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Directions for Change in Police Organizations

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Summary

Three situations serve to hamper police effectiveness under traditional police organizational arrangements. First, police operations are based on an assumption that police are primarily in the "criminal apprehension" business. This concept of the police role serves to constrain many police activities that offer potential for satisfying client needs and contributing to crime prevention. Second, police managers rely almost exclusively on the tenets of Bureaucratic Theory, as promulgated by Max Weber (1947), for arranging and managing police organizations. This reliance contributes to problems in the police and community relationship, coordination and direction of police operations, and (3) motivation of police employees. Third, police agencies are basically organized as self-contained operations which are autonomous from other units of government. This independence reduces the potential for optimum utilization of police services. This paper elaborates on these three situations and their implications, and makes proposals about the directions that the author believes police organizational changes should take.

DIRECTIONS FOR CHANGE

IN

POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

by

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Introduction

The issue of the need for police management and organizational change is not one I chose to debate. Recent studies such as the Kansas City Patrol experiment (Kelling, et al, 1974), which kicked the sacred cow of conspicuous police patrol, and the Rand Corporation research (Rand Corp, 1976), which challenges conventional wisdom concerning the value of specialized investigative units, tends merely to support a few of the contentions that critics of traditional police organizational arrangements have been making for the past fifteen years.

As a police professional who has served in operational, management and academic positions for nearly two decades, I have come to accept the fact that traditional police organizational arrangements have produced a police system with its primary social value arising from direct economic support to police employees and indirect economic support of people from whom police employees make purchases. While many may challenge such a sweeping, indefensible proposition, I suspect few people will challenge my assumption of a need for changing police organizations, and I will proceed directly to the issues related to the directions which I believe police organizational changes should take.

Problems Hampering Police Effectiveness

In my judgment, three situations serve to hamper police effectiveness. First, police operations are based on an assumption that police are primarily in the "criminal apprehension" business. This concept of the police role serves to constrain many police activities that offer potential for satisfying client needs and contributing to crime prevention. Second, police managers rely almost exclusively on the tenets of Bureaucratic Theory, as promogated by Max Weber (1947), for arranging and managing police organizations.¹ This reliance contributes to problems in the (1) police and community relationship, (2) coordination and direction of police operations and (3) motivation of police employees. Third, police agencies are basically organized as self-contained operations which are automous from other units of government. This independence reduces the potential for optimum utilization of police services. These three situations and their implications merit elaboration.

Role of Police

Many people assume that the primary police responsibility is investigation of crime and apprehension of criminals. This assumption is reflected by police structures where 30% to 40% of the resources are allocated to investigative and apprehension operations (Angell, Hagedorn and Egger, 1974). It is reflected in police dispatch priorities which frequently rank crime as more important than non-criminal situations which are a threat to human life.²

In reality, local police agencies were not established to

be, nor have they traditionally been primarily law enforcement agencies (Whitehouse, 1973). Citizens in urban areas of the United States originally supported the establishment of local police agencies to provide 24-hour emergency services to all members of the public. Local police agencies have often been charged with performing such services as street cleaning, watching for fires, dispensing poor relief, advising their communities of the time and weather during hours of darkness, waking travelers, lighting street lamps, assisting probationers, and maintaining public order (Fosdick, 1920; Whitehouse, 1973). These responsibilities are consistent with the dictionary definition of "police" as ". . . the department of government concerned primarily with maintenance of public order, safety, and health and enforcement of laws."

Although over the years the responsibility for some of these service functions has been assigned to other governmental agencies, citizens in need of emergency assistance still expect police to perform non-enforcement emergency functions and services which cannot be readily obtained from other agencies. Police workload studies conducted in a variety of police agencies throughout the United States reveal crime-related requests for police assistance actually comprise a minority of all requests for police action (Webster, 1973; Misner and Hoffman, 1967; Press, 1971; Yaden, 1974; Angell, Hagedorn and Egger, 1974).

People with problems seem to turn to the police when they do not know of anyone else who will help them (Galvin, Angell, and O'Neill, 1969). Perhaps the primary reason they call the police

in time of need is because the police can respond promptly any time, day or night. Regardless of citizens underlying reasons for calling the police, when police do not respond the callers feel the police are failing to perform their duties. As citizens in a democratic society, callers have a right to be distressed when a governmental operation fails to meet public expectations. As public organizations of human design, police agencies have no sacred or universal role; rather, they are obligated to perform those functions needed and demanded by their clients.

Not only is a criminal apprehension-oriented role definition inconsistent with client expectations and the majority of activities actually performed by the police (Galvin, Angell and O'Neill, 1969), public service-oriented policing may be more effective than apprehension-oriented policing in reducing some types of crime. There is substantial theory and research supporting the conclusion that serious crimes with which local police most frequently deal result largely from mental stress, attitudes toward economic and social inequalities, interpersonal conflicts, and perceptions of discrimination and unfair treatment (Gibbons, 1968; Bloch and Geis, 1970; Sutherland and Cressey, 1970; and Clark, 1970).

Regardless of the legitimacy of their feelings, people who feel abused or hopeless may reach a point where improving their situations is more pressing to them than the threat of arrest and related criminal justice actions. ^{Such} /people sometimes come to view deviant behavior as their only rational option. ³ When this

is the case, deviance can only be prevented or corrected by removal of underlying socio-psychological procurors of deviance --either by normally occurring change, the police or some other agent. Identification, arrest, and prosecution of people who commit crimes out of frustration probably has limited value.

The value of legal action as an effective deterrent to crime is further diminished by the ineffectiveness of courts and corrections in finding treatment which will rehabilitate offenders. Fewer than three percent of the people who commit criminal acts are ultimately convicted of the acts they commit. Those people who are processed through court and correctional agencies frequently return to society in worse financial and mental condition than before they were arrested, thereby perpetuating their dependence on crime (President's Commission, 1967). Hence, arrests and subsequent processing by criminal justice agencies are often counterproductive.

August Vollmer once said, "I have spent my life enforcing the laws. It is a stupid procedure and has not, nor will it ever solve the problem unless it is supplemented by preventive measures" (Vollmer, 1964).

The irony is that the police are failing to utilize existing agencies that are willing and able to perform preventive activities. Many people who are currently processed through the courts could be referred to welfare, mental health and other public service organizations. In these agencies people with problems that may otherwise cause gross deviancy could receive much appro-

priate and effective assistance (Bard and Berkowitz, 1967; Brostoff, 1975). Closer organizational ties between the police and other human service agencies should thus result in improved police utility. Such alignment should contribute to increases in the effectiveness of human service agencies, and it should have a significant influence on the way police view their role. Crime prevention should increase and social justice should be enhanced.

A major obstacle to the restructuring of police and human service relationships is the traditional classification of police as the major component of the so-called "Criminal Justice System." So long as the police conceive of themselves as a key agency in a system dedicated to arresting and punishing criminals, they will be shackled to a criminal apprehension approach in dealing with crime. This approach will continue at the expense of crime prevention and public service activities. Jailing violators of the criminal code will continue to seem more important than the long-range social good. From a cost-effective standpoint police officers are in an excellent position to provide crime preventive services and referrals. Yet, as thief-takers they will probably continue to abhor "social worker" functions. Their use of social service agencies will not significantly increase.

Therefore, if the potential for police effectiveness is to be maximized, the classification of police in the narrow criminal justice context should be modified. Such a reclassification should facilitate the expansion of the police role definition to include both criminal apprehension and human service functions.

Bureaucratic Theory

Over the past half a century, Bureaucratic Theory has provided an easy-to-memorize, normative model for structuring and managing police operations. Adherence to the Bureaucratic Model has resulted in constantly increasing centralization of the police which in turn raises the level of policy making. The higher the policy making level of a police organization, the greater the number of citizens who are precluded from legitimately influencing the establishment of policies. As a result, police policies become less relevant to the legitimate needs and values of individual neighborhoods and subcultures. Policies which are inconsistent with the variations in needs and values of citizens, are detrimental to police-community relationships.

Further, the tenet of Bureaucratic Theory which mandates that police employees treat clients (in this instance, citizens) in an impersonal fashion, serves to facilitate an anonymity of police officers. This situation results in citizens in minority neighborhoods coming to view the police as outsiders--even mercenaries who enforce the biases and values of the majority population.

The impact of Bureaucratic Theory on employee motivation is also a significant problem. It supports narrow divisions of labor to establish vertical (hierarchical) positions and horizontal (operational) positions. The organization is to be viewed by managers as a machine with employees treated as replaceable cogs. If police employees are to be satisfied with their work, they must be treated as more important than the interchangeable parts of a machine.

The vertical divisions of labor and classical perspectives concerning the worth and management of positions created by such divisions of labor cause problems in police organizations. The fact that the skills for patrol officers and managers are very different was not given sufficient attention in the development of the theories. Even though patrol officers and supervisors may be equally important to the police organization, people farther up the hierarchy nearly always receive higher salaries than operational employees. Police officers are forced by their desire for increased financial reward and status to seek promotion to supervisory and management positions above them in the organizational hierarchy.

Horizontal labor divisions provide the basis for conflicts between employees in the resulting specialities. The generalist, patrol officers frequently are forced into the roll of nursemaid to specialists such as investigators, juvenile and traffic officers. In spite of the fact that specialists are seldom demonstrably more productive than patrol officers, they are almost always accorded ^{more} public esteem than patrol officers. In spite of the fact that in recent years generalist patrol officers have become the most highly educated personnel in some police agencies, frequently having more formal education than specialist and supervisors, they continue to fall in last on the status and salary scales. These Bureaucratically facilitated situations may so affect the attitudes and motivation of patrol officers that they shunt responsibility and initiate organizationally disruptive activities at every opportunity.

Theoretically a bureaucratic police organization is arranged to provide for efficient internal communication and control of employee deviancy. Most objective observers of police agency operation are impressed by the inaccuracy of this theory. The organizational hierarchy serves to filter and distort communications both in deliberate and unintentional ways (Tullock, 1965). As Chester Barnard (1968) long ago committed to writing the strongest power to control behavior in an organization rests with subordinates rather than supervisors.

Decentralized collegial organizational designs provide an alternative to the classical organizational model (Tortoriello and Blatt, 1973; O'Malley, 1973; Angell, Galvin, and O'Neill; 1972; Sherman, Milton and Kelley, 1973; Patterson, 1964; Phelps and Harmon, 1972; Elliott and Sardino, 1972; Bloch and Specht, 1973; Fink and Sealy, 1974; and Schwartz and Clarren, 1974). Such organizational arrangements facilitate face-to-face communication and utilize peer groups control devices which seem to produce organizational improvement. Fewer divisions of labor which expanded the responsibility of patrol officers seem to reduce conflicts and increase the operational efficiency of police.

Police Autonomy

Theoretically, police operations should be consistent with the broad policies and priorities of their superordinate governments. Frequently they are not. The organizational independence of police from other segments of government is certainly one of the major factors contributing to this inconsistency (Angell, Hagedorn and Egger, 1974).

Most police organizations have their own staff units which duplicate the activities of similar units at the governmental level. For example, most governmental agencies rely on the legal department of their superordinate government (e.g. city law department or county attorney's office) for legal advice, but police departments frequently have their own legal advisors. Personnel and training services are provided by a general staff organization for nearly all government agencies (e.g. city or county personnel and training department), but the police maintain their own personnel and training units.

As a result of such independence, police are often uninformed about many broad problems of their government and hence, unresponsive to its priorities. Police planners are usually unaware of the direction of planning efforts at the governmental level; and even when they are, the police seldom participate actively in these planning activities. Conversely, changes planned by local governments often fail to include consideration of the potential impact on police operations.

This situation not only produces policy inconsistencies between the police and other agencies of government, but also reduces the potential of crime prevention inherent in street light locations, building codes, street designs and citizen involvement. It discourages police from seeking the expert advice of personnel and training professionals at the city level. And it reduces the opportunities for efficiencies of scale within a jurisdiction. In many instances, the problem goes deeper than a mere

duplication of efforts--police at times directly oppose the policies and work of other governmental agencies and even their superordinate governmental officials. The results are reduced governmental effectiveness and increased costs to taxpayers.

Implications for Changes

In light of my interpretations of situations such as the preceding which hamper improvements in the social utility of the police, I suggest four courses of action to modify police organizations. First, a precise definition of a human service oriented police role should be developed and formally adopted to guide police operations. Second, public and police officials should commence work on a taxonomy which would define police agencies as integral parts of local "human service" rather than "criminal justice" systems. Third, a community oriented, collegial organizational design should be developed which will integrate police line operations with other human service functions of local communities. Fourth, police staff functions should be centralized and reorganized with units which serve a broad range of local governmental agencies in addition to the police.

Police Role Definition

As previously implied, improvements in the effectiveness of police in a democratic society are dependent on the acceptance of a broad human service role for the police. Police must not be confined by a formal role definition which restricts them, psychologically or otherwise, primarily to conducting criminal investigations and initiating arrests. The public expects, and the police are in a better position than any other governmental agency to provide, a broad range of public safety and human services to citizens.

The following are premises about police which can be used as boundaries for the development of an appropriate role statement for a specific police agency.

1. The preservation of human life is the most important police responsibility.

2. The police responsibility for maintaining social order is conditioned by a responsibility for protecting individual rights and ensuring social justice. Therefore, the maintenance of order clearly does not obligate or authorize the police to regiment society. In our society, the police are expected to protect the right of citizens to behave in individualistic, even socially deviant ways if such individualism and deviance do not injure others or deprive others of the right to just treatment.

3. Police organizations are in a unique position to support other governmental agencies with information about citizen problems and needs that should be addressed.

4. Law enforcement is an important function of the police; however, physical arrest is only one strategy that police use to enforce laws. In most areas, police are required to enforce the criminal code, but they are not specifically directed to arrest every person who violates a law. Therefore, police officers can legitimately exercise discretion if it results in the enforcement of laws.⁴

5. Police should work with and for citizens as much as they serve the government. Police should strive to assist citizens in developing communities that are livable places where people do not have to be afraid of being abused, attacked, placed in jeopardy of injury, or denied fair treatment. Police methods should stress cooperation with the public based on trust rather than fear, and they must emphasize prevention rather than suppression. Police should be concerned about obtaining voluntary rather than forced compliance with laws. The authority and effectiveness of police depend on public approval of police existence, actions, and behavior, and in general, on the police ability to secure and maintain public respect.⁵

Acceptance of these role parameters, I believe, will facilitate improvement in the operation of police agencies. These parameters will establish a human service-prevention-oriented philosophical perspective, thereby permitting police to maximize their socially useful functions. Such a philosophical perspective in the United States is not new--it is a basic element which helps distinguish policing that is supportive of democracy from policing of more authoritarian, totalitarian forms of government.

Reclassification of Police

The classification of police as a human service rather than a criminal justice agency will create substantial pressure for changing officer attitudes and philosophy from an apprehension to a service orientation. Therefore, police officials should take steps to present their agencies as a part of the human service system. Such a perspective should legitimize police responsibilities for performing public services, which will likely contribute to a reduction in citizen frustrations and interpersonal conflicts. Acceptance of these responsibilities by police agencies should facilitate effective crime prevention activities by police officers.

Police who accept the responsibility for becoming involved in solving domestic and other interpersonal disputes will likely prevent interpersonal deviancy such as assaults and homicides. Economic problems and discrimination could, through the efforts of the police, receive governmental attention before these problems become motivation for robberies and burglaries. People with educational or mental deficiencies could receive sympathetic police assistance and referrals

to assistance before they feel it necessary to resort to criminal deviance.

A human service classification of the police is not only psychologically supportive to the police performance of service and crime prevention activities, it legitimizes more efficient organizational interfaces. As previously mentioned, the human service resources available in most urban communities are extensive. However, the biggest weakness of the current human service system is the absence of a comprehensive coordinating or "gatekeeping" agency which can refer citizens in need to the appropriate service agency. The classification of the police in the human service system places them in a position to effectively perform this role. Police are currently available to respond at any time; citizens are already inclined to seek emergency assistance from the police department; and police officers are already generally familiar with the variety of human problems existing in their communities. Police agencies are presently in the unique position of not only of having access to many private service groups and officials, they are also able to communicate directly with field level personnel of governmental agencies. Therefore, police are the logical gatekeepers for the human service functions of government.

The classification of police as human service agencies would in no way detract from their effectiveness as law enforcement operations. As reflected in the previously stated role parameters, while most police agencies are legally obligated to "enforce" the

criminal laws, physical arrest is only one strategy for law enforcement. Verbal warnings, direct assistance, and referrals to other social service agencies are all legitimate methods of ensuring compliance with the law. The classification of police as a human service agency should increase the number of enforcement strategies available to an officer. None-the-less, police must continue to make referrals to the criminal justice system (e.g., prosecutors, courts, and probation and parole agencies) when such actions are necessary for the protection of other members of society and in those instances where incarceration is essential to rehabilitation.

The movement of police from criminal justice to human service systems has obvious implications for police operations and procedures. As an entry point of the human service system, the first responsibility of police officers when responding to a citizen problem will be to stabilize the situation sufficiently to obtain information needed for a gross diagnosis of the problem. Upon completion of the diagnosis, officers can decide on the most appropriate course of action to alleviate problems and prevent recurrences. For instance, in handling a domestic dispute, the police officer may decide that the key problem is unlying financial difficulties, in which case the officer can assume responsibility for establishing a relationship between the participants in the dispute and the appropriate family financial planning, unemployment, or welfare agency. In some instances, police administrators may go even further than simple referrals. Some departments have already established specialized units such as the Police Sunshine Unit in Portland, Oregon, which provides emergency, temporary relief to people in need.⁶

Establishing Police/Human Service Teams

Consistent with classification of police as part of the human service system, the police should be reorganized to include people from other human service agencies as members of decentralized, community oriented police and human service teams.⁷ In addition to sworn police officers, such a team might include health officers, nurses, nutritionists or home economists, family counselors, welfare or public assistance experts, lawyers, or other individuals familiar with a variety of human services including, among others, veterans' assistance, welfare programs, community action programs and human relations assistance.

These teams should be decentralized to the community or even neighborhood levels.⁸ Each team should be organized within a well-defined geographic area comprised of enough common socioeconomic characteristics to be considered a homogeneous community. The specific membership composition of each team should be based on the characteristics, problems and needs of its specific community. The size of teams should be within the limits of face-to-face communications.

Teams would work closely with the citizens and clients in their communities to define problems, needs and preferences, and to provide appropriate social and police services. Teams should be composed of people with complementary skills, appropriate for the needs of the community served. The team members would be generalist-specialists--that is, each member should have a general background in human services but at the same time have highly developed skills in a specific discipline. Teams so organized could

have a variety of experts among their members to provide consultation and functional supervision for the team. This would give every team the ability to handle expeditiously the variety of human problems coming to its attention.

Teams should be required to observe common ethical, legal and financial standards. Within broadly established limits, internal team management should be the responsibility of the team members.⁹ Team objectives, priorities, and procedures should be the joint responsibility of team members and community residents. Even the specific work assignments and schedules of team members could be within the authority of the team rather than a central management responsibility. Teams should be evaluated by the extent to which each achieves its own objectives rather than, as is the case in traditional police organizational arrangements, the extent to which police officers follow jurisdiction wide rules or standard operating procedures.

This decentralized police-human service team arrangement should reinforce the philosophical orientation implicit in the previously outlined police role parameters by increasing police contact with both citizens and other human service professionals. It should facilitate police cooperation with other human service personnel in a manner that will best serve the specific interests and preferences of individual neighborhoods and people. The decentralization of policy development should improve police flexibility and conformance to local needs. Limited centralized control in broad policy areas should serve to check against policies of team discrimination against minorities and people from other neighborhoods.

Contrary to the arguments of some people, proper decentralization along the preceding lines does not entail turning control of the police and other human services over to individuals, boards, or commissions (Waskow, 1969; Freund, 1969). Such an approach has been notably unsuccessful in the past. Sound decentralization should be based on community participation in priority identification and service delivery procedure development; however, at the same time, there ^{should} be sufficient central policy control and coordination over all teams to ensure a reasonably consistent quality of policing efforts throughout an entire jurisdiction. Such centralized coordination should serve to check abuses such as discrimination by police in one community against outsiders and to prevent the dysfunctional, fragmented, disjointed approaches that are common under some other decentralized organizational arrangements.

Reorganizing Staff Services

The inadequate interface of police operations with the other parts of government can be corrected by a reorganization of police staff services. Police staff functions should be viewed as two categories--"administrative staff activities" and "support staff activities." Administrative staff activities are those which directly involve policy development and implementation such as planning, training, personnel, internal affairs, inspections, financial administration, public information and legal services. Support staff activities are those which merely assist police by providing a support service such as communication, records, data processing, criminalistics, evidence and property control, detention, identification and photography, facility and equipment maintenance, and property acquisition. While both categories should be centralized,

the specific level of centralization, a factor critical to maximizing their effectiveness, should not be the same.

Since administrative activities involve broad, but local, policy matters, they should be integrated with the administrative units of the local government which is superordinate to the police (e.g., police planning should be integrated with city planning, police training should be merged with a city training unit, police inspectional activities should be a part of a city inspectional unit, etc.)¹⁰

Such an arrangement will not only reduce unnecessary duplications, hence the cost of local government, it should also improve the quality of overall guidance for the police. It should increase channels of communication between the police and their superordinate government, thereby improving the exchange of information. The impact of police actions on other units of government can be more adequately assessed and vice versa. Crime prevention and other governmental responsibilities can be approached from a wider, more comprehensive perspective. Decisions about street lighting, road design and building codes should be sounder as a result of police participation in the planning processes. Effective coordination and management of both decentralized teams and the entire local government will be facilitated by this organizational arrangement.

Support staff activities can be standardized and efficiently performed in a routinized fashion. Since these functions require extensive capital investment, the "economies of scale" principle makes it imperative that they be consolidated to serve the maximum

number of agencies consistent with the limits of technology and time. Due to the high capital investment requirement, a communications center that serves many agencies should be less expensive than several independent communications centers for individual organizations. A crime laboratory which is independent of any one police department and serves many agencies should be able to provide more services and a higher quality of work than several laboratories, each attached to an individual police force.

Therefore, support staff activities should be organized on a county, regional or state level to serve as broad a range of agencies possible. For example, a communications center might provide services for police, fire, mental health, animal control, and street maintenance agencies. A crime laboratory could serve police, prosecutors, courts, consumer protection agencies, and public defenders. The precise level of centralization of a support staff unit should be based on considerations of technological limitations, variations in the support staff requirements of user agencies, limitations on the ability to effectively control the operations, and time constraints on service performance.

Conclusions

The preceding proposals should facilitate more effective operation of local police. Redefining the police role and categorizing the police in the human service system rather than the criminal justice system should have a substantial impact on police attitudes about their responsibilities. These actions will legitimize (1) police provision of general services, (2) police perfor-

mance of more effective crime prevention functions, and (3) police interface with other social service agencies. Police and other human service agencies organized in a complementary fashion can better serve those people in need thereby preventing crime. On the other hand, these changes will not detract from the police ability to exercise their power of arrest and prosecution of offenders when the exercise of such power is in the best interest of society.

The inclusion of other human service professionals in the same community-based teams should facilitate more effective follow-up in those situations where such follow-up will solve problems and reduce the need for further police attention. The improved interface should also result in better cooperation between police officers and other social service professionals. Regularly scheduled team meetings with the public should result in more appropriate police priorities and policies.

The merger of police administrative staff units with the superordinate government's administrative service will reduce duplication and costs and improve the coordination of decentralized human service teams. It should keep the police operation more consistent with the overall policies and procedures of local government. Changes through out the government will be based on broader information; therefore, such changes should be more rational. Since plans will be more comprehensive, the probability of their successful implementation will be increased.

Finally, the organization of support staff on a county, regional or state level will ensure economies of scale and more efficient performance of mechanistically performed support functions. Dispatching can be provided not only for the police,

but also for other agencies such as fire, mental health, and even street maintenance agencies. Citizens could receive practically any type of emergency service from government simply by calling a single number. Crime laboratory services could be organized as readily available to the police, prosecutor, public defender, and similar agencies. This would facilitate increased quantity and quality of criminalistics work. Large-scale purchasing and maintenance of police equipment by a regional operation should also provide additional economies of scale. Since the support staff activities can be performed by civilians, rather than sworn police officers, the personnel cost of performing these duties can be substantially reduced. In total such arrangements should result in increases in police efficiency and effectiveness and enhance the social utility of police organizations.

NOTES

1. Prescriptive information concerning the application of Weberian conclusions to municipal police operations can be found in Leonard (1971), Wilson & McLaren (1972), and Eastman and Eastman (1969).
2. Police priority systems sometimes go to the extreme of requiring a dispatcher to send an officer to a cold homicide or burglary in an apartment rather than a fallen power line in an area of heavy pedestrian traffic.
3. This is not to deny legal sanctions may be effective deterrents to some types of criminal deviance where the misbehavior is planned and involved participants who fear a loss of status. However, local police seldom intervene in such activities.
4. The importance of police discretion has been recognized by numerous writers. Radelet (1973) presents one of the most comprehensive reviews of the literature related to this topic. It seems clear that legislators frequently expect police to exercise discretion in obtaining compliance (enforcement of) with the statutes they enact.
5. Many of these conclusions were set out in Peele's original "Principles" of British Policing in the 1820's (Radelet, 1973: 4-5).
6. This unit is responsible for distributing emergency food, gasoline, fuel oil, and even shelter to citizens in need. It receives financial and material support from the city, private organizations and citizens. It has been an integral part of the Police Bureau for over 40 years.
7. Plans for such an integration were prepared by the Sheriff's Division and the Department of Human Services in Multnomah County, Oregon. (See Multnomah County, 1974). Donald Clark, Chairman of the Multnomah County Commission and former Sheriff, has provided strong support for such reorganization.
8. Admittedly the definition of "neighborhood" boundaries is a difficult and in many respects arbitrary task. However, some of the variables which have been considered in previous definitions are reviewed by Shalala and Merget (1974). The research of Ostrom and Whitaker (1972a, 1972b), and Whitaker (1971) seems to support the wisdom of decentralizing into neighborhood areas.
9. Classical theory implies that a person who is designated as a leader occupies that position until promoted to a higher position or demoted. However, there is considerable literature which suggest that effective leadership is dependent

on group needs and specific situations (See Fiedler, et al, 1969; Little, 1955; Stone, 1946; Bekrin and Meeland, 1958; Lange, et al., 1958).

10. Several governments have taken steps to reorganize personnel development activities to reduce duplication. One such project is functioning in Dayton, Ohio. (See Angell and Gilson, 1973); however, the operation is limited to serving criminal justice personnel. In 1975 a proposal prepared for Portland and Multnomah County, Oregon, described how a system for an entire government might be organized (Hagedorn and Angell, 1975).

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