The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

School of Public Affairs

A PILOT STUDY: THE ADOPTION OF NEW PROFESSIONALISM IN SMALL

POLICE AGENCIES IN PENNSYLVANIA

A Dissertation in

Public Administration

by

Karen J. Finkenbinder

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

December 2015

The dissertation of Karen J. Finkenbinder was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Jeremy F. Plant
Professor of Public Administration & Public Policy
Dissertation Advisor
Chair of Committee

Shaun L. Gabbidon
Distinguished Professor of Criminal Justice

John H. Kramer
Professor of Sociology and Criminology

Steven A. Peterson
Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs

Patria de Lancer Julnes
Professor of Public Administration
Director, Public Administration

* Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

Policing in the United States seems to be at a crossroads. Though communities have always had to balance community development and security, recent times seem to have emphasized security over community development concerns. The purpose of this study is to examine *New Professionalism*, a conceptual framework of policing that balances security needs and public service values that are promoted in public administration (Travis and Stone, 2011) and that are necessary in the current threat environment found within the United States (Bratton, Morgan and Malinowski, 2009). As a pilot study, it explores a sample of small police departments in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to look at four factors: accountability, legitimacy, innovation, and national coherence, in order to pretest hypotheses, refine the research methods and determine the feasibility of a larger study.

The main objectives of this study are to improve hypotheses, test survey instruments, enhance interview protocols and have a better understanding of the potential implementation of a conceptual framework, *New Professionalism (NP)*. The research attempts to meet these purposes by describing institutional and contingency theories of change and how they impact public administration and policing as well as the models and frameworks that have been adopted by police organizations in recent history.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A dissertation is not the work of one person - without the support, guidance, and good will of a number of people, this work would not have been possible.

First, my deepest thanks to Dr. Jeremy Plant for his many years of guidance and support. I took my first graduate public administration course under Dr. Plant in 1998. He inspired my deep regard for public administration and a desire to engage in deeper study and reflection. I could not have done this without him. Likewise, my deepest thanks are extended to Dr. Beverly Cigler - for her encouragement and willingness to chair my comprehensive examination committee. Dr. Cigler is a tough task-master, a delightful person, and the best cook I have ever known! I felt prepared to embark on the final phase of this journey through her guidance.

My thanks to the other members of my committee: Drs. Peterson, Gabbidon, and Kramer. They saw me through a decade of graduate school and helped me realize this goal - though many times it seemed far off indeed. They are exemplars of scholars that use their gifts to make the world a better place. I would be remiss in failing to mention three professors that I studied under in the early days of my program: Drs. Rupe Chisolm, Jack Rabin and Robert (Bob) Munzenrider. All have sadly passed on but their memories and works remain with those of us in the public administration field. And many thanks to Dr. (Emeritus) Carol Nechemias – a dear friend whose encouragement, and occasional breaks to bicycle or hike, were greatly appreciated.

My thanks also too many friends who started with me in the doctoral program - most have finished, others have moved onto other ventures. Drs. Sue Myers, Diane Shoop and

George Woods - you were always there reminding and pushing me to finish. Colonels (Retired) Charles Breslin and Rory Radovich - for their encouragement, faith in me, and assistance over the years - from dog sitting to time out of the office - they were a huge help.

To my favorite Labrador Retrievers, Barney and Grover. Though Barney died just after my dissertation defense – as a Seeing Eye Dog-in-training, he attended almost as many doctoral courses as I did and was a delightful study partner. Both were always a great comfort at the most stressful of times.

But most importantly, my deepest thanks and affection to my best friend and partner of more than thirty years, Michael Finkenbinder, for his patience and willingness to sacrifice time and money toward this effort. He put many of our plans and dreams on hold until this program was completed. He is perhaps most shocked of all at this finale. And to our greatest project, our son Joseph Finkenbinder, who was a constant source of encouragement, always reminding me that one is never too old to fulfill one's dreams. I am truly blessed to have been the recipient of such good will and support.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents: Joseph Asbury Gillespie (1924 - 2008) who taught me to love reading; be intellectually curious; it is never too late to try something new; treat all peoples, no matter their race or creed, with respect and dignity; and that it is an honor and privilege to be a public servant. He is sorely missed. And to my mother, Helen Gillespie, who taught me to always have a sense of humor, never take myself too seriously and never stop trying.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine *New Professionalism*, a conceptual framework of policing that balances security needs and public service values that are promoted in public administration (Travis and Stone, 2011) and that are necessary in the current threat environment found within the United States (Bratton, Morgan and Malinowski, 2009). As a pilot study, it explores a sample of small police departments in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to look at four factors: accountability, legitimacy, innovation, and national coherence, in order to pretest hypotheses, refine the research methods and determine the feasibility of a larger study. The response to terrorism renewed interest in community policing and uncovered fears that U.S. police agencies were retrenching back into a model of policing focused on crime fighting over public service, kindling discussions with municipal police chiefs in Pennsylvania. Discussions regarding the difficulty in changing police methods of operation from threat-based toward community service ensued.

As the research progressed, events in Ferguson, Missouri and other communities occurred that seemed to reinforce the concerns – that community policing had been replaced, at least in part, by methods that were "less Any Griffith and more 24" (Slansky, 2011, p 7). It appeared that in the aftermath of 9/11, domestic policing responded to the global war on terror with technology and aggressive policing that drove a wedge between the community and the police – exactly what had occurred in the mid-1960s when police responded heavy-handedly to riots and strained relationships with their respective communities.

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In the 1970s, criminal justice programs were being advanced by the Law Enforcement

Assistance Administration (LEAA) as part of efforts by the Department of Justice (DOJ, 1973)

to ameliorate bad relationships between the police and communities.   Criminal justice degree

programs became part of a professionalization movement within policing that had been promoted

by the Knapp Commission in the wake of rampant corruption in the New York City Police

Department. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, community policing was gaining ground. Yet

there were difficulties of implementing community policing in police organizations that were

resistant to change.

As many theorists observed, community policing was being embraced at the policy level

but often did not make it down to the implementation level and when it did make it to the

implantation level, it was not implemented department-wide (Maguire and Katz, 2002; Cordner

and Biebel, 2005).   Further, professionalism, even in small police departments, had become

more aligned with technology and impersonal service that separated government from its

citizens, fears raised by Hermann Finer in the 1940s (Wilbern, 1954). Lastly, hiring and training

practices had become such that college graduates, particularly those with criminal justice

degrees, were not valued over military veterans and military-like training methods (Young,

2009). As a result, professionalization among police officers seemed to be judged by one's ability

to use physical prowess over problem-solving (Hale and Finkenbinder, 2004).

Yet, police agencies are being called upon to balance security and community

development needs. On one hand, there is no doubt that security threats related to terrorism and,

to some extent, the War on Drugs, are present within the United States. On the other hand, as

seen in Ferguson, Missouri and other places, focusing only on security is not tenable either. Yet,

community policing, seemingly focused more on community development, rather than on security, in some ways does not seem to be adequate for wars on terror and drugs. Consequently, there exists the possibility that we are at a crossroads in which local policing, particularly small police agencies, are inefficient and ineffective in dealing with the international problems that we seem to face as the world has been impacted by globalization and seemingly become smaller.

Reiss (1992) observed that it is surprising how little knowledge there is regarding changes in police organizations in the U.S. He notes that in 1967, *The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration* overestimated the number of police agencies by three hundred percent. He further observed that policing in the U.S. still consists of a large number of "politically autonomous police organizations with overlapping jurisdictions" (p. 52) and that at their core, police agencies are quasi-military organizations. In Pennsylvania, Reiss' observations still hold true (Grubesky, 2014; Young, 2013). The literature generally identifies two types of change – planned and adaptive (Zhao, 1996; Goodman & Kurke, 1982; Bennis, 1976). Planned change is purposeful change that is often the result of intentional human actions such as organizational development (Zhao, 1996). Adaptive change proposes that organizational change is a response to the external environment and is necessary to find harmony between an organization and its environment so that it can survive or grow (Zhao, 1996). It seemed that the changes made toward more technological and security-focused approaches in policing were not the result of planned, purposeful change but rather a response to a perceived environment.

Wilson (2006) proposed two theories, based on the open systems framework, that demonstrate how organizational context can affect police organizations - contingency theory and institutional theory.   Contingency theory describes the tasks environment of the organization;

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whereas, institution theory describes the "environment of expectations" of organizations and together they form the context of police organizations (Wilson, 20006, p. 68). Contingency theory views organizations as open and the best form that an organization may take is dependent upon the task environment - it is a situational model. It assumes that the "philosophy and structure of an organization are influenced by a variety of internal and external environmental dynamics" (Duman, 2007, p. 8).

The researcher suspected that institutional theory might serve to explain the continued pull of policing toward the bureaucratic and professional model of policing that is often blamed for the poor police community relations. This might account for the tendency for police organizations to revert back to securitized approaches if security was the central concern of police organizations. In contrast, contingency theory, one in which allows for community development and participation in policing might explain the capacity of police organizations to adopt community policing. Similarly, a conceptual framework like *New Professionalism* might strike a balance between the two. It may be contingent-enough to allow for the best effects of community policing yet institutionalized-enough to allow for enough security to meet realistic threats.

1.1 Significance of the Research

Policing in the United States seems to be at a crossroads. Though communities have always had to balance community development and security, recent times seem to have emphasized security over community development concerns. But, what if there is a conceptual framework that adequately balances those needs and provides the right mix of community and security needs? This study is a small step toward broaching the larger population of municipal police organizations and determining whether, in one state among small agencies, policing is

adapting or remaining in an ossified model of delivery. It is the first study that looks specifically at a new hybrid model of police delivery of services called *New Professionalism.*

1.2   Overview of Theoretical Framework

The main objective of this study is to improve hypotheses, test survey instruments, enhance interview protocols and have a better understanding of the potential implementation of a conceptual framework, *New Professionalism (NP)* in a sample of small police departments in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.   The research attempts to meet these purposes by describing institutional and contingency theories of change and how they impact public administration and policing as well as the models and frameworks that have been adopted by police organizations in recent history.

	Institutional	**Contingency**
Planned		New Professionalism
Adaptive	Professional	Community Policing
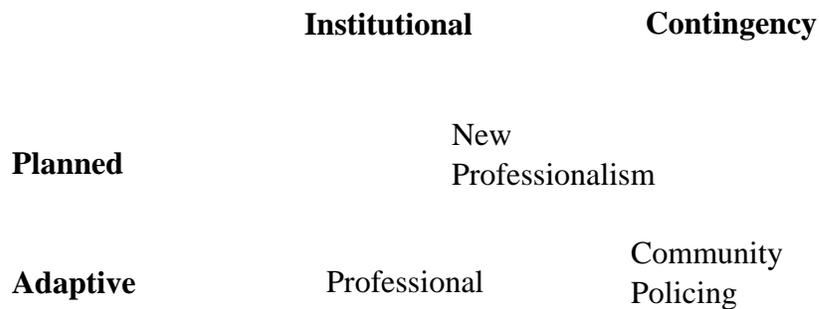
Figure 1: Theoretical Framework: *Explanatory Theories of Police Organizations*

Institutional and contingency theories underpin the conceptual basis for understanding and analyzing change in police organizations. Theorists have proposed that police organizations

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are embracing a hybrid model, *New Professionalism.* Organizational change literature proposes

that organizational change is most often necessary for three reasons: to achieve organizational

effectiveness, to become more aligned with democratic principles and to improve the working

conditions for employees (Borum, 1995).

   The National Commission on the Public Service (The Volcker Commission) demanded

organizational change in public service by calling for "public service to be responsive to the

political will of the people and also protective of our constitutional values" (Zhao, 1996, p. 37).

Among public service organizations endeavoring to innovate and change are municipal police

departments "since massive societal changes have forced them to rethink their approach to

maintaining order" (Pekgozlu, 2008, p. 3). These changes will include "types of policing, the

roles and responsibilities of police, and changes in the theories of policing" (Pekgozlu, 2008, p.

3; Marenin 1996, pp. 5-6).

   Several police scholars have noted the history of American policing and its many changes

(Stone & Travis, 2011; Bayley & Nixon, 2010; Zhao, 1996; Kelling & Moore, 1988; Walker,

1977). Reiss (1992) observed that in the twentieth century - large municipal agencies changed

substantially. Historically, these large urban agencies were decentralized into precincts and have

been redesigned into Weberian hierarchies (Maguire, et al, 2003).

   In contrast, there has been little commensurate research focused on smaller agencies.

The U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics defines small and rural agencies in

the U.S. as those "that employ fewer than 50 sworn officers" (Hickman & Reaves, 2001).

Pennsylvania's policing structure is complex. At the time of this study, there were 1135 police

municipal police departments; however, this number frequently changes as local budgets

necessitate closing local agencies and instead use the Pennsylvania State Police. Of those 1,135

police departments, 1,058 are municipal police agencies, the focus of this project. The other

agencies were special jurisdiction agencies such as housing, campus, and transportation agencies.

Only 96 of the municipal police agencies employed more than 30 sworn officers; 23 agencies

employed more than 100 officers (Young, 2009). Pennsylvania municipal police departments are

classified by the Municipal Police Officers' Education and Training Commission (MPOETC) as

1-5 officers, 6-10 officers, 11-30 officers, 31-100 officers, and more than 100 officers. Those

categories with 30 or fewer officers align best with the U.S. Department of Justice categories (0-

1, 2-4, 5-9, 10-24, 25-49, and 50-99).

1.3   Research Questions

The main question guiding this research project is to what extent are small municipal

police departments in Pennsylvania implementing *New Professionalism?* This is a pilot-study;

thus, the following research questions will also guide the study:

1.   Are the hypotheses consistent with the literature review and the municipal police

chief advisory group interviews? How can the hypotheses be refined?

2. Do the research instruments (surveys/interviews) adequately address each hypothesis?

3. Are the variables identified within each hypothesis clearly defined within each survey

and/or interview protocol as required?

4. Is the sampling plan appropriate? Is it the best method to obtain a randomized sample

of small police agencies in Pennsylvania? Is it the best method to obtain responses from the

matching communities?

5. How can the response rate be improved?

6. Will qualitative, statistical or mixed methods be appropriate for the full study?

7. Does it appear that the sample is moving toward *New Professionalism* and specifically in the areas of accountability, legitimacy, innovation and national coherence?

8. Are there other problems or issues identified that would be worthy of further research?

1.4   Expected Outcomes

This study hopes to determine the feasibility of a full study that looks at adoption of *New Professionalism* among small police departments in Pennsylvania. To date, *NP* is at the theoretical stage and there has not been any implementation research regarding it. Yet, it is clear that too much law enforcement and too little community policing are not acceptable and policing must change its methods of operation. *NP* may provide the right balance between security and community to meet the needs of problems facing U.S. policing.

Second, this research seeks to contribute to the literature on policing models. Though it will be unlikely to be generalizable, it will provide primary data from respondents regarding accountability, legitimacy, innovation and national coherence.

Third, this research will likely provide in-depth information and understanding regarding methods of operation and personnel issues in small police departments and will likely identify issues worthy of further research.

Lastly, this research will seek to enhance understanding of professionalism and change in police organizations and the larger field of public administration. Though municipal police

organizations are often considered in isolation, they are public organizations; therefore, their experiences will inform the broader field of public administration.

1.5   Overview of the Forthcoming Chapters

The following chapters explore New Professionalism in small municipal police agencies in Pennsylvania.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to professionalism and change in public administration. It discusses two primary types of organizational change (planned and adaptive) and two explanatory theories commonly used in studying policing organizations (institutional and contingency theories).

Chapter 3 provides a review of the historical foundations of policing that were the catalyst for police reform and change. It finishes with a review of the models, frameworks and strategies of policing, specifically focused on *New Professionalism.*

Chapter 4 describes the methodology that was used in the research. It discusses pilot studies and why one was used in this particular research. The researcher discusses the research methods selected and why they were utilized. She describes the three departments selected for in-depth interviews. The research design is described in detail to include the data sources and data collection methods, surveys, and data management and analysis. The chapter includes the limitations of the research.

Chapter 5 describes the findings. It provides comprehensive information about the police sample, the community sample, and the police executive interviews. The chapter presents the

study results of the statistical data analysis and interviews. Because of the small sample size, some preferred statistical tests for analyzing nominal data could not be used; however, it was an opportunity to test the process and procedures, determine the degree of clarity in the survey instruments, and identify problems that require further attention (Neuman, 1997). Follow-on interviews were helpful in refining hypotheses for a larger study and are described in detail.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON PROFESSIONALISM IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICING

Since the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act in 1883 stipulated that government jobs should be awarded on merit instead of patronage, there has been a push toward administrative and management reform (Pugh, 1989, p 2). B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre (2005) argue that "public administration matters" (p 1). Though much of what citizens think about government is derived from elections and other political posturing, in reality, the less visible work administered by the public bureaucracy, is what keeps the government functioning (Peters, B. & Pierre, 2005, p 2).

Police organizations are among public organizations advocating for revisions and implementing change. Despite President Lyndon Baines Johnson's best efforts to promote the Great Society, the violent riots in the middle and late 1960s supported fears that government was not the answer. Police response during that time often consisted of riot control and coercive force, which further separated police from their respective communities (National Institute of Justice, 2003). Police became a lightning rod for protests by those questioning public policies. Crime rates rose and policing methods were deemed ineffective; thus, even into the 1990s, it was noted that the criminal justice system is the "only public system in worse shape than education and health" (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992, p. 230). Today, crime is lower than it has been since 1963 and police officers are better educated, trained and equipped than ever; nevertheless, policy makers and communities call for change within policing (Wood, 2012). One of the most

common strategies to improve the police-citizen relationship has been to professionalize the police (Chackerian, 1974, p. 141).

This chapter reviews the literature in three main topics. First, it presents professionalism, particularly focused upon public administration and policing. Second, it examines issues related to change emphasizing two primary types of organizational change (planned and adaptive). Lastly, it focuses upon two explanatory theories commonly used in studying policing organizations (institutional and contingency theories).

2.1   Professionalism

Some hold that public administration is a "profession in the making" (Verma, 2012, p 3). It is clearly a discipline, "an area of study supported by a body of knowledge and imparted through various institutions of learning" but critics of public administration propose that this knowledge is not unique to public administration but rather belongs to other disciplines (Verma, 2012, p 3; Abcarian & Kirn, 1977). The counter argument proposes that this is natural as public administration is multi-disciplinary (Svara, 2009; Verma, 2012).   Critics propose that public administration is political science, management science or social science (Verma, 2012, p 3).

As Richard Schott has observed, though public administration embraces professionalism, there is confusion as to what it is (Schott, 1976, p 253). Colin Talbot observed that "no-one would argue with the need for professionalism in public service – but they would argue forever about what it is" (Talbot, 2005, p. 7). Scholars and practitioners in public administration have debated the issue for more than 100 years (Streib, 2009). Carl Friedrich and Herman Finer debated the issue of administrative responsibility and accountability in the 1940s.   Would professionalizing the administrator, allowing her to use her technical knowledge and expertise in

a discretionary manner allow for accountability? (Freidrich, 1940, p 225) or, should the administrator become a manager of process rather than a creator of policy, as Finer put it, "a world in which public officials would be responsible to the elected representatives of the public who would determine the course of action of the public servant?" (Stewart, 1985, p 16). Subsequently, the professionalism literature suggests two approaches to professionalism: *functionalist* and *normative.*

2.1.1 Functionalist

The functionalist approach is in the spirit of Carl Freidrich. He and others identified common attributes in the literature such as: "the possession of systematic or scientific knowledge, a service ethic, self-policing by fellow practitioners, extended formal training and the existence of codes of ethics" (Schott, 1976, p 254; Jackson, 2010, p. 23). Functionalism is rational and requires continued education, dedication, collective and individual autonomy over the skill in question, and established mechanisms for influence such as entry-level requirements, education, and membership (Kultgen, 2011, p. 14; Burau and Anderson, 2014, p 274; Muzio, et.al, 2013, p. 699).

> "Early writing by sociologists...celebrated the functional role played by the professions. Their moral fiber stems from their ability to place fairness, knowledge, and altruism at the center of society and government. ..These studies inspired – through the 1950s and 1960s – a series of attempts to analyze and capture the key traits that distinguished the professions from other occupations." (Muzio, et al, 2013, p. 702).

Police reform efforts from the 1950s to the early 1970s were dominated by professionalism (Slansky, 2011, p 1). This movement had, "at its core, three elements: police departments should focus on crime suppression; they should do so objectively and scientifically,

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free from political influences; and authority within the department should be centralized and rationalized" (Carte, et al, 1975, p 114-115 as quoted in Slansky, Ibid, p. 2). Such functionalism was supported by Pugh who argued that "since the 1930s, [public administration] has continued to cultivate six basic professional characteristics" (Pugh, 1989, p 3). Pugh identified those characteristics as: a "particular self-conscious mindset among practitioners and academics" (p 2), an accepted "body of knowledge and general propositions" (p 3), an accepted "social ideal" (p 2), a "formal organization for its members" (p 3), a group of respected practitioners and academics (p 3) and a code of ethics (p 3).

More recent theorists propose that the role of expertise has changed, in part because New Public Management (NPM) introduced market mechanisms into the public service so that, to some extent, professional actors are being redefined as individual professionals "rather than as collective actors called 'professions'" and the markets also, to some degree, impact professional services (Currie, 2009, p. 564). Colin Talbot proposed that professionalism, in the 1970s and 80s, was outshined by new public management which removed emphasis from the "traditional professional virtues in public service." (Talbot, 2005, p. 7). The NPM envisions public managers as entrepreneurs of a "new, leaner, and increasingly privatized government that emulates not only the practices but the values of business" (Denhardt, R. and J. Denhardt, 2000, p. 551), which suggests a functionalist view.

Christopher Hood offers that anthropological 'grid-group" theory is applicable to public administration and that public service can be regulated via "grid" (regulations and rules) and "group" (regulation via social norms) (Hood, 200 as quoted in Talbot, 2005, p 9). Thus, professionalism allows both "grid" (functionalism) and "group" (normative).

In the 1970s, functionalism was attacked for "not considering issues of power and privilege and …for being too close to the claims and interests of the professionals themselves." (Muzio, Ibid, p 702). Conflict theory views professions as organized interest groups seeking to eliminate competition by establishing barriers to entry (Mills, C.W., 1956; Sears, A., 2008). Conflict theory proposes that professionalism reinforces the social system and exploits the lower classes (Kultgen, Ibid, p. 27; Muzio, Ibid, p. 703) providing impetus to adopt a more normative view.

Within policing, professionalism was centered on the police agency and little effort was directed to the individual police officer (Carte, et al, p 212). Efforts to professionalize the police generally focused on increasing education standards for police officers. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) was created by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. Part of LEAA's mandate was to fund educational programs. Many police officers from that era paid for portions of their college degrees through LEAA funds. There have been a couple of subsequent renditions since then, the current office being the Office of Justice Programs, which continue to fund training and education for police officers and agencies.

Most of the policing literature falls within the functionalist view. As early as the 1960s, Germann proposed that "police officers support the professionalizing agenda as a means to acquire occupational reward, such as autonomy, pay, and benefits, while continuing to perform in the same old way" (Germann, 1967, as quoted in Carlan & Lewis, 2009, p.1). Most of the literature regarding police professionalism was written in the 1970s and 1980s and addressed issues such as education, to what degree elements of professionalism were resident among police, or whether professionalizing police made a difference in performance (Crank, J., 1987;

Dantzker, M., 1986; Davis, J. & J. Lawler, 1985; Larson, M., 1977; Miller, J. & L. Fry, 1076; Price, B, 1976, 1979; Regoli, R. & Pool, E., 1980; Reiss, A., 1971; Vogel, R., & R. Adams, 2983).

An occasional article was published in the 1990s, focused on ethics, discipline, and leadership and may have been prompted in part by the 1992 Los Angeles Riots (Crank, J., 1993; Fournier, V., 1999; Garner, R., 1999; Lumb, R., 1994; Shernock, S., 1992). There have been a handful of articles related to police professionalism published in the twenty-first century and most of these focus on ethics or perceptions of policing as a profession. (Gundhus, 2012, p. 179; Rowe, 2007, p 291).

In 2009, Philip Carlan and John Lewis assessed the professionalization movement in American policing by surveying all municipal police departments with 50 or more sworn personnel in one southern state. They concluded that many officers "resist behavioral transformations essential for 'real professionals'; yet, most officers are aligned with Hall's definition of professionalism, adhered to the tenets of professionalism, and support the value of college degrees (Carlan & Lewis, 2009, p. 14). Hall proposed that professionalism consists of five criteria: 1) The professional looks toward a *major referent* for guiding ideas, standards and judgments; 2) Professionalism comes out of a firm belief in *public service* and that the services provided are essential to society's well-being; 3) Professionalism requires *self-regulation* to emphasize the expertise and merit of those within the profession; 4) Professionalism includes a *sense of calling* so much so that individuals will devote their lives to that calling; 5) Professionalism includes *autonomy* – the ability make decisions without interference from others. (Hall, 1968 as listed in Carte & Lewis, 2009, pp 41-42).

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2.1.2 Normative

In contrast, the normative view aligns with Herman Finer who raised concerns that functionalist professionalization would bring with it impersonal service that would further separate the government from its citizens (Pugh, p 4; Willbern, 1954). Green, Keller and Wamsley (1993) purport that the:

> "Current conception of profession [functionalism] proceeds from a sociological model that evolved out of 20th-century empirical studies of social organization in which professions coalesce around claims to expertise based upon extended formal training in a scientific or technical discipline" (p 517).

Scholars propose that "persistent adherence" to this outdated model has damaged public administration because: 1) It has been appropriated by occupational groups; 2) It perpetuates a politics/profession dichotomy; and, 3) Its empiricism does not account for political judgment; rather, it provides administrators with scientific and technical skills that cannot navigate the tradeoffs required in public institutions (Green, et al, p 517). As such, some have argued that public administration "is not, nor will ever be a profession" and this may not be negative because "professionalism tends to involve the substitution of technical for humanistic perspectives" (Schott, 1976, p 255; Abcarian, and Kirn, 1977, p 121).

Though the normative literature expresses similar concerns to Finer regarding the emphasis upon the scientific and technical competencies, scholars disagree with the removal of discretion from administers. Instead, as Stewart (1985, p 19) did, they offer a more complete counter to these problems, and suggest allowances for judgment, reason, and decision (Green, et al, p 519). They offer Maritain's normative definition of politics as a starting point, "The process by which a civil society achieves its common good through the agency of the state" (Maritain,

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1951 as quoted in Green, et al, p 519). As such, professionalism should encourage education and development that promotes the knowledge and skills to work in normative, political space. David Rosenbloom asserted that an administrator must be able to "integrate the ability to support and promote the duties of others; support the integrity of the policy formulation process; and ensure proper and effective implementation of policy tasks in a complicated bureaucratic milieu" (Rosenbloom as quoted in Green, et al, p 521).

New Public Service (NPS) argues that public administrators should focus on "their responsibility to serve and empower citizens" and that emphasis should be "placed on building public institutions marked by integrity and responsiveness" (Denhardt, R. & J. Denhard, 2011, p. 113). Janet and Robert Denhardt noted in a recent article that their purpose in introducing NPS was "not to develop a set of novel ideas but rather to give voice to the traditional and significant democratic perspectives we felt were they becoming overshadowed by the New Public Management rhetoric of "fixing" a broken government by running it like a business" (Denhardt, J. & R. Denhardt, 2015, p 1).

Within policing, some discussion has taken place to suggest that developing police performance measures are a" normative effort, not just a management or technical effort" (Moore and Braga, 2004, p 3). Moore and Braga suggest that police performance must be judged against community demands (2004, p. 4). Until quite recently, discussions regarding professionalism in the police have been lacking; however, current police methods used in U.S. communities are of great concern to much of the public and elected officials; thus, it is likely that more attention will be paid to this issue (The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015, p 4) and normative measures of professionalism will be considered.

2.2 Organizational Change

Organizational change literature proposes that organizational change is most often necessary for three reasons: to achieve organizational effectiveness, to become more aligned with democratic principles and to improve the working conditions for employees (Borum, 1995). Organizations are dynamic and react to internal and external demands; thus, change occurs. *The National Commission on the Public Service* (The Volcker Commission) demanded organizational change in public service by calling for "public service responsive to the political will of the people and also protective of our constitutional values" (Zhao, 1996, p. 37). Police organizations must adapt to "social, economic, and technological trends and changes" (Pekgozlu, 2008, p. 6). But, they must do so in ways consistent with community needs and democratic values. Burnes (2005) suggests that organizational change is getting more difficult because of the rapidly changing environment and most organizations are ill-equipped to do it successfully.

Several police scholars have noted the history of American policing and its many changes (Stone & Travis, 2011; Bayley & Nixon, 2010; Zhao, 1996; Kelling & Moore, 1988; Walker, 1977). Scholars and practitioners of American policing seem to agree that substantial organizational change, during the first half of the century, transformed the police from a political machine-controlled force into a paramilitary and bureaucratic model (Fogelson, 1977; Walker, 1977) but more recent developments see little agreement. Reiss (1992) observed that in the twentieth century - large municipal agencies changed substantially. Historically, these large urban agencies were decentralized into precincts and have been redesigned into Weberian hierarchies (Maguire, et al, 2003). He noted that there is little systematic knowledge of changes in policing organizations within the U.S. (Reiss, 1992). Many see community policing as major reform and change (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990; Goldstein, 1987); whereas, others argue

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that there has actually been little change in how police agencies operate (Zhao, 1996; Riechers &

Roberg, 1990), particularly in their basic orientation toward crime fighting (Manning, 2010).

Zhao (1996) summarizes the latter arguments using Klockar's (1988) conclusions that the nature

of American police will not allow it to change to a community-oriented policing model or as

Mastrofski (1998) concluded, "the co-production of order between the police and the community

is merely convenient rhetoric" (p. 203). He reasons that if there was true co-production of order,

there would be power sharing as equal partners and that has not occurred. Instead, the police are

well-organized and have the legal authority to use force, whereas the community consists of

loosely joined, variant groups of people – a situation that does not lend itself to power sharing

unless the police lead the effort (Mastrofski, 1998).

In contrast, there has been little commensurate research focused on smaller agencies.

An exception to this practice has been the researchers looking at attrition rates in small agencies -

which tend to be almost double that of their more urban and larger counterparts (Hubbard, 2008;

Brewer, 2009). Zhao's research examined the organizational change occurring in policing as a

response to changing public interest concerning public safety and law enforcement service. His

research has become longitudinal in nature and has focused on the systematic implementation of

community policing (Zhao, et al, 2003).

The literature generally identifies two types of change - planned and adaptive (Zhao,

1996; Goodman & Kurke, 1982; Bennis, 1976). Complexity theory has also been used to

describe change but Burnes (2005) warns the reader to beware of "new ideas prematurely

transferred into normative prescriptions (p. 85). He proposes that we should not apply

complexity theory to organizations until we can "show either that it is more than a metaphorical

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device, or that …it is able to resolve the problems of managing and changing organizations more effectively than other approaches that are on offer (p. 86).

2.2.1 Planned Change

Planned change is purposeful change that is often the result of intentional human actions such as organizational development (Zhao, 1996). Burnes (2005) noted that from the 1950s to the 1980s, the dominant theory of organizational change was the planned approach developed by Kurt Lewin (p. 74). But, as this was an incremental and methodical approach, critics proposed that it was not sufficient for organizations that needed to transform quickly (p. 75). They proposed that it was "linear and static and assumes the organization is frozen like an ice cube. Yet, organizations are fluid with many personalities." (Kanter, 1992 as quoted in Burnes, 2005, p. 75).

2.2.2 Adaptive Change

Adaptive change proposes that organizational change is a response to the external environment and is necessary to find harmony between an organization and its environment so that it can survive or grow (Zhao, 1996). There are many factors that impact upon adaptation such as technology (Thompson, 1967; Perrow, 1986), political change (Child, 1972) and environment (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967). Unlike planned change that was believed to be cumbersome and slow to change, adaptive change allowed for rapid transformation (Peters and Waterman, 1982). Adaptive change was consistent with other theoretical perspectives such as punctuated equilibrium, a biological theory that proposed long periods of stasis punctuated by "rare and evolutionary change" (Gould and Eldredge, 1977, p. 145). Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones extended the theory to policy change (1993, p. 7).

2.3 Explanatory Theories

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Wilson (2006) proposed two theories based on the open systems framework that demonstrate how organizational context can affect police organizations - contingency theory and institutional theory. A national survey conducted in 1993, 1996, and 2000 of over 200 municipal police departments in the U.S. did not test either theory in police reform but the hypotheses that it did test were framed "with expectations derived from contingency theory - in that a close association between organizational goals or priorities and the organization's task environment [was] assumed" (Zhao, et al, 2003, p. 698).

2.3.1 Institutional Theory

Institutional theory has been used to explore police organizations (Crank & Langworthy, 1992, 1996; Crank, 1994; Mastrofski, 1998; Maguire and Uchida, 2000). Selznick (1949) proposed that all formal organizations are formed by forces slightly connected to their rationally ordered structures and stated goals and he later observed that organizations develop their natural form through institutionalization (Sekznick, 1957; Maguire and Uchida, 2000). Interestingly, his findings confirmed that organizations are created for rational action but remain irrational. Institutional theory recognizes that organizations have fluid, uncertain environments and produce results that are hard to evaluate (Gianakis &Davis, 1998; Willis, et al, 2007). A precept is that organizations are social systems, formed by the cultural, symbolic and social systems in which they find themselves. Wilson (2006) observed that organizations are formed by factors such as ideas, expectations, accepted knowledge, opinions and laws in the environment that control the "proper structure and activities for the organization" (p. 33). This is in contrast to the rational interests in coordination and control that lead to technical efficiency and effectiveness.

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Additionally, institutional theory proposes that organizations are firmly ingrained in a specific social and cultural context and are difficult to change (Zhao, He, & Lovrich, 2003). Police, organizationally and individually, are known for stubbornness and resistance to real change. Such theory focuses on the "broad cultural and political environments such as the political culture and norms in a community" (Zhao, et al, 2003; Willis, et al, 2007, p. 153). Institutionalized organizations are judged by rationalized myths which are larger beliefs about what the organizations should be doing instead of being measured by efficiency standards (Willis, et al, 2007).

Because it is difficult to evaluate the efficiency of organizations, such as local police departments, the organizations and its customers ask for institutionalized rules and policies that "promote trust and confidence in outputs and buffer organizations from failure" (Meyer & Rowan, 1983 as quoted in Gianakis and Davis, 1998, p. 488). Thus, when a police department does institute change - it cannot be evaluated only by rational analyses but its legitimacy must also be judged (Zhao, et al, 2003). This creates an uncertain environment. Gianakis & Davis (1998) observed four potential organizational responses as a result of the dissonance between performance and uncertainty in the environment: 1) the organization can resist creating ceremonial rules to help maintain legitimacy but it may not be able to remain legitimate in the face of efficiency criteria; 2) the organization can maintain conformity by circling the wagons and cutting itself off form the environment but this is an admission that the organization is based on operational myths that do not work; 3) the organization can admit that it is not structured to respond to the needs of the operational environment; and 4) the organization can promise to reform but this may confirm its illegitimacy or it can separate its formal structure from its

operations. In the latter, it becomes apparent that operational activities cannot be evaluated by efficiency, so instead, management becomes ceremonial and exhibits "elaborate displays of confidence, satisfaction, and good faith in the face of ambiguous goals" (p. 487-489).

Willis, et al (2007) elaborated on work by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) in which they described the pressures experienced by highly institutionalized organizations that result in structural conformity (isomorphism). They recorded three types of isomorphism: mimetic, normative, and coercive.

> Organizations confronting a great deal of uncertainty in their environments are especially prone to mimetic isomorphism. To help ensure their survival, they copy other organizations that have received recognition and support for appearing effective. Alternatively, an organization may seek approval and resources by adopting measures that rest on the authority of professionals and experts in the field (normative isomorphism) or by putting certain structures in place in response to pressures from other organizations (coercive isomorphism) (Willis, et al, 2007, p. 152).

Gianakis and Davis (1998) proposed that community policing may be a strategy to allow police agencies to maintain their legitimacy so that efficiency is not a requirement for success. Others use institutionalism to explain how community policing was adopted and implemented, whether it be because they saw other agencies rewarded for doing so, the experts recommended it, or coercive tactics were employed by community organizations and others.

Professionalism can be viewed through an institutional lens: "Professionalism is a negotiated settlement which emerges from the interactions between different actors pursuing their own institutionalization projects (e.g. national building)" (Muzio, Ibid, p. 705). Professions more broadly play an institutional role in developing and controlling an

"occupational jurisdiction"…and are the "preeminent crafters of institutions, facilitating and regulating a broad range of human activities" (Scott, 2005, 2008, p. 222).

2.3.2   Contingency Theory

Contingency theory describes the tasks environment of the organization; whereas, institution theory describes the "environment of expectations" of organizations and together they form the context of police organizations (Wilson, 20006, p. 68). Contingency theory views organizations as open and the best form that an organization may take is dependent upon the task environment - it is a situational model. It assumes that the "philosophy and structure of an organization are influenced by a variety of internal and external environmental dynamics" (Duman, 2007, p. 8).

Contingency theory focus on the immediate external environment such as the use of technology, socioeconomic conditions of the community or immediate threats but "has failed to effectively explain the structure and function or organizations" and this has led to other theories, concluded Maguire and Uchida (2000, p. 536). Contingency theory assumes that there is not a best way to organize and this implies that there is not one "best" fit for a police agency (Duman, 2007, p. 17), a supposition that fits well with new professionalism. Lawrence and Lorsch (1969) are perhaps the most well-known contingency theorists as they conducted much of the seminal work. In their 1969 book, *Developing Organizations: Diagnosis and Action*, they identified "organization-environment mismatches" as a problem (p. 13).   Though their work focused on private organizations, criminal justice theorists have extended this to police agencies (Duman, 2007).

Duman (2007, p. 28) found that "internal individual and structural contingencies played a more significant role in a police agency's degree of community policing activities than external contingencies such as societal and environmental." He argued that policing should be able to combine differing policing "styles" to respond to diverse and unique situations (Duman, 2007, p. 34; Innes, 2004 & 2005). Finally, Duman concluded that more research is needed to show what extent policing models are used by police departments. Thus, contingency theory, by its nature seems more likely to embrace change necessary for community development, or at least will be unlikely to resist change.

2.4   Summary

Theoretical tensions exist when considering change in public organizations. In general, institutionalized organizations address professionalism from a functional perspective that focuses on possessing "systematic or scientific knowledge, a service ethic, self-policing by fellow practitioners, extended formal training, and the existence of codes of ethics" (Schott, 1976, p 254; Jackson, 2010, p. 23). Institutional theory proposes that organizations are firmly ingrained in a specific social and cultural context and "do not change easily" (Zhao, He, and Lovrich, 2003, p. 703). Thus, if security has been, and continues to be, the primary goal of a police organization, it will be unlikely to embrace change. When such organizations do change it is ordinarily incremental and planned and often driven by technology. Such organizations may be comfortable with New Public Management because of the emphasis on rational, business practices.

In contrast, contingent organizations are those that arrange themselves for the task environment. As such, there is no one best way to organize. It is a normative approach that

adapts as needs arise. Such an organization might subscribe to New Public Service because as

an open system, it would consider environmental pressures.

The tenets of *New Professionalism* lean toward explanatory contingent factors - a

policing model or framework dependent upon other factors, in contrast to the more common

view that "the model of policing is an independent variable that affects it dependent variable"

(Duman, 2007, p. 16). But at the same time, parts of *NP* inculcate institutionalism into its tenets.

Professionalism and legitimacy are often addressed as issues "fixed" through institutionalizing

policies and practices across all agencies. The National Institute of Justice and other agencies

promote best practices across the board. So on one hand, *NP* allows for a modus operandi based

upon contingent factors, but on the other hand, promotes institutionalized best practices,

particularly in the areas of accountability and legitimacy.

Institutional Theory	Contingency Theory
● Functional	● Normative
● Grid	● Group
● New Public Management	● New Public Service
● Planned change	● Adaptive Change
● Resist change	● Embrace change
● Closed system	● Open System

Table 2.1: Summary of theoretical factors

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW OF WAYS OF POLICING

AND NEW PROFESSIONALISM

Policing is the government's entry into the business of social control (Alpert and Dunham, 1997, p. 7). Police organizations do a variety of things such as: make arrests, respond to emergencies, solve problems, and numerous other things too numerous to easily list (Maguire & Uchida, 2007, p. 95). The traditions of the organized policing movement were found in London, England and much of these traditions were incorporated into American life. The history of urban policing is closely entwined with the political history of cities. Corruption and machine politics were the norm prior to police reform efforts (Reiss, 1992, p 18).

Police corruption scandals pushed the reform movement to remove political patronage and police protection rackets. This was possible because of two events. First, the quasi-military bureaucracy of police organizations was changed into a legalistic and technocratic bureaucracy whose members were "committed to an occupational community with norms of subordination and service that set it apart from the community that it policed" (Reiss, 1992, p. 55). The second step, made possible because of technological inventions such as cars, telephones, and radios, was to centralize policing by territory. Instead of having multiple walking beats within a precinct under a local commander, many police departments moved toward a single headquarters or large commands under a headquarters (Rosenbaum, 1994, p. 22).

On December 18, 2014, President Barack Obama established the *President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (www.whitehouse.gov). The purpose of the task force is to examine how policing practices can be effective in reducing crime yet still have cooperation and trust from the

communities they serve.   The task force was prompted by recent events in places like Ferguson, Missouri, in which it is clear that the community as a whole does not trust its police service. Additionally, such events have reinforced suspicions that community policing, a policing model for which the U.S. has spent billions of dollars (GAO, 2013), has not been implemented as intended. The fundamental issue is how communities can best balance security and community participation to create effective and legitimate policing. This is a particularly difficult balancing act in Pennsylvania's small communities. Such communities usually have very small budgets and may be located in geographically dispersed rural areas with little hope of quick police assistance under mutual aid agreements.   As noted earlier, Pennsylvania's policing structure is complex. At the time of this study, there were 1,058 municipal police agencies, the focus of this project. Only 96 of them employed more than 30 sworn officers; 23 agencies employed more than 100 officers (Young, 2009). Several agencies had less than five police officers.

Yet small police agencies are experiencing many of the same problems found in more populous areas. Some problems have more detrimental impacts to such small communities as they have little absorptive capacity or social services to deal with complex problems like drug abuse or methamphetamine production, both now quite common in many small communities. Many scholars have bemoaned the dearth of research on small departments (Falcone, Wells and Weisheit, 2002; Cordner, 1989; Sims, 1988).

The way of providing police services has changed throughout recent history. Such ways are usually referred to as policing models. There are three overarching policing models (sometimes referred to as frameworks or strategies) found in the literature: political, professional, and community policing.

3.1 Policing and the Road to Reform

3.1.1 Political Model

As America settled, colonists brought with them practices from their homelands. By the early 1700s the concept of a night watch, in which all able-bodied men in a city took their turns guarding the community during hours of darkness, spread from Boston, New York and Philadelphia to other communities (Billet, 2007, p. 15). Other volunteer offices such as sheriff, constable, and justice of the peace were added. But by the mid-1800s, the Industrial Revolution was in full force and with it a wave of immigrants arrived in the cities. This necessitated a large, more formal system of policing similar to Sir Robert Peel's London *Bobbies* (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990, p. 32; Balko, 2013, p. 29). Peel tried to modernize, transforming what were volunteer militias and amateur watchmen, into full-time employees that were answerable to government and were disciplined. They were expected to be non-partisan and accountable (de Lint, 2007, p. 22; Balko, 2013, p. 30). Unlike Peel's Bobbies, who were encouraged to be proactive and maintain a cordial relationship with the public, America's police had to deal with violence and corruption and were often reactive (Billet, 2007, p. 19; Balko, p. 32).

The time frame of the mid-1840s until the early 1900s was known as the political era or foot patrol model of policing (Robin, 2000, p 14; Peak & Glensor, 2002, p. 46). Police officers were recruited from their own neighborhoods and "ward bosses doled out such jobs as *quid pro quo* for political patronage and loyalty" (Robin, 2000, p. 33). Police departments were decentralized so officers had a lot of discretion. This had some advantages in that officers had strong ties to the neighborhood and provided useful services; however, there was "rampant nepotism, political favoritism, and pervasive police corruption" (Robin, 2000, p 34). It was policing within a spoils system and it was observed that this system was more evident in

municipal policing than anywhere else because in many cities it worked coercively on behalf of the dominant political structure (Carte, 1973, p. 6). Prohibition added to the corruption as officers accepted bribes from bootleggers and underground liquor houses (Billet, 2007, p 13; Balko, p. 33). This was not surprising when one looked at the lot of the average police officer. He was beholden to a political structure that paid very little and required him to work nearly ninety hours a week (Carte, 1973, p. 7). Organized crime, and its associated violence, mushroomed in this climate so that by the 1920s, there were national calls for police reform.

Reform was aided by a recently-formed federal department created under the Department of Justice. It was the precursor to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) and was created by Attorney General Bonaparte during Theodore Roosevelt's administration. Roosevelt had a personal interest in policing, having been the New York City Police Commissioner. Bonaparte and Roosevelt were Progressives and believed that efficiency and expertise, not political connections, should be paramount to obtaining federal employment, so a corps of special agents was created in 1908 (F.B.I., 2008). The early years were spent enforcing what few federal crimes there were. But after Prohibition was passed, the F.B.I. became heavily involved in fighting the violence and corruption associated with it. This included uncovering corrupt, local police and politics (F.B.I., 2008). The most pressing change was to remove the political control over the police and ensure that officers were impartial and related to citizens in "neutral and distant terms" (Peak, et al, 2002, 73); Fruhling, 2007). This called for a new paradigm which became the professional model. There are some that argue that the political model still exists in the United States, particularly in small police agencies in which political leaders may not have as

much oversight as those in larger areas with professional city managers and staff (Falcone, Wells and Weisheit, 2002; Johnson and Shank, 2014).

3.1.2 Professional Model

The professional model is sometimes referred to as a bureaucratic, or military, model as it is centered on discipline and a hierarchical structure and, often, uses military ranks. It was a reaction against the incestuous and corrupt relationship between the police and politics (Ponsaers, 2001, p. 27). It has also been called the traditional model and was a reform strategy developed as a reaction to the political conditions. It was established in the 1920s and lasted through the 1970s; but, the most concerted effort to implement it was in the 1930s. It flourished during the 1950s and 1960s and began to erode during the 1970s, arguably, during the early and mid-1980s, giving way to the community strategy (Zhao, 1996, p. 8; Kelling, 1988, p. 23; Stone & Travis, 2011, p. 6). This was the age of reform, an age in which Progressives tried to use government to accomplish "lofty goals and remove political patronage from all levels of government" (Waldo, 1984, p. 18). The professional model stressed Weberian ideas of "autonomy, efficiency, and internal accountability through command systems" (Kelling, 1988, p. 4).

This reform was inspired by Frederick Taylor's (1912) scientific management movement which emphasized managerial efficiency and standardized workplace practices and focused on outputs, not outcomes (Zhao, 1996, p. 19; Kelling, et al, 1988, p. 24). These reforms effectively freed the police from local political control and promoted professionalism and a crime-control mission focus (Zhao, 1996, p. 31; Vollmer, 1936, p. 111). Stone and Travis (2011) observed that though the purpose of "professional policing" may have had good intentions, its results were not

what were hoped for" (p. 8). The resulting reform model "deliberately removed communities

from policing as the police understood better how communities should be policed" (Stone, et al,

6). This model also relied on a limiting set of routine activities (motorized patrol, rapid response

to calls, reactive and retrospective crime investigation) and it managed "crime fighting" from the

top down (Stone, et al, 6). This resulted in a model that "failed to produce adequate public

safety" (Stone, et al, 6).

August Vollmer, the chief of the Berkeley, California police department from 1905-1932

is perhaps the best known champion of police professionalism (Carte, 1973, p. 187). In 1950,

O.W. Wilson published his seminal book, *Police Administration*, and became the voice and face

for the bureaucratic model that was then widely accepted in policing (Skolnick, 1967, p. 33;

Carte, 1973, p. 191; Zhao, 1996, p.34). Wilson, a protégé of August Vollmer, studied at the

University of California, Berkeley and majored in criminology. He worked as a police officer

while in college and upon graduation became the chief of the Fullerton, California Police

Department. He moved into industry for a while until he became the chief of Wichita Police

Department (at age 28). He was known as a reformer, instituted professionalism, and required

college educated police officers (Weisburd, 2006, p. 47). During WWII, Wilson was the Provost

Marshall for the U.S. Army and remained in Europe to lead the reorganization and reform of

police forces in Europe (2014, USAMPS, p. 17). He returned to become the dean of Berkeley's

School of Criminology.   He was well-respected and as a result, when the Chicago police were

embroiled in scandal in 1960, Wilson was brought in to lead a commission to find a new police

commissioner. In the end, Wilson was appointed as commissioner and committed himself to

major reforms that removed politics from hiring and embraced technology (Friedman, 1993, p. 16).

The professional model, emphasizing values such as neutrality, conformity, impersonality, and crime control is reflected in the characters of an old television show, "Dragnet" in which the main characters were known to preface their interviews of citizens with "Just the facts ma'am" (YouTube, 2013). This model focused on improving policing, rationally and scientifically, through reform methods that emphasized improved recruitment and training, better supervision, hierarchical and structured command and control, efficient chains of command, and increased usage of technology. It fit well into classical public administration as designed by Taylor, Gulick, and others (Waldo, 1984, p. 24). It aligned with the philosophy of chiefs of police like William Parker, Los Angeles, who used military language such as that used to describe British infantrymen, to describe police officers. Instead of the "thin red line" - police officers were the "thin blue line" and arrayed against "forces of evil" (Kelling, 1992, p. 547; Bittner, 1978, p. 112). Chiefs like Parker pushed professional policing (Kelling, 1992, p. 549).

Professionalism, however, was a misnomer. Though recognized as important by the Wickersham Commission Reports in the 1930s and the Presidential Commissions of the 1960s, the reality was that police officers were not seen, treated like, nor in many cases, acted like professionals. Several problems converged and stimulated the growth of police professionalism: the politicization of police; their extremely low pay, poor working conditions and long hours; the development of technology; and an increased understanding that police officers would need more skills. Professionalism became the favored solution to a multifaceted problem.

The professional model grew parallel to a technological movement as well, in which radios, automobiles, criminal investigation methods, and other advances were developed. These technological advances allowed for rapid response to calls and preventive patrols (Kelling, 1998). As technology improved, the new mantra for success began to be that of recruitment, training, supervision, and deployment (Kelling, et al., 1988, p. 18). If the appropriate technology existed then failure (usually defined as the surging crime rate), could be accounted for by personnel failures.

Goldstein (1977) noted that the bureaucratic [professional] model is "essentially contradictory to some basic values in American society and argued that the police by the very nature of their functions are an anomaly in free society" (Quoted in Zhao, 1996, p.352). Studies of so-called "professionalized police departments" indicate that traditional negative functions, such as coercive law enforcement and order maintenance, are predominant in the role perceptions of most officers (Skolnick, 1967, p. 26; Wilson, 1968, p. 13; Slansky, 2011, p 5). The research, completed by the 1970s, regarding professionalism (in the sense of widespread adherence to professional standards) largely concluded that it "had progressed little beyond the command orientation over the years" (White, 1972, p. 64).

Stone and Travis (2011) contend that the so-called professional model was "infused with the racism that had biased policing since the organization of the police during slavery" (Ibid, 7). President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1965 Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice was created in part to respond to social disorders and riots related to the Civil Rights movement (Conley, 1994, p. x). The Commission found in their subsequent report published in 1967 that "some of the worst riots had occurred in cities whose police among the best led, best

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organized, best trained and most professional in the country" (Walker, 1994, p. 24). It was

accepted that police-community relations, particularly with minority members of the community

was a problem "with the traditional approach to policing" (Walker, 1994, p. 24). The

Commission's recommendations included the need to recruit minority officers, to control police

misuse of force, and to improve police-community relations (Walker, 1994, p. 26).

Kelling (1988) concluded that the failure of the professional model and impetus toward

further reform was brought about by the failure to understand police discretion, the over-reliance

on automobiles, the isolation of police in their automobiles, the narrow focus on felonies, and the

failure to promote crime prevention (p. 21). He also observed that reformers failed to understand

that organizations look very different from the top (executive level) then they do at the street-

level bureaucrat level (Lipsky, 1971, p. 402). Thus, by the 1970s, the professional model was in

disfavor for many reasons. First, because research into police practices questioned its

usefulness; secondly, because the insistence that police were professional and treated people

accordingly was overwhelmingly discredited in the research; and lastly, because there was a

perception of mass disorder and rising crime (Kelling, 1988, p. 19; Goldstein, 1977, p. 14). The

fear of mass disorder and rising crime was well-documented in the 1967 President's Crime

Commission Report (Conley, 1994, p. x).

David Sklansky proposes that professionalism is making a comeback and that though

"outside of policing, community policing is extremely popular, inside policing, they are ready for

something new" (Sklansky, Ibid, p. 2). He argues that community policing has always been a set

of ideas that guided tactics and procedures to include listening to the community and that

professionalism was more about the "rational, efficient, scientifically organized, technologically

sophisticated bureaucracy whose objective was aggressive law enforcement." (Sklansky, Ibid, p. 2). As he put it, "Community policing was about the police not going it alone; professional policing was about the thin blue line." (Sklansky, Ibid, p. 2). He proposes that it is at the fundamental mindset-level that professionalism is returning. He credits a variety of reasons for this: government grants that reinforce technology, decline in government grants for community policing; and new approaches toward intelligence-led and predictive policing, and the latter of which he proposes puts policing back into the former professional era (Sklansky, Ibid, p. 5). And, because police agencies have been co-opted in the fight against terrorism, there is a call for a "more aggressive, technology-intensive, expertise-driven style of policing – less *Andy Griffith* and more *24*" (Sklansky, 2011, p. 7).

Another consideration in the return to professionalism (or as some argue – the inability to truly adopt community policing), and not often mentioned in the literature, is the over-reliance upon military veterans entering policing. Most police agencies of any size are adherents to Civil Service rules, which in most municipalities and states provide a hiring preference to veterans. This in turn means that military veterans are over-represented in police service. There is a concerted effort by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), the U.S. Department of Justice, Office Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) and the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs to recruit veterans by adding preference points to entrance examination scores, waive educational requirements, fast track applications, provide incentive pay, and offer service credit toward retirement – and though well-intentioned, such practices lend themselves to continued hierarchical and structured command and control and increased usage of technology, the hallmarks of today's military and the professional model. And as many veterans

have been deployed multiple times into combat zones, it is reasonable to wonder how tactics and procedures appropriate in combat, might become normalized in domestic policing. The increased militarization of domestic policing is beyond the scope of this project; however, it is a consideration when looking at implementation methods.

Also it should be noted, that increasingly surplus military equipment, such as "high powered rifles, machine guns, armored vehicles, land mine detectors, silencers, and grenade launchers" (Redden, 2014, p. 1), once used in Iraq and Afghanistan, is finding its way to domestic policing agencies. In 2010-2011, Johnston, Rhode Island, a community of 28,769 people, received $4.1 million in surplus military gear (Balko, 2013, p. 308). And when public policy continues to support a war metaphor, implementation may lean toward an imbalanced securitized model. Recent events in Ferguson, Missouri have prompted civilian police agencies that had received military equipment to try and return it. "Even before police militarization made the news, hundreds of police departments were finding that grenade launchers, military firearms, and armored vehicles aren't very useful to community policing" reported Molly Redden (2014, Mother Jones).

3.1.3   Community Policing Model

By the 1970s, there was an awareness that government may not be able to meet all demands for service and that the "private sector, community groups, and citizens are integral to crime control" (Brewer, R. & P. Grabosky, 2014, p. 141). Also in the 1970s, theorists such as Eleanor Ostrom discussed "citizens as active participants and consumers of community safety and security; in other words, co-producers" of security (Ostrom & Ostrom, 1977). In the early 1980s, during the first Executive Session on Policing (Harvard Kennedy School) Professors

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Mark H. Moore and George Kelling presented a paper in which they traced the evolution of policing strategies. Then Attorney General Edwin Meese was a participant and engaged in a discussion with the professors that is reflected in their recent paper, *Toward a New Professionalism in Policing*.   They presented the political and professional model and proposed a new model, one in which they described "problem-solving and a community strategy" (Kelling & Moore, 1988, p. 4; Stone and Travis, 2011, p. 8). The Attorney General thought a better label would be "strategic policing" and proposed that "community policing" is only one part of a new model. Professor Moore agreed with the Attorney General but observed that the strategic and problem solving aspects of this "new model" would naturally evolve. However, the police would have the most difficulty in building community partnerships; therefore, they should give prominence to the most difficult aspect of the new model - community policing (Travis and Stone, 2011, 9).

Professor Moore proposed two fronts in which investments in policing were most likely to be made. One front, in which investments would made, could be found in forensics and tactics; whereas, the other would be in community relationships. "The former would occur naturally and was reflected in the usage of words like 'strategic and problem solving', the latter, reflected by the concept of community policing, would require challenging the police" (Stone & Travis, 2011, p. 9). Thus, was born community policing. It was embraced by academics and politicians alike. It was firmly planted into the policing lexicon by President Bill Clinton's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) and federal funding to add 100,000 police officers to U.S. police departments (Stone, et al, p. 11). In September 1994, President Clinton signed *The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994*. This legislation

provided for billions of dollars in grants to hire additional policing officers and "advance

community policing nationwide" (COPS Office, 2000).

Community policing has been implemented in a multitude of ways but, in spite of its

loosely defined character, it has been widely accepted by police and politicians (Gianakis &

Davis, 1998, p. 487; Collie, 2006, p. 22). As noted in Zhao's work, many scholars believe that

the community policing model (often referred to as COP) is very different from the professional

model (Reiss, 1992, p. 61; Moore, 1992, p. 122) and is often characterized as an open-systems

model (Zhao, 1996, p. 14; Mastrofski, 1998, p. 189; Wilson, 2006, p. 42) because there are

inputs from outside the police organization that impact its practices. Community policing is, at

its heart, a proactive model of policing with two key components - community partnerships and

problem solving (Novak, Alarid & Lucas, 2002, p. 59; Kelling, 1988, p. 5). It is an all-

encompassing agency philosophy and management approach that "promotes proactive

partnerships and community engagement to address the causes of crime and disorder, the fear of

crime and disorder, and other community issues" (Collie, 2006, p. 11).

Some critics have observed that community policing began largely as a public relations

campaign to manage the police image (de Lint, 2007, p. 44). Bayley (1998, p. 53) stated that the

basic elements include: community input when determining community needs, flattened

organizational hierarchy so that response is determined at a level close to the community,

assistance and response by agencies other than the police if necessary, and fixing the underlying

societal disorder problems through problem-solving. Crime is a symptom of disorder gone awry

(Wilson & Kelling, 1982, p. 158) and community participation and problem solving are integral

to effective policing (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990, p. 31 Wilson & Kelling, 1982, p. 159;

Skogan, 2004, p. 20). But, community policing assumes that communities want to be and have

the capacity to be involved. However, this may not be so:

> [A study of West Seattle] revealed that the struggle to establish connections across and between different linguistic, cultural, and ethnic groups was regularly cited by residents as a principal impediment to the community cohesion they thought was necessary for political capability...transience was viewed as similarly detrimental.. For now, and for the foreseeable future, it is best to recognize that, all too often, community is unbearable light. (Herbert, 2006, p. 37).

Policing agencies tend to be structured for emergency response; a good fit with the

hierarchical military model, yet community policing calls for a more decentralized structure

(Gianakis & Davis, 1998, p. 486; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990, p. 33; Skolnick & Fyfe,

1993, p. 24). In reality, very little has changed in the organizational structure of police agencies

regardless of what model they profess to follow. Though officers may be given more discretion

to solve problems - agencies are still hierarchical, rule-bound, and decidedly military-like in their

organizational and rank structures. Maguire & Katz (2002, p. 505) suggest that police

organizations falsely claim to engage in community policing in order to obtain funding.

Research about community policing and its various facets abounds (Rosenbaum & Lurigio,

1994, p. 302; Gianakis & Davis, 1998, p. 487) with contradictory findings. Studies have run the

gamut of research populations and criteria but it seems to have concluded that community

participation is desirable (Gianakis & Davis, 1998, p. 492; Riess, 1992, p. 93; Chapman &

Scheider, 2002, p. 4).

For more than thirty years, federal and state policies have encouraged, usually through

incentives, for police organizations to embrace community policing (Bayley and Nixon, 2010).

Community policing has been embraced internationally as well (Brogden, M. and P. Nijhar

(2005). The U.S. government has spent billions on the Community Oriented Policing Service

(COPS) program in an effort to encourage community involvement with police. Nonetheless, the Government Accountability Office found only a 1.3 percent reduction of crime as a result of the program (GAO, 2005). Nevertheless, in the communities that seem to need police services the most, community policing is being promoted as necessary (COPS, 2014). Vankatesh (2012) suggests that community policing may be at an end as it is ill-equipped to deal with trans-jurisdictional crimes.   He proposes that funding may continue to go to federal agencies at the expense of local police thus reducing "beat-style community policing and creating a vacuum in the community" (Vankatesh, 2012, p. 2).

Discussions regarding a change to a new framework or model of policing have occurred since September 11, 2001. Community policing, seemingly focused more on community development, rather than on security, in some ways did not seem to be adequate for wars on terror and drugs.   The current state of policing is in a quandary and though problems will always abound, precisely because police work is all about solving problems and dealing with dilemmas (Morrell and Currie, 2015, p 265), the present set of issues seems to rise to the level of wicked problems, those problems that are "complex, difficult to understand and resistant to solving" (AIPM, 2008). Until recent events, many practitioners and academics were very positive regarding the successes of modern policing, particularly in reforms such as evidenced-based policing and technological advances. Yet, as has been seen in previous eras of policing, when technology and efficiencies become more important than the public served, public administrators risk losing legitimacy and the cooperation of the very people necessary to be effective. In short, they lose the sense of public service, a foundational principle of professional public administration.

3.3   Models, Frameworks and Strategies

In the recent past, it has been generally recognized that police agencies tend to align, broadly, with one of the following models, frameworks or strategies: political, professional or community policing. But social scientists do not agree on the characteristics or typologies of police models, frameworks, and strategies. For the purposes of this research:

> A model is a schematic description of a system, theory, or phenomenon that accounts for its known or inferred properties and may be used for further study of its characteristics (Donaldson, 2001). A framework is a basic conceptual structure, as of ideas; a hypothetical description of a complex entity or process (Donaldson, 2001). A strategy is a careful plan or method (Donaldson, 2001, p. 24).

The terms are often used interchangeably - but often a framework or strategy is more loosely defined than a model. In general there are clusters of criteria that tend to place them into a category; however, there is overlap among them and, to further complicate matters, many theorists seem to agree that different models of policing may operate within the same organization (Kelling, 1988; Ponsaers, 2001). But, in practice, it seems that one model or framework tends to dominate in policing, at least in larger agencies, most often the research population used (Kelling, 1988; Reiss, 1992; Ponsaers, 2001; Wilson, 2006; Stone & Travis, 2011).

As municipal police departments began to deal with problems such as terrorism and gangs, there have been recent attempts to add other strategies such as enterprise policing, evidence-based policing, hot-spot policing, homeland security, intelligence-led policing, problem-oriented policing, predictive policing, and zero-tolerance policing (Stone & Travis, 2011); however, these are generally strategies than can be implemented within the context of the other overarching models. In other words, problem-oriented policing and the other strategies can

be conducted under the rubric of the Professional model, Community Policing, or *New Professionalism* which will be discussed in detail further in the paper.

3.3.1 Enterprise Policing as a strategy is networked and interactive with other government agencies in the community, focuses on prevention and preparedness, and uses available technology and training to develop intelligence (Dial, 2006, p. 6). Dial suggested that it is an organizational change and he considers community policing to be an "organizational philosophy instead of a program" (p. 16; Slansky, 2011, p. 7).

3.3.2 Evidence-Based Policing is credited to Lawrence Sherman who looked at evidence-based medicine and extended it to policing. Evidence-based policing looks at accumulated research based upon scientific evidence, creates "best practices" and then disseminates them through national and community guidelines. As Sherman noted in a 2013 update, the 3 Rs (random patrol, rapid response, reactive investigations) have moved to the Triple-T (targeting, testing, tracking) and though the former are far from gone, "examples of evidence-based policing abound" (Sherman, 2013, p. 3). The National Institute of Justice, Office of Community Policing Services, Police Executive Research Forum, Police Foundation, and many other organizations are promoting evidence-based crime policy (NIJ, 2014, p. 3).

3.3.3 Homeland Security Policing: In response to September 11, many called upon the police to make a counterterrorism approach which emphases intelligence gathering, cover investigations, information sharing, and immigration enforcement (Ortiz, C., Hendricks, N., and N. Sugie, 2007, p. 94). In the first few years after 9/11, many agencies focused their efforts on community engagement as their strategy to deal with homeland security concerns – not on recommendations by proponents of homeland security policing. However, in 2008, *Secure*

Communities was launched by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) with nationwide

activation to have occurred by 2013. In this initiative, all fingerprints of those arrested by state

and local law enforcement agencies are automatically shared with DHS. A Task Force was

initiated by the Obama Administration and it concluded that it is "appropriate for ICE to

continue to take enforcement action against serious criminal offenders subject to deportation"

but, that the program is overreaching and many Task Force members recommended suspension

of the program. It also concluded that *Secure Communities* was "disruptive to police-community

relationships that are important to public safety and national security… such practices are having

a harmful impact upon the ability of police to engage in community policing" (HS Advisory

Council, 2011, p. 24).

In response to homeland security concerns, Andreas (2008) proposes a *Municipal*

Homeland Security Strategy (MHSS). Essentially, this strategy "flips the national strategy from

a federal strategy to a municipal, bottoms-up approach" (Andreas, 2008, p. 25). In his theoretical

approach, local police officers and citizens are equal partners. This approach requires a new

structure in which each agency establishes a Municipal Homeland Security Program (MHSP)

and appoints at least one police officer as a Municipal Homeland Security Officer (MHS)

(Andres, 2008, p. 32). Such a program focuses on awareness, prevention, and investigation and

is not just comprised of police. In fact, in this strategy, each municipality appoints at least one

person from its administration (outside of the police department) to the MHSP and she is an

equal partner (Andreas, 2008, p. 34). In this approach local police can continue as they are or

expand existing programs such as the *Terrorism Liaison Officer* (TLO) program. In the TLO

program, each agency has a specially-trained officer that reports to a regional or state center.

This information ultimately finds its way to the F.B.I.'s Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) and information and planning are to flow upward and downward. Andreas' (2008, p. 35) main criticism of this method is that there is no standardized training or qualifications for the TLO's; thus, he suggests the MHSS.

3.3.4 Hot-Spot Policing: David Weisburd and colleagues, funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), found that "identifying and formulating a strategic response to hot spots can reduce crime in both the hot spot and surrounding area without displacing the crime problem and there are crime prevention benefits associated with hot spot policing" (NIJ, 2014, p. 1). Hot spots are defined as small areas in which crimes are clustered. In Minneapolis, they found that three percent of the city's addresses accounted for 50 percent of calls for service (NIJ, 2014, p. 2). Calls requiring police response were not just concentrated by geography but also by time and days of the week – all defined as hot spots.

3.3.5 Intelligence-led Policing is a strategy that focuses on the assessment of risk and managing risk. The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research conducted a Safe Cities Initiative after 9/11 and proposed in their *Hard Won Lessons p*ublication, that police can prevent terrorism by following the lead of the Israeli Police. In Israel, investigation is secondary to collecting intelligence, "intelligence officers guide operations, rather than operations guiding intelligence" (2006, p. 3). Ball (2007, p. 17) uses the term *Intelligence Led Policing* (ILP) to describe a strategy of policing designed to prevent terrorism. He sees this strategy as necessary to comply with numerous publications that tout locally-gathered intelligence as the key to protecting the United States from terrorist threats (Ball, 2007, p. 2). He does not propose that ILP replace community policing. Instead, as has been done in the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada,

ILP is more of an overlay placed on top of a community policing model (Ball, 2007, p. 22).

Slansky (2011) disagrees and calls the idea that ILP supports community policing, "window

dressing" (p. 3). He notes that the "whole of thrust of ILP is to make objective analysis of crime

data and intelligence; therefore, it is top-down managerially driven approach to crime control in

which a community's concerns are not permitted to trump an objective assessment of the

criminal environment" (Ratcliff, 2008 as quoted in Slansky, 2011 p. 3). Practitioners, such as

former LAPD Chief William Bratton, credit such policing for success in keeping communities

safer.

> Predictive policing connects technology, management practices, real-time data analysis,
> problem-solving and information-led policing to lead to results - crime reduction,
> efficient police agencies, and modern and innovative policing" (Bratton, Morgan, and
> Malinowski, 2009, p. 3).

But, as Slansky (2011, p. 5) observes, this puts the police back into fighting crime emphasizes

rationality and science to select the best police responses. Once again, hierarchy and

centralization win over community development needs.

Some theorists argue that policing by "consent is being displaced by information control"

(deLint, O'Connor & Cotter, 2007, p. 44). They argue that because "terrorists are everywhere

and anywhere" - traditional national borders have been extended so that information control

becomes the basis for policing in liberal democracies (deLint, et al, p. 45). Lyons (2002, p. 532)

proposes that homeland security fears are preemptively excluding some citizen concerns and

favoring more aggressive deployment of existing professional police tactics as the response to

community concerns. The result is that current partnerships "re-tell a familiar story about more

powerful communities using the police to control and manage power-poor communities" (Lyons,

2002, p. 532). He also argues that it is less likely to be a lack of police power, and more likely

the misapplication of police powers, that undermines the War on Terror (Lyons, 2002, p. 533).

Until police build trust within those communities least likely to help the police, no amount of

additional funding or legal authority will increase the capacity of police forces to gather

information (Cooper, Bryer, & Meek, 2006, p. 77).   Police practitioners argue that though

community input is necessary to prevent terrorist incidents, police still need new strategies to be

effective (Collie, 2006, p. 14).

In New York City, there are 1,000 officers assigned to full-time counterterrorism and

they now have a secretive counterintelligence unit (NYPD, 2006). Similar efforts have been

created in Philadelphia and other major cities. Numerous *watch lists* have also been created.

Many are well-known, such as the *No Fly* lists used by the airline industry. Less well-known are

those lists created by federal and state law enforcement and accessed by local police using the

National Crime Information Center (NCIC) system or equivalent state system. Some scholars

theorize that a "War on Terror" is likely to place pressures on local police forces to expand

collaborative efforts with state and federal law enforcement agencies in the areas of information

sharing, crime analysis, and paramilitary task forces. The fear is that this will move policing into

the paramilitary arena (Kraska 2001, p. 10; Balko, p. 2); yet, others believe this will strengthen

efforts to implement community policing by incorporating intelligence-led strategies (Carter,

2004, p. 13; Dial, 2006, p. 22). There is little doubt that homeland security concerns have

promoted strategies designed to counter this threat.

3.3.6 Order Maintenance Policing (also called Broken Windows or Zero-tolerance

Policing: is a controversial strategy introduced into New York City in the 1990s. It is a targeted

approach to crime control in which it uses a computerized statistics program to provide timely crime data to police managers, at all levels, and then hold them accountable for crime-reduction goals. *COMPSTAT,* an abbreviation for COMPuter STATistics, is a management and technological system that combines crime analysis, geographic information systems, and rapid deployment by police managers has increasingly been utilized within agencies that also tout community policing (Weisburd, 2011, p. 2). To critics it almost seems like a step backwards in that it narrowly restricts the police mandate to one of crime control and thus clashes with the community policing mandate (Manning, 2010, p. 175).

William Bratton's book, *Turnaround: How America's Top Cop Reversed the Crime Epidemic*, provides four concepts: 1) accurate and timely intelligence, 2) rapid deployment of personnel and resources, 3) effective tactics, and 4) relentless follow-up and assessment (p. 224). Zero-tolerance emphasizes the "quality of life" crimes/incidents reflected in Wilson & Kelling's "broken windows theory" which proposes that disorderly behavior leads to more serious crime problems (Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Similarly, in Great Britain, *Reassurance Policing* has surfaced. A National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) was developed in which teams of officers respond to communities to engage and work on joint problem-solving efforts. Citizens reported less fear of crime as a result of the program (Willis, 2014, p 12).

3.3.7 Problem-Oriented Policing (POP): Problem-oriented policing is generally credited to Herman Goldstein and explained in his book, *Problem-Oriented Policing* (Goldstein, 1990). It analyses crimes and incidents to get at the root of the issue. It is a preventive posture which understands that crime and disorder are multifaceted and complex and thus require a

'whole of society' approach. It uses the SARA model (scanning, analysis, response, and assessment) to determine what the problem is and how to prevent its recurrence. Most community policing theorists believe that POP is a core feature of community policing and within the United States, it is recommended by the Department of Justice's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) (www.cops.usdog/gov).

3.3.8   Predictive Policing, also an initiative funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), "harnesses the power of information, geospatial technologies, and evidence-based intervention models to reduce crime and improve public safety" (NIJb, p. 1). It is highly dependent upon computer models and is composed of five elements: 1) Integrated information and operations; 2) Seeing the big picture; 3) Cutting-edge analysis and technology; 4) Linkage to performance; and 5) Adaptability to changing conditions. It is "networked centric" (NIJb, p. 2).

3.4   New Professionalism

Police agencies are being called upon to be more accountable, legitimate, innovative, and, nationally, more coherent in their practices. They are being called upon to embrace public service values promoted in public administration and to put the public's interests above self- interest and to "embrace high standards of professionalism and ethics" (United Nations, 2000, p. 1). Though there are various groups of scholars that advocate for one set of values over others, generally, in public administration, most accept that "part of the complexity of public administration is finding an appropriate balance" between competing values (Moynihan, 2009, p. 813; Nabatchi, 2011, p. 2).

Such public service values include:

"Pursuing the public interests with accountability and transparency (democratic values); serving professionally with competence, efficiency, and objectivity (professional values); acting ethically so as to uphold the public trust (ethical values); and, demonstrating respect, equity and fairness when dealing with citizens and fellow public servants (human values)." Molina and McKeown, 376, Nabatchi, 2011, p. 11).

From 2008-2011, the Kennedy School sponsored an Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety. It was composed of academics and practitioners and resulting papers are optimistic (Bayley and Nixon, 2010, p. 4). Yet scholars saw challenges ahead such as: smaller budgets, terrorism, immigration, racial discrimination, intensified accountability and policing unions (Bayley & Nixon, Ibid). A common thread that runs through papers published to date is that though police have the strategies and technologies to effectively deal with most anything - except perhaps terrorism - it is in the middle of a change that may be a "looming watershed " (Bayley, et al, 2010; Weisburd & Neyroud, 2011; Braga, Flynn, Kelling & Cole, 2011; Gascon & Fogleson, 2010). Travis and Stone (2011) propose that this watershed is the movement toward a new framework of policing - not community policing, not the traditional "professional model" but something they coined *New Professionalism* – a framework for policing that balances security and the needs of the community as whole.

New Professionalism (NP) is a conceptual framework that Travis and Stone (2011) propose can "help police chiefs and commissioners keep their organizations focused on why they are doing what they do, what doing it better might look like, and how they can prioritize the many competing demands for their time and resources." (2011, p. 2). It is consistent with public administration's efforts toward to become "expert, efficient, and accountable" (Pugh, 1989, p 4). It includes four principles: accountability, legitimacy, innovation and coherence. *NP* sees *accountability* as an obligation to the "entire range" of community-based organizations, not just

to the chain of command or to a civilian review board (Travis and Stone, 2011). *Legitimacy*

recognizes that police receive their authority from the state and law but also from the people and

communities they police (Travis, et al, 2011, p. 14). *Innovation* includes utilizing people and

resources in *best policies and practices* and a learning mindset that continually experiments with

new ideas (Travis, et al, 2011, p. 15). Lastly, *coherence* assumes that new professionals are

engaged in national conversations with other practitioners (Travis, et al, 2011, p. 17). As David

Sklansky observed, *NP* seems to be more aligned with the philosophy of community policing

than other currently popular approaches such as intelligence-led policing and predictive policing

(2011, p. 4).

Stone and Travis (2011) argue that approaches such as Homeland Security, Enterprise,

Zero-Tolerance and the like are growing pains and reflect the realization that community

policing is more than community involvement. Though some argue all can be considered

community policing, others believe that "these tactics and strategies...are divorced from

community engagement and participation." (Stone & Travis, 2011, p. 20). They coined the term,

New Professionalism to describe a framework being promoted by visionary police leaders. They

offer it as a conceptual framework that can help practitioners and citizens understand what police

departments do and what their future capabilities are.

NP has implications for organizational structure of police agencies. Prior models have

promoted certain structures. Professional departments were naturally assumed to be hierarchical,

rule bound, and decision making centralized. In contrast, community policing departments were

assumed to be more decentralized, innovative, and sensitive to their environment.

New Professionalism (NP) takes strands of the frameworks and models from the 1980s and 1990s and merges them into one organizing framework (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Models and Strategies Merge to form *New Professionalism*

It balances inherent tensions found in reforming police -- the tension between security and community development/justice -- and recognizes that a model or framework focused at one end of the continuum is asymmetric and fails to adequately consider needs at the other end of the continuum (see Figure 1 on page 6). As a result, it allows for whatever policing strategy, model, or framework that is efficacious.   Prior research usually depicts policing models as *or* not *and.* An agency is either a traditional/bureaucratic agency *or* a community policing agency, it is not possible to be both (Weisheit, Wells, & Falcone, 1994, p. 553; Kessler, 1999, p. 335; Skogan and Harnett, 1997, p. 10). The Center for Problem Oriented Policing analyzed the effectiveness of policing strategies. *New Professionalism* can encompass all of these strategies - it can serve as the hybrid framework identified as necessary to deal with today's complex problems (Duman, 2007, p. 53).

New Professionalism seems to embrace an open-systems orientation as it recognizes that

policing occurs in a complex, networked environment, in which inputs from a variety of outside

actors impact the abilities and capabilities of the police to affect often intractable problems. *NP*

may support a flexible organizational structure in which police agencies are composed of

modular building blocks capable of being formed and reformed as necessary. In the past several

years, the U.S. Military has moved to such an arrangement. It realized that the traditional unit-

level organizational structures no longer work for complex operations with varying needs.

New Professionalism* encompasses four elements: *Accountability, Legitimacy,*

Continuous Innovation, and *National Coherence*.

3.4.1 Accountability

The first element of New Professionalism is accountability. Professor Sam Walker (2005)

describes and analyzes the idea of police accountability. He observes that:

> Police accountability has two basic dimensions. On one level it refers to holding law
> enforcement *agencies* accountable for the basic services they deliver: crime control, order
> maintenance, and miscellaneous services to people and communities. At the same time,
> however, it also refers to holding *individual officers* accountable for how they treat
> individual citizens, particularly with regard to the use of force, equal treatment of all
> groups, and respect for the dignity of individuals. In certain important respects, of course,
> the agency-level and officer-level dimensions of accountability merge. (Walker, 2005, p.
> 114-115).

In the past, Stone and Travis (2011, p. 7) propose that police accountability only referred to

misconduct and not outcomes such as reducing crime (as opposed to outputs that focus on such

things as number of assigned officers, number of arrests made, etc.). This area of accountability

still gets the most media attention and combined with social media, such as *You Tube* and other

"viral social media", this trend will probably continue (Bayley & Nixon, 2010, p. 5).

Nevertheless, accountability, as defined by new professionalism, includes more than issues

surrounding misconduct and embraces "three C's: crime, cost and conduct" (Stone, et al, 12).

Some theorists argue that evidence has shown that "in most law enforcement agencies, a

small percentage of officers are responsible for a disproportionate share of citizen complaints,

use-of-force incidents, or other problematic issues" (Walker, Alpert & Kenny, 2004, p. 153).

Others disagree and note that such theories do not hold up when one factors in "organizational or

situational factors" (Adams, 2004, p. 153). In fact, it seems that most use of force "is situational

and transactional" and dependent upon all parties involved (Adams, Ibid; Bayley & Garofalo,

1989, p. 5). Many line officers insist that the suspect or other actor "drives the action." This line

of thinking is often overheard in conversations with comments such as: "If he didn't run, I

wouldn't have had to chase him and take him to the ground." And though, in many cases, this

may be so, other line officers freely admit that a good officer, with excellent communication

skills, may influence the suspect's actions so that force becomes unnecessary. Likewise, an

officer with little interpersonal skill may ensure force becomes necessary.

Rigorous hiring standards, field training officer programs, and strong policies and

procedures to identify and remove problem officers, if any should slip through the gate, are in

place in most urban and suburban agencies. They are less so in rural and smaller agencies and,

though naive to believe such processes prevent all problems, there has been and continues to be

much effort put toward officer misconduct. Many agencies are building accountability systems

that encourage internal codes built upon integrity and ethical behavior (Colwell & Huth, 2010, p.

18). But as Walker, Goldstein and others have observed, there is a great disparity between the

best and worst police departments (Walker, 2005, p. 15; Goldstein, 1987; p. 12). The

Department of Justice (DoJ), National Institute of Justice (NIJ), and many others provide

recommended strategies for holding individuals and agencies (from the smallest to the largest)

accountable for their conduct. In short, police agencies have a lot of experience in dealing with

officer and organizational misconduct but less so in the other two C's: the areas of crime and

cost (Bayley & Nixon, 2010, p. 17).

But, even in departments with excellent accountability mechanisms in place to identify

and discipline problem officers, it may still be next to impossible to actually discipline the officer

for two reasons: Police unions (or associations) and "Law Enforcement Officers Bill of Rights'

Laws" (Friedersdorf, 2014; Olson, 2015). Police unions often help police officers that have been

terminated or disciplined return to duty, sometimes with an unblemished record. As Frank

Serpico observed in a recent interview, those very police officers that were deemed to be unfit by

their departments are given their jobs back and their colleagues see that it is next to impossible to

be fired for sometimes the most egregious of acts (Friedersdorf, 2014). Within Pennsylvania, the

researcher has seen cases of officers involved in domestic violence, drinking while on duty, and

inappropriate use of firearms be reinstated through the arbitration process. On the other hand, she

has also seen an officer who was terminated unfairly reinstated so there is a need for a remedy

available to police officers.

The first Law Enforcement Officers Bill of Rights (LEOBR) was passed in Maryland and

has been replicated in numerous states after lobbying by police unions and associations (Olson,

2015). It may also cover corrections workers. The specifics of these laws vary from state to

state but in general such laws required a cooling off period before an officer can be interviewed;

the right to have a union or association representative present at such interviews; prohibitions against interviewing the officer at unreasonable hours, for long periods of time and by more than one person; being unable to threaten the officer with disciplinary action; and, if the officer is threatened, it cannot be used against him (Friedersdord, 2014, p. 2). In some states, police officers cannot be interviewed by "non- law enforcement" agencies, a feature that hamstrings civilian review boards. Recent events that have found police officers under investigation have highlighted the impact such laws have on the ability to conduct timely investigations.

We are living in a resource constrained period. This is not new; periodically most agencies have had to cut costs and have done so in predicable ways such as "reducing civilian staff, slowing officer recruitment, limiting overtime, and eliminating special programs." (Stone, et al, p. 12). What is unique are some of the measures that some police executives are taking. They are evaluating how police agencies are organized and delivering services and reacting accordingly. Some have cut entire special units, replaced sworn officers with unsworn civilians (though not always politically feasible), and reduced the number of detectives (Stone, et al). Others are eliminating sworn officer positions, usually through attrition (Winston, 2011). Some communities are questioning the need to have their own police department and looking toward regionalization, contracting or using the default, state police. Some states, such as Minnesota, are rethinking the number of police officers that are required to keep communities safe as a more nuanced review of crime shows that crime levels are lower than they were when the agencies determined their personnel needs. But as so often happens, public fears may drive political response so that a rational, measured response may be quashed in favor of something more politically palatable.

Arguably, requiring police leadership to be accountable for reducing crime is the most substantial systematic change. This has been most obvious in COMPSTAT, created in New York City and exported, in some form, to most major cities. Having witnessed a Philadelphia Police Department COMPSTAT briefing, in which commanders were clearly taken to task for their responses to increased criminal activity and social disorder, it was apparent, that leadership was making them accountable for results. The briefing room was filled with tension, tough questions were asked by Deputy Commissioner Patricia Georgio-Fox, and staff scurried to and from their respective district and division commanders. Since that time, Deputy Commissioner Georgio-Fox has become the Deputy Commissioner for Organizational Accountability.

Requiring police to be accountable for results is an ongoing debate in the nation and internationally (Bayley & Nixon, 2010; Meares, 2010; Tyler, 2009). Dillon (2011) proposes that there is an imbalance between what the organization focuses upon and what really matters. He sees the police organization focused on outputs, not outcomes.   He provides an analogy of a hospital to describe the problem. If hospitals followed the logic of many police agencies, they would focus on the administration of the hospital and not the treatment of the patients. The evolution of police agencies - particularly the past "bureaucratic, professional" model focused on "outputs" is, according to Dillon, "a very *Tayloristic* view" (p 7) of a police officer's role, and not focused on the root causes or outcomes. Manning identifies this problem as being one common to bureaucracies, goal displacement. He observes that bureaucracies "tend to lose track of their goals and engage in ritual behavior, substituting means for ends" (Manning, 1978, p. 8).

In military parlance, much of policing is focused on "means" over "ends" or rather, the tools and methods over the results. Because the problems are so complex, it is much easier to

focus on administration, organization, training, etc. and not on solving problems. Perhaps this may, in part, explain why police officers often say they receive more stress from police administration than they do from the public they serve (Crank, 2004, p. 58). Oppressive rules and procedures may be the result of leadership focused on the trivial and not crime reduction.

3.4.2 Legitimacy

The second element of *New Professionalism* is legitimacy. When a community believes that government is acting in their public interest, they generally view the government as legitimate. For this research, we accept that "there is common good that is different than the aggregate of private benefit and common good is something that is in the interest of the [larger] community, even if against the interest of some individuals in the community." (Bozeman, 2007, p. 89). In policing, this poses some difficulty – communities may have competing interests and less-powerful communities may get the short end of the proverbial stick.

Weber observed that the police are the instruments of the coercive power of the state and in a democratic state - at least a majority of the people consent to the system. It is easy to understand how those that feel abused by the "system", those that historically have had bad experiences with the police may not freely proffer that consent. Weber (1968) delineated between value consensus and actual coercion and considered them opposites.

> Actual coercive practices are the products of a relationship between a number of factors towards the maintenance of social order, the extent of social and political dissent and the degree of consent and legitimation. Actually coercion can be defined as the use of force in general policing and the legitimation of this force in dealing with policing problems. (Aydin, 1997, 2).

During the professional "era", legitimacy was entwined with rule of law, the premise that police derive their mandate from the legal code. This is still the source of legitimacy in countries in which police reform efforts are being undertaken. Kelling and Moore (1988) observed that police promote the sources of their legitimacy as their professionalism and the law, to clearly separate them from earlier mandates derived from machine politics. On the other hand, community policing derives its legitimacy from the community. Crank (1994) proposed that community policing is an "institutional process intended to reinstate legitimacy to the police." (Crank, 1994, p. 330). Tracy Mears (2010), professor at Yale University, calls this the difference between lawfulness and legitimacy. *New Professionalism r*ecognizes that legitimacy is conferred (by law and democratic politics) and earned through professionalism and community acceptance (Stone & Travis, 2011).

In recent history, the only measure of legitimacy was found through the number of citizen complaints but, as imagined, this is not a good measure. Those suspicious of police, particularly in disenfranchised communities, often want as little to do with the police as possible and are leery of drawing more attention to themselves. Sometimes, those with legitimate complaints are those that are on the fringes of society, they are not societal pillars whose complaints are usually taken seriously. As a result, even if they do complain - it is extremely difficult to sustain the complaints - particularly if the complainant has a history of drug or alcohol abuse or is a chronic offender. In the end, complaints often boil down to the complainant's word against the officer - not enough to substantiate a claim of abuse or malfeasance.

Research suggests that citizens want to feel respected and heard (Meares, 2010, p. 14). Feelings that the police think they are "better and morally superior" can undermine any sense of

legitimacy toward the police. Within the U.S., Jack Colwell and Chip Huth have been teaching officers a philosophy they call *Unleashing the Power of Unconditional Respect.* In their book, of the same title, they outline a system that focuses on character development as its basis. They noted that over time, "the literature became personality- focused on how to look good rather than be good, officers have been taught a feigned or manufactured respect toward each other and the public" (Colwell & Huth, 2010, p. 8).

Most people intuitively know when they are being treated in a condescending manner. Standing at attention, "politely" asking for an identification card, and calling one "Sir" or "Ma'am" - does not equate to a genuine interest in others. In fact, it can have the opposite effect. As stated earlier in this paper, some officers have the knack of inspiring members of the public to do things to get arrested; the root of that is often the citizen's feelings of being denigrated and disrespected (Gibbs and Ahlin, 2014). That type of relationship between the police and public does not create a perception that the police are legitimate agents; rather, it undermines legitimacy.

Research has shown that people care more about procedural justice, whether the police are being fair, than the outcome of those experiences (Mears, 2010; Tyler, 2011). In practice, most experienced, truly professional and competent police officers understand this because they have been around long enough to understand that respect breeds respect and that this foundation is essential to legitimacy (Colwell and Huth, 2010; Meares, 2010; Tyler, 2009). Tyler (2009) says that "legitimacy motivates voluntary acceptance of police authority" (p. 2). Creating an atmosphere of mutual respect makes it more likely that people will obey the law (Mazzerolle, Bennett, Davis, Sargeant & Manning, 2013).

The Interim Report of President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015)

recommends that "Law enforcement culture should embrace a guardian mindset to build public

trust and legitimacy. Toward that end, police and sheriff's departments should adopt procedural

justice as the guiding principle for internal (within the police department) and external (outside

the police department) policies and practices to guide their interactions with the citizens they

serve" (p. 9). Mazerolle, et al (2013) proposed that procedurally just behavior has four

principles: 1) treating people with dignity and respect; 2) giving individuals 'voice' during

encounters; 3) being neutral and transparent in decision making; and 4) conveying trustworthy

motives (as quoted in the Presidential Task Force Report, p. 7).

3.4.3   Continuous Innovation

The third element of *New Professionalism* is continuous innovation. Hierarchical

organizations do not generally embrace innovation. As noted previously, decision making is

often centralized - and thus entrepreneurial methods are not ordinarily appreciated (Stone &

Travis, 2011). On the other hand, community policing promotes problem-oriented policing

which encourages innovative solutions. In today's information-centric, rapidly changing,

technology- driven society - criminals are innovating - policing must be able to keep up and

ideally surpass their abilities. To do so, requires working smarter.

Smart power, hard power and *soft power* are international relations terms coined by

Joseph Nye in his book, *Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power* (1990) and

further developed in his 2004 book,   *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* It has

been popularized in diplomatic and military circles and refers to a balance between negotiation,

persuasion, respect for cultures, etc. and the use of force. *New professionalism* promotes this

concept of balancing smart power (persuasion, negotiation, and respect for cultures) and hard

power (coercion). To put a finer point on it, *NP* allows for the soft power attributes of

community policing and the hard power attributes of the professional model, focused on crime

suppression. Whether this means partnering with community groups, other governmental

organizations, universities, or private businesses - all are possible under the rubric of NP (Stoner

& Travis, 2011). It aligns with another national and international focus of "best practices" and

"lessons learned." Whether it be the United Nation's Department of Peacekeeping Best Practices

Unit or the United States Army's Center for Army Lessons Learned; there is a philosophy

spreading throughout the world that we should become "learning organizations of professionals"

(Stone & Travis, et al, 17).

Peter Senge defines learning organizations as:

...organizations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they
truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective
aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole
together...learning organizations are centered around systems thinking (Senge, 2006,
p. 3).

Imbedded within learning organizations is the need to accurately measure outcomes and

to share those best practices and lessons learned.

3.4.4   National Coherence

National Coherence

The last element of *New Professionalism* is national coherence. Stone and Travis (2011)

reinforce that policing in the United States is decentralized. The history of police is one of

development that eschewed a centralized, national police force that could serve as a normalizing

force. Instead, there are approximately 20,000 police departments in the United States (because

it changes quickly, a reliable count is not possible) (Stone, et al). In Pennsylvania alone, there

are 1135 police departments, of which, only 96 have more than 30 officers (Young, 2009).

Many organizations such as the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), Department of Justice (DoJ),

Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), COPS Office, Problem-Oriented Policing, The

Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement (CALEA), Chiefs of Police Association and

many others continue to sponsor conferences and training that promote common best practices.

Most of these ventures are possible in large agencies but less so in smaller ones. Manning

(2010) proposes that the leaders of the larger agencies are a constituency of the federal

government's funding agencies. They serve on the review panels, and on the boards of

influential institutes, etc. and this serves to create:

> The virtual police organizations (VPO), an organization based upon assumptions, reified
> by research findings that reflect these assumptions and data that are designed from
> the beginning to amplify the original claims of the organizations...such an organization
> stands in contrast to the actual, concretely observed practices of police...policing is a very
> conservative, stable, and ossified organizational forum, it is subject to trends, fads,
> fashions and ripples of opinion that sweep through the elites of the occupation and the
> opinion leaders and trickle down to chiefs in mid-size cities. (Manning, 2010, 135).

This is further confirmed by job task analyses which survey individual officers and

supervisors. Ideally, these would assess training needs but in actuality provide a picture of what

officers and supervisors do, but not what they should do (Lubens, 2006). Police organizations

and training seem to suffer from circular reasoning. We do x so we need y training; we get y

training, so we do x.

But, Americans seem to want control of their police and, as many have noted, that will

probably always be the case. One only needs to watch the debate over regionalization or

disbanding of an agency to witness the concerns (Stone & Travis, 2011; Kelling & Moore, 1995; Trojanowicz, 1990). As soon as a politician publically considers forcing small police departments to regionalize or disband, public outrage ensures. It is extremely doubtful that the federal government, or even state government, will be able to control the means in which local agencies police their communities; however, through standardized and mandated training, they have been able to promote certain practices. Geller and Morris (1992) found incentives and disincentives for cooperation between federal and local police. Though this may have changed somewhat since their study, there are still "overlapping laws, regulations and rules that govern responses (Manning, 2010, p.187). Similarly, through court decisions and threats of civil litigation, there have been *lessons learned* that have found their way into common practice. Twenty years ago, it was common to have domestic disturbances handled through counseling and separating the parties. Today, the lowest ranking officer, in the smallest department, is well aware of mandated arrests and protection from abuse court orders. There has been and continues to be movement toward nationally accepted and recommended norms in training and response.

However, as noted by Stone and Travis (2011), policing is still very parochial. It is impossible in most states for all but the highest leadership to move to another agency and retain his or her rank and time in service. Police pension plans often do not transfer from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Even if they do, most agencies will not promote from without. As things currently stand, mobility is severely limited. And though undergraduate and graduate degrees are the norm in many agencies, the ability to move elsewhere and retain any seniority is nearly impossible. As noted by many, other professions do not have such limits (Stone & Travis, 2011; Thurman & Zhao, 2004). Manning cautions us about a national narrative based upon false

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assumptions. There is nothing about *NP* that disallows thoughtful discourse about the role of police. Once the role of police is determined, then the *métier*, "a name for police practices that are carried out routinely and determined by many forces" can be promoted as national ideals (Manning, 2010, 205).

3.5   Summary

The literature recognizes in general, three overarching models of policing: political, professional and community policing. In recent years, community policing has been the favored model, nationally and internationally, yet many theorists do not believe that community policing has been adopted but is rather still stuck in the professional model (Maguire and Katz, 2002; Cordner and Biebel, 2005).

Because of the policing environment, other strategies have been offered to deliver police services. In part these strategies have been promoted to deal with security concerns related to terrorism, gangs, and other disorder (Lee, 2010; Ikerd, 2009). But, there is also a desire to do things better, more efficiently and rationally (NIJ, 2014). Therefore, strategies such as predictive policing and hot spot policing have found their way into practice. Much to the chagrin of some community policing advocates, so have practices such as order maintenance policing; however, it is quite possible that in some communities such policing may be entirely appropriate to deal with security concerns. As has been noted, the problem with order maintenance policing may not be the strategy but rather the way it is performed (Lee, 2010). A police organization can do order maintenance policing without kitting out its officers as if they are going to war (Fyfe, 2001).

The researcher argues that these strategies have not risen to the level of a model but are rather strategies that can be used in any model as depicted in Figure 3.

Figure 3.2: Intersection of Models and Strategies

On the other hand, *New Professionalism (NP)* has entered the picture and it may well be on its way to becoming a model, whether it has been recognized as such or not. Intrinsic to *NP* is the balance between security and community. *New Professionalism* looks to merge the best of the professional and community policing models and include problem solving and evidence-based aspects as depicted in Figure 3.

3.6   Hypotheses

Several hypotheses were identified and refined as part of the study.

3.6.1   Proposed Hypotheses Related to the Police Sample

Hypotheses were identified and refined as part of the study.

Hypothesis 1 (Effect of Accountability on Policing Model)

Hypothesis 1a: Police agencies with more processes in place to identify poor officer performance, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 1b: Police agencies with more processes in place to identify poor organizational performance, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 1c: Police agencies with predominately "outcome" focused evaluation processes, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 1d: Police agencies with predominately "output" focused evaluation processes, are more likely to employ security-related and institutional strategies.

Hypothesis 1e: Police agencies with community involvement built into their organizational evaluation programs, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 2 (Effect of Legitimacy on Policing Model)

Hypothesis 2a: Police agencies who emphasize fairness, respect, and following the "spirit of the law" are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 2b: Police agencies that have better relationships with minority communities are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 3 (Effect of Continuous Innovation on Policing Models)

Hypothesis 3a: Police agencies that have a crime-control orientation are likely to employ security and institutional strategies.

Hypothesis 3b: Police agencies that employ less-lethal technologies are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 3c: Police agencies that have partnered with other community groups, governmental departments, non-profit organizations, or private-sector companies are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 3d: Police agencies that promote ethics training, value statements, and personal development are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 3e: Police agencies that solicit independent evaluations of their policies and tactics are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 4 (Effect of National Coherence on Policing Model)

Hypothesis 4a: Police agencies that have expended effort on national accreditation through The Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement (CALEA), are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 4b: Police agencies that search outside the organization for leadership positions are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 4c: Police agencies whose executives attend national level police

conferences are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 4d: Police agencies that send officers to national or state level police training

(excepting the police academy) are more likely to employ community development and

contingent strategies.

Hypothesis 4e: Police agencies whose officers actively participate in national or state

level lessons learned/best practices forums are more likely to participate in community

development and contingent strategies.

3.6.2   Proposed Hypothesis Related to the Community Sample

Hypothesis 2b: Police agencies that have better relationships with minority communities are

more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Police organizations have been examined through a variety of research methodologies: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. The researcher has chosen to conduct a pilot study of a mixed method approach designed to provide a better understanding of the potential implementation of a conceptual framework, *New Professionalism (NP)* in a sample of small police departments in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. A mixed method approach was selected to better understand the police organization and the community. This approach has been recommended for a number of years because of the understanding that "all methods have their limitations" (Cresswell, 2003, p. 15). Because of the preliminary nature of the research, it seemed that "sequential procedures in which the findings of one method are elaborated or expanded upon by another method" would best serve the research goals (Cresswell, 2003, p. 16).

The previous chapters provide the foundational literature for institutional and contingency theories of change and how they impact public administration and policing as well as the models and frameworks that have been adopted by police organizations in recent history.

This chapter provides the research methodology; discusses pilot studies, mixed methods, survey research; discusses the three cases that were closely analyzed through a set of interviews; discusses data sources and data collection; provides the surveys, discusses data management and analysis; and provides the limitations.

4.1   Research Methodology

The study began with a series of interviews with an advisory group of municipal police chiefs from small agencies to assess the hypotheses and survey instrument. Interviews were chosen because the researcher felt that she would elicit more candid perceptions and thoughts than other methods (Alpert and MacDonald, 2001). Additionally, she felt that non-verbal communication would provide additional feedback. Lastly, she hoped that the personal interaction between the advisory group and researcher would help to create buy-in for the study that would assist in a better response rate as chiefs of police in Pennsylvania have a robust network.

Based upon those interviews, the hypotheses were supported and the survey was clarified. The survey of police departments was administered to a randomized sample (10%) of 960 small (those having 30 or few officers) municipal police departments in Pennsylvania. The surveys are designed to determine if *New Professionalism*, a policing framework purported to be used in many of the United States' largest and/or most progressive police agencies, has reached small departments in Pennsylvania and to what degree.

A letter was sent to each municipal police agency selected describing the project and requested their participation. Matching community surveys were created and administered in ten percent of randomly selected communities whose police agencies responded to Survey 1. Lastly, ten percent of respondent sample police agencies' executives were selected for follow-up interviews. The interviews were designed to serve several purposes.

First, as a pilot study, it was important to look at the hypotheses, resulting instruments and processes rather than draw conclusions from limited data gathered from small samples. The

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first set of questions presented to the executives focused on increasing response. They were

designed to use open questions and an iterative process to solicit recommendations.

Second, the interviews were designed to explore the results in more depth and provide

details and understanding that would be unlikely to result from the survey instruments.
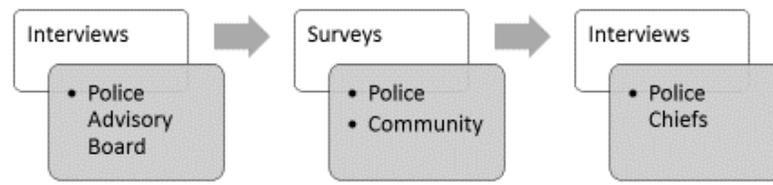
Figure 4.1: Research Methodology

4.1.1   Pilot Studies

This research was a pilot study. A pilot study is defined as an "experimental, exploratory,

test, preliminary, trial or try out" investigation and it is suitable for both quantitative and

qualitative studies. (Collins English Dictionary, 2003, p. 284) A pilot study pretests a research

tool, an idea or hypothesis (Van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001). Such studies are often used to

test questions and refine research methods. Thabane, et al (2010) recommends that pilot studies

be published to save researchers from unnecessarily using resources toward unfeasible studies

and that emphasis should be placed on feasibility - not statistical significance (p. 5).   The

researcher believed that a pilot study was particularly relevant to Pennsylvania because of the

nature of small police departments. There are cultural, manpower and technological

considerations that might impact the willingness or capability of such agencies from participating

in such research. Is a small police department executive supportive of research? Will he think

that it is another effort by the "state" to close down his agency? In a small department, will the

police chief have the time to even fill out a survey? Does the department even have a computer?

Similarly, there were concerns regarding the matching community survey. A pilot study

allowed the researcher to test whether the local library was in fact a reasonable place to elicit

participation from a diverse group of citizens.

4.2   Research Design

4.2.1   Data Sources and Data Collection

This work is focused on small municipal police agencies, defined as those with 30 or

fewer officers. The researcher requested that the Municipal Police Officers' Education and

Training Commission, the certifying agent for police officers in Pennsylvania, provide the

researcher a list of all municipal police departments in Pennsylvania. This list was alphabetized

by agency and included the names of the chief, mailing address, number of sworn officers and

political jurisdiction. The researcher used the list to identify all police agencies with 30 or fewer

officers. There were 960 municipal police agencies with 30 or fewer officers. Because

Pennsylvania municipal police departments are classified by the Municipal Police Officers'

Education and Training Commission (MPOETC) as 1-5 officers, 6-10 officers, 11-30 officers,

31-100 officers, and more than 100 officers, those categories with 30 or fewer officers aligned

best with the U.S. Department of Justice categories (0-1, 2-4, 5-9, 10-24, 25-49, and 50-99).

The researcher selected a random number less than ten and counted off on the list of 960

agencies to identify 96 police agencies to receive surveys. These agencies were geographically

balanced across the whole of Pennsylvania.   An introductory letter was sent to each agency

explaining the research, the survey and asked for response. The survey was sent out a week later. After two weeks, a follow up post card was sent to each agency. Two weeks later the researcher called every department that had not responded.

Approximately twelve weeks after the police surveys were sent and the researcher believed that all possible responses had been received, she randomly selected ten percent of the original 96 police agency communities to receive matching community surveys.   She contemplated a variety of ways to survey the communities and realized that in small communities, the local library or Fire Company may be the best place to reach community members. Because of the nature of the research, she believed that the libraries were likely the best place to get the most diversity in community respondents. Community libraries are often used by all demographics – they may be the only facility to provide free internet or computer services. In many small communities, there are few other facilities that include such variety. She contacted librarians in ten communities to discuss the research, ensure they had public computers and were willing to participate. After the librarians agreed to allow the survey to be provided to patrons, she sent packets to each library.   Each packet included 200 copies of a letter that explained the research and included links to the survey (the survey was conducted on-line). The packets also included laminated posters.

After approximately two weeks, she contacted the librarians to see if any adjustments were needed. She was asked for more materials from one library. For the most part, librarians believed the method plausible but the response rate, except for three libraries, was abysmal. Because of the geographic dispersal of the libraries, the researcher was only able to visit two of the ten. Of those ten libraries, three had usable response rates.

After all both surveys were analyzed, she contacted the chiefs of police of the three respondent communities for intensive interviews. These were conducted in two sessions. The first session was approximately six months after analyses were completed on the surveys. The second sessions were conducted in November and December 2014.

The following procedures were implemented prior to data collection for this project:

1) An application was approved through the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Penn State.

2) An introductory letter, identifying the research, and providing information as to the focus of this study was created for each survey instrument. The letter provided information as to why the participant was selected, and requested their assistance in the project. The letter promised confidentiality and ensured them that no information will be released that may identify any organization or individual. This was provided as part of the web-based survey.

3) Because surveys were conducted on the Internet, and in accordance with Federal regulation, "When study participation presents minimal risk of harm to the subject and the research involves no procedure requiring consent outside the context of participation in a research study," (Citipgram.org, 2012), a waiver request to document consent was requested as part of the IRB application and was approved.

4) Follow on interviews were conducted. All but one were conducted telephonically. The researcher re-read the introductory letter to each interview participant to remind them of the purpose and scope of the study.

5) The digital download of completed surveys, aggregated data, and interview notes will be kept in a locked safe in the researcher's residence and will be destroyed after five years. The

commercial survey company will remove all survey data at the conclusion of the research project.

4.2.2 Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods generally refers to three particular research designs: participant observation, intensive interviewing, and focus groups (Bachman and Schutt, 2008, p. 177). Though interviews can be considered survey research, in such cases the questions are structured and though they allow for some probing of respondent's understandings, they do not usually provide as much understanding as intensive interviewing (Hagan, 2003). Intensive interviewing is different in its "consistency" and "thoroughness." (Bachman and Schutt, 2008, p. 193). Its goal is comprehensiveness and to understand why participants view the world as they do. Such participants should be "knowledgeable about the subject of the interview" (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, pp. 65).

Two sets of intensive interviews were conducted in this study. The first set of interviews addressed was conducted with an advisory group of municipal police chiefs from small agencies. This was a semi-structured set of interviews – with specific questions directed toward understanding hypotheses and the survey instruments. Such interviews were designed to provide context, understanding and interpretation (Hagan, 2003).

The second set of interviews was conducted with three (ten percent) of police organization respondents (chiefs) to the police survey. Patton (2002) proposed that such techniques allow issues to be explored in depth and thus provide "detail and nuance" to the research (p. 227).

4.2.3   Surveys

Two state-wide surveys were used to collect this data. Survey 1 was administered to municipal agencies. The majority of it was designed by the researcher with the exception of six questions take from a *National Survey of Investigations in the Community Police Context* administered by Mary Wycoff (1997) for the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). These are very basic questions and variations have been found in other surveys related to policing models. Questions were specifically targeted to departmental factors relevant to the four pillars of new professionalism. This survey was reviewed by an advisory group of police chiefs from small police agencies in Cumberland and Franklin County, Pennsylvania. As a result, two questions were changed and word usage was altered for clarity. Survey 2 was designed to focus on legitimacy and to compare police responses to community responses believing that it may be possible that the police might have unrealistic views of their perceived legitimacy in their respective communities. Follow-on interviews were conducted with responding police executives to elaborate on the executives' beliefs regarding their adherence to *New Professionalism* and to investigate the delta between what the police agencies reported and what the community reported in the focus area of *legitimacy.*

4.2.4   Data Management and Analysis

The project included two sets of interviews and administration of two surveys. The constructs created to determine what model of policing were being implemented focused on *Departmental* and *Community* factors. Initially, a distribution of the variables and the factors (accountability, legitimacy, continuous innovation, national coherence) created from those variables was conducted.

Survey Monkey was used to create, manage and maintain the on-line survey. Statistical analyses were completed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 21.0. Distributions and qualitative description were used to describe differences between agencies and communities. Though the samples selected were large enough to conduct more rigorous statistical analyses, the response rate was insufficient for most tests.   The purpose of this study was to test the research instruments, research methodology, refine the hypotheses that will be used to explore the relationship between security and community development in small municipal police departments in Pennsylvania in order to see to what extent they are embracing *New Professionalism* and determine the feasibility of extending this project to a larger population of small police organizations.

Table 4.1. Data analysis guide - Survey

Hypotheses	Survey Question
1a. Police agencies with more processes in place to identify poor officer performance, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 24: Identify if these are in-place or proposed: scheduled officers evaluation reports, "on-spot" counseling reports, use of force reports for injury, use of force reports for non-injury; field officer training program; ethics training, termination for poor performance, termination for verified or unverified complaints, tracking system for use of force
1b. Police agencies with more processes in place to identify poor organizational performance, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 24: Identify if these are in-place or proposed: COMPSTAT-like program to determine "hot spots" and deploy officers accordingly
1c. Police agencies with predominately "outcome" focused evaluation processes are more likely employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 24: Identify if these are in-place or proposed: supervisors evaluations rate them on measurable objectives such as reducing crime rates, etc., officers evaluations rate officers on measurable objects such as measuring crime, etc.
1d. Police agencies with predominately "output" focused evaluation processes are more likely to employ security-related and institutional strategies.	Question 24: Identify if these are in-place or proposed: Department is evaluated on its calls for service
1e. Police agencies with community involvement built into their organizational evaluation programs are more likely to employ	Question 24: Identify if these are in-place or proposed: citizen input to police planning process, policy citizen advisory board, citizen review board, regular community meetings to solicit feedback from community members, citizen representation on disciplinary board

community development and contingent strategies.	
2a. Police agencies who emphasize fairness, respect, and following the "spirit of the law" are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 26: Of the following two statements, select the one that is more important to your agency: 1) It is okay in this department if officers give people breaks as long as they follow the spirit of the law 2) I expect officers to enforce the law as it is written
2b. Police agencies that have better relationships with minority communities are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 25: Police Survey: Likert question asking police to rate their overall relationship on a scale of 1-5, with 1 being "poor" and 5 being "excellent" with overall community, African-Americans, Hispanics, Immigrants Question 7: Community Survey: Likert question with citizens being asked to rate police in several areas on a scale of 1-5, with 1 being "poor and 5 being "excellent"
3a. Police agencies that have a crime control orientation are likely to employ security and institutional strategies.	Question 26: Of the following two statements, select the one that is more important to your agency: 1) It is okay in this department if officers give people breaks as long as they follow the spirit of the law 2) I expect officers to enforce the law as it is written
3b. Police agencies that employ less-lethal technologies are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 28: Please select all less-lethal technologies that your department has: pepper spray, bean bags, Taser®, baton, other (please specify)
3c. Police agencies that have partnered with other community groups, governmental departments, non-profit organizations or private-sector companies are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 29: Please check all of the organizations that you have officially partnered with through memoranda of agreement, mutual aid compacts, etc.: community groups providing social services (such as Salvation Army), emergency response groups (such as Red Cross), federal government department/agencies, state government department/agencies, county government department/agencies, private businesses, public schools, private schools, other non-profits, other (please specify)
3d. Police agencies that promote ethics training, value statements, and personal development are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 24: Identify if these are in-place or proposed: written mission statement, written code of ethics, written vision statement
3e. Police agencies that solicit independent evaluations of their policies and tactics are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 24: Identify if these are in-place or proposed: department is evaluated by an outside agency/organization at the department's request
4a. Police agencies that have expended effort on national accreditation through CALEA are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 15: Is your agency accredited? Question 16: If not accredited, have you started the accreditation process? Question 17: If you have started the accreditation process, briefly describe what has been completed so far.
4b. Police agencies that search outside the organization for leadership positions are more likely to employ community development	Question 30: Our municipality may hire the police department chief executive from outside the agency (true or false)

	and contingent strategies.	
4c. Police agencies whose executives attend national level police conferences are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.	Question 36: Our department executive attends the annual IACP conference (true or false) Question 38: Our department executive or other officer attends other national conferences such as those presented by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) (true or false)	
4d. Police agencies that send officers to national or state-level police training (excepting the police academy) are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies)	Question 37: Our department executive attends the annual PA Chiefs conference (true or false)	
4e. Police agencies whose officers actively participate in national or state-level lessons learned/best practices forums are more likely to participate in community development and contingent strategies.	Question 35: Our department participates in police lessons learned/best practices forums (true or false)	

Table 4.2   Data analysis guide –interviews and researcher assessment

Research Questions	Interview Questions/Researcher Assessment
1. Are the hypotheses consistent with the literature review and the municipal police advisory group interviews?	Police Advisory Board: Based upon the feedback that you provided, does the survey reflect your observations? Researcher: Are the hypotheses logically related to the literature review? Are the advisory board recommendation present?
2. Do the research instruments (surveys/interviews) adequately address each hypothesis?	Police Advisory Board: Based upon your assessments, readings and discussion, do the survey questions make sense? Intensive Interviews: Do you believe the research process allows us to understand accountability, legitimacy, innovation and national coherence? What would you add/change to ensure useful information is gathered?
3. Instrumentation	Police Advisory Board: Assess the survey for readability, simplicity, clarity, administration. Intensive Interviews: Assess the survey for readability, simplicity, clarity, administration.
4. Are the variables identified within each hypothesis clearly defined within each survey and/or interview protocol as required?	Police Advisory Board: Do you see accountability, legitimacy, innovation and national coherence in the survey? Are there missing questions? Are there parts of these areas that need expanded?
5. Is the sampling plan appropriate?	Researcher: Were these the right departments for this study?
6. Is the sampling plan the best method to obtain a randomized sample?	Researcher: Assess the sample – does this appear to be representative of small police departments in Pennsylvania? Is this a representative of small communities in Pennsylvania? If not, how can it be improved?
7. Is the sampling plan the best method to obtain responses from	Intensive Interviews: Were the libraries the best place to get community responses? How would you do it? What about focus groups with the

matching communities?	police and the community – mixed and separate?
8. How can the response be improved?	Intensive Interviews: How would you recommend that the response rate be improved?
9. Will qualitative, statistical or mixed methods be appropriate for the full study?	Researcher: Based upon the response rate, assessments of the richness of data and police/community observations – are these the right methods?
10. Are institutional and contingency theories the best way to understand this issue?	Researcher: Would organizational learning be a better approach?
11. Are there any missing areas of inquiry?	Researcher: What areas of inquiry need to be investigated that were identified in the research process?

4.3   Limitations

This work is focused on small municipal police agencies, defined as those with 30 or

fewer officers. It may not be representative of all similarly-sized municipal police agencies in

other states because rural Pennsylvania counties and bedroom communities, where small police

departments in Pennsylvania are found, tend to be more homogeneous in race (Mykerezi and

Mills, 2005), though, because of immigration, this is changing as Pennsylvania finds more

Hispanic and Asian people moving into their communities (U.S. Census, 2012). Similarly, the

population of African-Americans is rising in bedroom communities (U.S. Census, 2012).   Rural

counties in Pennsylvania tend to have an older population; thus, the community population

drawn from such areas will most likely be older and whiter than urban populations. Similarly, the

officer population in smaller agencies tends, even those adjacent to urban areas is usually whiter

than that found within the city limits (Young, 2013).

4.4   Summary

The pilot study included a series of intensive interviews with an expert board of police

chiefs from small police departments in Pennsylvania.   Based upon the expert board's

recommendations, the researcher adjusted the hypotheses and survey questions. She then

administered a police survey to 96 small police departments (30 or fewer officers) in

Pennsylvania. These departments were geographically disbursed across the state. At the completion of this survey, she administered a survey to ten randomly selected matching communities. These community surveys were administered at local libraries. Once this survey was completed, chiefs of police from three respondent communities were selected for intensive interviews.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Chapter 5 presents the study results of the intensive interviews and statistical data analysis. Interviews with a police advisory group consisting of three chiefs and senior officers helped adjust the hypotheses and survey questions. Because of the small sample response rate, some preferred statistical tests for analyzing nominal data cannot be used. For example, Chi-square would be used except the sample size is not sufficient (at least 60 cases). The resulting statistical analysis is descriptive and uses mostly frequencies and cross-tabulations. It is exploratory and consistent with being a pilot study. Though insufficient for many statistical tests, it was an opportunity to test the process and procedures, determine the degree of clarity in the survey instruments, and identify problems that require further attention (Neuman, 1997). Follow-on intensive interviewer were conducted with three chiefs of police. These interviews added depth and nuance that was incredibly helpful in refining hypotheses and surveys for a larger study.

5.1   The Police Sample

A sample of 96 small police agencies was randomly selected from the Municipal Police Officers' Training and Education Database. One department was later dropped, providing a sample of 95 small police agencies, because the response depicted a larger agency than depicted in official records kept by the Municipal Police Officers Education and Training Commission (the agency had 36 officers, not 30 or fewer). Letters including a link to the web-based survey were sent to 95 police executives of small police agencies. Approximately two-weeks later, post-cards were sent to non-respondent agencies. Lastly, two weeks after the post cards were mailed, personal telephone calls were made to non-respondents. This resulted in a response rate

of 36.8 percent (*n=35*). The size of the departments ranged from having only part-time police officers to the largest in the sample which had 28 full-time officers. The majority of the respondents answering the survey were male (97%, n= 34). Agencies served populations ranging from 450 to 28,000. Descriptive Statistics are listed in Table 1.

Table 5.1. Descriptive statistics of police characteristics, *n=35*

Percent or Mean

Sex of Police Executive	
Male	97.05 %
Female	2.95 %
Race of Police Executive	
White only	100.00%
Department Characteristics	
24 Hour Service	48.60 %
Limited Stations, manned at least 8 hours	37.10 %
Manned less than 8 hours a day	2.95 %
Opened as needed	11.35%
Type of Officer within Department	
Full-time only	25.71 %
Full-time and part-time mix	60.00 %
Part-time only	14.29 %
Minimum Annual Salaries, Full-time	
$60,000 – 62,500	10.00 %
$50,000 - 59,999	16.66 %
$40,000 – 49,999	40.00 %
$30,000 – 39,999	23.33 %

$20,000 – 29,999	10.00 %

Minimum Hourly Salaries, Part-time

$23.00 and above	3.84 %
$17.00 – 22.99	19.23 %
$15.00 – 16.99	19.23 %
$13.00 - 14.99	19.23 %
$10.00 – 12.99	38.47%

Agency executives were white and overwhelmingly male. One female police executive was found in the sample. Ethnicity was not asked and should have been. Five agencies did not have any full-time sworn officers and depended only on part-time sworn officers. Ninety-one % of agencies had 10 or fewer sworn officers. Salaries, particularly for part-time officers were low. Their median salary was $14.25 per hour. In contrast, full time officers' median salary was $40,000 per year ($19.23 per hour). It should be noted that many part time officers work full time; however, their hours are split between multiple police departments. If a part time officer is married to a non-working spouse and has two children, he is likely to be at 100% of the federal poverty guidelines (Medicaid, 2014).

Similarly, a look at how agencies divided their work and workers over space and time provides a more nuanced view of how small police agencies function. Forty-Eight and Six Hundred Thousandths percent (48.60 %) of agencies had 24-hour police departments. Thirty-seven and One Hundred Thousandths percent (37.10 %) had limited stations in which they were manned for at least eight hours a day. One agency reported that it was manned less than eight hours per day, two other agencies reported their stations were open as needed. Two agencies

reported that they did not have any station hours. Though not included in the data, it is probable

that these officers worked out of the township building and used a centralized dispatching

system. This is no longer an uncommon model or unique to small agencies. The Pennsylvania

State Police have moved to a centralized dispatch center and in some areas, it is not uncommon

to have troopers on calls, and the station unstaffed. Though evidence is limited, having the

inability to staff at least one full-time police station may likely affect an agency's community

development vice security focus as such limitations tend to force a reactive method of operation.

This is inconsistent with community development.

5.1.1 Accountability

Two measures of accountability were created: internal accountability and external

accountability. Variables measuring full-time evaluations (FTEVALS), part-time evaluations

(PTEVALS), on-spot evaluations (ONSPOTEVAL), use of force no injuries (USOFFORCNI),

use of force injuries (USOFFRCI), field training officer (FTO), tracking force (TRACKFRC),

and tracking complaints (TRACKCOMP) were transformed to Internal Accountability

(INTERNACCOUNT). Police agencies were asked how many of these internal accountability

measures were in place - the more of them in place, the higher their internal accountability

measure.

Table 5.2. Distribution of *internal accountability* measures adopted by the police agency (*n*=35)

	Yes	Proposed	No
Q24A Scheduled Evaluations for Full-time officers (FTEVALS)	77.27 %	22.73 %	

Q24B Scheduled Evaluations for Part-time officers (PTEVALS)	81.25 %	18.75 %
Q24C "On Spot" Counseling for officers performing exceptionally good or poor work (ONSPOTEVAL)	78.95%	21.05 %
Q24D Use of Force reports for ANY Use of force, even if no injuries (USOFFORCNI)	96.88 %	3.13%
Q24E Use of Force reports for ANY Use of force resulting in injury (USOFFRCI)	100.00%	
Q24F Field Training Officer program (FTO)	75.00 %	25.00 %
Q24G Tracking system to track officers' Use of force (TRACKFRC)	84.21 %	15.79 %
Q24h Tracking system to track officers' Citizen complaint history (TRACKCOMP)	85.00 %	15.00 %

Similarly, variables related to external accountability were transformed to one External Accountability factor. Community meetings (COMMTG), COMPSTAT, evaluations with objectives (EVALWOBJ), citizen review (CITREV), citizen representation in disciplinary proceedings (CITREPDI), termination for poor attitude (TATTITUDE), termination for unverified complaints (TCOMPUN), termination for verified complaints (TCOMPV), citizen advisory board (CITADVBD), and evaluations by outside agencies (OUTRATE) were combined. The more of them in place - the higher their external accountability measure.

Table 5.3. Distribution of *external accountability* measures adopted by the police agency (*n=35*)

	Yes	Proposed	No
Q24I Regular community meetings to solicit input from community members (COMMTG)	80.00 %	20.00 %	
Q24J COMPSTAT-like program to determine hotspots and deploy officers accordingly (COMPSTAT)	57.14 %	42.86 %	
Q24K Formalized citizen complaint Procedure (CITCOMPL)	100.00 %		
Q24L Termination of employment for poor attitude toward citizens (TATTITUDE)	100.00 %		
Q24M Termination of employees for too many verified citizen complaints (TCOMPV)	100.00 %		
Q24e Use of Force reports for ANY Use of force resulting in injury (USOFFRCI)	100.00%		
Q24f Field Training Officer program (FTO)	75.00 %	25.00 %	
Q24g Tracking system to track officers' Use of force (TRACKFRC)	84.21 %	15.79 %	
Q24h Tracking system to track officers' Citizen complaint history (TRACKCOMP)	85.00 %	15.00 %	

Hypothesis 1a proposed that officers with more processes in place to identify poor officer

performance, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies. It

appears that some mechanisms are more accepted than others. Use of force reports are common; more than 90% of agencies use them. Yet, only half of full-time officers are evaluated on their performance, though slightly more agencies have field training officer programs. Similarly, Hypothesis 1e proposed that agencies with more "output" focused evaluation processes, are more likely to employ security-related and institutional strategies.

It appears that about 25 % of those officers evaluated are evaluated on output measures. Lastly, it was proposed that police agencies with community involvement built into their organizational evaluation programs, are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies. Overall, the most common community feedback mechanism was a formalized citizen complaint process; however, less than 20 % of agencies had any other kind of citizen input to their performance.

5.1.2   Legitimacy

Agencies reported variables of overall legitimacy (POLLEGIT), legitimacy with African-Americans (PAFAMLEG), legitimacy with Hispanic-Americans (PHISPLEG), and legitimacy with immigrants were combined to reflect a summed index.   Overall, more than half (51.4 %) of the police agencies rated their own legitimacy as excellent. None of them rated their legitimacy as poor.

Table 5.4. Distribution of self-reported legitimacy

	Poor (1)	2	3	4	Excellent (5)	Total	Weighted Average
Overall Community	0.00 %	0.00 %	11.43%	37.14 %	51.43 %	35	4.40
African-American Community	0.00 %	5.71 %	20.00 %	45.71 %	28.57 %	35	3.97

Hispanic Communit y	0.00 %	9.38 %	18.75 %	50.00 %	21.88 %	32	3.84
Immigrant Communit y	0.00%	6.25 %	21.88%	46.88 %	25.00 %	32	3.91

Second, only nine agencies (25.71 %) answered affirmatively to the question "It is okay in this department if officers give people breaks as long as they follow the spirit of the law and treat people with genuine respect." As noted in Hypothesis 2a, police agencies that emphasize fairness, respect and following the spirit of the law are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

5.1.3   Innovation

Innovation was measured by looking at police agencies in three areas: use of less-lethal technologies, participation in lessons learned/best practices, and partnerships with non-police agencies. The combined factor, INNOVATE, was created. All respondent police agencies have some kind of less-lethal technology such as pepper spray, Taser®, bean bags, baton or other. Surprisingly, the Taser® was the most common technology with more than 82% of agencies having the device. This suggests that agencies are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies.

Table 5.5. Distribution of innovative technologies adopted by the police agency (*n=35*)

	Yes	No
Q25.		
Pepper Spray (LESSLETHPS)	82.86 %	17.14 %
Bean Bags (LESSLETHBB)	25.71 %	74.29 %

	Yes	No
Taser® (LESSLETHT)	91.43 %	8.57 %
Baton (LESSLETHBAT)	62.86 %	37.14 %

This did not carry over to the other variables in the innovation which found that very few

agencies partner with any community, non-profit organizations or private sector companies.

Table 5.6. Distribution of police – other partnerships (*n*=35)

	Yes	No
Q29.		
Community groups providing social services (PARTNRSOC)	21.88 %	78.12 %
Emergency response groups (such as Red Cross) (PARTNREM)	46.88 %	53.12 %
Federal Government Agencies/Departments (PARTNRFED)	43.75 %	56.25 %
State Government Agencies/Departments (PARTNRSTATE)	78.13 %	21.87 %
County Government Agencies/Departments (PARTNRCNTY)	84.38 %	15.62 %
Private Businesses (PARTNRBUS)	3.13 %	96.87%
Public Schools (PARTNRPUS)	71.88 %	28.12 %
Private School (PARTNRPRS)	15.63 %	84.37 %
Other Non-Profits (PARTNROTH)	12.50 %	87.50 %

Similarly, only 7% participate in any lessons learned or best practice for a (Question 35).

Hypothesis 3d proposed that police agencies that promote ethics training, value statements and personal development are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies. All respondent agencies (100 %) report that they have mandatory ethics training and ethics codes. Lastly, Hypothesis 3e proposed that police agencies that solicit independent evaluations of their policies and tactics are more likely to employ community development and contingent strategies. Only three percent of agencies requested outside evaluation, though 5.7 % of agencies have proposed it.

5.1.4   National Coherence

National coherence was measured by looking at national-level training and education, attendance at national conferences, and national accreditation. Very few executives were graduates of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Academy (5.9 percent); however, over 30 percent of executives graduated from the Police Officer Executive (POLEX) course. Half of police agencies send their officers to federal training but few executives or officers attend national conferences. Less than 6 percent of agencies are accredited but as accreditation is an expensive process, this is not surprising. There have been proposals to create a simplified process for small agencies but as yet it is still a cumbersome and expensive process.

Table 5.7.   Distribution of police – national level training and education, attendance at national conferences, and accreditation. (*n*=35)

	Yes	No
Q31 Department executive graduate of FBI National Academy (EXECFBI)	8.57 %	91.43 %

Q32 Department executive graduate of POLEX (EXECPOLEX)	29.41 %	70.59 %
Q33 Department sends officers to federal training (OFFFEDTNG)	52.94%	47.06 %
Q34 Department sends officers to state-level training	100.00 %	
Q36 Department executive attends annual IACP conference (IACP)	2.86 %	97.14 %
Q37 Department executive attends PA Chiefs Conference (PACHIEFS)	17.14 %	82.86 %
Q38 Department executive attends other National conferences (NATCONF)	2.86 %	97.14 %
Q15 Is your agency accredited? (ACCREDITED)	8.82 %	91.18 %
Q16 If not accredited, have you started the accreditation process? (STARTACCRED)	12.12 %	87.88 %

5.2   The Community Sample

Initially, nine communities were randomly selected from the respondent policy agencies' communities. As responses arrived, it became apparent that two of those communities would not participate; thus, ultimately seven matching communities were surveyed; however, because of the extremely low response rates from four of these communities, the final results include three

matching communities. So, 10% of the respondent police agencies are matched. These

communities were dispersed throughout Pennsylvania.

The library director, for each identified community, was contacted in April 2014 and

asked to allow the survey to occur at the library. In multiple conversations, the librarians

confirmed the diversity of the library users. Libraries, as expected, have become hubs for the

young and old. They bridge the digital divide and their usage rates reflect diversity and

popularity. Each librarian was mailed a packet with 150 letters that explained the survey and

provided the link and password. Each packet also included 2 laminated posters that explained

the survey and clearly stated that the project was voluntary and no associated with the library.

5.2.1   Legitimacy

There was essentially no difference in the overall legitimacy scores between the police

and community. Their perceptions were quite similar. Very few individual surveys were not

complimentary toward the police; however, there were so few that they made little statistical

difference. Of interest, is that those that were not complimentary were young men, evenly

divided among white, non-Hispanic and African-American. The survey respondents were more

diverse than expected, which may reflect the rising immigrant population, though the survey did

not probe any immigration status. Thirty-two percent (32 %) of respondents were under 30 years

of age.

Table 5.8. Descriptive statistics of citizen characteristics, *n* = 50

	Percent Or mean
Sex	
Male	56.00 %
Female	44.00 %
Race	
White only	42.00 %
Black only	12.00 %
Asian	10.00 %
Native American	4.00 %
Ethnicity	
Hispanic	10.00 %
Non-Hispanic	32.00 %
Age	
18 – 21	10.00 %
22 – 25	10.00 %
26 – 30	12.00 %
31 – 40	24.00 %
41 – 50	20.00 %
51 – 60	18.00 %
61 – 70	2.00 %
+ 71	4.00 %

Thirty two percent (32 %) of community respondents disagreed with the statement, "Overall, my local police department is a legitimate authority and people should obey the decisions they make." When the communities were matched with their respective police departments, it appeared that the police were less-legitimate in some communities; however, the small samples size makes it impossible to draw any conclusions.

Table 5.9. Matched community responses to question "Overall, local police are legitimate authority"

	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Matched Police Department Perception
Community 1 n=10	30.00 %	30.00 %	20.00 %	20.00 %	Good
Community 2 n=10	10.00 %	60.00%	20.00 %	10.00%	Excellent
Community 3 n=30	13.3 %	26.7 %	26.7 %	30.00 %	Excellent

Community 1 had a population of 5,000 people, 8 full-time and 2 part-time police officers, and has 1 police station open 24-hours a day. Community 2 had a population of 2150, 3 full-time officers, and has 1 limited police station open 8 or more hours a day. Community 3 had a population of 20,000, 28 full-time officers and has 1 full-service, 24-hour police station.

5.3   The Police Executive Interviews

Once the surveys were collected and analyzed, interviews were conducted with the police chiefs of the police agencies that had matching community surveys.

5.3.1   Survey Administration

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Ideally, the survey would be provided through the Municipal Police Officers' Education and Training Commission (MPOETC). Because of the already existing formalized relationship with MPOETC, if MPOETC sent out the survey, it would likely have nearly a 100 % response rate.

This is consistent with the researcher's own experiences – as one survey she completed as an MPOETC employee had a 99% response rate. During the administration of this survey, MPOETC assisted by allowing the researcher to present a letter to the Commission that explained the project and encouraged participation; however, it was not sent out under MPOETC cover.

In discussing the use of a computer-based survey:

"Ensure that the sample has access to decent computers with web access."

Though most departments do have computers, in some smaller agencies they are inadequate and may not be connected to the worldwide web. This makes administering an online survey difficult.

Additionally:

"If possible, send a research team to the police department."

Though quite costly, it might be possible to partner with a local college or university to administer the surveys. One chief thought that college professors might want to provide their students an opportunity to do field research and that something like this project, might be a "win, win" (Chief 2).

5.3.2   Survey Design

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The only recommendation for survey design was to use a badge logo somewhere on the survey.

If it has a badge on it and looks very "coppy" – the boys will be more likely fill it out (Chief 1).

5.3.3 Survey Content - Recommendations

5.3.3.1   When discussing the survey content, several recommendations were provided.

> Add a tool/procedure/process to Question 24 for accountability that provides for evaluation by observation or other informal means.

There were several tools, procedures, and processes listed in Question 24 and agencies were to select all that applied: scheduled officer evaluation reports for full-time officers; scheduled officer evaluation for part-time officers; "On the Spot" counseling forms for officers performing exceptionally good work or poor work; use of force reports for any use of force, even without injuries; use of force reports for any use of force resulting in an injury; field training officer program; mandatory ethics training; termination of employees for poor performance; termination of employees for poor attitude toward citizens; termination of employee for too many unverified citizen complaints; termination of employee for too many verified citizen complaints, citizen input to police planning process; police citizen advisory board; officers are evaluated on their output; department is evaluated on its calls for service; tracking system to track each officer's use of force; tracking system to track each officer's citizen complaint history; formalized citizen complaint process; regular community meetings to solicit feedback from community members; COMPSTAT-like program to determine "hot spots" and deploy officers accordingly; officer evaluations rate officers on measurable objectives such as reducing crime

rates, etc.; Citizen Review Board; Citizen Representation on Disciplinary Board; Supervisors' evaluations rate supervisors on measurable, objectives such as reducing crime rates; department has a written vision statement.

5.3.3.2   Provide a Likert scale for Question 26 instead of a dichotomous variable (select one statement over another). Respondents were given a choice to select:

- It is okay in this department if officers give people breaks as long as they follow the spirit of the law and treat people with genuine respect.

- I expect officers to be polite but enforce the law as it is written. We don't write the law – the legislature does that. Police authority ought to be respected.

They felt that qualifying the statements with a "percentage of the time" would be helpful because both statements can be true.

5.3.3.3   Similarly, Question 27 asks respondents to agree or disagree that "Crime Control is the most important duty of the Department." One chief believed that there should be a way to qualify the statement with "percentage of the time." (Chief 2).

5.3.4   Community Response

After discussing the instruments, chiefs were asked to discuss their community's responses compared to their own.

5.3.4.1   Community 1

As noted previously, Community 1 had 30 % of respondents ($n=10$) state that the police were not a legitimate authority. This contrasted with the Chief's assessment that their

relationship with the community was good. He believed that the age demographic likely affected the response; however, the respondents for Community 1 were over 30, the median age was 31-40. Again, with such a small response rate, it is not wise to draw conclusions.

5.3.4.2   Community 2

Community 2 also had an extremely small response rate. The chief noted that the library has very limited hours and that may have impacted the sample. The median response age for Community 2 was 41-50 years of age. He also observed that his community is experiencing a changing demographic. The community is moving from predominately home ownership to rental and public housing. He is having problems with drug use and trafficking that have never been experienced before. He suggested that the survey have a question specifically asking about crime task forces as he now routinely works with the federal Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA); Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), Federal Bureau of Investigations and U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE). In the past, these working relationships were rare.

5.3.4.3   Community 3

Community 3 had the most robust response rate but still quite small (*n*=30) and almost half older female. Most female respondents were 51-60 years of age; most male respondents were 31-50 years of age. The chief believed that this fits with the demographics. His community is wealthy suburb of a large, prosperous city with a highly educated workforce. It is a mostly white, non-Hispanic community. The chief had no explanation for any resident purporting that the police were not legitimate. He noted that three of the respondents were 18-21 years of age and surmised that they may have visited the library together and enjoyed a bit of

mischief. And that possibility is a concern when allowing respondents to self-select. They thought that focus groups might be better than surveys for community members so as to get to the "why" people feel the way they do. And, they noted that such information, in an anonymized report, could help them in their efforts. When asked if they have thought about administering surveys or focus groups, they all agreed that such efforts were not in the police budget. Community 3's Borough Council has done attitudinal surveys but they are cursory and they Chief noted they do not provide enough information for his use.

5.3.5   Current State of Policing

Overall, the interviews clarified challenges that small police executives experience. They are increasingly under budget pressures and often unable to pay their officers a living wage. Communities 1and 2 stated that it was an uphill battle to get their borough/township councils on board to pay police officers a salary commensurate with their education and experience. One chief observed that if his wife did not have the robust income she has, he would be unable to continue on a salary of $32,000 a year. He noted that his part-time officers made minimum wage and most had to pay for their own police academy in order to be hired.

When discussing the components of *New Professionalism* and how they apply today, there were a few observations related to each component:

5.3.5.1   Accountability

Police shouldn't resist being accountable but you have to work with civilians that understand what you are up against. Civilian Review Boards aren't really designed for small departments. Everyone knows everyone in my borough. The

whole place is a civilian review board. If we do something wrong, the Mayor will hear it and then I'll hear it.

The researcher asked the chief to expound on this idea that officers cannot do wrong without being found out as her knowledge of policing malfeasance in Pennsylvania told a different story. He was convinced that his community would not hesitate to report bad behavior and that he would take action if necessary. It seemed to be almost naiveté regarding the very real problem that officers perpetrating domestic violence, rape and other predatory crimes are incredibly personable and manipulative (Neidig, Russsell and Seng, 1992).

> We ask our police officers do so an awful lot for very little money. I don't know an officer that does not get into it because they want to help people. Most of my cops have wanted to be in policing since they were little boys. They don't get in the job to abuse people. I've never had to fire an officer for being abusive – I fired one for drinking but I knew his dad and he had a drinking problem too so I wasn't surprised. In my mind the bigger problem is the public's accountability. You expect the police officer to turn the other cheek when he's being spit at, hit, and treated like he's dirt but you don't ask the public why they aren't ashamed of their behavior. It goes both ways. You get respect when you act like you deserve. I'm not abusing you, I'll be professional but I'm not going to respect you for being an animal. Respect is earned.

The chief discussing personal accountability voiced the most frustration with the current state of policing of all the respondents. His community was experiencing more drug and drug-related crime than in years past. As we talked he noted that more children were in homes where there was one parent and much of the time that parent was gone – either working or "partying."

> Accountability starts at home as personal accountability. I'm accountable because I have a moral code that holds me accountable. You can have all the external codes and laws that you want but they don't mean a damn thing if you don't have an internal sense of right and wrong. Of course we have some officers that don't do the right things – we get what society creates. We just hope we can weed them out with the right background checks and hiring procedures. If one slips through, I like to think good supervision will catch him. But, without constant vigilance, we could have some bad actor police officers. I like to think not but I'm not holding my breath.

The chief made an excellent observation. Regulations, policies, and codes may serve to reinforce such behavior in the already ethical. For those that are prone to break the rules, they may not serve their intended purpose.

When asked to clarify why officers were not terminated in many instances, one chief expressed regret that he often could not fire an officer but rather would let him resign:

> Sometimes I just let an officer resign instead of firing him. It saves a long, drawn out fight that costs the township money and we get rid of a bad officer. But, unfortunately, he often gets hired by a neighboring department. We aren't allowed to tell that department why the guy left – that's usually part of the deal we make. I know in the long run that's bad for policing because MPOETC won't know the guy's a bad one unless we go through a process that doesn't happen if the guy just leaves. But, I'm the chief. I have to protect my municipality and if we can cheaply get rid of someone like that, then I have to do it.

The chief was clearly in a bad spot – if he wanted to fire the officer, it would be a long process that would cost his agency and municipality money when they are already feeling financial constraints. But, without being fired, he can easily move to another department and be re-certified.

5.3.5.2   Legitimacy

Chief 2 made a very interesting observation regarding legitimacy. He noted that without discretion, he thought his officers' legitimacy would erode in his community.

> My officers have to be able to use their good judgment and give a guy or gal a break. When he stops one for speeding and sees the guy's pay stub that makes it clear the driver is barely keeping his head above water, he's got to be able to give that guy a warning and send him on his way. I don't want a cop that can't use common sense. When he gives that guy a break – that driver goes away thinking, "That cop cared." And that is going to build legitimacy. But here we are talking about taking discretion away from cops. If you put cameras on them that's what is going to happen. Suddenly, cops are not going to give people breaks. They'll be all "law and order" and that will erode legitimacy. So we talk about legitimacy

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and then we go do stuff that makes us less legitimate. It just doesn't make sense to me.

A common theme regarding legitimacy was that it was a generational issue. Respondents reported that the older citizens seemed to fully accept that the police have legitimacy; whereas, many of the younger residents resist any adult authority, a common phenomenon when dealing with teenagers. Though, one chief proposed that the age for resisting authority seemed to be starting at about age ten instead of 13 or 14, as in previous years.

5.3.5.3 Innovation

The consensus was that there have been many innovations in the past several years that have changed policing practices. On the technology side, LED lighting and better body armor were mentioned as two things that had made policing much easier. The lighting has become much brighter so that police flashlights are no longer the large, heavy, baton-like objects of old. Body armor has improved by leaps and bounds. It is much lighter and more comfortable meaning that more officers want to wear it.

Other innovations were noted that save officers time and departments money.

> Centralizing booking and arraignment procedures have made policing so much easier. Up until a few years ago, if I served a warrant, I'd have to take the suspect out to the DJs office (and in the old days it was his home). Then I'd have to transport the suspect to the prison. On a bad day, I'd serve the warrant in an another county and have to arraign the suspect before that county's district justice (DJ) and then come back to my country and arraign him before my district justice and then run across the county to the country prison. That could be almost a whole shift. Now, I just take him to the prison and they do arraignments a couple of times a day before the on-call justice. The Booking Center fingerprints and fills out the arrest form. I even do the arrest paperwork electronically.   This means more time on the street.

It was also noted that radios, computers, and other technologies have made it much easier for officers to communicate with each other and to respond to cross-jurisdictional crimes. One respondent proposed that this might actually promote regionalization because officers are used to working together.

> In the old days, you could stay in your community and not be that engaged with surrounding jurisdictions. That's no longer true. All the officers in a county are communicating and often using mutual aid agreements to back each other up. At some point, it may just make sense to formalize those relationships through regionalization. It may not be politically the right time but in the future, as budgets dry up, the public may start demanding it.

5.3.5.4 National Coherence

In one respondent's view, this was going to be helped along by the states. It was noted that in policing "imitation is the sincerest form of flattery" in that if one state has a great training program, it usually delighted to share it with another state. State and municipal police trainers are usually very generous and share their lesson plans and materials. This process is being helped along by police websites and organizations.

In addition to state mandated and state providing training, the federal government provides many training materials directly to individual departments. Respondents believed that this as well as the grant process will serve to make policing more alike across departments and states. But, as one chief concluded, "they may not be providing a lot of military equipment anymore."

5.3.6 Thoughts from the Field

The chiefs were contacted in November and December 2014 to further clarify their

responses in light of the August 9, 2014 shooting and subsequent riots in Ferguson, Missouri.

They believed that legitimacy is under fire.

There is no doubt in my mind that Darren Wilson had no choice to do what he did. You cannot expect a police officer to get the hell beat out of him by a thug and not do anything about it. He was damned if he did and damned if didn't. What if Brown had gotten away and beaten someone else or killed him? He was a thug! And the media treats him like he was a choir boy. They should have looked at some of the goings on in Albuquerque – there are places where force is used first and questions are asked later but this was not the case. When you have an Attorney General that is only trying to keep his constituency pacified, you have problems (Chief 1)

Chief 1 blamed media attention and misinformation and in some ways sounded

embittered. All of the chiefs emphasized that they felt that Attorney General Eric Holder was

biased against Officer Darren Wilson, a policeman who fatally shot an 18-year-old African

American during a scuffle. Wilson was subsequently found to have acted lawfully, yet the chiefs

noted that they doubted that the Justice Department would vindicate Wilson. They strongly

believe that Wilson was not given any other choice by Michael Brown but to shoot and the

physical evidence supports Wilson's testimony.

Police are asked to take care of society's problems when society does not want to. The police are dealing with the results of poverty, poor education, a bad economy and often very bad parents, usually single parents. It is like we have become the parents. Everyone wants to government to take care of them. I can't tell you the number of times I've been called to do stuff that you would never call a policeman for in year's past. Since when do you not talk to your neighbor about their barking dog before you call the police? I actually got a call last week because a neighbor told a kid to get out of his tree. The old man didn't want the kid getting hurt and the mother had a tizzy and threatened the old guy. Too much Jerry Springer and video games. (Chief 2).

Though they can see disparate impacts upon African Americans from decisions beyond

police control (legacy of poverty, lack of jobs, fatherlessness, gangs, poor education), they firmly

believe that in most cases the police are responding to events outside their control. And, that

rather than educate African American citizens on why police do what they do and tell them to

quite fighting the police – political leaders, pop-culture and the media have created a perfect

storm that is endangering police and eroding legitimacy.

> Just once I'd like to hear someone say, "Life isn't fair – get over it." You cannot convince me that creating a community of entitled spoiled brats is good for our society. Now if you pick up a kid, the parents assume the cop was wrong and the little Johnny was being picked on. My father would have thanked the cop. We rarely get that anymore. (Chief 1)

When asked what the police can do to counter it – they were all in agreement that policy

body cameras were not the answer.

> Body cameras make the manufacturers rich. How am I going to store all that film? Who pays for it? Car cameras I've got no problem with car cameras but body cameras concern me. Who wants to talk to cop looking like Robocop? What woman is going to come up to a cop with a camera and tell him that she was just raped? (Paraphrase of Chief 1 and 2 comments)

The chiefs of Community 1 and 2 were completely against the use of body cameras.

They felt that they would cause further problems and keep community members from talking to

police. Community 3's chief proposed that they would be good for problem officers and that he

would let officers volunteer for them but he really did not see the need. Because use of force is

in the "eyes of a reasonable police officer," he felt that cameras do not help the public understand

that one cannot see what is going through the officer's mind and what a citizen may not see as

threatening, an officer may know better. They did agree that more transparency is a good thing.

While on the subject of cameras, the researcher asked them about other equipment – such

as the military equipment. Surprising to the researcher, not one of them wanted military

equipment. They could not understand why, in the words of one, "we would need more than

deer rifle" in a bad situation. For policing in their respective communities, they felt that a

portable body bunker and helmet were the extent of "hardware" that was needed. The researcher

surveyed all police departments in Pennsylvania in 2005 for their equipment and training needs.

At that time, many small communities were asking for SWAT equipment. Almost ten years

later, none of them wanted it.

Community 2's chief noted, "If it's that bad we need to be calling in PSP or the National

Guard."

5.4   Summary

The findings of the study were presented in this chapter. The findings include the

interviews conducted of the Police Advisory Board, the results of the policy survey and

community survey, and the information collected from the series of in-depth interviews of the

chiefs of police of three communities. All agreed that they believed that policing is moving

toward more accountability, national coherence and innovation.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This pilot study pretested the research instruments (surveys and interviews) to be used to explore the relationship between security and community development tensions using Stone and Travis' (2011) recent work on *New Professionalism*, a framework that includes: accountability, legitimacy, continuous innovation, and national coherence, to determine the degree to which police agencies have embraced and implemented this proposed framework. Researchers have repeatedly identified the lack of research in small police departments; thus, this research used a sample of small police agencies to pilot the study with the goal to administer the research to a much large sample of small police departments.

6.1   Professionalism

Professionalism is credited with moving policing away from a patronage system to one that required standards, specialized knowledge, higher personnel standards and stringent entry requirements. But it was rightly criticized for being much less than professional, particularly when dealing with minority citizens. It was seemingly replaced, or at least augmented by community policing – ostensibly a model that was a new organizational approach, designed to reduce fear, solve problems and create partnerships. Community policing, seemingly focused more on community development, rather than on security, in some ways did not seem to be adequate for modern security challenges. Though much research, time, and money have been devoted toward the implementation of community policing, some have argued that it has never been accepted. Others have argued that the pre-community policing model, commonly referred to as the *professional model,* never went away – it just retreated into the background.

Researchers have recognized that more research is needed to show the ways that police provide services to their communities. Recent research has proposed that police agencies need to be able to combine differing policing strategies to respond to diverse and unique situations while continuing to strike a balance between security and community needs.

6.2   Small Police Agencies

Policing research overwhelmingly focuses on studying large, urban police agencies and officers. Small police departments or their personnel are not usually the population for research; however, in Pennsylvania they account for almost half of the police officers in the Commonwealth. Previous research in small agencies has considered community policing adopted by rural police and deputies, however, such research has mostly focused upon job satisfaction and other individual factors (Pelfrey, 2007, p. 620).

6.3   Theoretical Approach

This paper focused upon organizational factors and proposed that institutionalized police organizations are structured hierarchically, decision making is centralized, the agency sees its role as predominately a security-focused one, its tasks are security focused and partnerships with non-police agencies are minimal.   Conversely, contingent police organizations are community development focused. Such organizations are more likely to have flatter organizations, use more civilian and non-sworn personnel, engage more volunteers and maximize collaboration and partnerships with non-police organizations. An organization that balances security and community development may, in fact, be moving toward *new professionalism* (see Figure 1).

6.4   Research Process

The study began with interviews with three chiefs of police from central Pennsylvania. They served as an advisory board. The author had worked with them in a professional capacity and knew them to be candid and willing to fully participate in discussions. Only one of them was familiar with *New Professionalism* and after the first meeting all subsequently read Stone and Travis' monograph that explored the model. Once they understood the principles, they and the researcher met on three occasions to discuss appropriate ways to measure them. Hypotheses were created and their input was collated with work done by Mary Wycoff (1997) for the Police Executive Research Forum, entitled *National Survey of Investigations in the Community Police Context* to create a survey instrument for the police agencies. The majority of it was designed by the researcher with the exception of six very basic questions taken from Wycoff's survey. Variations of these questions have been found in other surveys related to policing models. Questions were specifically targeted to departmental factors relevant to the four pillars of new professionalism. This survey was provided to the Advisory Board who recommended a few wording changes for clarity before the survey administered.

As that survey was being administered, Survey 2 was created. This survey was based on the work of Jason Sunshine and Tom R. Tyler published in an article, *The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for the Police*. Many of their survey questions were modified to meet the needs of this project.   Survey 2 was then provided to the Advisory Board. The board was concerned that it was important to gather data regarding respondents' feelings about government in general so that any negative responses might be balanced against

an "anti-government" response rather than a rational judgment of the particular police department. As a result, five questions that focused on trust in government were added.

Once the surveys were collected and analyzed, interviews were conducted with the chiefs of police of the three matched communities. They were interviewed separately twice. Their responses were candid and enlightening and helped to support the analyses of the surveys. Because the sample response rate was so low, it was important to have in-depth interviews.

6.5   New Professionalism

The adoption of practices that align with *New Professionalism* are summarized in the following figure. It depicts what has been adopted by less than half and more than half of the departments:

	Adopted by Less than Half	**Adopted by More than Half**
ACCOUNTABILITY		Evaluations for full-time officers
		Evaluations for part-time officers
		"On Spot" Counseling
		Use of Force Reports ● Injuries ● No Injuries
		Use of Force Tracking
		Field Training Officer

Complaint Tracking

Regular Community Meetings

Formalized Complaint Process

INNOVATION

Less Lethal
- Pepper Spray
- Bean Bags
- Taser ®
- Baton

Community Partnerships

Social Services

Emergency Response Groups

Federal Government

State Government

County Government

Private Businesses

Public Schools

Private Schools

Other Non-profits

NATIONAL

FBI National Academy

COHERENCE

POLEX

Federal Training (officers)

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IACP

State Training (officers)

PA CHIEFS

National Conferences

Accreditation

Start Accreditation
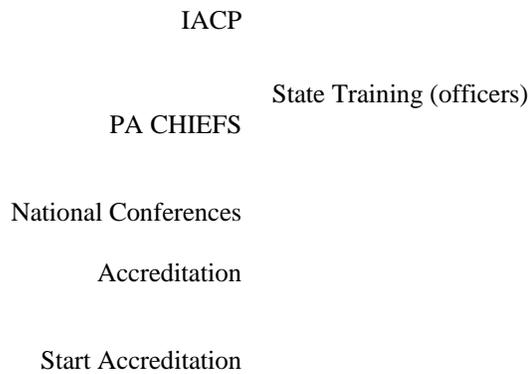
Figure 6.1: Overview of adoption of practices related to *New Professionalism*

6.5.1 Accountability: As Stone and Travis noted in their paper, most accountability generally

focuses on misconduct. COMPSTAT is designed to hold chiefs and commanders accountable

for reductions in crime and it is present in 57.14 % of respondent agencies. Similarly, 12 % of

agencies have citizen representation on their disciplinary boards. It appears that police leaders in

this small sample are at the early stages of embracing and expanding accountability measures.

Respondent police agencies overwhelming file use of force reports, particularly when injury is

present; however, it appears that only half of full-time, and 38% of part-time, officers receive

any evaluation at all.   But, half of the respondent agencies have officer tracking systems

designed to identify problem officers. And, perhaps the most positive trend is that 81% of

respondent agencies have a formalized citizen complaint system; however, only 36% terminate

officers for poor attitudes toward citizens.   This is such a small sample that extreme caution

must be exercised in drawing any conclusions; however, failing to terminate officers for poor

attitudes with citizens is concerning – if complainants do not see results from their complaints,

they will lose faith in the complaint process. Being able to file a complaint is insufficient on its

own – citizens must see that the process works. Though every complaint does not require termination, founded complaints should require some kind of formalized action.   The tracking system is a well-recognized step in this process.

Qualitative interviews conducted of the chiefs from the three matching communities provided more nuance to the surveys. Accountability in a small department is likely different than in a larger agency. First of all, everyone knows everyone within, and often without, the department so it is not necessary to have a huge, formalized system. The chief is likely to "hear" about any incidents. Because of the proliferation of part-timers without any civil service protection, it is usually easier to fire (or force to resign) any officer. In fact, it is not unusual for that to occur. The chiefs noted that sometimes they just let an officer go and admit that this does little to enhance the quality of policing as that officer will be hired by another agency. Unless there is a major crime, it is unlikely that the officer will lose his ability to be a certified police officer in Pennsylvania. Second, formalized systems, such as evaluations, may cost money and small agencies are already stretched almost to the breaking point. It is unlikely that any accountability measures will be adopted unless they are forced by the liability insurance through the municipality's human resources personnel or provided for free.

6.5.2 Legitimacy*: Legitimacy was looked at through the lens of the police and to some degree, through the lens of matching communities. The police seemed to be optimistic and for the most part, the community surveys supported their optimism. However, a big caution is in order because the community responses were negligible, the data is informative but is very preliminary. However, in the data, with the exception of the complaint process, citizen input is

not normalized. Some agencies talk to the community, but not through standardized, formalized processes. But again, this observation is based upon a very small sample.

New Professionalism recognizes the legitimacy conferred by law and earned legitimacy that comes from upholding professional standards and winning the trust, confidence and respect of those being policed but it puts a special focus on the latter (Stone & Travis, 2011, p. 14). Most agencies use their complaint process as a measure; however, this is a poor measure. Many complainants are overrepresented in system because: they may be "frequent flyers" and thus more likely to come into contact with the police and because many have substance abuse problems, it is difficult to substantiate or refute their complaints. It is recognized that legitimacy has to be pursued, yet, only three percent of respondents have a citizen advisory board, though six percent have a citizen review board.

In order to adequately address legitimacy, it is necessary to have a robust citizen survey; Stone and Travis recommend repeated surveys that separate results for disenfranchised groups so that the problem of persistent distrust can be addressed (p. 15).   As police become more associated with security functions, such as the recent revelations that New York City officers were participating in CIA-like intelligence gathering, legitimacy may well erode (Apuzzo & Goldman, 2013, p. 41). Thus, it is imperative that police leaders think strategically about such programs and determine whether the end truly will justify the means. As previous police scandals have demonstrated, and current events depict around the United States, once legitimacy is lost, it is extremely difficult to regain.

The police agencies sampled have adopted many practices recommended in the literature to enhance accountability; however, in the three communities – there were some discrepancies

between police self-reported legitimacy and the matched community responses. Community 1's

police perception was good; in contrast, only 40 % agreed that local police are a legitimate

authority, 30% disagreed that they were and 30% did not agree or disagree. Community's police

assessment was excellent; in contrast, 30 % agreed that local police are a legitimate authority, 60

% neither agreed or disagreed and ten per cent disagreed. Lastly, Community 3's police

perception was also excellent and 56.7% of the community respondent's agreed that the police

are a legitimate authority.   Another 26.7% neither disagreed nor agreed and 13.3% disagreed

that

6.5.3   Continuous Innovation: Seventy-four per cent of agencies said that their most

important duty is crime control, which supports the hypothesis that such agencies are likely to

employ security and institutional strategies. But, through interviews, it is apparent that some

respondents may have responded differently on the survey had a more graduated response been

possible. And, as noted, partnerships with those outside policing are limited. But, agencies are

using less-lethal technologies, which is a change. In 2005, the Municipal Police Officers'

Training and Education Commission (MPOETC) conducted a state-wide survey and found few

small agencies had less-lethal options. Respondent agencies have also embraced ethics training

and value statements – which move toward community development and contingent strategies.

Unfortunately, only a few agencies solicit independent evaluations of their policies and tactics.

However, small agencies by their nature usually have generalist officers that must "jacks

of all trades" and perhaps "masters of some." It is very likely that officers in small agencies

must innovate at every level and future research might focus on such innovations.

6.5.4 National Coherence: Overwhelmingly, accreditation has not reached small police agencies. Out of the respondent agencies, two were accredited, slightly more than five percent. Conversely, almost all of the police agencies were likely to search outside the organization for leadership positions, a practice more aligned with community development and contingent strategies. Few executives attend national conferences, a practice unlikely to foster national coherence. Twenty-three percent of agencies of agencies participate in lessons learned and best practices fora – a result higher than expected. More than half of police department executives graduated from the Police Officer Executive Leadership Course (POLEX), a course created and taught by Penn State University. More than 80 percent of officers attended some kind of federal training. This is worth exploring in more depth; however, in follow up conversations with agencies, most of the training was related to emergency management (The National Interagency Management System – NIMS) or terrorism. Another positive result was that almost ten percent of executives were graduates of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) National Academy. This is a highly regarded and coveted professional course that brings together law enforcement leaders from the United States and international police agencies. About 1,000 officers in the rank of lieutenant or above go through each year.

6.6   Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to pilot test a project that will explore the relationship between security and community development in small municipal police departments in Pennsylvania and to see to what extent they are embracing professionalism, in particular, the *New Professionalism* espoused by Stone and Travis (2011). This research determined what improvements can be made to instrumentation and process in order to maximize respondents.

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The hypotheses were found to make sense and the instruments likely to extract the information necessary to address the hypotheses. Within a very small sample, it looked at to what extent small police agencies were able to achieve the hybrid policing strategy found to be necessary by some researchers and one which embraces public service values espoused by public administration.

Chackerian argued that police professionalism was designed to encourage the development of competent officers who would apply the law according to impersonal standards (p. 142). Sklansky proposed that police reform efforts were dominated by professionalism and that this movement centered around three elements: police departments should focus on crime suppression; they should so objectively and scientifically, free from political influences; and authority within the department should be centralized and rationalized. Carte found that professionalism was centered on the police agency and little effort was directed to the individual police officer (p. 212). This study found their observations are likely to still be relevant but without further study we cannot be sure.

Though perhaps prematurely optimistic, it seems that small agencies and Pennsylvania may be in the early days of *New Professionalism*. They have adopted many of the practices recommended in the literature to be accountable for form their performance. There seems to be tension between community development and security needs. Agencies profess community development, aligned with contingency theory, yet continue to propose that crime control, aligned with institutional theory, is their primary duty. And the structure of the police agencies supports institutional theory – a hierarchical structure, military-like, that is often inflexible and reactive. Yet, without further research that includes a much larger sample – it is premature to

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draw such a conclusion. And, it must be noted that police chief respondents believed that crime control and community development needs are important and must exist together. And being able to balance both ends of the spectrum is the heart of *New Professionalism.*

None of the findings were surprising.   Since this study began, there have been several high-profile mass shootings in the United States and other high-profile incidents of terrorism that increase public fear and reinforce a focus on security. In 2013, mandatory police training for Pennsylvania municipal police officers continued to focus on issues such as officer survival, use of force, and the like. In 2014, mandatory training included "Crimes against the Elderly" and "Technology Update," a course that addresses internet crimes, online investigations for patrol officers, social Networking, and Facebook/Twitter investigations. This course also looked at the positive influence of social networking as a law enforcement tool.   Conversely, the Legislature mandated a course entitled, "Invisible Wounds: Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) and Post-Traumatic Stress (PTSD)," a program of instruction designed to help police officers recognize and interact with veterans suffering from TBI or PTSD. If past practice holds true, it is likely that such a course will focus on the officer safety aspects, further reinforcing the potential" dangerousness" of such veterans to police and the community. In 2015, departments are able to choose appropriate training for their officers by using several approved vendors. The intent is to "provide discretion of officers and agency heads to determine the specific training needs of their personnel" (MPOETC, 2015). Pennsylvania State Police, through The Municipal Police Officers' Education and Training Commission will maintain a registry of approved training programs (MPOETC, 2015).

6.7   Recommendations for Further Research

As Figure 1 demonstrated, *New Professionalism* balances security and community development needs to be a more flexible approach that allows for appropriate doses of security and community. Though the survey results lean toward much of professionalism appearing to be institutionalized (the emphasis on technology, law enforcement versus police service, rational and scientific approach) there appears to be growing acceptance of a community role in policing.

For a more complete picture, a larger study should be completed and include community focus groups to get a more complete picture of police legitimacy.   As Tyler noted:

> The way the police exercise authority, the procedures that they use are central to how people react to the police. The people are sensitive to the justice or injustice of police behavior. And second, that if the police are perceived to be legitimate, then the public will willingly and voluntarily cooperate with the police. (Tyler, 2009, p. 2).

Thus, legitimacy must truly be measured through the public eyes. And it is deeply connected to accountability. People want to know that police are at least held to the same standard they are – and it seems that Pennsylvania municipal police are trying to do so by instituting more accountability systems.

Second, looking at the adoption of New Professionalism through an organizational learning lens. The adoption of new methods and ways of policing allow police departments to meet demands of a changing environment. Plus, organizational learning will allow for a deeper treatment of organizational culture which will also allow a researcher to look more deeply at resistance to change, at the organizational and individual levels.

Lastly, future research should consider qualitative research only – particularly intensive interviews and participant observation. The interviews added information that provided for a more nuanced understanding of the issues surrounding the delivery of police services.

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Departments were experiencing pressures in dealing with homeland security concerns. Once trust was built with interview respondents, the researcher was able to gather information likely not obtainable through survey research.

In conclusion, though a small study, narrow in scope – it provides a glimpse into small agencies and reflects hope that such organizations may be leaning toward *New Professionalism.*

APPENDIX A:

Interview Protocol

Thank you so much for agreeing to speak with me and participate in this research. As we discussed, I will take notes during the interview. Your identity, nor will the identity of your agency, be provided to anyone without your consent. You may stop answering questions at any time and we will end the interview. These are all open-ended questions and you are encouraged to expound upon anything that you think will be helpful to me as work toward completing a larger research study. Again, my sincerest appreciation for your time.

1)   Please tell me about your experience in receiving and filling out the survey?

2)   Were there any questions that you would change? Eliminate? Add? Why?

3)   What are your thoughts on the distribution of the survey? Was the computer survey a good option? What would have made it better? Easier?

4)   Can you expand on what you see as the things you must do to ensure your police department is accountable? Legitimate?

5)   What are your thoughts on the progress policing is making toward continuous innovation? National Coherence?

6)   If you had an unlimited budget, what are some of the things you would do to improve your department?

7)   Why do you think there are differences between your perception of your department's legitimacy and the public's perception of your legitimacy?

8)   What would to do to improve the community's acceptance of the police department as a legitimate one?

9)   Is there anything else you would to say about the survey? The project? The subject?

Policing in general?

APPENDIX B:

Date: May 18, 2012

From: The Office for Research Protections - FWA#: FWA00001534
                       Stephanie L. Krout, Compliance Coordinator

To: Karen J. Finkenbinder

Re: Determination of Exemption

IRB Protocol ID: 39347

Follow-up Date: April 15, 2017

Title of Protocol: New Professionalism: Its Impact Upon Small Police Agencies in Pennsylvania

The Office for Research Protections (ORP) has received and reviewed the above referenced eSubmission application. It has been determined that your research is exempt from IRB initial and ongoing review, as currently described in the application. You may begin your research. The category within the federal regulations under which your research is exempt is:

45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Given that the IRB is not involved in the initial and ongoing review of this research, it is the investigator's responsibility to review IRB Policy III "Exempt Review Process and Determination" which outlines:
- What it means to be exempt and how determinations are made
- What changes to the research protocol are and are not required to be reported to the ORP
- Ongoing actions post-exemption determination including addressing problems and complaints, reporting closed research to the ORP and research audits
- What occurs at the time of follow-up

Please do not hesitate to contact the Office for Research Protections (ORP) if you have any questions or concerns. Thank you for your continued efforts in protecting human participants in research.

This correspondence should be maintained with your research records.

APPENDIX C

Police Survey

1. Department

2. Address

3. Name/Position Title of Chief Executive Officer

4. Name of Person Completing this Questionnaire

5. Title and Assignment of Person Completing this Questionnaire

6. Phone

7. Fax

8. Email

9. Residential Population of Jurisdiction

10. Number of Sworn Personnel

11. Number of Civilian Personnel

Full Time: _____

Part Time: _____

12. Citizen Volunteers

Number of citizen Volunteers: _____

Total number of volunteer hours per week: _____

13. Briefly describe nature of volunteer duties.

14. Are sworn personnel represented by a police association authorized to bargain or negotiate labor contracts?   Yes ☐   No ☐

15. Is your agency accredited?   Yes ☐   No ☐

16. If not accredited, have your started the accreditation process? Yes ☐   No ☐

17. If you have started the accreditation process, briefly describe what has been completed so far.

18. Below is a table of functions typical of many police departments. Please select those functions that have at least 1 specialist assigned to them. Note that there is a place to designate whether that person is full-time, part-time, or on-call only and whether that person is sworn, civilian, crime scene personnel and/or victim assistant. Please select all that apply.

	Full-Time	Part-Time	On-Call Only	Sworn	Civilian	Crime Scene Personnel	Victim Assistance
Abandoned Cars							
Accident Investigation							
Animal Control							
Aviation							
Bench Warrants							
Bicycles (Lost, Found, Registration)							
Bomb Disposal							
Burglar Alarms (Billing for false responses, registration, etc.)							
Canine							
Counter-Terrorism							
Crime Prevention							
Crimes against Children Investigation							
General Crimes Investigation							
Crimes against Persons Investigation Only							
Crimes against Property Investigation Only							
Crime Scene Processing							
Crisis Negotiation							
Dignitary Protection							
Domestic Disputes							
Drug Unit							
Juvenile							
Immigration services							
Intelligence Reporting							
Merchant Program							
Missing Person							
Parking							
Polygraph							
Referral to Service Agencies							
School Officers							
SWAT							

Traffic	
Victims Assistance	

19. Below is a table related to how your agency divides its work and workers over space and time. Please list the number of police facilities/patrol you have in each category.

24 Hour Police Stations	
Limited police stations open 8 or more hours	
Limited police stations open less than 8 yours	
Limited police stations open on an "as needed" basis	
Average number of motorized patrol vehicles deployed on day shift	
Average number of motorized patrol vehicles deployed on the evening shift (for 8 hour shifts this will be your 2-10, 3-11)	
Average number of bicycle patrol officers deployed on the day shift	
Average number of bicycle patrol officers deployed on the evening shift (for 8 hours, this will your 2-10, 3-11, 4-12)	
Average number of foot patrol officers deployed on the day shift	
Average number of foot patrol deployed on the evening shift (for 8 hour shifts, this will be your 2-10, 3-11, 4-12)	

20. How many separate levels of command are in your agency? Example: How many layers must the line patrol officer report through to get to the Chief Executive Officer? If a line officer must report to through his/her Sergeant, Lieutenant, and Captain to get to the Chief that is 5 levels of command.

[   ]

21. What are the ranks in your agency (example: Sergeant, Lieutenant, etc.)

22. What is the minimal annual salary for full-time entry level police officers?

23. What is the minimal hourly salary for part-time entry level police officers?

24. Below is a table related to policing accountability. Please select those processes that apply to your agency. Also, if there are some that have been proposed but not implemented, please select accordingly.

	In Place	Proposed
Scheduled Officer Evaluation Reports for Full-time officers		
Scheduled Officer Evaluation Reports for Part-time officers		
"On Spot" Counseling Forms for officers performing exceptionally good work or poor work		
Use of Force Reports for ANY use of force, even if there are no injuries		
Use of Force Reports for ANY use of force resulting in an injury		
Field Training Officer Program		
Tracking system to track each officer's use of force (to see if there are patterns)		
Tracking system to track each officer's citizen complaint history		
Formalized citizen complaint process		
Regular community meetings to solicit feedback form community members		
COMPSTAT-like program to determine "hot spots" and deploy officers		
Officer evaluations rate officers on measurable objectives such as reducing crime rates, etc.		
Mandatory ethics training		
Termination of employees for poor performance		
Termination of employees for poor attitude toward citizens		
Termination of employees for too many citizen complaints (UNVERIFIED)		
Termination of employees for too many citizen complaints (VERIFIED)		
Citizen input to policing planning process		
Police Citizen Advisory Board		
Officers are evaluated on their output (# of crime surveys, # of traffic man hours, #of citations written - not as a quota system but as a measure of quantifiable work)		
Department is evaluated on its Calls for Service		
Calls for Service history is used to determine staffing requirements		

Citizens have input to officers' annual evaluations		
Department is evaluated by an outside agency/organization at the Department's request		
Employees receive annual training on the Civil Rights Act, Title 42, Section 1983		
Employees receive annual training on use of force		
Department has written policy on the Use of Force		
Department has written policy on Civil Rights		
Department has written policy on Ethics		
Department has written mission statement		
Department has a written Code of Ethics		
Department has a written Vision Statement		

25. The next question pertains to police legitimacy. On a scale of 1-5, with 1 being "poor" and 5 being "excellent", please rate the relationship you believe your agency has with _____.

Overall Community ☐

African American Community ☐

Hispanic Community ☐

Immigrant Community ☐

Of the following two statements, select the one that is more important to your agency (select only one).

26. It's okay in this department if officers give people breaks as long as they follow the spirit of the law and treat people with genuine respect. ☐

27. The most important duty of our department is crime control. ☐

28. Please select all of the less-lethal technologies that your department has.

Pepper Spray ☐

Taser® ☐

Baton ☐

Bean Bags ☐

Other, _____

29. Please check all of the organizations that you have officially partnered with through memorandums of agreement, mutual aid compacts, etc.

Emergency Response Groups (such as the Red Cross) ☐

State Government Departments/Agencies ☐

County Government Departments/Agencies ☐

Public Schools ☐

Other Non-Profits ☐

30. Our municipality may hire the police department chief executive from outside the agency.

Yes ☐   No ☐

31. Our police department executive is a graduate of the F.B.I. National Academy.

Yes ☐   No ☐

32. Our police department executive is a graduate of POLEX.

Yes ☐   No ☐

33. Our department sends officers to federal-level training.

Yes ☐   No ☐

34. Our department sends officers to state-level training.

Yes ☐   No ☐

35. Our department participates in lessons learned/best practices.

Yes ☐   No ☐

36. Our department executive attends the annual IACP conference.

☐

Yes   No   ☐

37. Our department executive attends the annual PA Chiefs conference.

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

38. Our department executive or other officer attends other national conferences such as those presented by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ)

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

39. Our department sends officer(s) to homeland security training.

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

40. Thank you for your patience and assistance in completing this survey. If you would like to receive a completed copy of the research project, please let me know. It will be mailed or emailed once it is completed.

☐ I would like to receive a copy of the research. Please email.

☐ I would like to receive a copy of the research. Please send a CD.

☐ No thanks.

Community Survey

1. What is the name of your police department?

[   ]

2. How much of the time do you think you can trust your local government officials (mayor, council, township supervisors, etc.) to do what is right?

[ ]   Just about always

[ ]   Most of the time

[ ]   Only some of the time

3. Would you say the local government is?

[ ]   Pretty much run by a few people looking out for themselves

[ ]   It is run for the benefit of all the community

4. Do you think that people in government:

[ ]   Waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes

[ ]   Waste some of it

[ ]   Don't waste very much of it

[ ]   Don't waste any of it

5. Do you feel that?

[ ]   Almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing

[ ]   Quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing

6. Do you think that?

      Quite a few of the people running my local government are a little crooked

☐   Not very many of the people running my local government are crooked

      Hardly any of the people running my local government are crooked

      None of the people running my local government are crooked

7. The following questions measure the perceived legitimacy of your local police department. Please answer on a scale of 1-5, 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree."

	1 Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly Agree
You should accept the decisions made by police even if you think they are wrong					
You should do what the police tell you to do even when you do not understand the reasons for their decision(s).					
You should do what the police tell you to do, even when you disagree with their decisions.					
You should do what the police tell you to do even when you do not like the way they treat you.					
There are times when it is okay for you ignore what the police tell you.					
Sometimes you have to bend the law for things to come out right.					
The law represents the values of people in power, rather than the values of people like you.					
People in power use the law to try to control people like you.					
The law does not protect your interests.					
Overall, my police department is a legitimate authority and people should obey the decisions they make.					
I have confidence that my local police department can do the job well.					
I trust the leaders of my local police department to make decisions are best for everyone in the community.					
People's basic rights are well-protected by my local police.					
The police care about the well-being of everyone they deal with.					
I am proud of the work of my local police department.					
I agree with many of the values that define what my local police department stands for.					
The police in my local police department are always honest.					
My local police officers would never embarrass our community.					

There are many things about my local police department that need to be changed.					

8. The following questions relate to the perceived likelihood of being caught and punished for breaking the law. Please answer on a scale of 1-5, being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree" the chances that you will be caught and punished for the listed offenses.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly Agree
Parking your car illegally					
Disposing of trash illegally					
Making too much noise at night					
Breaking traffic laws or speeding					
Buying stolen items on the street					
Taking inexpensive items from the store without paying					
Using drugs such as marijuana in public places					

9. The following questions pertain to how effective your local police are in relationship to neighborhood conditions by reports of fear of victimization. Please answer on a scale of 1-5, 1 being "totally ineffective/ineffectively" and 5 being "most effective/effectively."

	1 Totally Ineffective	2	3	4	Most Effective
How effective are your local police in fighting crime in your neighborhood?					
When people call the police for help, how quickly do they respond?					
How effective are the police in helping people who ask for help?					

10. The following questions relate to neighborhood conditions. On a scale of 1-5, being "daily" and 5 being "rarely" please rate neighborhood conditions.

	1 Daily	2 Weekly	3 Rarely
How often do you see empty beer bottles or cans on the streets?			
How often do you see graffiti on the walls?			
How often do you see groups of unruly youths on the streets?			
How often do you see open consumption of beer, wine, or liquor on the streets?			
How often do you see people buying or selling drugs on the streets?			

11. On a scale of 1-5 with 1 being "very high" and 5 being "very low" – rate the crime in your neighborhood.

	1 Very High	2	3	4	5 Very Low
How high is the crime rate in your neighborhood?					

12. In the past year, has the crime rate been:

Going up

Staying the same

Going down

13. The following questions relate to your fear of being victimized.

	1 Frequently/ Very	2	3	4	5 Rarely/ Not at all
How much do you worry about being burglarized?					
How much do you worry about being robbed, assaulted, or mugged in the street?					
How safe is your neighborhood in the daytime?					
How safe is your neighborhood in the evening?					

14. Please look at the following groups and whether they receive the quality of service they deserve from the local police:

	Receive what they deserve	Receive too much	Receive too little
People like you (same race, economic situation)			
People in your neighborhood			
Whites			
African-American			
Hispanic			
Poor People			
Wealthy People			

15. The local police treat everyone equally regardless of their race.

True

False

16. The local police provide better service to the wealthy.

   True

   False

17. The local police provide better service to the poor.

   True

   False

18. The local police sometimes give minorities less help due to their race.

   True

   False

19. The local police sometimes give minorities more help due to their race.

   True

   False

20. The following questions relate to your local police department.

	Rarely	2	3	4	Always
Do the police make decisions about how to handle problems fairly?					
Do the police treat people fairly?					
Do the police usually accurately understand and apply the law?					
Do the police try to get the facts in a situation before they decide how to act?					
Do the police give honest explanations for their actions to the people they deal with?					
Do the police apply rules consistently to different people?					

21. How likely would you be to?

	Not at all likely	2	3	4	Very Likely
Call the police to report a crime occurring in your neighborhood?					

Help the police to find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing the police with information?					
Report dangerous or suspicious activities in our neighborhood to the police?					

22. What is your:

       Gender

       Age

       Total Income

       Marital Status

       Race/Ethnicity

       Highest Level of Education

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VITA

Karen Finkenbinder received an Associate's and Bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice from Missouri-Western State College as a Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) cadet and entered the United States Army as a Lieutenant in the Military Police Corps. She was a Distinguished Military Graduate. After completing her required service, she left the United States Army and served as the Director of Training and the Division of Public Safety at the University of South Carolina where she also completed the South Carolina Criminal Justice Academy and 30 graduate hours in criminal justice before moving to West Germany with her military husband. During that time she was a college program coordinator and taught undergraduate criminal justice courses for Central Texas College. Upon her return from Germany in 1990, she was recalled to the Army and deployed to Saudi Arabia for Operations Desert Storm and Desert Shield. Afterward, she served in the Carlisle Police Department, rising through the ranks to Patrol Sergeant. While at CPD, she completed her Master's in Public Administration at Pennsylvania State University – Capitol Campus. In 2002 she left the Carlisle Police Department to serve at the Municipal Police Officers' Education and Training Commission (MPOETC) as a training and education specialist. She left MPOETC in 2006 to pursue doctoral studies and care for family. In 2009, she came to the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania as the Chief of Research and Publications and since 2014 has been the Rule of Law, Justice and Reconciliation Advisor and focuses on international police reform in peace and stability operations. In 2015 she was sent on temporary assignment to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Ministry of Defense, to assist them in their United Nations Peacekeeping efforts. She will remain there through 2016.