizen meetings were retired, underemployed, or

otherwise ill equipped to represent the others. Herbert stated that these problems afflicted the poorer areas of West Seattle even more than they did the more affluent ones.

Herbert further indicated that the police, by reason of their training and culture, were ill equipped to hear and take seriously citizens' concerns. Seeing themselves and their culture as separate from that of the citizens, the police resisted sharing authority and expertise with the community and treated meetings mainly as opportunities to secure the communities' cooperation with their traditional crime control mission. In the view of the police in West Seattle, crime was a matter of a few bad apples, not a community problem with roots in broad social conditions such as poverty and inadequate jobs. The public's role was to provide information on the bad apples, so the police could arrest them.

Michael D. Reisig and Roger B. Parks (2000) in a study entitled, *Experience, Quality of Life, and Neighborhood Context: A Hierarchical Analysis of Satisfaction with Police* tested three different conceptual models. These included experience with police, quality of life, and neighborhood context. The authors, tested their ability and accuracy in explaining community satisfaction with the police.

The study also investigated whether these models help to explain the finding that African-Americans are less satisfied with the police than are Caucasians. The authors use hierarchical linear modeling to simultaneously regress their outcome measure on clusters of citizen and neighborhood level variables.

The analysis utilized data from recently collected information from the Project on Policing Neighborhoods program. The data file included telephone interviews conducted with 6,125 adult residents of Indianapolis, Indiana and St. Petersburg, Florida. The sample was stratified by neighborhoods. In each city, police beats and community

policing areas defined neighborhoods. Fifty neighborhoods in Indianapolis and 12 neighborhoods in St Petersburg were selected to provide data.

Approximately 100 interviews of residents age 18 and older were conducted in Indianapolis. Households were chosen randomly, using telephone directories. Of the households surveyed, 53 percent completed the survey, 31 percent refused, and 16 percent were unavailable. In St. Petersburg, 42 percent completed, 40 percent refused, and 18 percent were unavailable.

The results of the research revealed that Caucasian respondents expressed the highest level of satisfaction with the police, followed by non-black minorities and African-Americans. Caucasian and non-black minority residents expressed significantly greater satisfaction with the police than did their African-American neighbors.

There were no sex differences in reported satisfaction levels with police; however differences between age groups were evident. Younger respondents (18-32) reported significantly lower levels of satisfaction than did older citizens. Also homeowners expressed higher levels of satisfaction than renters. Finally there was a linear relationship between education and satisfaction with the police and their functions.

The primary aim of the research was to assess three different conceptual models that allegedly predict and explain citizen attitude towards the police. The analysis revealed that cognitive and emotionally-based responses to neighborhood conditions appeared to be important determinants of individual attitudes towards police.

To assess the relative importance of psychological and ecological effects, the research replicated the findings of Taylor (1997), using three variables from quality of life models: perceived incivility, perceived safety, and neighborhood rating. They found

that a preponderance of the variation in each variable was due to differences between citizens living in the same neighborhood and to measurement error. The following amounts of variation in the outcomes resulted from the differences between neighborhoods: 6.3 percent for perceived safety; 14.7 percent for perceived incivility; and 18.1 percent for neighborhood rating. In other words, citizens living in the same locations perceive neighborhood conditions differently.

The authors hoped that the research provided police practitioners with information to help improve police performance. They advised that the research findings made that difficult. They surmised that if individual perceptions of quality of life reflected actual neighborhood conditions, they could argue for the widespread implementation of community policing initiatives designed to address physical decay, social disorder, and other correlates of neighborhood crime. Yet their findings showed that only a small portion of the variation associated with the measures reflecting quality of life was found to exist between neighborhoods. Therefore, such a reaction could only have a modest impact on perceptions of neighborhood conditions and subsequently on levels of satisfaction with police.

Broken Windows

In their essay "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety," Wilson and Kelling (1982) hypothesized that disorder and crime are "inextricably linked". They argued that if social disorder (e.g., public drinking, street-level drug dealing, prostitution) and physical disorder (e.g., vandalism, neighborhood dilapidation) are left unchecked by the community, an environment is created that attracts serious crime. According to the authors, disorder is a signal that crime and delinquency will be tolerated, and will not be

subjected to as much scrutiny as might be found in other neighborhoods. Their point is that "minor offenses have serious consequences for the life of neighborhoods and communities" (Kelling & Bratton 1998).

Kelling and Coles (1996) found that disorder leads to crime in a rather formulaic manner. They argue that visible disorder, if left uncontrolled, heightens citizens' fear of crime and leads them to believe that a neighborhood is unsafe. After citizens begin to feel unsafe, they withdraw from the community, both physically and psychologically, by reducing their public presence and severing social ties with other residents.

The authors maintained that after residents withdraw, detaching themselves from their community, informal social control mechanisms break down. Residents are no longer present to supervise youths or others in the community who are prone to mischief and misbehavior, and no longer feel a mutual responsibility to react to such behavior (Skogan 1990). As a consequence, more serious forms of disorder begin to materialize; eventually these lead to an increase in serious crime.

Therefore advocates of the "broken windows" hypothesis argue that it is too late to react to crime problems after serious offenses have taken place (Kelling & Bratton 1998). Intervention, according to the hypothesis, must occur at the first sign of disorder to prevent the neighborhood from spiraling deeper into decline (Skogan 1990).

Although a great deal of discussion has surrounded the "broken windows" hypothesis, remarkably little research has examined the relationship between disorder, fear, and serious crime. One of the pioneering studies of this issue was conducted by

Skogan (1990) in his attempt to empirically substantiate the hypothesis. In his analysis, Skogan relied primarily on survey data obtained from 13,000 residents of 40 neighborhoods in six major cities. The survey questions focused on victimization, perceptions of disorder, fear of crime, and neighborhood satisfaction.

Skogan's (1990) analysis produced two major findings. First, perceptions of crime, fear of crime, and victimization were all related positively to neighborhood social and physical disorder. Skogan emphasized that these relationships were stronger than other correlates of crime such as ethnicity, poverty, and residential instability. Second, Skogan reported that disorder preceded serious crime in the neighborhoods he studied. These two findings, taken together, have provided much of the empirical support for the "broken windows" theory and have furnished justification for police strategies targeted at social and physical disorder.

Despite the lack of consistent research in support of the "broken windows" hypothesis, Wilson and Kelling's (1982) work sparked a revolution in policing and caused police agencies across the country to rethink the proper role of the police. A number of police executives and researchers argued that the policy implications of the broken windows theory were evident and clear. To reduce crime, the police must refocus their energy and resources, and police social and physical disorder aggressively. As a consequence, a number of police agencies across the country began to move toward a role that incorporated quality-of-life concerns.

Definition of Terms

Community Policing

Community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues, such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime (Community Policing Dispatch, 2009).

Zero Tolerance Policing

The aim of zero tolerance policing is to stop serious crime by clamping down on minor crimes like graffiti that lead to further crimes (Greene, 2002).

Problem Oriented Policing

Problem-oriented policing is a policing strategy that involves the identification and analysis of specific crime and disorder problems, in order to develop effective response strategies. It places emphasis on research and analysis as well as crime prevention and the engagement of public and private organizations in the reduction of community problems (Goldstein, 1990).

Quality of Life

The Quality of Life Research Unit of the University of Toronto developed a quality of life research model, which can be applicable to all persons, with or without developmental disabilities (See Appendix- Table).

According to the Quality of Life Research Unit (QOLRU), the extent of a person's quality of life in areas of being, belonging, and becoming is determined by the two factors, of importance and enjoyment. Therefore, quality of life consists of the

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relative importance or meaning attached to each dimension and the extent of the person's enjoyment with respect to each dimension.

Quality of life needs to include the quality of the environment in which the person lives. Therefore a quality environment is one which: provides for basic needs to be met (food, shelter, safety, social contact), provides for a range of opportunities within the individuals potential, and for control and choice within the environment.

Within a quality of life model, citizens believe their neighbors share responsibility for quality by helping to maintain order and reduce crime. This can be accomplished by engaging in formal collaborative police-citizen partnerships and uniting informally with nearby residents to deal with neighborhood problems such as crime (Reisig & Parks, 2000). According to recent research, citizens who perceive neighbors as highly willing to help protect one another from crime are significantly more satisfied with police than are citizens who perceive their neighborhood as less socially cohesive (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996). The quality of life model is based on individual perceptions of neighborhood conditions rather than differentiation in neighborhood ecological structures, such as socio-economic deprivation. Therefore, this model is viewed as being psychologically oriented (Taylor, 1997).

Quality of Life- General Description

Quality of life is a term used to indicate how content an individual is with his/or her position in life and how happy citizens are compared to citizens of another community. This definition may vary depending on the conditions under which the individual is placed, however it involves economic aspects involving "standards of living," social aspects dealing with relationships, physical aspects concerning the

individuals' health and well being, political aspects dealing with an individual's rights and freedoms, and psychological referring to the individuals' mental state (Reisig & Parks, 2000). Quality of life, therefore, varies from community to community, and can be difficult to define.

Reisig points out that prior research concerning citizen attitudes towards the police has produced three distinct models to explain levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction:

- Citizen attitudes may be explained by an individual's prior experiences with the police.

- Citizen perceptions regarding the "quality of life" in their neighborhood may impact levels of satisfaction.

- Objective macro conditions, or "neighborhood context," may influence citizen attitudes toward the police.

Reisig & Parks (2000) and his colleagues provided an empirical test of these models utilizing interview data from the Project on Policing Neighborhoods (n= 5,361 citizens from 58 neighborhoods). The study initially uses a series of one-way ANOVA models to explore variation in attitudes across various demographic characteristics, including race, sex, age, home ownership, and education. ANOVA, or analysis of variance, is a collection of statistical models and their procedures which compare means by splitting the overall observed variance into different parts. It was pioneered by R.A. Fisher, a statistician and geneticist, in the 1920s and 1930s and is sometimes known as Fisher's ANOVA. One- way ANOVA is used to test for differences among three or more independent groups.

This portion of the analysis confirmed the following prior findings concerning citizen attitudes towards the police:

- Older, more highly educated citizens appeared to be more satisfied with the police.

- African Americans reported significantly less satisfaction with the police than their Caucasian counterparts.

Reisig (2000) than employed the hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) techniques to assess the relative effects of the three models. He found that the "quality of life" model or citizen responses regarding their subjective perceptions of neighborhood conditions, explained more variation than the "experience with police" model or the objectively based "neighborhood context" model. This finding appears to carry significant policy implications, given the increasing use of citizen surveys by police administrators to assess police performance. While important, the results of these citizen surveys may not provide a valid measure of actual police performance given the large influence that subjective and psychologically based perceptions contribute to shaping citizen attitude towards the police (Liederbach, Kadleck, 2001).

Purpose of Study

This is an exploratory study of citizen perceptions of crime and their willingness to involve themselves in some facet of community policing and the larger efforts to achieve citizen involvement in anti-crime policies. It involves a case study of the City of Miami Gardens.

The specific purposes of this study are as follows:

1. To determine if there are significant differences between the two policing philosophies (Community Policing and Traditional Policing), and what effects they have on determining how citizens' perceive whether crime has increased or decreased within their community.

2. To determine whether the length of time citizens' have lived in the community has an effect on their attitude towards what policing strategy is effective in reducing crime and the fear of crime within their community.

3. To determine how the above factors influence the willingness of citizens' to assist the police in the process of reducing crime in their community.

Significance of Study

This study is of global interest to every law enforcement agency because of its far-reaching implications for the future of policing. Policing must evolve from its reactionary position of responding to incidents after they occur, to a proactive position of preparing for problems before they occur, enlisting shareholders in the preparation, planning, and resolution of problems and improving the quality of life of the community (Greene, 2002).

Implementation of a police strategy that can be utilized to reduce crime and the fear of crime within the community is vital to improving conditions. This research has implications aimed towards improving police organizational structure, agency goals, and patrol practices. The questions that arise from this research involve whether police services are best delivered through a general and centralized idea of policing emphasizing consistency and uniformity, or whether there are local community dynamics that drive the implementation and delivery of services that should be considered (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The problem described above is widely recognized in police scholarship as traditional policing versus community policing and now the quality of life policing notion of whether it is better to have a centralized or a more decentralized service implementation and delivery system (Crank & Giacomazzi, 2007).

Justification

The justification for the study is its significance for the field of police work and the fact that it is researchable and feasible. There are few empirical studies that explore the effects of quality of life policing on crime reduction and the community's perception and fear of crime.

The study will contribute to the body of scholarly knowledge concerning traditional policing, community policing, quality of life issues, and quality of life policing. The study is researchable because the concepts within the theoretical and hypothetical framework are measurable and can be tested. The study is feasible because it can be implemented in a reasonable time, has an accessible population that is available to be surveyed, and the costs and time involved are manageable.

Assumptions

Certain assumptions are critical to this study. One assumption is that there is a historical basis for each of the policing strategies mentioned in this study, and that each policing strategy has validity. In addition to determining which policing strategy has the greatest success in reducing crime and the fear of crime in the community, the study seeks to determine the degree to which community perception of crime, involvement with the police in reducing crime, and a more holistic approach in dealing with crime and the criminal, can be utilized to reduce crime and the fear of crime. Another assumption is that the survey respondents will answer truthfully and to the best of their ability.

Limitations and Scope

This study has the following limitations:

1. The geographic setting was confined to the City of Miami Gardens, Dade County, Florida.

2. The citizens all resided in Miami Gardens.

3. The study only included participants who were at least 18 years of age.

4. The participants needed to be able to speak, read, and write English.

5. The data is based on a low response rate.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH

Literature Review

Historical Perspective

The history of policing had its beginning in pre-civilized villages and communities that had a rudimentary form of law enforcement derived from the power and authority of kinship systems, such as rule by elders. Under the kinship system, the family of the offended individual was expected to assume responsibility for justice by capturing, branding, or mutilating the offender (Real Police, 2008).

The police function has been inseparable from the military function as civilizations and their rulers have always kept elite, select units close at hand to protect them from threats and assassination. Some even argue that the first known civilization, the Egyptian, was a police state. In Mesopotamia, Nubian slaves were often put to work as marketplace guards, Praetorian guards, or in other mercenary positions. As a police force, their color, statue, and manner of dress made them visible among Mesopotamians. The idea of visibility could then be regarded as the first principle of crime control. (Berg, 1998).

The first organized police force was the Roman virgules (Real Police, 2008). The virgiles were the first group of nonmilitary and non-mercenary police. They were created by Galius Octavius, the grand nephew of Julius Caesar. He used the following steps in establishing the first police force:

- Created the Praetorian Guard to protect him from assassination. Nine thousand men were selected and divided into 9 cohorts of 1000 men. Three cohorts operated as undercover operatives housed among the civilian population.

- Created a daytime city fire brigade of 600 slaves and spread them among 14 separate precincts.

- Created urban cohorts, selected military units of men who weren't good enough to get into the Praetorian Guard. They were primarily responsible for fire safety during daytime hours.

- Created the virgiles (watchmen) of Rome, who supplemented the urban cohort at nighttime, and were empowered to arrest lawbreakers. The virgiles were armed with clubs as well as short swords (Berg, 1998).

During the Middle Ages, policing existed in a variety of watchmen systems, systems premised on the importance of voluntarily patrolling the streets and guarding cities from sunset to sunrise. The predominant function of policing was class control (keeping watch on vagrants, vagabonds, immigrants, gypsies, tramps, and thieves). Most of this era was characterized by lawlessness and corruption (Real Police, 2008). In England, from 1066 to the 1300s, police services were provided through the frankpledge system (Berg, 1998). Under this system, citizens were appointed with the responsibility of maintaining order and crime control. Men were formed into groups of ten, called a tything. Ten tythings were grouped into a hundred and were supervised by a "court of the stables" or *constable*. Groups of ten hundred created a *shire*, controlled by *reeves* or *sheriff* (Uchida, 1993). Although England, during the 1500s, had one of the harshest criminal justice systems, including death sentences for minor crimes, crime and disorder

continued to rise. England had more robbers, thieves, and prostitutes than all of Europe combined.

Many people of wealth began to hire their own private police, and the king began a system of night watch for the large cities. In 1737, the first formal taxation system for the purpose of law enforcement was introduced. City councils were allowed to levy taxes to pay for a night watch system (Gaines et al, 1999). Despite these efforts, crime continued to rise and the need for a different system of policing was evident.

Three names associated with the development of the first modern police forces in England emerged during the 1800s, Henry Fielding, Patrick Colquhoun, and Sir Robert Peel. Henry Fielding, a playwright and novelist, who accepted a position as magistrate deputy of Bow Street Court in 1748, is credited with two major contributions to the field of policing (Gaines et al, 1999). Fielding, first, advocated change and spread awareness about social and criminal problems through his writings. Second, he organized a group of paid non-uniformed citizens who were responsible for investigating crimes and prosecuting offenders. The *Bow Street Runners*, as they were called, was the first group paid through public funds that emphasized crime prevention in addition to crime investigation and apprehension of criminals, utilizing preventative patrols.

Despite the efforts of the Bow Street Runners, most English citizens were opposed to the development of a police force. Their opposition was based on two related factors:

- The importance placed on individual liberties established in the Magna Carta
- The English tradition of local government (Lang worthy & Travis, 1999).

In an effort to reconcile these issues, Patrick Colquhoun developed the *science of policing* in the late 1700s (Lang worthy & Travis, 1999). Colquhoun suggested that police functions must include detection of crime, apprehension of offenders, and prevention of crime through their presence in public. The function of crime prevention was supported by Italian Theorist Cesare Beccaria, who in his 1763 essay *On Crime and Punishment*, proposed that "it is better to prevent crimes than to punish them."(pg. 2)

Colquhoun (cited Langworthy & Travis, 1999) argued that highly regulated police forces should form their own separate unit within the government. He also stated that judicial officers could provide oversight and control police powers if they were organized as a separate unit within the government: in effect proposing the separation of powers controlled through a system of checks and balances. This was consistent with the theory of the social contract, suggested by political philosophers such as Locke, Hobbes, and Rousseau, which stated that individual members of a society enter into a contract with their government where governments are responsible for providing protection and maintaining social order. In exchange members of society agree to relinquish some of their rights, including the right to protect their own interests through the use of force. Democratic societies are structured systems based on the balance between individual rights and the collective needs of those societies. In modern societies, the police are the agents responsible for maintaining that balance (Bittner, 1970).

Traditional Policing was modeled on Sir Robert Peel's efforts to reform policing in England during the early 1800's. As England's Home Secretary in 1822, Sir Robert Peel took on the task of reforming the English penal system. In order to accomplish this Peel repealed more than 250 statues and reduced the number of offenses that carried the death penalty. Peel also introduced the Constabulary Act, and the Constabulary Police of Ireland which exist to this day (Westminster Police Service, 2006).

During the Depression of 1826, Peel organized the response to the widespread unrest that gripped Lancashire's textile regions. Three years later Peel introduced the Metropolitan Police Act. Peel selected a committee to inquire into the state of the police and the increase of crime in the area. The committee's findings recommended a radical reform and extension of police power. The main recommendations of the committee suggested the creation of a central police office under two magistrates freed from all other duties; the combination of all regular police forces in the London area (excluding the City); and the deferment of the cost of the new establishment partly through parochial rates, and partly from the treasury. A bill based on the report became law in June 1829, as London became besieged with crime and the safety of many citizens was at risk. Colonel Charles Rowan and Barrister Richard Mayne became the first Commissioners as two new police magistrates were formed, and plans were set for a police force of one thousand men. Both of these police forces exist today, The London Metropolitan Police and the Police Service of Northern Ireland (Gash, 2008).

Sir Robert Peel sought to organize policing based on a military style, from the police officer on the beat to all facets of police administration. Peel's plan was the

separation of policing and the judiciary. Peel believed that the police should be responsible for one facet of the law, the prosecution phase, and the judiciary should be responsible for the trail, conviction, and punishment phase. This concept remains unchanged today.

Police officer were uniformed but were armed only with truncheons. Policing derived its legitimate central authority from the crown. Peel established nine basic principles of policing:

- The basic mission why the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
- The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
- Police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
- The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
- Police seek and preserve public favor not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
- Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
- Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time

attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of community welfare and existence.

- Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.

- The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action dealing with it

As a result of Peel's efforts, the London police force became known as "Peeler's" or "Bobby's boys," later shortened to what the English refer to today as "Bobbies" (Uchida, 1993).

The first modern police forces in the United States borrowed heavily from those established in England. American law enforcement agencies adopted the mission of crime prevention and control, preventative patrol, and the quasi-military organizational design of Sir Robert Peel. In addition, Early American policing borrowed the long standing tradition that police have limitations on their authority (Walker, 1984). The protection of the rights of the individual was highly emphasized in both England and America, limits were placed on governmental and police authority.

Another feature borrowed from the England is that of local control of police agencies. In the American system of law enforcement, police are controlled at the local, state, and federal level, with the majority of departments being local municipalities.

The American policing system is also highly decentralized and fragmented. According to 1993 figures, there are nearly 20,000 different law enforcement agencies within the United States. (Maguire & Katz, 2002). Lack of coordination and cooperation

among the many local law enforcement agencies is generally characteristic of the American system.

There are differences, however, between the English and American systems of law enforcement. One of the most significant is the absence of strong political influences over police organizations in England, compared to the strong relationship between politics and policing in the United States (Walker, 1984). While police administrators in England were protected from political influences, politics heavily influenced American agencies. In Fact, policing during the nineteenth century in America has been described as inefficient, ineffective, lacking professionalism, and highly corrupt (Walker, 1984).

In a review of literature written by Kelling and Moore (1988) and Greene (2002), the history of policing in American was divided into three different eras. Each era was distinguished from the other by the dominance of a particular strategy of policing (Greene, 2002). These three eras are the political era, the progressive era, and the reform era.

Political Era

American policing in the nineteenth century was plagued by political influence. During the political era local municipalities gave American police their authority. Local politicians used positions on the police force to reward supporters after elections. Therefore, the ethnic and religious composition of police forces reflected the groups who had local political influence. The law, which defined what tasks they were to undertake, guided their police functions and what powers they were to utilize. Police ties to neighborhoods and the local political machines were strong.

Early policing was perceived as an adjunct to local political machines (as cited in Kelling & Moore, 1988). Politicians and the political machines recruited and maintained police in office and on the beat. The police reciprocated by helping the political machine maintain their political office, and encouraging citizens to vote for certain candidates while discouraging them from voting for others.

During this era, the police provided a wide variety of services to citizens, including crime prevention and control, and order maintenance. The diary of a patrol officer from the Boston Police Department in 1895 describes most of his time as spent responding to minor problems in the neighborhood and handling many problems informally (Von Hoffman, 1992).They also provided social services including running soup lines, providing temporary housing for the newly arriving immigrants, and assisting local political leaders in finding work for immigrants (Oliver, 1998).

Strengths

The political era of early American policing had strengths. First, police were integrated into neighborhoods and enjoyed the support of citizens. Second, police provided useful services to communities. Many citizens believed that police prevented crimes or solved crimes when they occurred (Farmer, 1981).

Weaknesses

The political era also had weaknesses. First, intimacy with community, closeness to political leaders, and a decentralized organizational structure, with its inability to provide supervision of officers, gave rise to police corruption (Walker, 1984). Second, close identification of police with neighborhoods and neighborhood norms often resulted in discrimination against strangers and others who violated those norms, especially

minority groups. (Eck & Spellman, 1987). Finally, the lack of organizational control over officers resulting from both decentralization and political nature of many appointments to police positions caused inefficiencies and disorganization. As Greene states, "this time, the police problem was less that the police over-enforced the law, but rather that they selectively under-enforced the law." (Greene, 2002, p.306).

Reform Era

During the early 1920s, the political era gave way to the reform era. This era had its inception in Berkley California under its Chief of Police August Vollmer. Vollmer first rallied police executives around the idea of reform during the late 1920's, and stated that the police in the post-flapper generation were to remind American citizens and institutions of the moral vision that had made America great, and of the responsibilities to maintain that vision (Kelling & Moore, 1988). As part of that movement, J. Edgar Hoover, then head of the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), wanted the bureau to represent a "new force for law and order"(Kelling & Moore, 1988, p.101). In order to accomplish this goal Hoover:

- Raised eligibility standards and changing patterns of recruitment and training,

- Committed the organization to attacks on crimes such as kidnapping, bank robbery, and espionage (crimes that attract wide publicity),

- Established tight central control over agents, limiting their use of controversial investigation procedures, and thereby maintaining a record of integrity,

- Lastly Hoover instituted an impressive public relations program aimed at presenting the bureau in the most favorable light.

Police reformers observing the success of Hoover's programs shaped their organizational strategy to be analogous to the strategy pursued by the FBI. The reform era sought to put an end to political influence on the police, and to usher in an era of police accountability (Kelling & Moore, 1988). (Ironically it is this tightly controlled and inflexible view of policing that is most at issue when moving towards community policing).

Reformers rejected politics as the basis of police legitimacy; they believed that politics and political involvement was the problem in American policing. Reformers therefore moved to end the close ties between local political leaders and police. Their purpose was to institute changes in police strategy in order to isolate police as completely as possible from political influences (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Law, especially criminal law, and police professionalism were established as the principal bases of police legitimacy. So persuasive was the argument of reformers to remove political influences from policing, that police departments became one of the most autonomous public organizations in urban governments (Goldstein, 1990). Political influence of any kind on a police department came to be seen not merely as a failure of police leadership but as corruption in policing.

Police Function

The police function during the reform era focused on criminal law as the basis of police legitimacy. Police in the reform era moved to narrow their functioning to crime control and criminal apprehension. In order to accomplish this, the police utilized criminal law to apprehend and deter offenders (Leonard, 1954). To measure achievement of these outcomes, August Vollmer developed and implemented a uniform system of

crime classification and reporting. Later the system came to be known as the Uniform Crime Reporting System under the FBI, and was the primary measure of police effectiveness in dealing with the crime rate.

Individual police officer effectiveness in dealing with crime, in the reform era, was judged by the number of arrests they made; response time (the amount of time it takes for a police car to arrive at the location of a call for service), and passing (the number of times a police car passes a given point on a city street).The reform organizational strategy contained the following elements:

- Authorization-law and professionalism

- Function-crime control

- Organizational design-centralized, classical

- Relationship to environment-professionally remote

- Demand-channeled through central dispatching activities

- Tactics and technology-preventative patrol and rapid response to calls for service

- Outcome-crime control

Police expanded on the military style of organization and administration, modeled on Sir Robert Peel's efforts in England, improved response technology through the introduction of telephones, radio cars, and dispatching systems, and instilled uniformity in police practice through training (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Unfortunately, this led to the police drifting away from the public, where they often see the public as hostile and interfering. These institutional myths persist to this day (Crank & Langworthy, 1992).

Traditional Policing

Traditional policing reflects the basic goals of the early reformers of the police. The emphasis in traditional policing, as in the past, is to separate the police from politics and to hold them more accountable to the body politic and the law. Traditional policing has a narrow law enforcement and crime prevention or crime repression focus. It is centered on serious crime, as opposed to maintenance of community social order or general service delivery (Greene, 2002). Under the traditional policing model, the police are crime fighters, catching crooks and responding to calls for service. Applying the law and deterring crime are the central focuses of all police activities under this model.

Under traditional policing, the police must rely entirely on the coercive power of the criminal law to gain control (Bittner, 1970). The threat of arrest is the dominant means of acquiring compliance from the community. Under this arrangement, aggressive policing, coupled with broad application of the criminal law, results in tremendous line officer discretion, which for the most part is unregulated. Although the police organization creates the appearance of control through highly ritualized command and control systems, police officers have wide latitude in decision making in the field (Manning, 1988).

Within the traditional model of policing, the police culture looks inward, expressing a concern with danger, authority, and efficiency, and socially isolating it from the community (Skolnick, 1988). The values tied to this culture include skepticism and cynicism among the police, the development of a code of secrecy to fend off external control and oversight, and a general disdain for the public. Minimizing contact with the

public and staying out of trouble through work avoidance, have been documented practices of traditional policing (Van-Maanen, 1974).

Traditional policing suggests that institutionally and individually the police seek to minimize external interference with police work and administration (Greene, 2002). This is done primarily by the police adopting a professional mantle; they identify themselves as authoritatively independent from their clients who becomes a passive entity to be directed by the police. The police, as an institution and as a working group culture, seek to distance themselves from the body politic and politicians.

Within the context of traditional policing, the police organization is presented in terms in which the demarcation between organization and the environment is definitive and ardently maintained (Weber, 1947). By doing so, the police organization renders the environment incapable of changing its internal dynamics and ensures for itself a sense of control over the environment. The police organization sees the maintenance of itself as a primary goal and focuses on maintaining structure and function, without consideration to the ends of policing, such as safer communities.

Measures of success are primarily focused on crime and crime control. As a closed system, the organization creates reflexivity, a process in which the organization defines its efforts, measures them, and then declares success on the basis of such organizationally defined imperatives (Manning, 1988). This model is means, not ends, focused (Goldstein, 1990), and it measures effort, not results.

Community Problem Solving Era

Beginning in the late 1950's and continuing into the 1960's and 1970's, policing faced its most formidable challenges: (a) the convergence of social and political movements; (b) the civil rights movement; (c) the Vietnam antiwar movement; (d) migration of minorities into cities; (e) the changing age of the population (more youths and teenagers); (f) increases in crime and fear; (g) increased supervision of the police by courts (the Kerner Commissions Report, Skolnick Report, and other reports, articles and books written during the era depicted the police as being directly confrontational with these groups); (h)and the decrimininalization and deinstitutionalization movements (Stark, 1972, pp.15-16).

Within this context community policing seeks to balance the role of the police and the environment and organization in pursuit of a broad range of community-based outcomes. Core elements of community policing programs include a redefinition of the police role to increase crime prevention activities, greater reciprocity in police and community relations and area civilization (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988). Each of these changes is viewed as a necessary condition to realizing greater police accountability to the community. Through the adoption of these goals, it is hoped that the police can become more effective and efficient.

Community policing suggests that law enforcement should be more focused, proactive, and community centered. The idea is to involve the community and the police in a partnership in order to deal with crime and criminals (Oliver, 1998). Community policing increases the police focus to include issues such as public safety, crime, fear of

crime, and community quality of life. Communities are seen as participants in the process of shaping police objectives and interventions as well evaluating them.

These community building efforts must actively engage the community in an open and straightforward discussion about community life and the roles of the police and the community in establishing local order. These efforts also depend on the openness of both the police and the community and the willingness of the community to engage in what are often large-scale volunteer efforts (Bayley, 1994). From the police perspective, such efforts require horizontal communication between the community and the police and regular feedback about community conditions and the effectiveness of police interventions.

Partnership is the cornerstone in the development of community policing efforts. Police must partner with the community and other public and private agencies that serve a local community and that have some impact on community quality of life issues. Community policing exists only when new programs are implemented that raise the level of public participation in the maintenance of public order (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). In raising public participation, it is asserted that the police and the public actually co-produce public safety.

Community policing also links informal and formal social control in important ways. The police culture is shifted from its inward focus to one embracing external factors, such as communities, individuals, and other government agencies. The range of police goals is increased from crime control to reducing fear of crime, improving social relationships and social order, and bettering community quality of life. These goals are

large tasks for the police, and require a very different set of police skills, especially communications and interaction skills.

Community policing goals and efforts imply a shift in concern for both the means and ends of policing. From the perspective of means, the police are to embrace a wide array of tools that take them beyond their limited use of the criminal law. The use of civil and administrative law is seen as a way of broadening the capacity of the police and the community to intervene in local order and criminal problems. In recent years police agencies have used civil abatement and other civil court proceedings to gain compliance from unruly businesses, as well as landlords who fail to adequately screen and supervise their tenants (especially those selling drugs).

These interventions significantly broaden the reach of the police; at the same time the police are expected to build a reference for a wide array of social and community services that might be brought to bear on community problems. The police role then shifts from being the first responder to being a social diagnostician and community mobilizer. These linkages with external social services agencies are seen as improving ownership for community problems and linking different service providers in a joint effort to address community safety issues. At the same time, such linkages with the community are anticipated to help constrain and structure police use of discretion (Greene & Mastroski, 1998).

Community policing is a way of making police agencies less bureaucratic, specialized, and hierarchical. Police officers are seen as generalists, not specialists. Decentralized management and service delivery are cornerstones of the community policing movement. The police organization under community policing is seen as being

in a dynamic state that is, actively engaged with the environment and creating many boundary spanning roles linking the organization to its task environment as well as to social, cultural, and economic environments.

Measuring success within a community policing framework require that the police capture much more information about communities, social control, and local dynamics and link their efforts to community stabilization and capacity building (Greene, 2002). This shifts the measurement of policing activities from reported crime to calls for service, a measure thought to better reflect the range of problems communities confront (Greene & Klockars, 1991). In addition, measures of community volunteerism, business starts, homeownership increases or decreases, home improvements in neighborhoods, and local perceptions about safety and the police.

Theoretical Framework

An examination and analysis of the broken window theory cannot be done without a review of the writings of James Quinn Wilson, who was born in Long Beach, California in 1932. He attended college at the University of Redlands, graduating in 1952 with a bachelor's degree in political science. Wilson enlisted in the navy during the Korean War and served three years. He then attended graduate school at the University of Chicago, receiving a Ph.D. in 1959.

Wilson taught government at Harvard University from 1961 until 1987. He also taught management and public policy at UCLA from 1985 to 1997. In the early 2000s, Wilson was the Ronald Reagan Professor of Public Policy at Pepperdine University's School of Public Policy. Wilson has served on a number of national commissions related

to public policy, including the White House Task Force on Crime, the National Advisory Commission on Drug Abuse Prevention, and the Task Force on Violent Crime. (Oliver, 1998).

Wilson has authored more than a dozen books dealing with the topics of crime, government, urban problems, and aspects of American culture. He is particularly known for advancing the broken window theory of crime deterrence. In his 1982 thesis which follows, Wilson states "if people see a broken factory or office window that is left unrepaired, they will conclude that no one is looking after the property. Soon all the windows will be broken, signaling the breakdown of law and order in that neighborhood." (p. 29).Wilson's theory held that neighborhoods could prevent the growth of crime if they quickly took steps such as replacing broken windows, removing graffiti, keeping streets and buildings in good repair, and making arrests for petty crimes and misdemeanors such as littering and evading fares for public transportation (Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

Broken Windows Theory

The origin of community policing can be traced back to the "broken windows" theory, first proposed by Wilson and Kelling in 1982 (as cited in Oliver, 1998). This theory is based on the proposition that if social and physical disorder in a community is not addressed, more serious crimes may follow. Therefore, citizen perceptions of conditions in their community directly affect their reactions to crime and their perceptions of the police.

Simply said, a broken window does no great harm to a neighborhood if quickly addressed. But left unattended, it sends a signal that no one cares about their

neighborhood, and that it is safe to vandalize, litter and break things. Those who engage in such behavior will feel emboldened to commit these crimes. Once these minor miscreants have become well established, it may seem to be a safe enough neighborhood in which to be openly drunk, to beg for money, and possibly to extort it. In short the smallest systems of antisocial behavior when left to fester will breed greater and greater crimes, including murder (Harcourt, 2000).

This is illustrated further in an article written by Wilson and Kelling (1982) in which they make the consequences of small scale neglect very clear and direct as crime and the fear of crime in the neighborhood increases:

A piece of property is abandoned, weeds grow up, and a window is smashed. Adults stop scolding rowdy children; children, emboldened, become more rowdy. Families move out, unattached adults move in. Teenagers gather in front of the corner store. The merchant asks them to move; they refuse. Fights occur. Litter accumulates. People start drinking in front of the grocery; in time, an inebriate slumps to the sidewalk and is allowed to sleep it off. Pedestrians are approached by panhandlers. (p.30).

All of this is generally attributed to the Wilson and Kelling article, though the authors themselves make reference to a preexisting consensus: "Social psychologists and police officers tend to agree that if a window in a building is broken and is left un-repaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken (Harcourt, 2000).

Finding any written record of this standing consensus is a difficult, with one exception. In 1969, Philip Zimbardo, a Stanford psychologist, conducted an experiment in the Bronx, New York and Palo Alto California, testing the broken window theory

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(Zimbardo, 1969). Zimbardo arranged to have an automobile without license plates parked with its hood up on a street in the Bronx, and a comparable automobile on a street in Palo Alto., and waited for them to be vandalized. The car in the Bronx was stripped bare in a day. The first to vandalize the vehicle were a family (father, mother and young son) who removed the radiator and battery. Within twenty-four hours, everything of value had been removed. Then random destruction began, windows were smashed, parts torn off, upholstery ripped. Children began to use the car as a playground.

The vehicle in Palo Alto sat unmolested for almost a week. Then Zimbardo smashed part of its window. Soon passersby were joining in. Within a few hours the vehicle was thoroughly destroyed in much the same way as the car was in the Bronx (Sampson, et al. 1997). The vandals in both cases appeared to be primarily respectable white males.

This experiment is the second most commonly cited origin of the broken window theory. But it was Wilson and Kelling (1982) who fastened the doctrine to the explanatory myth of the windows and it is that combination that has been then the focus of attention for so many policymakers in the twenty years since its writing.

According to the authors, untended property becomes fair game for people out for fun or plunder and even people who ordinarily would not dream of doing such things as they consider themselves law-abiding. He further states that, because of the nature of community life in the Bronx, its anonymity, the frequency with which cars are abandoned and things are stolen or broken, the past experience of "no one caring," vandalism begins much more quickly than it does in Palo Alto. Palo Alto, on the other hand, is a community where people generally have come to believe that private possessions are

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cared for, and that mischievous behavior is costly. Wilson admits that vandalism can occur anywhere once communal barriers, the sense of mutual regard, and the obligation of civility are lowered by actions that seem to signal that no one cares.

Wilson further suggests that untended behavior leads to the breakdown of community controls. A community of stable families, who care, can in a few years or even in a few months, become inhospitable and frightened. As families begin to breakdown, delinquent behaviors occur among the young. Teenagers begin to gather in front of corner stores. As merchants ask them to leave, disruptive behavior leads to fights. Property left abandoned, becomes run down, weeds grow up, and vandalism occurs.

In this atmosphere Wilson believes that serious crime will begin to flourish or violent attacks on strangers will occur. Residents in the community will then think that crime, especially violent crime, is on the rise, and will modify their behavior. They will use the streets less often, associate less with their neighbors, and develop a "don't get involved" attitude. To the community, the neighborhood is no longer their homes, but merely a place where they live. According to Wilson, such an area is vulnerable to criminal invasion. Though he believes it is not inevitable, he thinks it is more likely that in such an area, rather than in a place where people are confident that they can control things in their community, drugs dealing will occur, prostitutes will solicit, and cars will be stripped. The drunks will be robbed by delinquent teenagers, and prostituted customers will be robbed by men who do it purposefully and violently.

As has occurred in response to fear in many urban cities throughout the nation, people avoid one another, weakening community controls. Sometimes people call the police and patrol cars arrive, and an occasional arrest occurs, but crime continues and

disorder and the fear of crime persist. Citizens complain to the police chief, but he explains that the department lacks the personnel and the justice system does not punish the criminal. According to Wilson and Kelling (1982) to the residents, the police who arrive in squad cars are either ineffective or uncaring and "they can't do anything." The process of urban decay then begins to take hold of the community.

The greater part of the broken window theory is the shift in police focus from major crime to nuisances such as litter, public drunkenness, panhandling, and teen crime. Broken windows theorists postulate that in these small beginnings, real crime takes root. In quelling small disruptions of street life, real crime is curtailed before it begins.

The link is similar to the process whereby one broken window becomes many. According to Wilson and Kelling (1982), the citizen who fears the ill-smelling drunk, the rowdy teenager, or the importuning beggar is not merely expressing his distaste for unseemly behavior; he is also giving voice to a bit of folk wisdom that happens to be correct, namely that serious street crime flourishes in areas in which disorderly behavior goes unchecked. The unchecked panhandler is, in effect, the first broken window. Muggers and robbers believe they reduce their chances of being caught or even identified if they operate in communities where potential victims are already intimidated. According to the authors, if the community cannot keep a bothersome panhandler from annoying a passerby, the thief may reason it is even less likely that the police will be called to identify a potential mugger or to interfere if a mugging occurs.

Police-Community Encounters

Police administrators, although conceding that this process occurs, argue that motorized patrol can best deal with it as effectively as foot patrol officers. Police administrators theorize that an officer in a squad car can observe as much as an officer on foot and he can talk to as many people as the latter. But the reality of police-citizen encounters is greatly altered by the automobile. An officer on foot cannot separate himself from citizens. If approached, only his uniform, badge, and personality can help him manage his encounter.

In a patrol car, an officer is more likely to deal with citizens by rolling down his window and looking at them. The doors and windows are barriers to the encounter. Often officers act differently if in the patrol car than when they are on foot. Police-citizen encounters of this kind breeds distrust, and often leads to lack of any constructive dialogue and exchange of information.

According to Wilson and Kelling (1982), most citizens like to talk to the police. Police-citizen exchanges give the citizen a sense of importance, provide them with the basis for gossip, and allow them to explain to the police what is worrying them; giving them a sense that something is being done. Wilson further states that you can approach a person more easily, and talk to him more readily, than you can a person in a patrol car. Moreover, you can more easily retain anonymity if you draw an officer aside to convey information, or give a tip, or give information about a crime. To walk up to a marked patrol car and lean in the window is to convey a visible signal that you are "snitching" on someone.

Standards of the Neighborhood versus Rules of the State

Wilson and Kelling (1982), make a distinction between the shifts of policing from order maintenance to law enforcement. According to the authors, because of this distinction the police have come under the influences of ever increasing legal restrictions, provoked by media complaints and enforced by court decisions and departmental rules. As a consequence, the order maintenance functions of the police are governed by rules developed to control police relations with criminals. The authors think, this is a new development, because for many years, the role of the police as a watchman was judged not in terms of its compliance with procedure but in terms of its attaining a desired objective. The main objective was order. The means were the same as those the community employed, if its members were determined, courageous, and authoritative. Detecting and apprehending criminals, by contrast, was a means to an end, not an end in itself. A judicial determination of guilt or innocence was the hope of law enforcement action. The police were expected to follow rules defining that process, though states differed in how stringent the rules should be. The authors go on to state that the criminal apprehension process was always understood to involve individual rights, the violation of which was unacceptable because it meant that the violating officer would be acting as a judge and jury, and that was not his job. Guilt or innocence was to be determined by universal standards and procedures.

They go on to state that no judge or jury ever sees the persons involved in a dispute over the appropriate level of neighborhood order. That is because most community cases are handled informally, and because no universal standards are

available to settle arguments over disorder. Therefore, a judge may not be any wiser or more effective than a police officer (the key to community policing).

In many states, the police made arrests on such charges as suspicious persons or vagrancy or public drunkenness; charges with scarcely any legal meaning. These charges exist not because society wants judges to punish vagrants or drunks but because it wants police officers to have the legal tools to remove undesirables from the neighborhood when informal efforts to preserve order in the community have failed.

Wilson states that, once we begin to think of all aspects of police work as involving the application of universal rules under special procedures, we inevitably ask what constitutes an undesirable person and why we should criminalize vagrancy or drunkenness (the key to New York City's Zero-Tolerance Campaign of the 1990's).

Arresting a single drunk or a single vagrant who has harmed no one seems unjust to some, but according to Wilson, failing to do anything about a score of drunks or a hundred vagrants may destroy an entire community. A particular rule that seems to make sense in the individual case makes no sense when it is made a universal rule and applied to all cases. Wilson states that it makes no sense because it fails to take into account the connection between one broken window left unattended and a thousand broken windows. In most cases, agencies other than the police could attend to the problems posed by drunks or the mentally ill, but in most communities, especially where the deinstitutionalization movement has been strong, they do not.

Wilson's greatest concern is equity. He states that we might agree that certain behavior makes one person more undesirable than another, but how can it be ensured that age, skin color or national origin will not also become the basis for distinguishing the

undesirable from the desirable? How do we ensure that the police do not become the agents of community bigotry? The only hope that Wilson gives is that the police selection process, training, and supervision will be inculcated with a clear sense of the outer limit of their discretionary authority. That limit, according to Wilson, is that the police exist to help regulate behavior, not to maintain the racial or ethnic purity of a community.

Utilization and Deployment of Police Personnel-(Community Policing)

Wilson and Kelling (1982) pose the question, how should a wise police chief deploy meager forces? (A frequent excuse given when the police chief is asked questions concerning crime reduction). Wilson answers the question by stating that no one knows for certain, however, the most prudent course of action would be to see what works in different kinds of communities. Second many aspects of order maintenance in communities can best be handled in ways that minimally involve the police if at all. According to the authors, in most cases, the ratio of respectable to disreputable people is ordinarily so high as to make informal social control effective. Even in areas that are in jeopardy from disorderly elements, citizen action without substantial police involvement may be sufficient.

Where no understanding is possible, Wilson and Kelling (1982) state that citizen patrols may be a sufficient response. Citizen patrols deter disorder or alert the community to disorder that could not be deterred. Whatever their effects on crime, citizens find their presence reassuring and they contribute to maintaining a sense of order and civility. (Citizen Patrols are usually trained and supported by local police agencies).

Wilson states that though citizens can do a great deal, the police are the key to order maintenance, because the community cannot do the job alone, and no citizen in a

community is likely to feel the sense of responsibility that wearing a badge confers. The police officer's uniform singles him out as a person who must accept responsibility if asked. In addition, officers can be expected to distinguish between what is necessary to protect the safety of the community and what merely protects its ethnic purity.

Because police forces are losing, not gaining members, each department must assign its existing officer prudently, and with great care. According to Wilson, some communities are so demoralized and crime-ridden that foot patrols are useless. The key is to identify communities on the edge, where the public order is deteriorating but not irreclaimable, where the streets are used frequently but by apprehensive people, where a window is likely to be broken at any time, and must quickly be fixed.

In most police departments officers are assigned on the basis of crime rates or on the basis of calls for service. Wilson states that to allocate police wisely, the department must look at the community and decide where additional officers will make the greatest difference in promoting a sense of safety.

Above all, Wilson concludes, we must return to our long abandoned view that the police should protect communities as well as individuals. Crime statistics and victimization surveys measure individual loses, but they do not measure communal loses. Just as physicians now recognize the importance of fostering health rather than simply treating illness, Wilson believes that the police and the community must recognize the importance of maintaining intact communities without broken windows.

Research Concerning Broken Window Theory

One of the most notable studies on the Broken Window Theory and the relationship between disorder, fear, and serious crime, was conducted by Skogan (1990) in his attempt to empirically substantiate the theory. In his analysis, Skogan relied on survey data obtained from 13,000 residents of 40 neighborhoods in six major cities. The survey questions focused on victimization, perceptions of disorder, fear of crime, and neighborhood satisfaction.

The analysis revealed two major findings. First, perception of crime, fear of crime, and victimization were all related positively to neighborhood social and physical disorder. Skogan noted that these relationships were stronger than other correlates of crime such as ethnicity, poverty, and residential instability. Second, Skogan reported that disorder preceded serious crime in the neighborhoods he studied (Skogan, 1990). These two findings have provided much of the empirical support for the broken windows theory and have furnished justification for police strategies targeted at social and physical disorder (Katz et al, 2001).

Application of Broken Window Theory

During the 1990s New York police commissioner William Bratton applied broken window theory to New York City neighborhoods. The New York City Police Department attacked minor crimes such as public drinking, panhandling, prostitution, and various other kinds of disorderly conduct. Once these minor offenses were reduced, the number of serious crimes decreased as well. Felonies decreased by 27 percent after two years.

One important factor that they found was that many people committing minor crimes were also the ones committing more serious offenses

Recent Empirical Studies in Community Policing

Two empirical studies were chosen as models to compare quality of life issues that are addressed by traditional and community policing. The first is *Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: A hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with police*, by Michael D. Reisig and Roger B. Parks (2000). This study tests three different conceptual models: experience with police, quality of life, and neighborhood context, and tests their ability and accuracy in explaining satisfaction with the police. The study also investigated whether these models help to explain the finding that African-Americans are less satisfied with the police than are Caucasians. To conduct the study the authors use hierarchical linear modeling to simultaneously regress their outcome measure on clusters of citizen and neighborhood level variables. The analysis utilized data from recently collected information from the Project on Policing Neighborhoods program. The data file included telephone interviews conducted with 6,125 adult residents of Indianapolis, Indiana and St. Petersburg, Florida. The sample was stratified by neighborhoods. In each city, police beats, and community policing areas defined neighborhoods. Fifty neighborhoods in Indianapolis and 12 neighborhoods were selected in St Petersburg. Approximately 100 interviews of residents age 18 and older, were conducted in Indianapolis. Households were chosen randomly, using telephone directories. Of the households surveyed 53 percent completed the survey, 31 percent refused, and 16 percent were unavailable. In St. Petersburg 42 percent completed, 40 percent refused, and 18 percent were unavailable. The results of the research revealed that Caucasian respondents expressed the highest

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level of satisfaction with the police, followed by non-black minorities and African-Americans. Caucasian and non-black minority residents expressed significantly greater satisfaction with the police than did their African-American neighbors. There were no sex differences in satisfaction with police; however differences between age groups were evident. Younger respondents (18-32) reported significantly lower levels of satisfaction than did older citizens. Also homeowners expressed higher levels of satisfaction than renters. Finally there was a linear relationship between education and satisfaction with the police and their functions.

The primary aim of the research was to assess three different conceptual models that allegedly predict and explain citizen attitude towards the police. The analysis revealed that cognitive and emotionally-based responses to neighborhood conditions appeared to be important determinants of individual attitudes towards police. To assess the relative importance of psychological and ecological effects, the research replicated the findings of Taylor (1974), using three variables from quality of life models: perceived incivility; perceived safety; and neighborhood rating. They found that a preponderance of the variation in each variable was due to differences between citizens living in the same neighborhood and to measurement error. The following amounts of variation in the outcomes resulted from the differences between neighborhoods: 6.3 percent for perceived safety; 14.7 percent for perceived incivility; and 18.1 percent for neighborhood rating. In other words, citizens living in the same locations perceive neighborhood conditions differently. The authors hoped that the research would provide police practitioners with information to help improve police performance, but they indicated that the research findings, made that objective difficult. They surmised that if individual perceptions of

quality of life reflected actual neighborhood conditions, they could argue for the widespread implementation of community policing initiatives designed to address physical decay, social disorder, and other correlates of neighborhood crime. Yet their findings showed that only a small portion of the variation associated with the measures reflecting quality of life was found to exist between neighborhoods; therefore, such a reaction could only have a modest impact on perceptions of neighborhood conditions and subsequently on levels of satisfaction with police.

Empirical studies concerning quality of life issues and policing are only presently being introduced for scholarly discussion, although numerous studies concerning quality of life have been done in fields of study such as psychology, psychiatry, and health care. *Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: A hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with police,* by Michael D. Reisig and Roger B. Parks (2000) was found during an Internet search on the topic. The research was a quantitative analysis of citizen's satisfaction with police services using telephone surveys, conducted on a sample of 5,361 citizens in Indianapolis, Indiana and St. Petersburg, Florida. It identified three conceptual models in order to quantify its results: experience with the police, quality of life and neighborhood context. The research also investigated whether these models help to explain the common findings of previous studies, that African-Americans are more dissatisfied with the police than are Caucasians. Satisfaction with police was an additive scale containing three survey items (outcome variables): "How satisfied are you with the quality of police service in your neighborhood?" "Police provide services that neighborhood residents want?" "How would you rate the job the police are doing in terms of working with people in your neighborhood to solve local problems? Each question

contained the following choices: (1=very dissatisfied, 2= somewhat dissatisfied, 3= somewhat satisfied, 4= very satisfied. Two independent variables were used to assess racial differences in satisfaction with police: African-American and non-black minority. One of the weaknesses contained in the research was its selection of using telephone interviews to collect data. This is especially significant when attempting to compare responses for variables such as, age, race, ethnicity, and sex, which could only be valid if verified. The research also lacks empirical validity. Although it attempts to account for neighborhood differences, empirically, neighborhoods vary to such a degree that empirical studies often do not work This is especially true in comparison studies between traditional and community policing.

A similar study, *An assessment of the impact of quality of life policing on crime and disorder*, (Katz, Webb, & Schaefer, 2001), utilized a more theoretical approach to evaluating quality of life and policing. They approached the problem by establishing the historical basis for the study, basing their hypothesis on theories of policing, and gathering data based on calls for service. Katz et al examined a quality-of-life initiative conducted by the Chandler Arizona Police Department, which was grounded in an operational strategy of policing social and physical disorder. Chandler is located in the southeast corner of the Phoenix metropolitan area and is bordered by Phoenix, Mesa, Tempe, Gilbert, and the Gila Indian Reservation. Chandler is the second fastest growing city in the United States, with a population of over 160,000. According to the current estimate, the city's population is growing by 800 to 900 residents a month. The Chandler Police Department, like the community, has grown substantially, increasing by over 50

percent in the past four years. In 1996, the department employed 193 sworn officers; today there are 295 full-time sworn officers.

The quality-of-life initiative that Katz et al (2001) evaluated was conducted in Chandler's Redevelopment District, a 4.75-square-mile area in the center of the city. The Redevelopment District differs substantially from the rest of the city. First, it contains a greater proportion of Hispanics than the city overall. Second, it is economically depressed when compared with the city as a whole. For instance, the median household income is about $37,000 in the Redevelopment District, compared with about $58,000 for the whole city; and the median price of a home in this district is 70 percent of the price in the city overall ($70,700, compared with $99,000). Households in the Redevelopment District are much more likely to be headed by a female and are almost 1.5 times more likely to be rented rather than owned.

Crime in the Redevelopment District is also substantially higher than elsewhere in the city. The number of police calls for service illustrates the relatively high level of crime and related activity in this area. During the first six months of 1997, when Operation Restoration was being organized, the number of calls for service in the Redevelopment District was 2.2 times higher per 1,000 residents than in the rest of the city: 540.9 calls per 1,000 residents versus 244.4 calls.

In November 1995, the Chandler City Council established a Neighborhood Task Force that was charged with identifying quality-of-life problems in the city. After surveying residents, holding community meetings, and meeting with key community stakeholders, the Neighborhood Task Force concluded that the most influential problem

affecting the residents' quality of life was the increase in physical deterioration and social disorder in the city's aging neighborhoods. Residents complained of high levels of street-level drug trafficking, prostitution, and bootleg liquor sales. Community residents and leaders also complained that the older sections of the community were in a constant state of disrepair- many of the homes had broken or missing windows, doors were falling off their hinges, and significant amounts of trash and debris cluttered the property (Chandler Police Department 1998; Neighborhood Task Force 1996).

The city first responded by transferring its zoning enforcement responsibilities to the police department from the Planning and Development Department in early 1997. This unit, called the Neighborhood Service Unit, was staffed with seven civilians, four inspectors, two graffiti painters, and one supervisor. The unit was responsible for enforcing city code violations pertaining to weeds, debris, inoperable vehicles, and graffiti. The unit also conducted a seven-point "house check" on private residences to ensure that properties met city zoning standards.

At approximately the same time, the police department received federal funds from the Community Oriented Policing Services office to develop a Neighborhood Response Team. This team consisted of six sworn officers and one sergeant. The officers patrolled neighborhoods on bicycles, conducting field interviews, making traffic stops, and aggressively enforcing all municipal codes and county laws. The officers also were responsible for going to bimonthly beat meetings (attended by beat detectives, beat patrol officers, and community members) for the purpose of identifying and responding to neighborhood problems.

In April 1997, the Neighborhood Service Unit and the Neighborhood Response Team combined to focus their resources on quality-of-life and crime issues in Chandler's Redevelopment District. The chief of police, at the recommendation of the Neighborhood Task Force, selected the Redevelopment District for the special operation because it comprised some of the oldest neighborhoods in the city. The Task Force determined that this area was the site of the worst physical deterioration and historically had generated the most calls for police services (Chandler Police Department 1998). This special operation came to be known as "Operation Restoration."

So the two units could focus their resources on smaller areas, the Redevelopment District was divided geographically into four zones ranging in size from 1 to 1.5 square miles. Both units focused on a single zone for 45 days and then moved to the next zone. After the two units completed working in all four zones, they waited approximately three months before repeating the process. Thus, the units operated twice in each zone. At the beginning of the operation in each zone, a community meeting was held so that police officials could educate residents about the operation and ask them to pass the information on to others in the neighborhood. Police officials also used the meetings as a forum in which residents could express their concerns about quality-of-life issues in their neighborhood and ask any questions or express any concerns related to the operation.

At the beginning of the operation in each zone, neighborhood service specialists inspected all private and business properties. Inspectors cited property owners for violations such as weeds on developed areas, vehicles parked on unimproved surfaces, abandoned or inoperable vehicles, litter, trash, outdoor storage, and unsecured or dirty

swimming pools. It was not unusual to cite property owners with failure to properly maintain their property (e.g., needing to paint their house) or possessing farm stock within city limits without a license (e.g., raising chickens and goats for personal consumption). When served with a violation notice, owners had 20 days to bring their property into compliance. After 21 days, neighborhood service specialists reinspected the property; if it had not been brought into compliance, they issued a citation.

To examine the impact of the intervention on crime and disorder, Katz et al. (2001) used data on calls for service (CFS) obtained from the Chandler Police Department's crime analysis unit. The unit of analysis in the present study is the daily number of CFS in the Redevelopment District and within each zone. The dependent variables in their analyses are the numbers of CFS for 10 offense categories: person crime, property crime, drug crime, suspicious persons, assistance, public morals, physical disorder, nuisance, disorderly conduct, and traffic. All other types of CFS were removed from the data set (e.g., 911 hang-ups).

The final data set included a total of 47,270 CFS in the Redevelopment District over the 1,245-day period. Because each of the four zones received interventions at different points in time, Katz et al. (2001) also examined each zone separately; this method allowed them to model precisely any changes in disorder and crime. This procedure resulted in 50 sets of time-series data, each spanning a total of 1,245 days.

Katz et al. (2001) and his colleagues used two types of analyses to assess the effect of the intervention on crime and disorder in the targeted areas. In their first set of analyses they examined changes in the dependent variables before and after the

interventions, using t-tests to compare means. In particular, they compared (a) the pre-intervention period with the intervention period (i.e., the period following the first intervention but before the second intervention); (b) the pre-intervention period with the post-intervention period; and (c) the inter-intervention period with the post-intervention period. Katz et al. used these analyses to examine the impact of the intervention both in the Redevelopment District and within each zone.

Katz et al. (2001) used CFS data obtained from the Chandler Police Department's crime analysis unit, and compared pre-intervention, inter-intervention, and post-intervention periods to evaluate the impact of the program. The comparison of changes in mean levels of CFS for the Redevelopment District and its four zones, for 10 different categories of crime and disorder, resulted in 150 different statistical comparisons, of which 35 were statistically significant. This number substantially exceeds what one would expect by chance. Several of the significant changes, however, were in an unintended direction. He found an increase rather than a decrease in the mean level of the CFS crime category in question. In one zone in particular, Zone 4, he observed an unusually large number of significant pre-and post-intervention changes in mean level of CFS that were in the "wrong" direction. These involved crimes against person, property crimes, and several of the other crime categories.

Overall, the findings suggest:

1. The quality-of-life initiative made the clearest and strongest impact on two categories of crime and disorder: public morals and physical disorder.
2. The quality-of-life program had a strong, consistent impact on physical disorder.

3. Calls for assistance increased in contiguous areas and he found strong evidence of a diffusion of benefits to nearby areas for public morals crimes and physical disorder. These findings add to a growing body of literature suggesting that place-oriented interventions affect areas spatially greater than the targeted area.

Data from a survey of Redevelopment District residents provide additional support for the findings presented above. During the inter-intervention period (the period between the first and second intervention), the Chandler City Council commissioned a study of citizens' attitudes toward the project. The survey was administered randomly to 400 residents of the Redevelopment District by telephone using a local consulting firm. The statistical sampling margin of error for a sample of this size was +/- 4.7 percent.

The consultants concluded that the project had a significant impact on disorder but a minimal impact on crime. In particular, 26 percent of the residents in the Redevelopment District reported that the crime problem had worsened and 19 percent believed that the crime problem had improved since the program's implementation. Thus more residents believed that the crime problem in the neighborhood had worsened than that it had improved. In contrast, about 36 percent of the residents in the Redevelopment District reported that they had seen an improvement in neighborhood appearance since the implementation of the project, whereas only about 10 percent said that the appearance of the neighborhood had worsened.

In sum, at least two principal conclusions can be drawn from the present study. First, the program apparently had an impact on physical and social disorder. Crime-specific policing directed at special problems, such as guns, drunken driving, and drug

markets, has shown repeatedly that the police are most successful when they focus their energy and resources on a particular problem, not on a multitude of problems.

The impact of the project on disorder has important implications for many communities; some people believe that the reduction of physical and social disorder is "justifiable in its own right in that it contributes to the establishment of a civil, livable environment in which citizens may, without fear, exercise their right to pursue their livelihood, commerce, self-expression, entertainment and so on" (Mastrofski & Worden 1995. P. 535).

The second principal conclusion is that the program had a far less substantial effect on serious crime than on disorder-related crimes and violations. In other words, the benefits were restricted primarily to problems on which the project focused specifically, namely physical and social disorder. Although the comparison of means revealed a significant decrease in property crime CFS in three of the four zones, the time-series analysis identified a permanent change in the desired direction in only one zone. At the same time, Katz et al. (2001) observed a permanent increase in CFS for property crime in another zone after the second intervention. The pattern for the person crime category is also mixed: the time-series analysis indicates a permanent decrease in one zone and a permanent increase in another. He offers several possible explanations for the program's failure to affect serious crime as desired.

First, it may be that "crime" and "grime" are two separate problems, and that it is easier for the police to reduce disorder (Taylor, 1998). For example, Sherman and Weisburd (1995) examined the deterrent effect of increasing directed patrol in crime hot

spots in Minneapolis. They found that although total calls for service decreased by 6 to 13 percent, this decline was due largely to the decrease in "soft" crime (i.e., disorder) CFS in experimental areas. Specifically, they found that in the four periods studied, disorder decreased significantly in three of the four periods, whereas hard (serious) crime did not decrease during any period. Katz et al. (2001) findings, along with those of Sherman and Weisburd, might suggest that intensified police efforts have a substantial impact on disorder-related crime but only a minor effect on serious crime.

A second possible explanation for the program's failure to reduce serious crime is that police removal of social and physical disorder does not immediately change the social meaning that residents assign to their neighborhood that generates the type of social influence that produces general deterrence. Instead, a substantial period of time may be needed before residents and neighborhoods reestablish the type and level of orderliness that cause residents to feel safe and enable them to enforce local social norms. Although some attention has been given to the spiraling decay of neighborhoods and its impact on crime, little research has examined the processes that lead to the revitalization of neighborhoods (Taylor & Harrell, 2000). Future research should examine further how the police response to disorder affects the social meaning that residents assign to their neighborhoods and the impact that it has on residents' attitudes and behavior.

Katz et al. (2001) findings provide very limited support for the operational strategy suggested by Wilson and Kelling (1982) for combating crime and disorder or, more generally, for social norm theory. The latter theory views quality-of-life policing as altering social meanings and producing social influences that result in general deterrence.

Support might be limited because of the nature of the community in which the project was conducted. Wilson and Kelling specified that police agencies should focus their resources and energy on disorder in communities that are "deteriorating but not irreclaimable." They argued that some neighborhoods are simply beyond repair and cannot be salvaged. Perhaps the Redevelopment District in Chandler is one such community. To date, however, no research has examined this claim empirically, nor has any research determined the tipping point at which a community cannot be restored.

Another possibility for the lack of impact of the intervention is that the hypothesis is flawed: the program's failure to decrease serious crime may be the result of faulty assumptions. To date, very little research has empirically validated the broken windows hypothesis, and the existing research has not yielded consistent results. Obviously, if the theoretical foundation of quality-of-life policing is not correct, we should not assume that the strategy would reduce crime.

A growing body of research suggests that one of the most effective ways of controlling crime is to focus on specific crimes and places. Cordner (1998 p.6) notes that quality-of-life initiatives are often "employed without the benefit of careful problem identification or analysis, without any effort to identify underlying conditions and causes, and without careful consideration of a wide range of possible alternatives". Greene (2002) raises the possibility that some quality-of-life initiatives may actually return the police and the community to a conflict relationship. Just as important, zero tolerance policing may be returning the community to a passive role in crime and order maintenance in favor of a more aggressive and active role on behalf of the police.

In other words, it may be that some quality-of-life initiatives are counterproductive and impair the community's ability to serve as a partner in producing public safety. Over the long run, weakened links between the community and the police could nullify any short-- term gains in serious crime reduction resulting from a quality-of-- life policing initiative. Katz et al. (2001) found no evidence that this is not what happened in Chandler, nor that is it responsible for the apparent weak link between reduction of disorder and reduction of more serious crime. For now, this remains a hypothesis that must be examined in future research.

Quality-of-life policing is at the forefront of public attention. Police departments across the country are using this strategy to address a wide array of community and neighborhood problems. Katz et al. (2001) findings, combined with other recent research related to broken windows theory and quality-of-- life policing (Reference), suggest that researchers should further evaluate the relationships between crime and disorder and should examine the effects that the police can exert on crime by policing social and physical disorder. By doing so, they can determine whether quality-of-life policing is good public policy. In addition, research on quality-of-life policing should include an examination of what Roberts (1999) calls the "pernicious impact of order-maintenance policing" (p. 813). She argues that such strategies have a differential and undesirable impact on racial minorities because, in her view, "the categories of order and disorder have a pre-existing meaning that associates Blacks with disorder and lawlessness" (p. 813). If she is correct, quality-of-life policing initiatives may increase the conflict with and distrust of police in America's minority communities, those communities that often need them the most.

Their findings suggest that the quality-of-life initiative exerted the strongest effect on two categories of crime and disorder: Public morals and physical disorder. Reisig and Parks (2000) minimized the effects of community policing, finding community-policing initiatives designed to address physical decay, social disorder, and other neighborhood crimes to be ineffective. Their research indicated that quality of life did not reflect actual neighborhood conditions. In comparison Katz, Webb and Schaefer (2001) used community policing as the basis for quality of life effects on crime and disorder. Reisig and Parks never bridge the gap between race, and differences in racial attitudes towards quality of life and policing. Their assumption that differences in satisfaction with police between whites and African-Americans can be attributed to differences in residential location, and that African-Americans are more likely to live in neighborhoods where residents are less satisfied with their police, is not only spurious but shortsighted.

These studies and their arguments influenced the way the present research study was set up. They provided the basis for the arguments suggesting that community policing works. They indicate that the more people get involved in anti-crime efforts, and the more police departments seek citizen involvement, the better off the community becomes. Therefore the researcher is using these theories and studies as a conceptual underpinning for the dissertation and for testing these theories and studies the results of past studies.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

Research Methodology

Introduction

This exploratory study will examine two factors that influence citizens'
willingness to assist police in reducing crime in the City of Miami Gardens, Florida: (a)
citizens' perceptions of whether crime has decreased or increased in their community,
and (b) citizens' length of time living within the community. The City of Miami Gardens
was chosen for this research study because of its diverse population, the researcher's
familiarity with the community (29 years as a police officer working in the community),
and knowledge of the policing strategies that have been employed to prevent and deter
crime in the area. The researcher also has familiarity with the people, the government,
and the history of the city, and was able to receive permission to use the data from a
comprehensive survey on the issue conducted by the City of Miami Gardens.

Variables

Based on the theories of community policing, people who are more vested in a
community are more willing to become involved in the police department's anti-crime
efforts. Therefore, a citizen's willingness to be involved in community policing is the
dependent variable and their vestment in the community is the independent variable. The
study will examine only these two variables (bivariate). As an exploratory study, this
study will not be able to account for the effects of many other forces (additional
independent variables) that could act in concert with the independent variables to produce
a change, and there are no control variables.

Hypotheses

There are two main questions in the survey instrument on which the study will focus. The first is "How long have you lived at the current address?" For this question, the dependent variable is the citizen's (respondents) willingness to get involved in anti-crime policy and the independent variable is how long a citizen lived at his or her address.

The second question from the survey is "Would you say that crime in your neighborhood is decreasing or increasing?" Here the dependent variable is again the citizen's (respondents) willingness to get involved in anti-crime policy and the independent variable is their perception of crime rates. Using the theoretical framework of community policing the two hypotheses in this study is:

H1- The longer an individual lived in the community, the more likely or willing that individual will be to get involved in anti-crime policy.

H2- Individuals who perceive crime as increasing are more likely or willing to become involved in anti-crime policy.

Both hypotheses suggest that there is a relationship between the two variables. The null hypothesis for both hypotheses is that there is no relationship between each variable.

Data Collection

A questionnaire was used to collect the data in this study (The City of Miami Gardens Citywide Public Opinion Poll). An earlier survey, which was part of the City of Miami Gardens Community Leaders Visioning Questionnaire, was conducted in 2005 by the City of Miami Gardens. That survey is not a part of this dissertation. However, the 2005 survey also functioned as a pre-test, allowing the City of Miami Gardens to address any concerns raised by the earlier survey in the 2009 instrument. The 2005 survey is also mentioned in the event that any data from that survey becomes available for future research. Future study will allow an evaluation of its efficacy in bettering human quality of life issues. Also in the future, the researcher will analyze other studies, to see how other cities' findings agree or disagree with those of the present study, and to offer suggestions as to why they are similar or dissimilar.

The survey questions are comprehensive, addressing both violent and property victimization. The survey also includes additional questions based on the Anchorage Adult Criminalization Survey and the COPS Addendum of the U.S. Department of Justice, Community Oriented Policing Services. These included items pertaining to fear of crime, quality of life, perception of the police and personal safety issues.

There is no complicated statistical scheme for the study. The surveys were administered to 3,000 registered voters or 100 percent of the known population (therefore p=P) of registered voters in the City of Miami Gardens. It fails to be a true 100 percent representation of the city population because everyone living there is not a registered voter, and because, at some addresses, there may be two registered voters who receive the

survey, and one other resident of the household who is not registered (that person would be missed).

The greatest advantage to mailing the questionnaire was that the City of Miami Gardens agreed to handle not only the labor of the mailing, but also the expense of both the outgoing postage, and the return postage as well. The questionnaire went out in the regular quarterly mailing of the City newsletter, and carried a cover page stating that: a) there was no requirement to fill it out; it was strictly voluntary; and b) it was to remain completely anonymous. Thus, the list of names was not seen by the researcher, and only completed forms were analyzed. The respondents indicated their informed consent, by their act of answering and returning the questionnaire. All question wording in the survey was design to avoid double-barreled or leading questions. As stated above, the total number of surveys that were sent out was 3,000. The total number of surveys responses received was 258 (8%). Although the response rate was low and poses a challenge, an exploratory study was still conducted.

The researcher adhered to conducting a study that followed the ethical foundations of research and scholarly inquiry. Specifically, the policies and procedures as set forth by Lynn University regarding the protection of human subjects and related ethics issues were followed.

The City of Miami Gardens survey followed proper survey techniques and protocol in that, directions were provided to respondents, the survey was pre-tested, names of respondents were not released, and responses were voluntary. As such, this research, based on the aggregate data from the survey, adheres to the concepts of anonymity and confidentiality.

To study the variables and hypothesis, it was necessary to operationalize them. In terms of operationalizing the independent variables in question 1 ("How long have you lived at your current address?"), there were several closed-ended responses available in the survey. For example, respondents could select from four possible response sets. In order to analyze the responses, it was decided to collapse the data to two options. As such, the data was collapsed into two categories: (a) individuals living in the city 10 years or longer; and (b) individuals living in the city less than 10 years. These two responses are mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive.

The independent variable for question 2 ("Would you say that crime in your neighborhood is decreasing or increasing?") was operationalized by collapsing six responses into two categories: (1) increasing; and (2) decreasing.

The dependent variable for both questions (willingness to be involved in anti-crime policy) was operationalized as follows. There were six constructs to the dependent variable. The six are questions asked in the survey as a subset of specific questions about operationalized facets of an individual's willingness to be involved. They are:

- Willingness to report a crime

- Willingness to report suspicious activity

- Willingness to assist a victim

- Willingness to tell police who you are

- Willingness to assist police officer needing help

- Willingness to testify in court

Together, these six constructs constitute a comprehensive operationalization of the dependent variable.

Data Analysis

The six constructs to the dependent variable, for the question," Would you say that crime in your neighborhood is decreasing or increasing?" is recorded in Tables 1-1 thru 1-6. The data shows that a majority of the dependent variable constructs, six of the six, indicated a relationship for the overall dependent variable of willingness to be involved in anti-crime policy. For example, in Table 1-1, a higher percent of respondents who believe that crime has increased in their neighborhood than those who believe crime has decreased in their neighborhoods, are willing to report a crime. Therefore the hypothesis that, individuals who perceive crime as increasing are more likely or willing to become involved in anti-crime policy, is accepted.

The six constructs to the dependent variable, for the question, "How long have you lived at your current address?" are recorded in Tables 2-1 thru 2-6. The data also reveals that a majority of the dependent variable constructs, six of six, indicated a relationship for the overall dependent variables of willingness to be involved in anti-crime policy. For example in Table 2-1, a smaller percent of those who have lived at their current address for more than 10 years than those who have lived at their current address for less than 10 years, were willing to report a crime. Therefore the hypothesis that, "The longer an individual lived in the community, the more likely or willing that individual will be to get involved in anti-crime policy," is also accepted.

Note. Percentages and numbers on each table may not add up to 100%, or to the total number of surveys collected due to some respondents not responding to certain questions.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Final Data-Producing Sample

The total number of surveys that were sent out was 3,000. The total number of surveys responses received was 258. Although the response rate was low and poses a challenge, an exploratory study was still conducted. The total sample, although small reflects final data that represents characteristics of total target population. Moreover, most of the respondents to the survey consider their community to be safe and are willing to become involved in anti-crime policy.

Research Question 1

Would you say that crime in your neighborhood is decreasing or increasing?

In response to this question 22% (56) believed that crime has increased in their neighborhood versus 49 % (127) who believe that crime has decreased in their neighborhoods. The remainder 29% (75) did not respond to the question.

Table 1-1

Willing or Unwilling to Report a Crime

QUESTION # 6 (1)	INCREASING (56)	DECREASING (127)
Willing to report a crime	50 (89%)	112 (88%)
Unwilling to report a crime	2 (4%)	1 (.08%)
Non-response	4 (7%)	14 (11%)

Table 1-2

Willing or Unwilling to Report Suspicious Activities

QUESTION # 6 (2)	INCREASING	DECREASING
Willing to report suspicious activities	52 (93%)	110 (87%)
Unwilling to report suspicious activities	1 (2%)	4 (3%)
Non-response	3 (5%)	13 (10%)

Table 1-3

Willing or Unwilling to Assist a Victim Needing Help

QUESTION # 6 (3)	INCREASING	DECREASING
Willing to assist a victim needing help	52 (93%)	106 (83%)
Unwilling to assist a victim needing help	2 (4%)	2 (2%)
Non-response	2 (3%)	19 (15%)

Table 1-4

Willing or Unwilling to Tell Police Who You Are

QUESTION # 6 (4)	INCREASING	DECREASING
Willing to tell police who you are	40 (71%)	68 (54%)
Unwilling to tell police who you are	7 (13%)	13 (10%)
Non-response	9 (16%)	46 (36%)

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Table 1-5

Willing or Unwilling to Assist Police Needing Assistance

QUESTION # 6 (5)	INCREASING	DECREASING
Willing to assist police officer needing help	47 (84%)	103 (81%)
Unwilling to assist police officer needing help	2 (4%)	4 (3%)
Non-response	7 (12%)	20 (16%)

Table 1-6

Willing or Unwilling to Testify in Court

QUESTION # 6 (6)	INCREASING	DECREASING
Willing to testify in court	31 (55%)	77 (61%)
Unwilling to testify in court	8 (14%)	7 (6%)
Non-response	17 (31%)	43 (33%)

Tables 1-1 thru 1-6 reflect data obtained from respondents concerning their willingness to become involved in anti-crime policy. Overall, a greater number of respondents were more willing to become involved in anti-crime policy then those who were unwilling, whether they though crime had increased or decreased.

Research Question 2

How long have you lived at your current address?

In response to this question 60% (155) have lived at their current address for more than

10 years versus 39 % (100) who have lived at their current address for less than 10 years.

The remaining 1% (3) did not respond to the question.

Table 2-1

Willing or Unwilling to Report a Crime

QUESTION # 6 (1)	MORE THAN 10 YEARS (155)	LESS THAN 10 YEARS (100)
Willing to report a crime	133 (86%)	89 (89%)
Unwilling to report a crime	5 (3%)	0 (0%)
Non-response	17 (11%)	11 (11%)

Table 2-2

Willing or Unwilling to Report Suspicious Activities

QUESTION # 6 (2)	MORE THAN 10 YEARS	LESS THAN 10 YEARS
Willing to report suspicious activities	130 (84%)	86 (86%)
Unwilling to report suspicious activities	6 (4%)	1 (1%)
Non-response	19 (12%)	13 (13%)

Table 2-3

Willing or Unwilling to Assist a Victim Needing Help

QUESTION # 6 (3)	MORE THAN 10 YEARS	LESS THAN 10 YEARS
Willing to assist a victim needing help	128 (84%)	89 (89%)
Unwilling to assist a victim needing help	4 (3%)	1 (1%)
Non-response	23 (13)	10 (10%)

Table 2-4

Willing or Unwilling to Tell Police Who You Are

QUESTION # 6 (4)	MORE THAN 10 YEARS	LESS THAN 10 YEARS
Willing to tell police who you are	102 (66%)	64 (64%)
Unwilling to tell police who you are	11 (7%)	13 (13%)
Non-response	42 (27%)	24 (24%)

Table 2-5

Willing or Unwilling to Assist Police Officer Needing Help

QUESTION # 6 (5)	MORE THAN 10 YEARS	LESS THAN 10 YEARS
Willing to assist police officer needing help	119 (77%)	78 (78%)
Unwilling to assist police officer needing help	5 (3%)	1 (1%)
Non-response	31 (20%)	11 (11%)

Table 2-6

Willing or Unwilling to Testify In Court

QUESTION # 6 (6)	MORE THAN 10 YEARS	LESS THAN 10 YEARS
Willing to testify in court	88 (57%)	53 (53%)
Unwilling to testify in court	13 (8%)	8 (8%)
Non-response	54 (35%)	39(39%)

Tables 2-1 thru 2-6 reflect data obtained from respondents concerning their willingness to become involved in anti-crime policy. Overall, respondents were more willing to become involved in anti-crime policy then those who were unwilling, whether they lived in their current address for more than 10 years, or less than 10 years.

Hypothesis 1

The longer an individual lived in the community, the more likely or willing that individual will be to get involved in anti-crime policy. Hypothesis 1 is supported by the data.

Hypothesis 2

Individuals who perceive crime as increasing are more likely or willing to become involved in anti-crime policy. Hypothesis 2 is supported by the data.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Practical Implications

Results point to the importance of citizen participation in the anti-crime policy of their community, and citizen willing to partake in the police process. The data collection procedures used in this study have practical application throughout the U.S. and abroad when seeking to measure citizens' perception of crime and willingness to participate in anti-crime policy.

Conclusion

The data collected in the survey questions, reveals that there is a direct relationship between citizens' perception of crime, the length of time they have lived in their neighborhoods, and their willingness to become involved in anti-crime policy. While citizen's perceptions and the amount of time they have lived in their neighborhoods are not necessarily related to the actual incidence of crime and other public safety issues, they nevertheless indicate a strong sense of community well-being. Also, City of Miami Gardens citizens have a strong willingness to contribute to the will-being of their community when called upon in situations involving public safety.

Limitations

Developed primarily for exploratory purposes, conducting the study had a number of limitations. The first is the sample size, which was comprised of registered voters in the City of Miami Gardens, as only 258 responded out of a total population of 3,000. It is recommended that further study be conducted in the City of Miami Gardens due to the small number of survey responses collected and that only one community case study has been done.

Recommendations for Future Study:

1. Increase sample size.

2. Modify survey over time to solicit addition data.

3. Conduct additional case studies.

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Foresman

APPENDIX A

Survey Approval Notification From the City of Miami Gardens

City of Miami Gardens

October 1, 2009

Shirley Gibson
Mayor

Oliver G. Gilbert III
Vice Mayor

Melvin L. Bratton
Council Member

Aaron Campbell Jr.
Council Member

Sharon Pritchett
Council Member

Barbara Watson
Council Member

André Williams
Council Member

Dr. Danny O. Crew
City Manager

Ronetta Taylor, MMC
City Clerk

Sonja K. Dickens
City Attorney

Mr. Rodney Polite
███████████████████
███████████████████

Dear Mr. Polite:

Please accept this letter as formal notification that the City of Miami Gardens grants you permission to analyze the results of our quality of life opinion poll

The results of said opinion poll will provide the City with a consensus of the residents' general feelings about their quality of life in Miami Gardens. This will also assist with the City's Administration in their efforts to improve service delivery to the residents.

We look forward to seeing your report at the conclusion of the poll. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at 305 622-8007.

Sincerely,

Dr. Danny O. Crew
City Manager

1515 N.W. 167th Street • Bldg. 5, Suite 200 • Miami Gardens, Florida 33169 • Tel: (305) 622-8000 • Fax: (305) 622-8002 • www.miamigardens-fl.gov

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APPENDIX B

City of Miami Gardens Citywide Public Opinion Poll

CITY OF MIAMI GARDENS
CITYWIDE PUBLIC OPINION POLL

As the City of Miami Gardens concludes its 5th year as a municipality, your City Administration desires to gauge its residents' feelings about the quality of life in the city. By gauging residents' general feelings about their quality of life in the city, City Administration can improve service delivery to you, the resident.

It is for these reasons that we ask you to take a moment to fill out the City's 2009 Public Opinion Poll

Once your survey is completed, please place it in the mail. There is no postage necessary.

1   How do you feel about your community as a place to live?
   a) Very dissatisfied
   b) Somewhat dissatisfied
   c) Neutral/I don't know
   d) Somewhat satisfied
   e) Very satisfied

2   In your opinion, how much of a difference can you and your family make in what happens in your community?
   a) Large difference
   b) Some difference
   c) Very little difference
   d) Neutral/I don't know

3 Would you say that crime in your neighborhood is decreasing, staying the same, or increasing?
   a) Greatly decreased
   b) Somewhat decreased
   c) Stayed the same
   d) Somewhat increased
   e) Greatly increased
   f) Don't know

4   How long have you lived at your current address?
   a) Less than 5 years
   b) 5-10 years
   c) 10-20 years
   d) Greater than 20 years

5 Please identify your current age group:
   a) Less than 18
   b) 18-25
   c) 25-35
   d) 35-45
   e) 45-55
   f) 55-65
   g) Greater than 65

6 In general, how willing are you to do any of the following:

Report a crime you see to the police
   a) Unwilling
   b) Neutral/I don't know
   c) Willing

Report suspicious activities you see
   a) Unwilling
   b) Neutral/I don't know
   c) Willing

Tell police who you are when you see a crime
   a) Unwilling
   b) Neutral/I don't know
   c) Willing

Assist police officers needing help
   a) Unwilling
   b) Neutral/I don't know
   c) Willing

Assist a victim needing help
   a) Unwilling
   b) Neutral/I don't know
   c) Willing

Testify in court
   a) Unwilling
   b) Neutral/I don't know
   c) Willing

5 Have you been a victim of any of the following crimes within the City of Miami Gardens?

a) Burglary
b) Robbery
c) Auto Theft
d) Petit Theft
e) Assault
f) Battery
g) Domestic Violence
h) None

APPENDIX C

CITY OF MIAMI GARDENS
CITYWIDE PUBLIC OPINION POLL DISTRIBUTED COPY

As the City of Miami Gardens concludes it's 5th year as a municipality, your City Administration desires to gauge it's residents' feelings about the quality of life in the city. By gauging residents' general feelings about their quality of life in the city, City Administration can improve service delivery to you, the resident.

It is for these reasons that we ask you take a moment to fill out the City's 2009 Public Opinion Poll.

Once your survey is complete, please place it in the mail. There is no postage necessary.

1. How do you feel about your community as a place to live?
    A. Very dissatisfied
    B. Somewhat dissatisfied
    C. Neutral/I don't know
    D. Somewhat satisfied
    E. Very Satisfied

2. In your opinion, how much of a difference can you and your family make in what happens in your community?
    A. Large Difference
    B. Some difference
    C. Very little difference
    D. Neutral/I don't know

3. Would you say that crime in your neighborhood is decreasing, staying the same or increasing?
    A. Greatly decreased
    B. Somewhat decreased
    C. Stayed the same
    D. Somewhat increased
    E. Greatly increased
    F. Don't know

4. How long have you lived at your current address?
    A. Less than 5 years
    B. 5-10 years
    C. 10-20 years
    D. Greater than 20 years

5. Please identify your current age group:
    A. Less than 18
    B. 18-25
    C. 25-35
    D. 35-45
    E. 45-55
    F. 55-65
    G. Greater than 65

6. In general, how willing are you to do any of following:

Report a crime you see to the police
    A. Unwilling
    B. Neutral/ I don't know
    C. Willing

Report suspicious activities you see
    A. Unwilling
    B. Neutral/ I don't know
    C. Willing

Assist a victim needing help
    A. Unwilling
    B. Neutral/ I don't know
    C. Willing

Tell police who you are when you see a crime
    A. Unwilling
    B. Neutral /I don't know
    C. Willing

Assist police officer needing help
    A. Unwilling
    B. Neutral/ I don't know
    C. Willing

Testify in court
    A. Unwilling
    B. Neutral / I don't know
    C. Willing

7. Have you been a victim of any of the following crimes with the City of Miami Gardens?
    A. Burglary
    B. Robbery
    C. Auto Theft
    D. Petit Theft
    E. Assault
    F. Battery
    G. Domestic Violence

TO EXPOSE ADHESIVE, REMOVE LINER

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APPENDIX D

IRB Approval

Principal Investigator: Rudney Polite_____

Project Title: A Critical Analysis of the Theoretical and Empirical Literature Comparing the Effects of Traditional Versus Community Policing on Quality of Life and Associated Quality of Life Issues

IRB Project Number: 2009-P01E_____

IRB Action by the IRB Chair or another Member or Member Designated by the Chair

Review of Application and Research Protocol and Request for Exempt Status:

Approved: ___X_____   **Approved w/provisions:**_____

<u>**COMMENTS**</u>

Consent Required: No   Yes ___   Not Applicable: ___ Written: _X_   Signed: _X_

Consent Forms must bear the research protocol expiration date of:

Application to Continue/Renew is due:

    (1) For an Expedited IRB Review, one month prior to the due date for renewal _____

    (2) For review of research with exempt status, by College or School Annual Review of Research Committee _____. If the academic unit ("The Colleges and Schools") where the researcher is assigned does not have a committee in place, the applicant to Continue/Renew is submitted to the IRB, for an Expedited IRB review no later than one month prior to the due date.
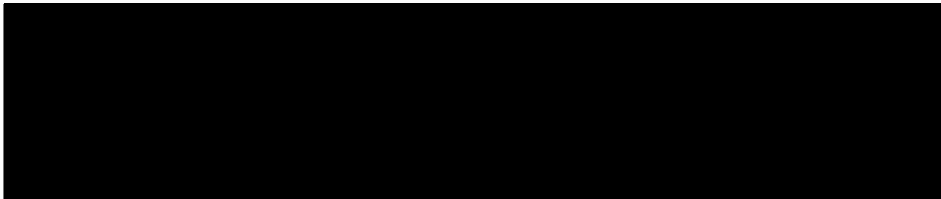
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

Lynn University

3601 N. Military Trail, Boca Raton, FL 33431

Cc: Student
    File