

Philadelphia and Its Police:

**PROGRESS TOWARD
A NEW PARTNERSHIP**

*A Report by the
Police Commissioner's Council*

December 1987

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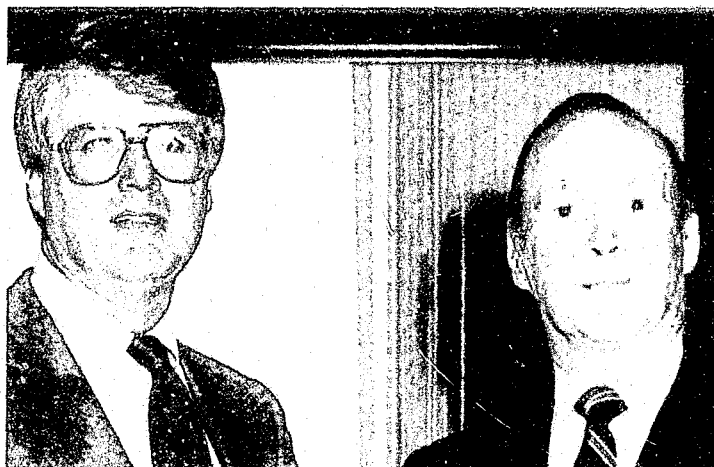
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Police Commissioner Kevin Tucker (left) and Chairman William B. Eagleson, Jr.



THE CHAIRMAN'S LETTER

Dear Citizens of Philadelphia,

The report of the Philadelphia Police Study Task Force, published in March 1987, created a mandate for change in the Philadelphia Police Department. Its 112 recommendations laid out a comprehensive blueprint for rebuilding the Police Department into a fair, effective, modern organization.

Equally important, its broad themes proposed a revolutionary change in the internal organization and activities of the Police Department and in its relationship to the Philadelphia community.

Shortly after the publication of the report, Police Commissioner Kevin Tucker established an implementation committee, made up of distinguished Philadelphians. He charged it with assisting and assessing the process of change.

Over six months have now passed since the publication of the report, and we owe the community an accounting of the progress that has been made.

Although we have kept a "scoreboard" on the implementation of the Task Force's specific recommendations, this report, entitled "Progress Toward a New Partnership," is essentially a strategic assessment of the steps that have been taken in transforming the Department. Specifically, it explores both gains that have been made and opportunities missed, and the key issues that must be addressed in the immediate future to ensure long-run achievements for the Department.

In the course of our regular meetings with the police commissioner and his command staff to review progress in implementing the recommendations of the Task Force, we have sensed that there are two aspects to the process of change in the Department.

One concerns the numerous specific recommendations for which plans must be developed and actions carried out.

The other is the more difficult challenge of creating a new ethos or attitude within the Department about its role in the community. To achieve this, it is necessary to encourage officers to take the initiative and think creatively, keeping in mind the general philosophy recommended by the Task Force.

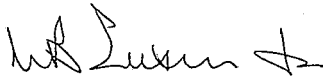
We have seen significant progress in both these areas.

Mayor W. Wilson Goode sees the Task Force report as the blueprint for positive change of the Police Department. As an initial step toward implementation of some of the recommendations, the mayor has authorized an additional \$6.4 million in the Department's budget. If full implementation is to be achieved, this kind of support must continue.

Also, it has quickly become apparent that the Council has a role, which goes beyond monitoring progress on Task Force recommendations. We have spent at least equal time and energy in the last six months in providing advice and counsel to the commissioner and in helping him attract resources and support from the business community to supplement those available within the Police Department. This enlarged role is reflected in the name, Commissioner's Council, which we adopted early in our work.

We hope that the community finds our assessment useful. It is offered to open and sustain a dialogue about the Philadelphia Police Department, rather than end one.

Respectfully submitted,



William B. Eagleson, Jr., Chairman
Police Commissioner's Council

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PROGRESS TOWARD A NEW PARTNERSHIP

The report of the Philadelphia Police Study Task Force proposed a new partnership between the citizens of the city and their Police Department. The new relationship was to be founded on four principal ideas:

- The creation of an effective operational partnership between the citizens of Philadelphia and its Police Department to control crime, reduce fear, and enhance the overall quality of community life
- A commitment by the citizens to challenge the Department to perform effectively, fairly and responsibly, rather than to permit misconduct in the mistaken view that such indulgence is necessary for the Department to be effective in performing its mission
- A "new contract" between the citizens of Philadelphia and its police officers that includes a willingness to increase the status, pay and career opportunities for police officers in exchange for wider responsibilities and higher levels of performance and accountability
- A willingness on the part of the citizens of the city to invest in the equipment and facilities of the Police Department in exchange for greater accountability and performance

Since these new relationships would not come into existence by themselves, it was also important to create a durable, powerful constituency for change. In this report, we explore the progress that has been made in forming this new partnership in these terms, giving special attention to those recommendations and events that seem strategically important.

An Operational Partnership with the Philadelphia Community

A key concept in the Task Force report is that the police abandon the image of themselves as a "thin blue line," standing between the "good citizens" of the community on the one hand, and the "bad guys" on the other. Rather, they should favor an image of themselves as partners to the community in a joint effort to produce freedom from fear and victimization. This concept acknowledges that effective crime control depends on the willingness of citizens to report crime and aid in its investigation and control. It also acknowledges that fear, independent of victimization, is an important problem in its own right. Fear is produced by disorder and feelings of impotence, as well as actual victimization. Finally, this concept acknowledges that unless the police work at establishing and maintaining a proper relationship with the community, they

themselves can be seen as victimizers and troublemakers, rather than as peace-makers. Each of these points means that the formation of an effective partnership with citizens is key to security and crime control. Ultimately, the goal of effecting a partnership can be achieved only when the hearts and minds of Philadelphia's citizens and police officers turn in this direction. In the short run, however, we can chart progress towards this crucial objective in several concrete events.

First, we note with satisfaction that a new mission statement has been produced for the Police Department through a process of wide consultation outside and within the Department. That statement emphasizes the creation of a "true partnership" with the community. The statement has received approval from the commissioner, the mayor, members of the City Council, the editorial boards of the major newspapers, the union and citizen groups, such as the Philadelphia Urban League and the Northern Liberties Civic Association. The statement is now widely displayed on posters in police precincts. It is explained at each meeting with the public. At the level of articulated goals, then, this objective is being aggressively pursued.

The mission of the Philadelphia Police Department is to work in a true partnership with our fellow citizens of Philadelphia; to enhance the quality of life in our city, and by raising the level of public safety through law enforcement, to reduce the fear and incidence of crime.

MISSION OF THE PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEPARTMENT

In accomplishing these goals:

Service will be our commitment

Honor and integrity our mandate!

Second, the Department has established Neighborhood Advisory Councils in all of its districts. These councils are the formal means of communication between the Police Department and interested members of the community. They permit the community to discuss their major problems and priorities with the police, and the police to assist in the management of the problems. The goal is to establish the councils as durable, representative, and active in their collaboration with the police.

So far, while the established councils have participated in the review of the mission statement, only a few can be described as "durable, representative, and active." It is more accurate to say that the advisory councils are developing organizations. Both sides of the relationship need to learn a

great deal. The councils are not clear concerning what they can reasonably demand and what is expected of them in return. Police representatives (generally the captains responsible for the districts) are not sure what they can reasonably promise and ask. No doubt, many opportunities for misunderstanding exist. But the important facts are that the Department is committed to establishing the councils and that the community and the Department are accumulating experience in managing these relations.

Third, the commitment to carry out a "decentralization experiment" in the South Police Division is a major step in the direction of an improved partnership with local communities. It does not help to announce a commitment to a "true partnership" with the community and create Neighborhood Advisory Councils, if they cannot collaborate with police officials who have the responsibility and authority to negotiate with the community about their aims and objectives. If the district captains do not have the full capabilities of the Department under their command, and if they do not have the discretion to deploy these capabilities as they and the community see fit, the promise of a partnership will be hollow. We see this decentralization experiment as a crucial step towards community policing.

SUBSTATION HELPS COMMUNITY FIGHT DRUGS

With the help of the Hispanic community, Captain William Brennan of the Ninth District has set up a mini-station in Spring Garden in the midst of one of the worst drug-infested neighborhoods in Philadelphia. Lt. Jack Downs and four officers are working out of a three-story townhouse, donated by developer Tom Scannapreco.

With unprecedented cooperation from residents of the area, the officers have reduced drug transactions by an estimated 30 percent and increased arrests by 50 percent. They have also helped residents find jobs, handled housing problems, and participated in street-cleaning projects.

In September community leaders invited the officers to a celebration, called Unity Day, and gave them a plaque in recognition of their concern for the neighborhood.

Fourth, we are pleased that community foot patrols, along with crime prevention and victim's assistance programs, have been established in each patrol district. This represents a commitment to give local commanders increased discretion and responsibility in the deployment of forces entrusted to them. It makes it possible for them to respond to

the needs expressed by or through the Neighborhood Advisory Councils.

Fifth, we note with great enthusiasm that three "mini-stations" provide a police presence that is different from the abstract links created by the 911 telephone system and patrolling automobiles. They establish a place to which people can come to make requests, and they house many different kinds of activities. By all accounts, both the citizens and the police like this innovation and find it a useful way to integrate the police more closely into community life. This step is particularly gratifying, since it was not recommended in the Task Force report. This initiative comes from the Department itself and seeks to embody the spirit of the report.

Sixth, we are also pleased that the Detective Bureau has initiated a program to give solicitous attention to victims of crime. As in the case of the mini-stations, there was no mention of this idea in the Task Force report. Yet, the innovation is in line with the spirit of the report. In addition, it comes from an element of the Department that is sometimes resistant to change. We await further reports on this experiment with great anticipation.

These steps represent the major efforts under way to create the appropriate partnerships with Philadelphia's communities. Progress will be slow, but we are pleased that an important start has been made across the Department, and that there have been important innovations that were neither recommended nor anticipated. The key to progress lies in strengthening the Neighborhood Advisory Councils, working towards a wider, more aggressive decentralization of responsibility to district commanders and creating increased accountability.

A second key concept in the Task Force report was that the Police Department should be challenged to perform through exacting but fair mechanisms of accountability. These should replace indulgence through civic indifference, or the implicit acceptance of baseless apologies for poor performance. In the mind of the Task Force, the police should be held accountable for producing security with the least (and fairest) use of the money and authority that was entrusted to them. Nothing less is consistent with the aims of the most professional within the Department. Nothing less should be tolerated by the community.

To the Task Force, this goal could be pursued along two broad tracks. On the one hand, it is important that the Department establish some machinery for being accountable to the broader Philadelphia community. This machinery could include declarations of the terms in which the Department

The Challenge of Performance and Accountability

was prepared to be held accountable, and the publication of regular reports about their performance.

In addition, however, it means encouraging the development of a managerial culture within the Police Department in which top and mid-level managers will instill a sense of accountability throughout the Department. Someone other than the commissioner himself has to feel responsible to the community at large for the performance of the Police Department. The Department has to see that their responsibilities are not just to control crime and reduce fear, but to do so while conserving the money and authority that is entrusted to them. We are pleased to note progress along both these fronts.

With respect to the creation of the machinery of accountability, the most important development has been the establishment of an implementation committee, the Commissioner's Council. The police commissioner has been supportive and has assisted the Council in every possible way. The publication of this report is the tangible expression of the commissioner's commitment to accountability.

Almost as significant is the careful development of an "ethics statement." We regard this statement as important because it makes the police accountable for the use of authority and force as well as public funds. Moreover, it makes the police accountable not only for the unusual circumstances, where deadly force is required, but also in daily interactions, where the authority of the police force is routinely used to solve problems. It views the use of authority and force as an essential and important part of the police officer's daily life and makes the skill and care with which this resource is deployed a mark of police professionalism. In short, the ethics statement makes the minimal and fair use of police authority an expression of their professional competence and responsibility.

Two important aspects of establishing police accountability now warrant attention. One is the creation of the format and statistical requirements of an "Annual Performance Report" to be presented to the citizens of Philadelphia each year. The second concerns providing regular surveys of citizens' attitudes towards police performance that would build on the Study Task Force's pioneering survey. Without the equivalent of a corporate profit and loss statement, and without data to fill in important questions about citizens' experience with and views of the police, the promise of police accountability is jeopardized, and the opportunity to challenge the police to perform is also lost. Accountability is essential to effective management, since it is only accountability that stiffens managers' spines in challenging their subordinates to perform well on behalf of the city.

In terms of creating a managerial culture and stimulating and using the talents of mid-level managers in the Police

Department, considerable progress has been made. Three forward steps are particularly significant. First, the challenge of implementing the Task Force's recommendations has given mid-level managers great opportunities for assuming managerial responsibilities and distinguishing themselves as managers. Deliberation and planning for the future of the organization is now occurring throughout the Department. With that has come a feeling of individual initiative and responsibility for the organization.

Second, Commissioner Tucker's management style has created both the opportunity and the necessity for mid-level

Officers . . . must appreciate and care for the needs of the people they serve. They must exercise common sense in a manner that conveys common decency. . . . No officer should seek or accept any special consideration or privilege, nor anything of value for which others are expected to pay, solely because they are a police officer, or for performing their duty, or not performing their duty in some manner inconsistent with the highest regard for integrity. . . . Effective law enforcement depends on a working partnership and a community of interest between the Department, its officers and the public they serve. The practice of courtesy in all public contacts encourages understanding and appreciation. . . . discourtesy under any circumstance is indefensible.

**EXCERPTS FROM
POLICE
DEPARTMENT'S
STATEMENT OF
ETHICAL
PRINCIPLES**

managers to accept and discharge broader responsibilities than they had before. He was delegated widely. He has charged mid-level managers with implementing different aspects of the Task Force report. As a result, there is a new spirit within the ranks of mid-level managers.

Third, Commissioner Tucker, with the assistance of the Philadelphia business community, has invested heavily in management training to equip managers to assume their new responsibilities. Forty-four mid-level managers attended a specially designed three-week program for senior managers in policing, sponsored by the Police Executive Research Forum. In this program, professors from Harvard's schools of business and government instructed officials in general management skills. The officials also formed planning groups to implement the recommendations of the Task Force report. In addition, two senior officials were sent to a 13 week management training program at Harvard, another to a one week program at Career Leadership School, and 20 have attended training programs run by private companies, such as UNISYS, and Campbell Soup Company.

The new opportunities, responsibilities, and training have all begun to have an impact on the outlook and orientation of the Department's managers. This bodes extremely well for the future, for the Department's performance ultimately depends on the quality of its mid-level managers.

While these events are consistent with the development of a powerful managerial culture within the Department, several additional steps are crucial. A formal executive development program within the Department is needed. The creation of such a program is now frustrated by three structural problems.

- The continued commitment of the Civil Service Commission to rely on tests to establish qualifications for promotion to managerial positions, rather than a record of performance as a manager.
- The reluctance to grant the commissioner discretion to promote high level managers on the basis of his judgment of performance.
- The fact that managers continue to be members of the same union as the patrol officers.

These factors, all of which could be changed, frustrate the development of a group of mid-level managers committed to performance and accountability. We believe that neither the Civil Service Commission, nor the City Personnel Office have done enough to accommodate the important changes that are occurring in the Police Department.

A New Contract Between Philadelphia and its Police Officers

The report of the Police Study Task Force emphasized the management of the Department's human resources. Members of the Task Force observed that, in the end, it was the quality and motivation of police officers that determined the quality of policing in the city. If police were motivated and skilled in carrying out their tasks, the quality of policing would inevitably be high. If they were discouraged or poorly prepared, then no amount of effort in other domains would compensate. Accordingly, the Task Force proposed a "new contract" between Philadelphians and their police officers. The contract would be based on an exchange: citizens would feel free to demand and expect a high level of performance; in return, they would grant additional status, pay, and respect for their officers. While there has been some progress in laying the basis for this new contract, the Department has not yet fully escaped the powerful pressures of the past that permit misconduct and result in lower standards of policing.

In setting new and higher criteria, the most obvious difficulty is the continuing failure to establish compelling performance standards for police officers and to use them systematically in promotion decisions, rather than using grades

on qualifying tests and seniority. The ability of the Department to define and demand performance may well depend on the development of a sufficiently strong managerial culture at the mid-levels of the Department. In this connection we do note with approval plans to create a Career Development Bureau. This might be the focus for initiating measured performance and promotions. But the progress has been slow. There seems to be little enthusiasm within the Department, within the union, or even in the city's agencies for the kind of aggressive action that is necessary to shift the Department's personnel system to one that properly emphasizes performance.

PROFILE OF PROGRESS

Captain David Morrell, whose work with the community earned him Officer of the Year honors in 1986, was reassigned to head the Department's Community Relations Unit and spearhead a recruitment effort for the upcoming police officer entrance examination. His strong commitment and deep dedication played a huge role in the success of that campaign. Captain Morrell has accomplished this task and produced results throughout all of Philadelphia's communities, which far exceeded the goals established for that effort.



The development of the "master patrol officer" program represents an encouraging step toward changing some aspects of the performance evaluation and reward for performance process within the Department. This program was created to give increased recognition to officers who could perform their job particularly well. The program features bonus compensation for the outstanding officer of each patrol platoon. The selection process incorporates an objective minimum criteria, a peer evaluation procedure, and finally, a selection panel composed of the district commanding officer and a member of the community. However, if this concept is to be the mechanism to eventually improve the performance evaluation system, it must be expanded well beyond its current limited boundaries. The Department's budget has apportioned only \$150,000 for the master patrol officer program, enabling only four officers from each patrol district to become award recipients. Beyond this, it must establish with more precision objective standards of performance for the selection of officers.

The other side of the contract between Philadelphia's citi-

zens and its police involved an increased willingness on the part of the community to invest in its officers. Here, too, while there has been some progress, it is not decisive. The Task Force recommended a study of the salary structure. In response such a study has been commissioned, but that step took a great deal of time. The Task Force urged financial assistance and promotional credit to officers who attended relevant courses while working for the Department. In response, a legislative bill was prepared and circulated. This is encouraging, but overall we felt that more commitment and determination is needed to assist police officers to meet appropriate standards of performance.

PROFILE OF PROGRESS



Mike Lutz, Vice President of the Fraternal Order of the Police, has expressed his organization's support for the "progressive" recommendations contained in the Police Task Force report. He believes that such recommendations as community policing are "excellent." He sees progress in negotiations over a new drug testing policy and the creation of the Master Patrol Officer position. He hopes that through public education the citizens of Philadelphia will recognize the need to make a long-term commitment to finance badly needed facilities and equipment.

The continuing confusion about this basic question is reflected best in the debate over the issue of whether the Department could insist on a high school diploma as a necessary qualification in recruiting this year's class of new recruits. The Task Force had recommended that such a standard be set as a part of its general goal of upgrading the Department. Commissioner Tucker argued strongly for such a standard. To the city administration, however, this standard seemed to threaten goals for affirmative action recruiting that had been established previously by the courts. To some of the city's minority neighborhoods, the standard seemed potentially discriminatory. If the general philosophy of the Task Force had been adopted, this controversy might have been avoided. The solution should be that the standard is set, and that the Department make a commitment to ensuring that its recruits have an opportunity to meet the standards within six months or a year of being appointed to the force. There may be legal rules that now prohibit this arrangement. But the inability of the system to focus on how the Department could meet both the goal of setting high standards and the goal of ensuring

that the best from all of Philadelphia's communities can serve, is a clear indication of the extent to which the new philosophy has not yet taken hold. Until it does, the Department will be unable to produce the quality of policing that the city deserves.

The fourth key feature of the revitalized relationship between Philadelphians and their police proposed by the Task Force was the willingness of the city to invest in the plant and equipment of the Department. This was important operationally to the organization, since the communication system is key to the Department's ability to respond appropriately to calls for service. But it is also important in terms of morale, for the willingness to invest in facilities and equipment would provide tangible evidence to the officers of how much the city valued their efforts.

Modernization and Investment

PROFILE OF PROGRESS

Captain Joseph O'Connor took over command of the 17th District in June 1987. When he arrived, contact between the district office and the community was limited. An enthusiastic supporter of community policing, Captain O'Connor began to hold monthly meetings in the district office. They were open to all residents. The first meeting, although well publicized, attracted only 19 residents. At the next meeting, 80 attended, and citizen involvement has continued to grow. At each meeting workshops are held on an issue of importance to the community, and the "District Officer of the Month" is introduced. An Advisory Board of district citizens is being set up to assist in planning and to help establish a mini-station. Captain O'Connor, his Community Relations Officer and patrol officers also attend meetings of citizen's groups. District officers have gone door-to-door to meet residents and establish Town Watch groups.



In this domain, there are two clear successes to report. The city is purchasing a new computer-aided-dispatch system that will allow more efficient use of patrol manpower. It has also purchased 400 new radios to ensure that patrol officers who are temporarily out of their cars in contact with citizens can also remain in contact with central dispatching. On the other hand, little has been done to change the deplorable con-

A Constituency for Change

ditions of the stations and facilities. Thus, while operational capabilities may have been enhanced, little has been done to improve working conditions.

To realize the possibilities of the new relationship between Philadelphians and their police force, it is necessary that a broad and powerful constituency for change develop. Otherwise, the staying hand of tradition and inertia will continue to guide the Department's future. To a degree, leadership in creating the constituency for change comes from the vision set out in the Task Force report, in Commissioner Tucker's sustained efforts to implement the recommendations, and in the continued oversight and reporting of the Commissioner's Council. But if no broad support rallies behind these initiatives and efforts, the beachhead will be lost. In assessing the development of the constituency for change, there are some achievements to applaud, and some failures to correct.

PROFILE OF PROGRESS



Captain Thomas Cooney, who has commanded the 6th District for 28 months, set up a Neighborhood Advisory Council two years ago. With the increased support for community policing, Captain Cooney has stepped up his district's involvement with the community. On October 1, the 6th District opened a mini-station at 202 South 12th Street. It is staffed with civilian volunteers, who are producing a newsletter, called "The Partner," among other activities. Patrol officers, selected to work with the mini-station, are carefully selected through written applications and interviews. The Neighborhood Advisory Council is planning to open other mini-stations in the near future. The council has also helped to set up an award program for officers, who are recognized, with their families present, at lunches hosted by civic groups.

On the positive side, the willingness of the business community to support the change within the Police Department has been extraordinary. Some important leaders of the business community have been willing to devote their time to serving on the Commissioner's Council. Corporations have contributed money to conduct studies and continue the work of the Task Force. In addition, they have aided in the publica-

tion and distribution of reports. They have lent their expertise in implementing the recommendations of the study, including offering continuing advice on the design of management information systems; and they have made room in their own management development programs for managers from the Police Department. Their general support and material assistance has been invaluable.

Civic groups, such as the Urban League, and clergy from throughout the city, have also lent their support to the proposed changes. It seems likely that as the Neighborhood Advisory Councils develop, a neighborhood constituency for police reform will be created.

There are also some negatives, however. We have noted the reluctance to support the commissioner's effort to base pay and promotions on field performance, rather than written tests, and the failure to establish a high school diploma as a minimum requirement for employment as a police officer. In short, it seems that the formal apparatus of the city is not fully committed to quality policing. We think that this reluctance to invest in reforms is short sighted. We hope and trust that the official representatives of the community, and the administrative apparatus that is supposed to guarantee efficiency and effectiveness in governmental agencies, will support rather than discourage the effort to bring quality policing to the city.

