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POLICE CULTURE, MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC IMAGE:

PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING

A Project

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University

San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Public Administration

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by

Kenneth L. Becknell

September, 1992

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Approved by:

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Dr. David Bellis, Department Chair

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ABSTRACT

The theme of this project is that implementation of a community oriented policing program in a law enforcement agency will be hindered by three major obstacles. They are: the traditional management style in police agencies; the police culture that exists within law enforcement organizations; and the public image of the police. The project examines these three obstacles, their impact upon law enforcement and possible solutions to overcome them.

The methodology employed utilizes research material gathered from books, published research and literature written on police management, police culture and public image. Also utilized is original material gathered during the Public Management Forum, which brought together police and non-sworn management personnel to discuss their relationship. Information on the effects of the three factors gathered through literature was effectively reinforced through the data gathered at the Forum. There were five factors discussed at the Forum relating to the relationship between police and non-sworn managers: insulation of the police; police leadership; cultural values; independence; and resentment. The research indicated all these factors contributed to the obstacles listed earlier and were all found to block cooperation, which is essiential to community oriented policing.

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POLICE CULTURE, MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION:

PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING

INTRODUCTION:

There can be little doubt among today's law enforcement managers that community oriented policing is the most significant change emerging in the way we police our communities. As with most changes that affect organizational behavior and values, some organization members will resist embracing new ideas. With law enforcement, ideological changes as sweeping as those proposed by community oriented policing are seen as definite threats to an old and very established way of life.

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To implement community oriented policing successfully in any agency, it will be necessary to overcome three major obstacles: 1) The paramilitary / classical management style that is prevalent in most law enforcement agencies; 2) the "police culture" which relates to the beliefs and values developed and nurtured within the police profession itself; and 3) the public image and perception of what the police are supposed to be doing in the community. All three obstacles are based on beliefs that have been held as almost inviolate, and therefore, extremely difficult to challenge. But all three need to be challenged if community oriented policing is ever to become an integral part of law enforcement.

Throughout this project, I will be referring to community oriented policing and define what I feel it is. However, other terms such as neighborhood oriented policing will be, for my purposes, interchangeable. My preference is for a program that combines problem solving by the police with the information on the problems being generated by the community. This brings about a partnership in which the officer takes some cues from the community but uses his current and some newly acquired skills to help alleviate the problems. This has become known as Community Oriented Problem Solving, or COPS. I will occasionally refer to COPS in this project.

The methodology employed in this project consists of secondary data from books, published research and literature written on the subjects of management, police culture and public perception that relate to community oriented policing. Also original research was conducted in a unique management forum which provided primary data.

ORIGINAL RESEARCH MATERIAL

The Public Management Forum was an inter-agency collaboration that took place during the winter of 1991 among local public sector managers in the San Bernardino and Riverside areas. (See appendix for membership list.) The focus of the Forum was to bring together law enforcement and general government managers to interact in a setting that would facilitate an honest and open exchange of ideas and perceptions. There was found to exist an atmosphere of mutual misunderstanding and mistrust between police and non-police agencies that hindered communication and cooperation. Allowing these issues to stay unresolved effectively blocks any collaborative effort at solving shared community problems as open and honest exchange would not be fostered. Some felt from their own experience within city government and in teaching public management

that some city managers were afraid to confront their own chief of police. This Forum was designed to alleviate this kind of tension between police and civilian managers within city/county government.

Mid-level managers, department heads and chief executive officers interacted with one another in three separate sessions. City managers as well as a deputy chief from a sheriff's department, police captains and lieutenants, department heads from public works, personnel and city schools were some of the many professional managers represented. Approximately 15-20 people attended each session. The initial mission was to come up with methods of handling problems that were presented to the group regarding city management decisions. All participants were given a scenario developed by Forum directors that involved a city called Complex, California. The scenario had Complex going through a series of changes that included a new police chief coming into a police organization that had been commanded by an old style autocratic chief who had not been a team player within city government. The city was undergoing social and political changes and the increase in crime and gang activity was a serious concern to the residents. A new city manager had also just been hired and he announced he wanted city management to be a team effort.

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The Forum presented questions about how the situation
in Complex had been handled previously and how might they
be improved with the goal of making the department heads a
cohesive working unit. The questions were geared toward
organizational values and objectives and how conflicts
about these can be settled.

What came to light very early during general
discussion stimulated by the scenario was that there were
many misconceptions, misunderstandings and distrusts
between police and non-police managers regarding the power,
control, mission and function of the police versus the
other departments in government. This topic was so central
to developing a good working relationship within government
that it was debated and discussed during all three
sessions. The problems in mythical Complex were barely
discussed as the actual opinions, feelings and concerns of
the members were brought out and discussed in the open
arena. The findings developed in this Forum will be
utilized here to substantiate and support the factors
listed that impede the implementation of community oriented
policing.

First, I will review the concepts of community
oriented policing to show the major difference between
traditional and community based policing. Next, I will
review the literature on management styles in law

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enforcement with an overview of policing in a traditional environment, both within the organization and in the community. I will illustrate, using this data, how traditional management style has impeded communication and development of police agencies. I will then utilize literature to analyze at length the obstacles to COPS presented by police culture and public opinion and how they impede changes. I will then utilize original data from the Public Management Forum to prove these listed factors have negatively affected the reputation, effectiveness, and image of law enforcement. In the conclusion, findings are summarized and suggestions are presented on what can be done to overcome these obstacles.

I. COMMUNITY ORIENTED AND PROBLEM ORIENTED POLICING

One of the most significant changes on the horizon for the field of law enforcement is "community oriented problem solving"(hereafter, COPS). The main concept is a shared citizen/community/police ownership in assuring the safety of the community. The police department focuses on what is seen by the community as a threat to their security and quality of life. The directions for the department are set by the community, which then must share in the responsibility of achieving goals. The essence is a readjustment and reevaluation of the role law enforcement has played and will play in society. It calls for the police to recognize the position and value of the community in setting police priorities and goals, and not just using arrests and crimes as a yardstick. It also requires a rethinking of police management with the emphasis on solving the root problems of crime and other community social problems instead of just addressing the symptoms. This is best exemplified in the technique called "problem

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oriented policing" (POP), which itself is a part of an overall concept of "community oriented problem solving." Problem oriented policing emphasizes analyzing the source of calls handled by officers to identify the cause and work on it, thereby eliminating the problem and any further need to respond. Problem-ownership is another way of stating a major component of POP. The officers do not just respond, handle the symptom and leave, knowing another officer will be back out there soon, as the underlying problem has not been addressed. In POP, the officers are shown techniques utilizing other traditional and non-traditional ways of effecting changes in the community and taking care of crime problems. They utilize city code enforcement and environmental laws to rid the community of drug dealers and other criminal elements. While law enforcement cannot always put criminals in jail, it is possible to affect them financially by other means. POP utilizes private and public resources, like probation, parole, community development programs and private donors, to increase the quality of life in a community. If juveniles are causing a problem, a recreation program might take care of their idle time and reduce or eliminate the calls for the police in that area. No one is arrested, but the problem is handled and the quality in the area is improved. This is the essence of POP, non-traditional and innovative ways of

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approaching traditional problems. Agencies such as Newport News, Virginia, Houston, Texas, and Reno, Nevada, have had a great deal of success not only reducing crimes in certain areas, but in actually turning around public opinion. The Reno, Nevada, Police Department had a good reputation for enforcing the law and keeping the peace, but had a negative image as far as the confidence of the citizens. Despite good statistical data on their effectiveness, two bond measures designed to increase police officers were defeated by wide margins in the late 1980s. After implementing a Problem Oriented Police approach to crime in their city, their image improved to where the next police bond passed easily and they have had an upswing in support that has taken the form of additional manpower and equipment.[1]

This is a part of and a stepping stone to a fully developed community oriented policing program. The traditional "hook 'em, book 'em and never look back" method of law enforcement is replaced with police and other organizations accepting personal responsibility for problems and coming up with solutions. This strategy involves comprehensive analyses of problem sources, development of innovative responses utilizing non-traditional resources, and follow

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[1] Bradshaw, Robert V., Ken Peak, and Ronald W. Glensor. "Community Policing Enhances Reno's Image," Police Chief. (October 1990): 61.

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through by police officers. It also requires the empowerment of the police officer with authority traditionally reserved for supervisors and managers. Conversely, it requires the relinquishing of such authority by the managers and supervisors as well as the concept of trusting the line officer to handle the problem. The manager becomes a facilitator and "coach" while supporting the efforts of the line personnel. This is a drastic change for managers who have been trained and developed under the traditional style of management. This can be a source of great concern on the part of managers as they see themselves being replaced and eventually becoming obsolete, at least as far as the role they played in the past. [2]

The paramilitary and bureaucratic management style adopted by law enforcement hinders the growth needed to utilize such a concept. It is a deterrent to change not only within the police department, but also a negative factor affecting how other government agencies perceive the police and their role in local government. The rigid control and authoritarian attitude is perceived by other city employees as a method of keeping the police separate

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[2] This new role would actually enhance the role of sergeants and lieutenants by providing them with the authority and responsibility to effectively direct the organization.

and apart from others in government. Security for records and ongoing criminal investigations has been utilized by many police administrators as an excuse for controlling access for other city employees to the building and police personnel. This gives them a sphere of influence equalled by few other city management personnel. The change in managerial styles for law enforcement is necessary if police agencies are ever to join the world of modern and innovative management. Much of the information located in this paper was derived from a unique forum that brought together police and non police managers in a setting that encouraged an open exchange of ideas and concepts, including those that perpetuate distrust and hinder communication.

II. MANAGEMENT IN THE POLICE ENVIRONMENT

A. HISTORY OF POLICE MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT

The management philosophy of a majority of today's police agencies has its roots in the management design that originated during the late 19th and early 20th century. Prior to this, law enforcement had been entrenched in the graft and corruption that had permeated government.

The original model of the police organization originated in London, England, during the early 1800's. Sir Robert Peel, England's Home Secretary, advocated a full time police force. By 1829 he pushed through Parliament an act that established a civilian force to patrol London. Charles Rowan, a former military officer, designed a civilian peace keeping force that functioned along the lines of the military. This model was adopted in the United States when police departments began forming in cities in the 1800's. The development of policing in the United States occurred during a period when the "Jacksonian" or spoils system of government was entrenched. This led to a system where politics and payoffs were motivations for becoming a police officer and the job was, itself, a reward for political favors. Two waves of police reform followed in response.

The first "wave" of reform took place between 1890 and

1930. This was the "good government" movement led by

commercial, religious and civic leaders, such as New York

City Commissioner Teddy Roosevelt, and was aimed at

widespread graft and corruption of the politically

controlled police. During this same period, the theory and

design of classical organizational theory, as explained by

Max Weber, was being adopted by businesses in the United

States.   It was a natural evolution to apply classical

organizational theory to the existing and accepted military

structure of the police agencies with the intent of

reforming the corrupt environment in which the police

operated. This classical theory was so pervasive that it

found its way into most organizations in our society. This

industrial model was also transported into our nation's

schools and non-industrial organizations.[3] The appearance

of schools built during that time, and the adherence to a

schedule dictated by a bell, mirrored life in a factory.

This classical or "mechanistic" model of management, as it

is sometimes known, was based on tight structure,

hierarchy, specialization, central authority, and an

emphasis on rules.   This model is the basis for most

modern day police management structures, where

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[3] David   D.   Couper   and   Sabine   Lobitz,   "Quality
Leadership:The First Step Towards Quality Policing," Police
Chief (April 1982) 80.

accountability to a central administrator (a chief) and structured tasks and rules are emphasized. Kuykendall notes that:

> "O.W. Wilson [Chief of Police in Chicago and the accepted "father" of American Police Organization structure in the 60's – 70's] firmly entrenched the bureaucratic principles of authority, work specialization, scaler communications, span of control and centralized decision-making in the American mind set equating these to professionalism in police management." [4]

During this time there was also a mandate for a "war on crime" from public interest groups and citizens trying to cope with rising crime rates. This "crime fighter" image helped perpetuate the military model for law enforcement. Many authorities in the field of organizational development have theorized that this adherence to the rigid bureaucratic and militaristic model actually led to the second wave of reform – the "professionalization" of the police service.

There was concern among citizens over the responsiveness of police to human values and civil rights in a changing society during the 1960's. The rigid military-like structure lends itself to adherence to internal discipline, but was also rigid and inflexible when it came to new and "threatening" concepts. As Kuykendall

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[4] Jack Kuykendall and Rob R. Roberg, "Mapping Police Organizational Change," _Criminology_, 20 (November 1980: 242.

writes,

> "By the mid 60's [critics] found the police
> service too rigid, impersonal, autocratic
> and non-responsive to environmental changes,
> and therefore, inefficient and
> ineffective."[5]

Many critics believed that the classical organizational

structure, which originally was designed to enhance

rationality and systemization in organizations, was an

impediment to improving police service.

There was a movement during this time to have law

enforcement more closely follow the organizational design

of businesses. Authors of the 1967 Task Force Report: The

Police suggested that police departments should reorganize

to bring them in line with "principles of modern business

management" as promoted by O.W. Wilson, V.A. Leonard, and

the International City Management Association. However,

O.W. Wilson was a proponent of the classical school, which

was hardly the "cutting edge" of reform during the 1970's.

The organizational structure that was, and is,

dominant in most police agencies had its roots in the

coercive style of the 19th century Industrial Revolution.

It was designed around the training of illiterate

immigrants to do jobs on expensive machines and not to

adapt and respond to changing social and environmental

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[5] Kuykendall, "Mapping Change," 242.

forces. Though there was a movement to "professionalize" the police service, research indicates that it helped further entrench the rigid and militaristic form of the police mentality. While there was movement to better educate the police in general, there was also a feeling that the police, due to the apparent lack of responsiveness to the civil rights movement, needed to be more carefully controlled and monitored. The military structure was reinforced, but with more oversight from outside agencies and citizens. Many investigators have called this the "reform style" and it operates in many organizations today.

B. PROBLEMS WITH THE MILITARY MANAGEMENT MODEL

Modern organizational theorists have proposed two main types of organizational systems, mechanistic and organic. The mechanistic model of management is characterized by:

1) Specialization - members concerned with their own work and not that of the organization as a whole;

2) Hierarchy - formal interactions between members tends to be vertical, instructions and decision come from the top down, and status and rank differences are emphasized;

3) Authority - rests at the top, personal status in the organization is determined by one's office and rank and influence are derived from this position;

4) Rule oriented - means are emphasized, rules, rights and methods rather than the product or service;

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> 5) Position oriented – accountability is based on job description and rewards obtained through precise following of instructions.[6]

The mechanistic system aptly describes police organizations as they tend to exist today.

Organic systems, in contrast, adapt rapidly to change, are loosely organized with emphases on communication and adaptability, and are open to new ideas.

Mechanistic systems, which do not exist in law enforcement in the pure military sense, have come under criticism for their many shortcomings and problems. A major criticism is that an organization that is supposed to be able to meet the demands of today's changing social, economic and cultural environment uses an organizational structure that was designed to meet needs – different needs – that existed 150 years ago. While everything else has changed, the basic tenets of the mechanistic system remains essentially the same. What would the outcome be if IBM or Xerox attempted to use the organizational structure and management style of the 1940's, '50's or even the 70's? Would they exist today in their present form? Would they survive in today's business environment? (General Motors is a recent example of a company that was forced to change

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[6] Kuykendall "Mapping Police Organizational Change," p.242.

from the old management structure or face the reality that

it may not continue to exist.) Kuykendall writes that:

> "Organic managerial systems appear to be more
> effective than the mechanistic when work technology
> is rapidly changing and the environment is
> turbulent."[7]

While private business firms have not completely abandoned

the mechanistic managerial ideas that their leaders were

brought up with, they certainly adapt more quickly than the

tradition-bound field of police work. And while police

organizations are not a business, per se, they come under

similar pressures and problems.

Robert Langworthy, in his book on the structure of

police organizations, cites several studies indicating that

classical bureaucracy is deficient in dealing with police

organizations.[8] Angel lists four categories of problems

with classical theory: (1) classic theory and concepts are

culturally bound; (2) classic theory and concepts mandate

that attitudes toward employees and clients be inconsistent

with the humanistic democratic values of the United States;

(3) classically structured organizations demand and support

employees who demonstrate immature values and traits; (4)

classic organizations are unable to cope with environmental

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[7] Kuykendall "Mapping Change," 243.

[8] Robert H. Langworthy, The Structure of Police
Organizations, (New York: Praeger Press, 1986), 292.

changes; therefore, they eventually become obsolete and
dysfunctional.[9] Also, Dorothy Guyot attributes many of
the problems of police management to the traditional
structure of police departments. She uses empirical data to
support her list of management problems caused by this
structure, which are:

1. Lack of management flexibility in personnel
   decisions;
2. Lack of incentives within rank of police
   officer;
3. Militarism;
4. Communication blocked by a tall organization;
5. Insularity.[10]

Approximately 85-90% of all municipal police budgets
go toward personnel expenses. So it would appear that the
resource on which law enforcement needs to concentrate is
the human one. But the authoritarian leadership that is
part of the mechanistic/classical organization style of
most police agencies seems to neglect just about everything
we know about human behavior. The "coercive power," that
is characteristic of the paramilitary structure causes
people to reduce upward communication in an organization,
creates rivalry, as power is individualized, and promotes
competitiveness for that power. Rebellion and sometimes
withdrawal from the work community is an offshoot of this

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[9] Ibid., 293.

[10]Ibid., 294.

system. Discussing the problems inherent in today's police

organization, Archambeault and Weirman write:

> "A principle obstacle in meeting today's challenge
> of growing demand for services and shrinking
> resources is the work climate created within the
> traditional police bureaucracy which actually
> discourages productivity, initiative and personal
> commitment while encouraging the individual self
> interest at the expense of police organizational
> interests."[11]

Fry and Burkes point out that police managers utilize

classical theory to try to control the behavior of the

officers. But in fact there are very few indicators that

can monitor their outside behavior. That causes these

managers to develop new methods of control, such as more

stringent rules, electronic monitoring using radios and

computers, and more stringent and detailed record

keeping.[12] However, this is in direct opposition to the

actual working conditions of their job, which is

decentralized decision making in the field, unstructured

work environment, and a self-motivating atmosphere of

police work. High voluntary turnover and an increase in

unionization, (while the national trend is away from

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[11]William G. Archambeault and Charles L. Wierman,
"Critically Assessing the Utility of Police Bureaucracies in
the 1980s: Implications of Management Theory Z," _Journal of
Police Science and Administration_ 2 (April 1983): 421.

[12]Louis W. Fry and Leslie Berkes, "The Paramilitary
Police Model: An Organizational Misfit," _Human
Organizations_ 42 (April 1983): 230.

unions) seem to be another by-product of this
organizational design.

But this organizational style is very attractive to
some managers because the accompanying authority has
predictability, accountability and centralized power.
While the thought of an organic style of management would,
conversely, be threatening. Verl Franz and David Jones
commented that this organizational style discourages upward
communication and risk-taking by police officers while it
simultaneously encourages them to adopt the authoritarian
attitudes of the organization.[13] This may explain why
police officers react strongly or violently when someone
outside the agency or profession questions their actions or
authority. If the internal structure of the department
fosters this philosophy, it would only be natural for
officers to internalize it into their own value systems.
The authoritarian, structured attitude fostered by this
management style conflicts with the discretionary nature of
police work.

There is empirical evidence supporting the fact
that the quasi-military model of police work is
unresponsive to change, repressive of communication and

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[13]Verl Franz and David M. Jones, "Perceptions of Organ-
izational Performance in Suburban Police Departments: A
Critique of the Military Model," Journal of Police Science
and Administration 15 (February 1987): 154.

personal development, while adding to the stress of the officers. Franz and Jones analyzed police data taken from a more general study of workers in four Chicago suburbs by the Public Service Improvement Inventory (PSII) administered by the Industrial Relations Center at the University of Chicago. The study took place prior to what is seen by theorists as the period when the mechanistic style of law enforcement came under criticism. The PSII was administered to police officers and employees working in other branches of the government who did not work under the militaristic type of organizational structure.

The questions measured perceptions of effectiveness of communication, inter-organizational trust, morale, attitudes toward supervisors and organizational effectiveness. In each category, the police officers (120 out of a total of 557) rated their organization significantly lower than other city offices.[14] This lends some empirical evidence to the critics' claim that the traditional police organization does not meet the needs of the current cultural climate.

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[14]Franz, "Critique of Military Model," 155-160.

C. CURRENT MANAGEMENT THOUGHT

By the mid 1970's American business began to
face the current economic reality that it was losing its
competitive edge in the world market. The work ethic and
production output of Japanese and Korean industries were
superior to existing American businesses. Much of the
credit was attributed to the managerial philosophy of these
countries. Ironically, the participative management
philosophies - such as Total Quality Management and Theory
"Z", - that were embraced by these countries, and used by
them so effectively, had their origins in the United States
in the late 1950's and 1960's. American organizational
management theory put forward the concepts behind these
management constructs.[15] However, while they were not
accepted in the "pragmatic" world of American business and
industry, the Japanese quickly adopted them.

The rising dominance of the Japanese and the declining
productivity of the United States led to a reassessment of
our organizational and managerial effectiveness.
Theorists, such as John Naisbitt, have told us we are
moving into a new age. Naisbitt calls it the "Information
Age," which will be dominated by high tech industries,
rapidly changing markets and social forces,

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[15]Archambeault, "Theory Z," 425.

decentralization and a "world economy" of goods and services.[16]

Modern management thought emphasizes maximizing the resources of a business and improving communications in response to changing conditions. To accomplish this it is necessary to move away from traditional/classical management theories and toward theories of "excellence" in the work place. The role of the manager, as seen in these types of organizations, is changing toward a newer and more innovative approach:

> ....Change from "Old Age" managerial skills and setting goals, establish procedures, organizing and controlling, to "New Age" skills, knowing how to ask the right questions, respecting employees, being a visionary, anticipating and implementing change and realizing the transformation is a long term goal.[17]

These concepts come under the definition of an organic system that is much more suited to the work of law enforcement today.

D. HUMANISTIC MANAGEMENT THEORY

Humanistic styles of management are "organic" systems that change and grow with organizations and can adapt to environmental changes. Organic theory stresses

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[16]John Naisbitt, Megatrends (New York: Warner Books, 1984): 28.

[17]Ibid., 38.

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flexibility, open structure and employee development.

There are five accepted characteristics of an organic

system:

1) Generalization within the organization. Employees are cross trained and flexibility is stressed.

2) Collegial communication is stressed. The lines of communication are lateral and exchanges are free, with some control.

3) The power of the organization is diffused. Power lies with wherever the problems are and that is where the energy is directed.

4) The organization is situation oriented and can move quickly to address new areas. It can change focus and procedures to adapt to changing social and environmental conditions.

5) The organization is oriented toward completing goals that were mutually developed and agreed on. This requires a structure and process that promotes rather than inhibits participative decision making. [18]

The "organic" management philosophies are designed to

respond more rapidly to changing social and crime-based

problems. Such management styles as "theory Z," "quality

circles," and "excellent" type of organizations have an

edge when it comes to adapting to changing social and

environment conditions. They have a common thread, which

is the value and development of the human resource. They

all put forward the idea that, if properly motivated

through an interaction with a responsive and accepting

organization, people will develop and produce beyond the

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[18]Kuykendall, " Mapping Change," 241.

expectations of employers.[19]   Rigid bureaucratic

control and traditional hierarchial command structures are

incompatible with the turbulent social atmosphere of

today's world of law enforcement. As the reader will see

later on, this rigidity and militaristic posture has caused

a variety of problems for law enforcement management

regarding cooperation with other governmental agencies. It

has also developed a negative image of police with the

public as well as contributing to the formation of a

"police culture" among the officers that has proven to be

dysfunctional as it relates to change and introduction of

new concepts.   The next section will demonstrate how this

has effected communications and relationships with the

public and other governmental agencies.

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[19]James   H. Auten,   "Theory "P"   - Managing   for
Productivity," Police Studies 8:(Summer 1985) 102.

III. POLICE CULTURE

Law enforcement has been viewed differently at times in American history based upon the social and political climates that prevailed. As described in the section on the history of police management, law enforcement has been alternately seen as too responsive to political/social pressures prior to the Reform Era, and too non-responsive to the same issues during the years following World War II and into the 1970's. Today the image still prevails that law enforcement is an unresponsive and impersonal political entity. A substantial part of the unresponsiveness to change comes from the working environment in which police officers find themselves.

Law enforcement has been referred to as a "tainted occupation." This refers to the fact that police officers are considered the "fire it takes to fight fire."[20] It also refers to the fact that in their occupation they are expected, at times, to use force to keep the peace and maintain order. However, the presence of the police and their use of coercive tactics and force tends to be a constant reminder that many of the civilized social values that people hold sacred are not enough to ensure survival.

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[20]Bittner, Aspects of Police Work, 10.

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An enforcer is necessary to protect those who cannot protect themselves. However this reality tends to make people uncomfortable in the presence of police. It also tends to isolate police from the mainstream of society and foster a negative image.

The traditions and views that police officers learn and carry on in their job have a great impact on this image. The people in the profession have developed a set of attitudes, beliefs, and opinions about society and how it relates to the police. This "police subculture" is strong among members of the profession and insulates them from many new and innovative ideas that would challenge widely held traditional beliefs. James Q. Wilson talks about the organizational culture as a basic belief system that every organization must have. He describes it as a "persistent patterned way of thinking abut the central tasks of and the human relationships within an organization." He says that "culture [is] to an organization what personality is to an individual." And like human culture, organizational culture is passed on from generation to generation and changes very slowly, if at all.[21]

The tradition of police work sheds some light onto the

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[21]James Q. Wilson, Bureaucracy (Basic Book Publishing, 1989), 91.

development of the police subculture. Law enforcement has

evolved from the military model of operations and

management. Police officers were recruited in the same

manner as soldiers and their jobs were essentially the same

at the outset of civilian policing. Talking about the

history of police, Bittner states that the:

> "strengths sought in police were the 'manly'
> virtues of honesty, loyalty, aggressiveness and
> visceral courage. It was also understood that the
> police recruits should be able to follow
> uncritically all received commands and
> regulations."[22]

They were expected to understand and follow rigid

guidelines for behavior and regulations to carry out their

job. Police officers in this culture would adopt this and,

as such, view conformity as the rule and look upon any kind

of "deviance" from the norm with suspicion and distrust.

Such traits as problem solving, empathy and social

consciousness were not part of the job requirements. The

tendency to recruit former military personnel into law

enforcement persists today.

However, actual police work varies greatly from

military operations. Police officers, while working within

a fairly rigid command structure, have almost total

independence during their working shift. They usually work

alone and have to make on the spot decisions without the

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[22]Bittner, _Aspects of Police Work_, 6.

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aid of an immediate supervisor. They confront so many and various scenarios when dealing with human and legal problems that they are required to exercise a great deal of discretion in trying to work out problems. Many of these do not fit into narrow, preset or clear legal guidelines. Police officers tend to be self sufficient and judgmental.

Educational considerations have played an important part in defining police culture. For a long period of time, a high school diploma was all that was needed to join law enforcement. As late as 1984, some unions and fraternal organization were resisting requiring mandatory college level classes for police officers. While today's police officer is much better educated than ten years ago, the older attitudes persist and tend to resist new ideas. The new ideas and attitudes they bring with them are not easily accepted in an organization that has a long history of holding traditional values as sacred. There tends to be a conflict between the two "cultures" and accepting these new ideas is resisted. The older officers also resent the enhanced ability of the newer educated officer to be promoted within the organization, which puts the veteran at a disadvantage. Additionally, those new officers also tend to adopt some organizational traits just as a consequence of the working environment, which can slow long term changes. Conservatism is still a mainstay of most police

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social and political beliefs.

Probably the best example of the characteristics of police culture was explained by Blumberg and Niederhoffer in The Ambivalent Force [23].

The first characteristic is kinship and solidarity, the unique identity that one develops as part of a group of colleagues in a work situation. The solidarity and kinship is begun during the training academy. Similar to military "boot camps," police academies instill the values of obedience, team work, dependence on one another and the feeling of accomplishment. To instill pride they are taught that they are the "cream of the crop." This tends to build up their confidence but also makes them feel as part of an exclusive club of police officers, separate and apart from the public. In police, the sense of danger helps promote solidarity.

The second characteristic is the presence of common hazards and dangers – threat–danger–hero notion in everyday lives of police. Traditionally, violent or dramatic public action get attention and possible promotions. While dangerous situations amount to a small part of the job,

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[23]Arthur S. Blumberg and Elaine Niederhoffer, The Ambivalent Force, Perspectives on the Police. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1985), 12. I have utilized much of the original text in this section of the authors' works, but have added and expanded their themes.

that aspect is always present and can be a drawing card for many to join the force. They tend to view themselves as both a "Warrior' and a "Crime Fighter" but still want to help people.[24] This sense of shared danger adds to the elitism of the police profession, similar to the feeling of soldiers in combat who depend on one another for survival.

Third is a respect for power and authority. Police officers have a keen awareness of their role as protectors and defenders of the "establishment." They traditionally reflect the values of the community they serve and are slow to adjust or change.   They fully understand the interplay of economic forces and political power.

Next is the presence of secrecy. A majority of police work involves tailoring and reformulating of laws, department procedures and officially prescribed conduct to meet the stresses, contingencies and exigencies of the field situation. Officers will "bend" a rule to try to fulfill what they believe is the mandate of the job – to protect the public and apprehend the criminals. Due to the constraints of the criminal justice system they work within, many officers feel they would have no impact at all if the followed every rule and guideline precisely to the

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[24]Daniel Yarmey, Understanding Police and Police Work, Psychosocial Issues, (New York: New York University Press, 1990) 43.

letter. After all, the "crooks" have no rules and can do whatever they want to accomplish their mission. The police feel frustrated as they do not have this kind of freedom. Secrecy surrounding some of their actions helps shield the "brotherhood" against the press, external inquiries or internal police superiors.

The fifth trait is loyalty, - a sense of group belonging, "all blue." This relates to kinship and solidarity and begins forming in basic training academy. The officers feel that they can only depend on one another and they need to stick together to accomplish their shared mission. This relates directly to the sixth characteristic, a sense of minority group status. Polarized by their participation in the criminal justice system, which puts the police at odds with the criminals, unsatisfied victims, the district attorney who will not always cooperate with prosecution of cases, overburdened parole and probation and the litigious legal system, results in the feeling by the officers that it is either "with us or against us." In the ghettos, police are a symbol not only of law, but also of the entire system of law enforcement and criminal justice. As such, the police become the tangible target for grievances against the shortcomings of the system. They also feel they do not get the support, understanding and fair treatment they expect from the people they serve.

They feel they are pawns used by all to explain problems in the system.

Political conservatism, which is the next trait, is a function of an occupational socialization that stresses order, discipline and respect for authority. It would seem that this is a reaction to the disorder, violence and criminality they see in their everyday professional lives. They tend to support programs and ideas that would punish the wrongdoers and establish and maintain order. The majority of police officers tend to vote Republican and reflect that party's values. It has been described by as a "an almost desperate love of the conventional. It is untidiness, disorder, the unusual that . . . [an officer] disapproves of most of all; far more, even, than of crime which is merely a professional matter."[25] It appears that the experience tend to make them more judgmental of society and feel apart and, possibly superior. It may also be a coping mechanism to deal with the pain and suffering they see on a day to day basis. The concept of the overwhelming problem they face may result in them "tuning it out" and dealing with it as a distant, abstract problem. Thus, they do not have to confront it on an emotional, humanistic level. (It has always seemed curious to me, after seeing so

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[25]Ibid., 36.

much need in the community, why more officers do not feel the need for more social programs to help people. The answer may lie in the following trait.)

The next trait, cynicism, is also a result of having seen so much of the bad in society that they tend not to believe much of the good. This trait tends to be very harmful to police officers in their personal lives. They tend to be wary of everyone but family and friends. As their friends tend to be other police officers, they reinforce each other's cynicism. Their family may eventually be considered an "outsider" if they do not share the views of the police "family." Police officers are required to deal with reality, but their view of reality may be rejected by the citizen they are trying to serve. Some citizens may distort the truth due to political or personal biases. Police officers must still deal with the reality of the situation while knowing their "client" may see things in a totally different manner. The officers must deal with the problem as well take into consideration, in the officers' opinion, the distorted view of the citizen. Having to deal with this duality tends to add to their cynicism.

The next related trait, suspiciousness, tends to be an outgrowth of dealing with criminals and dangerous situations. The officers must deal with a constant

physical threat that tends to make "survival" a high

priority during working hours. It is very difficult for

individual officers to remove themselves completely from

the atmosphere in which they are emersed in most of their

working lives, thus they can act suspiciously of

"outsiders" away from the job. The role of a police

officer, due to the expectation of stopping crime by

intervention prior to its occurrence, institutionalizes and

rewards suspicion and distrust of citizens. [26]

This brings on the next trait - social isolation. The

police occupation imposes a set of constraints on the

network of social relationships that most of us take for

granted. Many of the previous traits tend to isolate the

officer from others and they tend to seek others that can

support and agree with their views of reality - other

officers. Others have difficulty relating socially to

police officers, causing problems. Hours and working

conditions cause stress and marital problems that can also

tend to isolate people socially. Police families tend to

live in a goldfish bowl due their status and the authority

that they have. Someone is always checking up to see that

they meet the high standards of the community. Thus,

officers tend to socialize only with other officers. The

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[26]Ibid., 121.

results is that this isolation they impose on themselves due to suspiciousness and secrecy has a negative effect on the public and severely effects the relationship of the citizens toward the officer.

The last trait Blumberg and Niederhoffer discuss is the pressure to produce. Pressure to produce causes tension in many fields of work. However, in the police world it becomes critical in explaining total police behavior. The police occupation is unique in that in no other organization does the field person exercise greater actual authority and independence than police officers. Since they have this authority and independence they are expected by the public, and their peers, to contribute to the police mission. Since arrests, citations and crime reports are easily tracked by supervisors, as well as tangible evidence of productivity for politicians, these are used as measures of the officers work. Officers have this ingrained into their belief system and tend to look down on other officers who do not "produce" at the same high level.[27] The long

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[27]This, alone, is a major obstacle in the introduction community oriented policing. A major thrust has to be the emphasis on problem solving and long term solutions that may not produce arrests or any of the traditional results. Improving the quality of the neighborhood or making citizens feel secure is hard to gauge in traditional quantitative measures. This, politically and organizationally, can be a major hurdle to overcome.

term effect of this is that officers are only judged by numbers and not how they relate to the people they serve. The Christopher Commission in its report on the Los Angeles Police Department was particularly critical of this aspect of the method under which LAPD operates:

> "The LAPD has an organizational culture that emphasizes crime control over crime prevention and that isolates the police from the communities and the people they serve. With the full support of many, the LAPD insists on aggressive detection of major crimes and the rapid, seven minute response time to calls for service. Patrol officers are evaluated by statistical measures [for example, the number of calls handled and arrests made] and are rewarded for being "hard nosed." This style of policing produces results, but it does so at the risk of creating a siege mentality that alienates the officer from the community."[28]

This approach to law enforcement is the predominant method utilized in most police departments today.

The results of all these traits is the development of a formalized, long standing working culture in which the police operate. This has to change if Community Oriented Policing can ever be accepted and made to work. Wilson talks about three problems confronting the introduction of new ideas into an existing organizational culture: 1) Tasks which are not part of the existing culture will not get the same attention of those already established; 2)

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[28]Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, by Warren Christopher, Chairman (Los Angeles, CA) 1991.

Organizations that have two competing cultures will
experience conflict as advocates for each battle one
another; and 3) Organizations will resist accepting new
tasks and directions that seem incompatible with its
predominant nature.[29]   This accurately explains the
current status of Community Oriented Policing in the
culture of law enforcement. Unless there is a change in
the culture of law enforcement, Community Oriented Policing
programs will not be considered an important part of the
organization and officers will stay with the traditional
method of operating as that will still be rewarded within
the organization.

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[29]Wilson, Bureaucracy, 101.

IV. THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF THE POLICE

The image of law enforcement today is the result of
many factors that have contributed somewhat accurate, but
many times misleading information about what the profession
is about. This misinformation has resulted in an image of
the police that is both negative and incorrect. And it
appears that today's image of the police is at one of the
lowest periods since the 1970's.

The public image of the police has its beginnings in
the history of our nation. The history of the police in
the United States will always have, as part of its lore,
the image of the lone town marshal outgunning the desperado
in a dusty western town setting. Our culture has always
treasured the rugged individualists, the pioneers, the
settlers who depended on themselves and their guns for
survival. We have always had an emotional attachment to
weapons and the men who wield them. Yarmey pointed out
that in Canada, the hero is more likely to be the uniformed
and disciplined Canadian Mounted Police Officer, as it was
they who settled Canada when it was a frontier. He also
felt this part of Canadian history explained why Canadians
more readily defer to legal

authority.[30]   In the United States, we treasured the

undisciplined maverick.   This image, as well as innumerable

other distortions, inaccuracies, falsehoods and

perversions, has been promoted by single largest source of

influence today - the mass media.

Television and movies are largely responsible for the

prevalent image that the public has of the police officer

and the profession of law enforcement.   Television's

ability to motivate and influence was very apparent during

the recent coverage of the Los Angeles Police Department

and its encounter with Rodney King.   That coverage will

influence the relationship between citizens and the police

for years to come.   Police officers across the nation have

felt the ramifications of this incident.   It also caused

the removal Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates and the

installation of the city's first black chief.   The media

can bend and mold opinion, like increasing the worry over

street crime while minimizing white collar crimes. [31]

The problem with the public acquiring the bulk their

available information about the police from television and

movies is that it is not an accurate, balanced view.   News

coverage is based on sensationalism and the ability to hold

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[30]Yarmey, Understanding Police Work, 133.

[31]Ibid., 136.

the viewers' interest. Stories reflecting the positive or humane side of law enforcement receive much less attention than an officer involved shooting. And with the legal restraints placed upon police agencies due to civil and criminal statutes, they are very limited in their ability to defend themselves publicly against accusations made on television, even when the department knows they are totally without merit. Television police and courtroom dramas distort the realities of the criminal justice system to grab ratings and produce profits. Only recently has there been reality on television in the form of the newer television shows that depict actual police incidents using the officers who were actually involved. However, police television shows never depict (with the exception of Hill Street Blues) an officer writing for two hours, taking three vehicle burglaries with no suspect information and sitting in the lobby of a courthouse all afternoon to testify on a case that the defense attorney has been able to postpone for the last fourteen months. That is the reality of law enforcement which most people do not see. Nor do they see the frustration and resentment that can be produced during a day of a police officer's working environment. However, the media does not consider depicting the mundane as their responsibility. As Yarmey states:

"The media, on the other hand, are not in the business to educate the public on how police departments work on a daily basis. Instead, the media are interested in communicating unusual events of public significance such as 'crime waves'." [32]

The problem rests there.

While the media may not be in the business of educating people, the public apparently has not figured that out. The prevalent image of law enforcement, as for that matter, life, seems to come to people from the visual media of television and movies. That input has been the basis for criticism of something that is not understood by the average citizen:

"The general public knows the police, or feels that it knows the police, from the media and various news reports on policing nation wide. There are also the perceptive friends who have had experiences, with some policeman, somewhere, at some time. This series of generalizations provides the basis for the American public's image of the police. For some, along with this comes a set of opinions on how police should operate and how their faults could be corrected. What is missing for most American critics of policing is a working knowledge of the environment of the cop or experience in the areas where crimes occur." [33]

Additionally, this educational process that the public has gone through with the media has led to conflicting expectations of the police. The public seems to vacillate

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[32] Ibid., 138.

[33] James Hernandez Jr., The Custer Syndrome: The American Public vs. The Police, (Wisconsin: Sheffield Publishing Company, 1989), 85.

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between wanting the police officers to aggressively enforce

the laws and apprehend criminals and wanting them to settle

disputes, such as husband and wife, without arresting

anyone. Police officers are not sure what role they are

expected to play and at what time. A wife can expect the

police to arrest her husband who has just beaten her, but

not want to see the police hurt him. This expectation is

not realistic due to the circumstances, as the husband can

still be very hostile after they are called. The police

officer has to deal with "role ambiguity" on a daily basis:

> "Though it is expected that policeman will be
> judicious and that experience and skill will guide
> them in the performance of their work, it is
> foolish to expect that they be both swift and
> subtle. Nor is it reasonable to demand that they
> prevail where they are supposed to prevail while
> hoping that they will always handle resistance
> gently. Since the requirement of quick and what is
> often euphemistically called aggressive action is
> difficult to reconcile with error free performance,
> police work is by its very nature, doomed to be
> often unjust and offensive to someone. Under the
> dual pressure to 'be right' and to 'do something,'
> policemen are often in a position that is
> compromised even before they act."[34]

Additionally, the officer has dealt with so many different

scenarios that the citizen may feel their particular

problem is of major importance, (and to them it is) while

the officer feels it is a routine call. Maintaining public

order is much more important to the average citizen and may

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[34]Bittner, _Aspects of Police Work,_ 97.

have more effect than going after violent crime. But, since it does not fit into the average officer's definition of crime fighting, it is taken less seriously by them. Citizens are impressed by police who seem genuinely concerned for their distress,[35] but this can be dangerously close to social work in the eyes of officers who have been immersed in the traditional style of policing. This can also cause a misunderstanding between the citizen and the police which can add to the image problem. It is truly sad that a single negative encounter with a police officer can taint the relationship with that citizen and many others whose preconceived negative ideas are reinforced. But as indicated earlier, due to their authority, police are both needed and feared by the public. Law enforcement makes people uneasy and any hint of impropriety, or of the misuse of power, tends to be magnified in importance and scope. Yarmey talks about the "ambivalent attitude" of the public as they are skeptical and somewhat distrustful of police power, and at the same time they recognize the legitimacy of the police role and functions.[36]

There are so many conflicting expectations from the

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[35]Yarmey, Understanding Police Work, 63.

[36]Ibid., 69.

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public of the police that they cannot possibly meet all or even most of them. The public has watched television and movies that have the police officer neatly sewing up a complicated case within an hour (minus commercials) and do it without seriously offending anyone or making an error. An officer is not supposed to be prejudiced or act on these beliefs. However, if they know that there is a high occurrence of violent criminal activity in a particular minority community, are they not, by virtue of their job and their oath of office, bound to try and do something to reduce the violence? If they do, they are subject to criticism for being hard on the minority community. If they fail to act in the face of criminal activity, they are labeled as uncaring and unresponsive. If they fail to respond to a citizens concerns about neighborhood youth that make the citizen uncomfortable, because no laws are being broken, they are not doing their job and the police image suffers. If they responds to contact the youths only because of the call, they are doing the job but alienating the juveniles in the neighborhood who meant no harm, but appear threatening to the citizens. Police officers cannot do what they feels is correct without making one segment of society unhappy.

The current public image of police has them as separate from and not a part of the communities they serve.

The same characteristics that delineate police culture, that I covered earlier, cause this alienation from the public. The public wants "peace officers" to respond to their needs, however, the officers themselves prefer, and were initially attracted to the position, by the "police officer" aspect of the job.[37] And that part of the job is still very viable with a small but violent segment of our society. Officers tend to see this segment much more than citizens do, which causes them to have a completely different view of the same condition.

What is needed to implement changes in law enforcement, as Community Oriented Policing, is for the public to get a well rounded and accurate portrayal of the job of law enforcement, both positive and negative aspects of the professions. This would allow them to understand why things happen and why police do what they do. This understanding would help develop support and empathy for the profession as well as help diffuse problems that arise with citizens during the complicated procedure of enforcing the law. Police officers also have to be willing to be open and candid about their job and to educate the citizens on every contact. Public meetings or forums about what the police are doing in the community need to be established

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[37]Ibid., 69.

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and continued on an ongoing basis. They need to explain
what they are doing and why and to show that they are a
part of local government that is there to do the job the
public wants. And the public must know why some tasks
cannot be accomplished except at the cost of others.

Communication and trust is vital to Community Oriented
Policing. The program needs the backing of the citizenry,
which entails the political backing of city councils and
county supervisors, to enact the changes. The officers
must be freed from their patrol cars and the constraints of
radio calls in order for them to concentrate on the
problems in the community. In times of fiscal constraints,
that may mean that some services that have been provided by
the police will have to be dropped in order to accommodate
Community Oriented Policing. That kind of change
necessitates understanding on the part of the citizens and
participation by government management. Neither can be
realized without a positive image of law enforcement.

V. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT FORUM

As mentioned earlier, the focus of the Public
Management Forum was to bring together law enforcement and
non-police managers in a setting that would facilitate an
honest and open exchange of ideas and perceptions. The goal
was to bridge the gap between the two groups that causes
misunderstanding or mistrust between sworn and non-sworn
agencies, thus hindering communication and cooperation.
Allowing this conflict to stay unresolved would effectively
block any collaborative effort to solve shared community
problems. Some participants felt, based on their own
experience, that some city managers were afraid to confront
the chief of police of their city. This Forum was designed
to alleviate that kind of tension between managers within
city/county government.

Mid-level managers, department heads and chief
executive officers interacted with one another in three
separate sessions held on consecutive Saturdays. City
managers as well as a deputy chief, police captains,
department heads from public works, personnel and city
schools were some of the many professional managers
represented at the Forum. Each session had approximately 15-
20 participants. The initial mission was to come up with
methods of handling problems that were presented to the

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group about city management decisions. All participants were given a scenario that described a hypothetical city Complex, California, which had a population of 126,000 and was undergoing political and social changes due to increases in gangs, drugs, crime, elderly population and unemployment. Three of the five city council members had recently been replaced by reform candidates vowing to improve and increase the efficiency of city services. The city had recently hired a new police chief and city manager, who will be following in the footsteps of an autocratic police chief. The new city manager had a strong background in finance and had been a department head, but he was taking on a city manager's job for the first time. This left the city with a police department that was used to an autocratic type of leader, who did not interact with other city departments, and was not used to being a city- wide "team player." However, the new city manager announced he wanted all the department heads to begin working on problems within the organization and to interact with one another, and then he immediately delegated this task to his assistant (leaving the idea he may not practice what he preaches).

The Forum was presented questions about how the situation in Complex had been handled and how it might be improved with the goal of making the department heads a cohesive unit working as a team. The questions were geared

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toward organizational values and objectives and how conflicts about these can be settled.

What came to light very early during the first Forum was that there was a chasm of misconception, misunderstanding and distrust between police and non-police managers regarding the power, control, mission and function of the police versus the other offices in government. This topic was so central to developing a good working relationship within government that it was debated and discussed during all three of the sessions. The problems in Complex were barely discussed as the actual opinions, feelings and concerns of the members were brought out and argued in the open arena.

The conflicts seemed to be categorized in five areas: (1) insulation, (2) leadership and status, (3) organizational and cultural values, (4) independence, and (5) resentment. However, all of these factors rest on the bedrock of the same three obstacles that community oriented policing faces: 1) bureaucratic and paramilitary management styles of many police managers, 2) the "police culture" that develops and nurtures these values, attitudes and opinions, and 3) the perception of the public about police work that can both shape and hinder change. Following is a more detailed discussion of each of the five factors brought out at the Forum and how they each relate to the central theme

of this project.

FACTOR #1: Police Insulation from other departments and
         citizens

    In terms of control and management police departments
have traditionally been modeled after military
organizations. The philosophy behind this was an
organization that had as much power and authority needed to
have clear goals and parameters that could be measured and
scrutinized. It also allowed for control through the
management styles it fostered. However, this has resulted
in the perception that the police department is separate
from the citizens and other agencies within local
government. The "esprit de corps" that was developed
through the military management model caused the police to
be considered as separate from the mainstream of society, a
"them vs. us" mentality that even led to developing a
separate police terminology. This further widened the gap
as it reduced the ability of most people to understand what
the police were doing. That in turn led to the officers
themselves developing a feeling of being separate from and
not being a part of the society they served. Add to this
the training given to police officers that is similar to
military basic training in that it tries to "tear down" and
then "build up" the person until he has developed new

confidence in himself. This attitude, and in many cases the
values and attitudes of the people drawn into this
environment, caused many, including those in local
government, to feel the police officers have an "ego"
problem as they tend to see themselves as separate, and in
some cases more important and powerful than other workers.
The military type uniform, and displaying weapons openly
which alone intimidates many people, enhances this separate
identification and status. This is the direct results of
the "police culture" that has secrecy, kinship and
solidarity, and social isolation as three accepted factors.

The physical separation between the police department
and the rest of city/county departments was another factor
brought up that heightens the feeling of isolation. While
there are legal and ethical requirements to keep records and
crime information secure, the Forum members believed that
police agencies use this physical isolation to increase the
feeling of separateness.   It also restricted the ability
of non-police to interact with police department members.
Security restrictions do not allow someone to walk into the
department to say hello or ask a question in person without
being cleared through the locked front doors and given a
special security badge to wear. Whereas a police manager
can move freely into any of the other city offices,
including those dealing in and holding confidential

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information, this is not allowed for

non-police. Again, this increased the isolation of the

police from others. While some of these requirements are

based on basic safety considerations and are necessary, this

has been used as an advantage by police managers to keep

themselves apart from and above other city departments. As

stated earlier, classical management thought emphasizes a

position where status and authority rests at the top of the

organization. The separateness of police managers heightens

the feeling of being alone, different and eventually

"better" as they seem to have a different set of rules as

compared with the rest of the city. This setting affords

police managers control and status, a classical management

characteristic. Daily interaction between police and other

city employees is reduced by this physical separation, which

reinforces the perception held by police and general

government employees that the police are a separate entity,

not just another branch of local government. The

"insulation" of the police, which is a factor of the police

culture and the propagation of the military management model

have caused severe internal problems.

Egon Bittner, in his book <u>Aspects of Police Work</u>, lists

several critical aspects of police reform that are necessary

in the beginning in order for Community Oriented/ Problem

Oriented Policing to be implemented effectively in law

enforcement.[38] One important factor is to develop
"collegial relations" among the police themselves and to
replace the current military type of command structure.
"This involves the displacement of the present command
structure, which, in any case, functions only as an internal
disciplinary mechanism and has no functional significance
for the way in which police work is done by members of the
line personnel, who are expected to know what to do and be
able to take care of their respective individual
assignments."[39] Police officers, by the definition and
parameters of their job, are not subject to constant
supervision and control and is expected to be independent
and thoughtful in his judgement and decisions. A structured
type of management displayed in most agencies is actually
very inefficient as it has almost no direct relationship to
the actual work of police officers. Police officers are out
on their own with no direct supervision and are expected to
make quick, accurate, and thoughtful decisions on complex
legal, social, and moral questions.

However, the insulation of the police from other city
departments as well as the citizens at large, is not a
totally unnecessary phenomenon from the traditional point of

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[38]Egon Bittner, _Aspects of Police Work_ (Boston:
Northeastern University Press, 1990), 14.

[39]Bittner, _Aspects of Police Work_, 14.

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view of the police culture. As Bittner explains, the police department is considered to be the "or else" of society.[40] You either comply with the rules of society or else the police will handle it. This concept has placed law enforcement in a position where it has to be an "enforcer" of the rules and therefore, by definition, must sit in judgement, as it were, for much of the activities of society. This attitude has fostered police insulation from other government agencies as well as citizens, and it has helped further justify the military management model.

FACTOR #2: Leadership within police organizations

A second factor discussed during the Forum was leadership as seen from the perspective of civilian departments. On one hand, the consensus was that police leaders are very aggressive and tend to try to dominate whenever there is any kind of joint project developed within the city. On the other, participants saw a continuing trend of police not participating in joint ventures with other city agencies. The Forum members saw the aggressive police leadership style as both positive and negative. Police managers were seen as results oriented people who try to jump right in to begin whatever is necessary to work on the

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[40]Ibid., 10.

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problem. Forum members felt that this was good, as you had a "doer" involved and in charge of projects. On the other hand, they felt that this attitude tended to put off other managers as it was more of a struggle for control rather than a show of teamwork between departments.

This aggressive and domineering type of police attitude about leadership can also be traced partly to the control type of management and culture that exists in police agencies. Police officers are trained to become involved and solve situations that they encounter on duty. They are expected to take control, make decisions, and justify what they do. It would be only natural to have this attitude carry over into the type of management style that is most acceptable in this type of atmosphere. One of the traits of a classical/bureaucratic type of management is the top down, hierarchal authority structure where rules flow from the top and are carried out. While other city departments are, theoretically, more attuned to participative and newer styles of management, the police department still depends on its traditional top-down method of doing business.

There are three causes that help to explain this: 1) police managers live in a political environment that tends to demand accountability; the organic type of management structure reduces the control they have over behavior and results; 2) they are brought up under this system and it is

very threatening to change management style and values,
(especially if that is what draws people into law
enforcement) even to the point some managers may try to
sabotage any changes)[41] : and 3) the legal structure and
litigious attitude of today's society demands strict
adherence to rules and regulations as legally imposed
financial penalties can be substantial. All these factors
have obstructed change as well as the formation of more ties
with non-police managers inside the government structure.
Again, a management style that is power oriented, not
participative, and a culture that values isolation,
authority and structure all affect the leadership styles of
police managers. Removing these obstacles are a necessary
part of the development of community oriented policing.

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[41]Edward J. Tully, "The 1990's: New Days Old
Problems," The Police Chief, (January 1990): 35.

FACTOR #3: Developing cultural values

The members of the Forum accepted the following comparison of values, relationships and functions that exist now and what needs to be developed under a Community Oriented Problem Solving type of law enforcement:

ROLE	TRADITIONAL	COPS
Civilian – Police	Insulation	Linked
Police –Citizens	Separation	Linked
Police Strategy Solving	Incident Driven	Incident Driven + Problem
Empowerment	Vertical Structure	Delegated Power
Evaluation	Top-Down	Bottom-up

These traditional, versus COPS values, almost perfectly mirror the precepts of classical as opposed to organic management theory. The separation and insulation between citizens and officers in the traditional role is a function of police culture, as was previously pointed out. Vertical empowerment and top down evaluation are a result of classical management dictates. What is needed is a way to change the present values of police agencies regarding the way they approach management and steer them toward adopting the values necessary to implement COPS. But what factors and impediments have to be considered in changing organizational values in a closed type of agency like traditional police

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departments?

The changing role of the civilian - police relationship within the organization and within government, is one factor. Due to budgetary restraints and modern management thought, many of the functions that had been carried out by police officers have now been shifted to non-sworn, specially trained individuals within the police agency. Community service officers investigate traffic accidents, perform evidence gathering and processing duties, and numerous other activities that were previously assigned to police officers. This trend should benefit COPS programs in that they help integrate non-police personnel into the department as well as free up officers to work on COPS types of problems. As most civilian employees do not join the organization expecting to adhere to the traditional quasi-military type of supervision, the "civilianization" of police agencies should help change traditional police thought due to a change in the personnel and their expectations. This also should help reduce the insulation discussed earlier as agencies are composed less of "pure" police oriented persons.

Also, the linking of the police department to other city departments is one of the basic tenants of COPS programs. There are many problems that are city-wide in scope, and affect all municipal employees. There needs to

have caused a wall to rise up between agencies, a factor of the culture. Now they are going to these same agencies they have been competing with for years and asking them for more of their resources. This was considered a major problem with implementing COPS, which requires multi-departmental trust, cooperation and action.

The necessity of changing the strategy of law enforcement from incident driven to incident driven + problem solving was another factor discussed. As pointed out, one of the tenets of the police culture is the pressure to produce. To adopt a different method of gauging productivity is a threatening concept. There would need to be a training program for all police and city personnel regarding how calls for service vs. police responses would be handled. The consensus was that the city council, city administrator and department heads would all have to be apprised of the new method and "buy in." They would have to decide if they thought assisting citizens with noisy skateboarding juveniles in the afternoon was as important as field interrogating gang members. As with any change, some citizens would not be happy with the new priorities and feel they were not getting "good police service." In actuality, the officers would just be changing their priorities and trying to respond to incidents that they are definitely needed on and that fall within the philosophy of the COPS

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program. All non-essential calls for police could be routed to phone report takers, as community service officers or clerks. Many calls for service deemed not to fit into the structure of the new program would be referred to another agency or not responded to at all. However, difficulty faced with this transition to non-traditional methods is evident by the evidence listed regarding the current public image of the police. The public needs be educated prior to attempting any program that will reflect negatively on the image of the police. The basic strategy should be agreed upon and understood by all city personnel and managers.

Empowering line personnel with authority to get their work done is another factor that was touched upon. This concept entails passing over authority, previously reserved for management, to the people actually doing the work. This is a threat to the traditional manager who has always been taught, through classical management tenets, that power is a function of position and to relinquish any of that power reduces one's status in the organization. There were police and non-police managers in the Forum that appeared to have a difficult time accepting that they need to share power and delegate it downward. It was apparent that this concept made many police managers uncomfortable and could be a major obstruction in the implementation of COPS philosophy in police organizations.

Evaluation from the bottom up instead of the top down, relates to the people doing the work being able to decide what is effective and what is not. As they are the closest to the work and the results, they are an essential source of feedback. Again, this could be considered a threat to top police management as they are, again, sharing the responsibility and the authority.

Another factor discussed in changing organization values was the training and recruitment of police officers. As discussed in the literature, the traditional training methods promote the kinds of behavior sought by traditional managers and reinforce the present police cultural values that work against change. There is presently no course taught in area police academies that covers community oriented or problem solving theory and strategy. The traditional skills of report writing, shooting, weaponless defense, crime scene and traffic accident investigation take up a majority of the 18 weeks of the academy. Community Oriented Problem Solving training needs to be started in the academies to make it an integral part of the way police officers do their job.

An implementation strategy agreed upon during the third meeting of the Forum members was that a "missionary" approach (someone from the outside) should be taken for introducing and providing training in the COPS concept

within the local government organization. After that, a
community-wide task force, made up of civic, religious and
business leaders, should be formed to help develop the
strategy of the program as well as be introduced to the
changes in the level of service. The philosophy behind this
is if these leaders believe and accept the program, they
will help sell the change is services to others in the
community. They will assist in selling the concept of
trading some services that people have become used to for an
improvement in the quality of life in the community.

FACTOR #4: Independence

The subject of the ability of each department to act
independently to handle its own unique mission and goals was
discussed. What was brought up was the fear that the
police, who will be leading the program, may try to realign
the priorities of other departments to fit the COPS program.
If the police "lead the charge" into the COPS concept, they
will be seen as the trend setter and may be able to
influence what actions are taken. With the participative
concept of COPS in place, someone within the city will have
to follow up the lead of the police and utilize their
resources to support what the police have begun. Also, if a
majority of the resources of the city is going towards the
COPS concept, that could mean a loss of resources to one of

the other city agencies. Several factors came into play here.

Loss of control was a key factor that relates to traditional management. It was apparent that the classical management style was also a factor to be dealt with regarding civilian managers also. Many of them were not prepared to release their authority and have it shared with the police. The negative image the police, due to the closed environment and secrecy of the police, have caused civilian managers to distrust the goals and mission of the police due to past practices, such as gathering power.

What should be emphasized is that the goals of the COPS program have to be mutually designed and agreed upon by all members of the city government team so they are all moving together in the same direction. Participants must feel that all will benefit by their efforts, not just one agency.

Each agency within local government still has its roles and responsibilities and cannot totally turn over total control to a committee or group. Each department has legal requirements that dictate its mission. Police managers were concerned about giving up too much information in a team setting as they have legal restrictions on how much information in their possession can be released. Also, losing some independence is a threat to the police as they are still required to investigate and take action against

city employees who break the law. That places them in a position of being a part of the team, but also possibly being called upon as an "enforcer." This dual role could strain relations with other city employees as they would not be sure of what position the police have assumed during what circumstances. City employees from other departments may not see their actions as a problem and discuss it or engage in it around officers they consider friends. But police officers recognize those violations and must take action. This could be interpreted as using the police officers' position to get close to the employee and "set them up." This could result in the police department losing credibility with other city employees. This would further reinforce the "us vs. them" syndrome that is part of the police culture.

A strategy that was mutually agreed upon by Forum participants was that an outside facilitator should be brought in to help develop a team approach to the COPS program. Having a third party help design goals and methods of achieving them would alleviate fear that one agency (police) was controlling the program or getting more out of it than they deserve.

FACTOR #5: Resentment

What was discussed on this topic was the fact that the

police, historically, have gotten the lion's share of credit and publicity about the work they do. This has led to police getting extra consideration when it comes to budgetary demands. The forum members believed that if the COPS-type programs led to a large amount of publicity that was not shared by the police, the program would be doomed. If the other city agencies spent their time and resources working on a project and got no credit for it, the program would be labeled just "another police project" and cooperation would be withdrawn. Politically, civilian managers felt that credit has to be shared with other agencies, and their managers, to provide them with recognition in the eyes of the elected officials and the citizens. They also were convinced that police agencies would have to be willing to share financial resources with other departments to allow the program to work city-wide. Shared authority and empowerment are essential parts of organic management systems. This concept is not a tenet of the classic bureaucratic style and has not been practiced by police agencies in the past. Also, the civilian Forum members, in general, did not understand the functions of the police and the legal requirements that law enforcement is under. The image that the public has over the job of law enforcement is inaccurate and incomplete. This helped cause some resentment that was displayed in the Forum.

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At the conclusion of the Forum it was apparent that there were numerous obstacles that contributed to the five problem areas noted. However, it appears that the three largest contributors to hindering effective communication were those in the central theme of this project. Police classical management style, police culture, and public image have all had a major impact on how the police perceive the community and are perceived by it.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

To implement Community Oriented Policing successfully, the following factors are required: acceptance of a change in the delivery of law enforcement services; a change in the relationship of citizens and officers from "police" to "peace keepers"; open relationships among police, other sections of city government and their leadership; a change in the way officers are managed and motivated to allow and encourage innovation and change; and an attitude of "problem ownership" by the officers and citizens. What my research has indicated is as follows:

> 1) Current police management practices emphasize paramilitary structure, rigid adherence to rules, schism between citizens and officers, emphasis on arrests, response time and citations as well as traditional methods of crime control.

2) The culture of the police emphasizes a schism
between police and the community, "crime fighter"
image of law enforcement, rapid response to calls
and short term solutions to problems, disassociation
with the causes of crime and a "siege mentality" in
relating to the community.

3) The current public perception of police work is
unrealistic and based on glorified, as well as
simplified, versions of reality. Due to that
perception, the police are seen in a negative light
since they are not able to live up to the
unreasonable expectations of the community. This
has caused police to back away from reaching out to
the community.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

To successfully implement Community Oriented Policing
in light of the conditions described in this paper, It is
urged that the following changes be implemented.

1. Law enforcement must change its present management style
and embrace a more humanistic and organic method. Research
has indicated that the present, closely controlled style of
managing has no relationship to the actual job of a police
officer and serves mainly as a method of discipline. If we
are to optimize the use of the police, as well as motivate
them to change, we must recognize the worth of individual
officers and allow them to develop and grow. The profession
must change its method of selecting supervisors from those
individuals who emphasize control over motivation and

discipline over development. It may even be necessary to introduce managers from outside the agency if no one currently in the organization is able to motivate and facilitate a change in management practices.   There needs to be a concerted effort to be integrated into the entire local government management team.   The program will never work if there is not cooperation from other branches of government.

2. The method of selecting and training of police officers must change. Potential officers must be selected for their problem solving abilities, capacity for understanding, tolerance of other cultures, people skills as well as competency in written and verbal communication. We must emphasize the "peace officer" model of law enforcement to this new generation of police. The formal training must be changed to emphasize considering the impact law enforcement has on the citizens and what they expect from the officer. Problem solving must be an integral part of training.

3. The organization must reward humanistic and problem-ownership behavior in officers to show its commitment to this philosophy. The organization must stop rating officers simply on the number of arrests made, suspects contacted and cases handled. Evaluations based on your problem solving ability and people skills would need to be developed. Those individuals exhibiting these traits are the people who would be rewarded by promotions and preferential assignments. This would send a clear message to the organization as to what traits and behaviors will be rewarded.

4. Local government officials need to be familiarized with the concepts of Community Oriented Policing and made aware of what is necessary to implement it. A buy-in from them is necessary if a the discomfort felt by the citizens and department personnel due to the changes is to be managed correctly. They must accept it as a long term program and understand the process for changing an organizations values.

5. Police departments must open communication between the citizens and themselves. Citizens must feel that the police are a part of the community and that they can depend on them

for help. Trust and cooperation is needed to allow for the changes in police services that are necessitated by Community Oriented Policing. Officers must be encouraged to and rewarded for reaching out to the community. The department must reward that behavior that they want to encourage.

6. Unless there are additional officers to handle the current workload in the agency as well as handle community based problems, it will be necessary to reduce the present workload of the officer. If police are constantly tied to the police unit and their work load is dictated by the radio and measured response times, they will not have the time to get into the community to work on the problems of the citizens.

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