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A MASTER PLAN FOR TRAINING IN NEW YORK STATE

Vol 1 Current Trends and Future
Directions in Police Training: A Review

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MASTER PLAN FOR TRAINING IN NEW YORK STATE

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Current Trends and Future Directions in Police Training:
A Review

by Antony Simpson

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Forward

This literature was prepared to fulfill a project mandate to provide a forecast of anticipated training needs over the next five, ten, and twenty year span. Its most immediate use, however, has been to give guidance and add substance to the Master Plan for Training in New York State. This exaustive review provides excerpts from the major federal investigative reports and federal commissions; insights into many new trends affecting police training such as the full service model, automation, and the systems approach; present concerns related to selection of personnel, benefits of higher education and psychological testing; and demographic trends and policing in New York State.

The report was prepared by Antony Simpson, Special Consultant to the project and represents the first of a three volume series connected with the project. Volume II will be the "Master Plan for Training in New York State" and Volume III will be "The Police Recruit Training Program: Developmental Methodology and Curriculum".

INTRODUCTION

The following account represents the results of an intensive literature search designed to identify published findings and informed opinion relevant to the future of policing this region. Emphasis is given to the types of training which will be needed to equip the police with the skills necessary to enable them to cope with future demands and functions. Throughout this review, it has been assumed that the overwhelming majority of significant influences likely to affect the police role between now and the year 2000 will be rational phenomena. Such influences will not be peculiar to the State of New York or to any other specific region of the country, but will be consequences of social trends which apply throughout the country as a whole. For this reason, the bulk of the discussion in the pages which follow relates to universal trends which are relevant to the future tasks, responsibilities and difficulties of police systems in all parts of the nation.

Apart from this, any effort to restrict the discussion to the police in New York State would have been a difficult one and the results of it would not have been productive. Few studies exist which include data directly relevant to the future of law enforcement in this State. Those which have been published are identified in the course of this review and are cities and discussed at various points in the account. Section V consists of a brief outline of the social and demographic factors which are unique to New York State and includes some reference to the way in which these factors are likely to influence policing in this State over the next two or three decades.

The overall discussion is not restricted to the specific topic of police training. Each section is devoted to discussion of particular aspects of policing in an effort to provide an overview of those present and future developments which will be of major importance in determing the nature of the

future police role, and the training strategies which must be employed to assist officers in developing an ability to meet the demands of this role.

The principal objective of this report is to present an analysis of the trends which must be considered by police administrators in planning the _directions_ which future training strategies must take. It is hoped that the report will be of value in helping administrators to evaluate the training needs of officers, in broad terms, and to make decisions regarding the general kinds of skills officers should acquire. Discussions of specific training techniques, objectives and curricula are included in a parallel report.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL VIEW OF THE POLICE FUNCTION

An awareness of the fundamental porblems affecting the operations and roles of the police in modern democratic societies has characterized most informed discussion of the U.S. police in the 20th century. The report of the Wickersham Commission, published in 1931, provided ample documentation for the general failure of police systems in this country to carry out their stated functions efficiently and with due regard for the rule of law. Most of the remedies and reforms suggested by this Commission were based on an implicit assumption that the inadequacies and imperfections of American policing were manifestations of problems of organization and control.

FEDERAL INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS

Reports of later federal commissions have continued to reflect this concern with the form and structure of police organizations and their effects on the character of law enforcement. The Task Force Report: The Po_ice, issued in 1967 under the sponsorship of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, paid considerable attention to the ways in which police bureaucracies could both exercise adequate control over the operations to develop sufficient flexibility to respond positively to the needs of their constituents. The latest comprehensive review presented by a federal commission of policing in America also emphasized the objectives of police sytems in terms of organizational goals and the means by which individual agencies should proceed in order to achieve these goals; (see Police, a 1973 report of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals).

This notwithstanding, a concern of sociologists over the last few decades has been to examine the police in terms of their broad social role and to analyze the present difficulties of the police in terms of factors which reflect this role, rather than as consequences of particular organizational settings. Recent sociological studies of the police have in fact focused on

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both social and organizational influences as determinants of police behavior. However, the emphasis of these studies has been on the difficulties inherent in the social role of the police. Organizational structures have largely been analyzed in terms of how they either minimize or exacerbate the abilities of the police to cope with their varied, and sometimes conflicting, social roles.

There has been ample recognition in this country of the limitations of traditional law enforcement structures. Most of the early criticisms, which suggested a lack of commitment to the rule of law, were primarily moralistic in tone (see, for example, Hopkins 1931). Recommendations for the improvement of the quality of policing generally concerned organizational techniques for increasing internal control of police operations and the quality and expertise of law enforcement personnel (Wickersham 1931, for example). Little awareness of the unique character of the police function is indicated in these early accounts.

CONTRADICTORY OBJECTIVES

In 1960, Bruce Smith coined the phrase "the police problem" to identify and analyze the contradictory demands made on the police by society and the consequences of these demands on the functioning of police operations, police personnel and on society itself. Although developed by Smith, the notion of the "police problem" has been popularized among police administrators and social scientists in the form in which it has been analyzed in an influential article by James Q. Wilson (1963).

Wilson's discussion focuses on the obligations of the police to enforce the law, to maintain order and to protect the civil rights of individual citizens. These obligations are considered as representing police roles which are both mandatory and contradictory. They are mandatory in that they are clearly delegated to the police by society and they are contradictory in presenting police organizations and individual officers with objectives which

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are sometimes in opposition to one another.

Many social scientists, including Wilson, have devoted most of their attention to the conflict between "law enforcement" and "peace-keeping" as functions of policing. The former role appears to require a legalistic and inflexible approach to policing and the latter a degree of flexibility and a sensitivity to community needs which is usually gained at the expense of the strict commitment of police officers to their legal mandate. An account of police operations in the Skid Row section of an American city has been widely used in the literature to illustrate the fundamental incompatibility of traditional police objectives (Bittner 1967). In describing a series of transactions between officers and citizens, Bittner observed that, while officers were successful in maintaining order, this function was apparently fulfilled at the expense of the police "law enforcement" role. Many of the incidents which the officers resolved efficiently and competently from a "peace-keeping" point of view involved very selective application of legal rules and sometimes the violation of individuals legal rights (1967). Bittner's account serves to demonstrate not only that the police as a whole operate within a system of social expectations which are in conflict with one another, but that individual officers must attempt continually to resolve the paradox of their social role in their dealings with the public.

There are many eloquent statements of the nature of this crucial distinction and conflict between these two traditional police functions. One of the best of these is presented by Skolnick who: "...suggests that the common juxtaposition of 'law and order' is an oversimplification. Law is not merely an instrument of order, but may frequently be its adversary. There are communities that appear disorderly to some (such as bohemian communities valuing diversity), but which nevertheless maintain a substantial degree of legality. The contrary may also be found: a situation where order is well maintained, but where the policy and practice of legality is not evident. The totalitarian social

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system, whether in a nation or an institution, is a situation of order without rule of law. Such a situation is probably best illustrated by martial rule, where military authority may claim and exercise the power of amnesty and detention without warrant" (1966:8-9).

Skolnick goes on to maintain that: "...when law is used as an instrument of social order, it necessarily poses a dilemma. The phrase 'law and order' is misleading because it draws attention away from the substantial incompatabilities existing between the two ideas. Order under law suggests procedures different from achievement of 'social control' through threat of coercion and summary judgment. Order under law is concerned not merely with the achievement of regularized social activity but with the means used to come by peaceable behavior, certainly with procedure, but also with positive law.... In short, 'law' and 'order' are frequently found to be in opposition, because law implies rational restraint upon the rules and procedures utilized to achieve order. Order under law, therefore, subordinates the ideal of conformity to the ideal of legality" (1966:9).

This situation is the basis of Wilson's discussion of the "police problem" and of the present, and ongoing, discussion of it. A number of additional factors are, however, also discussed as compounding the ambiguity of the police role and the difficulties officers experience in interpreting it in the course of their day-to-day work.

AND DURKHEIMEAN THEORY

Modern sociological theory is increasingly inclined to consider deviance in general, and crime in particular, as an essentially normal phenomenon. (For an influential statement, and critique, of the thinking of modern criminologists on this point, see Taylor, Walton and Young 1973; especially pages 237-67). The earliest exponent of this type of approach was Emile Durkheim who discussed the function of a legal system by emphasizing, not just what the rules of a society are, but how these rules are in fact interpreted and applied in specific instances. According to this view, modern society requires the existence of a

complex system of rules which is continually changing in response to changing social relationships. Criminal law and its agents serve the important social function of interpreting to citizens just what the rules of prescribed behavior are and how violations of these rules are regarded with the society (Durkheim 1893 and 1895).

In Durkheimean theory, therefore, a class of deviants is socially necessary as a population through which detailed explications of a changing set of rules can be given to society at large. By arresting and prosecuting individuals for violations of the criminal code, society can make fine distinctions between conduct currently viewed as criminal and that which is merely subject to social disapproval. The dynamic nature of social values requires that the identification of these distinctions be a continual and permanent feature of society; (see also Erikson 1966).

This theory is important to this account for its implicit conception of the social function of the police. Crime is, according to Durkheim, a relative phenomenon and a perment fixture of society. As long as societies subscribe to codes of approved behavior there will be those who break these codes and who will be adjudged criminals: "Imagine a society of saints, a perfect cloister of exemplary individuals. Crimes, properly so called, will there be unknown; but faults which appear venial to the layman will creates there the same scandal that the ordinary offense does in ordinary consciousnesses. If, then, this society has the power to judge and punish it, it will define these acts as criminal and will treat them as such" (1895:68-9).

From this point of view, the role of the law enforcement officer in helping to identify and clarify codes of prescribed conduct is of primary importance to the fabric of society. In Durkheim's view these codes are examples of "collective sentiments" which are, in turn, manifestations of a "collective consciousness" or value-system recognized and accepted by all citizens.

THE POLICE ROLE AND OPERATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

In terms of his role in helping members of a society to interpret collective rules of conduct, the policeman is, in effect, helping in the <u>creation</u> of law. Politicians may be responsible for the enactment of statues, and police administrators may determine policies regarding the more or less selective enforcement of particular laws. It is, however, the lowly patrolman who actually makes specific decisions about which laws are to be enforced and who shall be arrested and considered for prosecution under them.

Important though this function may be, it has not generally received a great deal of attention in the literature. A notable exception to this is provided in Skolnick's now classic account in which "notice-giving" is described as an integral social function of the police. It seems clear, however, that this function is not likely to have a moderating influence on the "police problem." Even in a society where a high degree of moral consensus prevails, (the kinds of European societies considered by Durkheim, for example), this aspect of the policeman's role implies a constructive interaction with the body of criminal law which goes beyond simple "law enforcement."

If the fundamental cause of the "police problem" is irreconcilable conflict between the policeman's "law enforcement" and "peace-keeping" functions, then the additional responsibility of "notice'giving," or contributing toward the creation of a system of <u>practical</u> rules of behavior, does not serve to ameliorate the difficulties of the police.

RADICAL CRIMINOLOGY AND THE POLICE FUNCTION

One can reasonably argue that Durkheim's notion of a social consensus, or a universal system of moral values, is not applicable in a society as culturally diverse as America today. There is one group of theorists, primarily those from the school of "radical criminology," which owes some of its tenets to Durkheim, but which focuses on analyzing the diversity of American society in Marxist terms. Richard Quinney, for example, analyzes modern Western societies

as based on conflict between a series of social groups. As these groups are considered to represent class, rather than cultural, interests, the social fabric is seen as subject to clashes between conflicting sectors which represent different economic interests. The key to this situation is the distribution of power. All groups seek political power and stability is only maintained in the system as long as those in power are able to impose their will on the rest of society by application of a variety of constraints: "The differential distribution of power produces conflict between competing groups, and conflict, in turn, is rooted in the competition for power... Power, then, is the ability of persons and groups to determine the conduct of other persons and groups. Power is utilized not for its own sake but as the vehicle for enforcement of scare values in society" (Quinney 1971:129).

Several theorists from this school have applied this type of thinking in analyzing the role of the police. Manning, for example, describes the difficulties experienced by the police in balancing a series of contradictory functions as being compounded by the involvement of police agencies in the political systems in which they are located (1971). Apart from the undoubted fact that police systems in the U.S. are largely decentralized and have a direct relationship with local political authorities, there are other factors which sustain the relationship between the police and the political process. Law enforcement agencies are considered to administer a system of law resulting from a social process which is fundamentally political. They must, moreover, administer this system in a way which is supported by those sectors of society which monopolize political power (Manning, 1971).

In a society exhibiting a strong "collective consciousness" and where there is, by definition, an even distribution of power, the intimate relationship between the system of criminal law and the political process would not create undue difficulty. In a fragmented society such as America today, the unenviable position of the police is to stand at the meeting-point between divergent cultures and to be the focus of social and political discontent which they must attempt

to control rather than to resolve (Manning 1971; Chambliss and Seidman 1971).

From the above, it seems clear that the difficulties of the police cannot be ascribed to any single cause. Social movements which affect the police role and the public's interpretation of it are undoubtedly at least as important in determining these difficulties as are the limitations of traditional police organizational structures. However, while there is obviously little the police administrator, or even the politician, can do to influence the social factors affecting the policeman's job, organizational structure and policies can be adapted to fit changing situations. It is probably for this reason that a concern for the social consequences of different types of police organization is such an important characteristic of the recent literature.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Recent theoretical discussion has focused on the general question of what the organizational consequences of traditional police structures are and on the more specific question of whether the dysfunctional aspects of police bureaucracies are sufficient to warrant the introduction of more flexible organizational arrangements. The point that organizational structure affects the nature and quality of police service has been clearly established. Jerome Skolnick, in his influential work Justice Without Trial, concluded, on the basis of in-depth studies of two large departments, that "operational law enforcement", defined as the way in which police duties are actually perceived and carried out by the patrol officer, is strongly influenced by the conditions, including the organizational conditions, under which the police operate (1966). A similar conclusion is reached by Bittner in his 1970 study of the Los Angeles Police Department.

STYLES OF POLICING

James Q. Wilson in his 1968 study has refined this generally accepted conclusion to suggest the way in which different administrative attitudes toward the nature of the police function affect the way in which routine police operations are carried out. In this work, Wilson analyzes the activities of the police

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forces of 8 communities and classifies them according to whether they conform to one of three "stypes" of policing: the "watchman", "legalistic" and "service" styles. Each style is defined and identified according to the relative emphasis placed by each department on functions which represent routine aspects of policing.

The distinction between the "watchman" and "legalistic" styles reflects the extent to which patrol officers are required to focus on their order-maintenance or law enforcement functions. Two of the departments studied were found to emphasize an approach to policing which went far beyond traditional interpretations of the police function. This approach, the "service style", emphasizes a greater responsiveness of police to the needs of the communities they serve.

In these communities, the police: "...act as if their task were to estimate the 'market' for police services and to produce a 'product' that meets the demand...Serious matters...are of course taken seriously and thus 'suspicious' persons are carefully watched or questioned. But with regard to minor infractions of the law, arrests are avoided when possible...but there will be frequent use of informal, nonarrest sanctions" (1968:200-201).

Wilson's conception of the type of department stressing the provision of services to its constituency is of a skilled and professionalized agency with a fundamental commitment to the needs of citizens and sufficient flexibility to be able to meet these needs. A major concern of this study was to examine the factors determing the "stype" of a police agency and the form of its bureaucracy. Wilson's central thesis, substantiated in this and later studies, (see Simson 1970 and Powell 1977), was that the structure of police bureaucracy and the nature of police patrol were influenced in subtle, but important, ways by the values and political culture of the communities they served. These influences are considered to operate at two separate levels; the police leadership is viewed as being influenced both directly and indirectly by local values and

political realities and translates these perceptions into policies which affect basic definitions of policing in the community.

In terms of this analysis, the "service style" of policing represents a logical development in a police force designed to meet community needs which are consistent with a generally homogenous local culture. Wilson does, however, cite a number of reasons why this style of policing may prove unrealistic as a generalized model for the future development of the police function. In his latest work, he devotes an entire chapter to maintaining the view that in many urban areas of America the very notion of an identifiable community structure has become redundant. He points to the growth of the urban ghetto as having created neighborhoods in which people who are of the same ethnic group, but who subscribe to varying social values, are compelled to live side by side. Throughout this chapter, Wilson makes the point that, in such neighborhoods, the very notion of a viable community structure has become a meaningless abstraction: "The real price of segregation, in my opinion, is not that it forces blacks and whites apart but that it forces blacks of different class positions together. A black writer, Orde Coombs, has vividly portrayed the despair and terror that has come to be the daily lot of the residents of Harlem, and, no doubt, of many other ghettos. The streets are no longer controlled by either the respectable residents or by the police, but by the members of an 'underclass' who 'viciously prey upon the weak, the old, and the unsuspecting,' for whom fear is 'something palpable that walks among us every day and will not leave us alone.'"(Wilson 1975:35). In situations of this sort, the ability of the police to orient themselves toward the "service style" is clearly limited.

Like many writers, Wilson pays considerable attention to the built-in limitations of bureaucratic structure as a factor inhibiting the police in the performance of their social roles. Bureaucratization is described as a common solution to the perennial difficulty of controlling discretion. Accountability

of the officer to institutional objectives and complex systems of administrative rules is viewed as an attempt to impose bureaucratic controls which has had a profound effect on the nature and philosophy of police operations: "The general drift in police management has been to convert, wherever possible, matters of order maintenance into matters of law enforcement, to substitute the legalistic for the watchman style, and to multiply the rules under which the patrolman operates. Partly this drift has been a consequence of political reform: reduce corruption by reducing the amount of discretion the officer has to sell. Partly it has been to give the appearance of efficiency and vigor.... And partly it has been in order to achieve law enforcement objectives" (Wilson 1968:281-2). The principal negative effect of bureaucratization discussed by Wilson is therefore the limitations it places on the abilities of the police to meet the demands of their many and varied social roles.

THE SERVICE FUNCTION

The growing dissatisfaction with the traditional model of police organization has been reflected in the publication of a number of influential theoretical discussions of this subject which offer proposals for reform, as well as critiques of current practices. Most of these lay considerable emphasis on the reorganization of agencies, whenever possible, to focus on a stype of policing which is compatible with the "law enforcement" and "order maintenance" functions, but which has the provision of services as its primary goal. The more thoughful of these recognize that the contradictions which have always characterized the police role are still with us, and will continue to compound the "police problem" in the foreseeable future. James Q. Wilson, in his eminently realistic overview of the problem of crime control, notes that the ambiguity in public expectations of the police is not likely to change as a result of the reorganization of departments to increase their emphasis on their service functions: "It is easy to misunderstand the problem. What is necessary is not

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to replace training for police work with training for social work, not to separate order-maintenance and law-enforcement responsibilities, not to substitute "human relations skills" for the ability to make an arrest or take charge of a situation. The debate over the role of the patrolman has tended to obscure the fact that the patrolman does all of these things most of the time---though the law-enforcement, order-maintenance, and service-provision aspects of his task can be analytically distinguished, concretely they are thoroughly intermixed. Even in a routine law-enforcement situation (e.g., arresting a fleeing purse snatcher), how the officer deals with the victim and the onlookers at the scene is often as important as how he handles the suspect. The victim and onlookers, after all, are potential witnesses who may have to testify in court; assuring their cooperation is as necessary as catching the person against whom they will testify. The argument about whether "cops" should be turned into "social workers" is a false one, for it implies that society can exercise some meaningful choice over the role the patrolman should play. Except at the margin, it cannot; what it can do is attempt to prepare officers for the complex role they now perform.

The legal code is not irrelevant to performing this role, but neither does it always provide an unambiguous cue as to the correct course of action. And even when it does provide such a cue, the other elements of the situation (for example, challenges to the officer's authority or self-respect) may obscure that cue." (1975: 121).

To this observation must be added Wilson's earlier findings that the service function can only be emphasized in those communities where there is a reasonable level of agreement on what these services should be and what police officers and citizens can reasonably expect from one another. It is, of course, in those settings in which community structure is heterogenous, or where it is virtually non-existent, as in many of the inner-city areas, that police agencies

will be obliged to function in a more traditional fashion (Wilson 1968 and 1975). Goldstein, in his very recent evaluation of the police function in America, makes a point of recognizing that administrative change cannot in itself bring about anything like a significant change in the police role: "That we identify most reforms in police operations with the administrator who initiated them is, in itself, significant. It reflects the widely held belief that change in the police, to the extent it is likely to occur, is primarily the responsibility of the top police administrator. Important as it is to learn how internal change has been achieved by police chiefs, the limited impact of reform efforts in the past has alerted us to the need for examining the complex process of change in much broader terms. It is now increasingly clear that lasting change requires, in addition to the efforts of the administrator, the synchronized efforts of other forces in the agency, in the community, and in the country as a whole.

The role of these forces becomes even more important as we concern ourselves with the basic problems such as the need for clarifying the police function, developing alternatives to the criminal process, recognizing and structuring discretion, and improving systems for achieving political accountability and for controlling police conduct. Stimulating and carrying out fundamental changes in these areas will require that police management itself play a role somewhat different from what it has played in the past. The support of the police unions will be critical. And it will be essential that initiative be taken by a combination of forces external to police agencies--especially the legislatures; administrators in local, state, and federal government; the courts; and the media...

So the process of change is not simple a strategy to be followed by a police administrator within the confines of his organization, but more broadly it requires action by a number of major forces in society of which the police themselves are but one, who have a vital interest in the police function. Each

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of these forces has a unique potential for contributing toward resolving the basic problems the police now face, and each must play a critical role if this crucial arm of government is to be reshaped to meet more effectively the needs of our times." (1977:308).

INFLUENCES ON THE POLICE ROLE

The body of data which is at present available suggests that the form and nature of policing is to a large extent influenced by factors over which police administrators have little control. Banton (1964) and Wilson's own work emphasize political factors and the importance of community structures. Reiss found situational contingencies to be important in determing the outcomes of transactions between police and citizens (1971). Nonetheless, many of these same studies do suggest that organizational factors are significant in influencing the nature of the police function. The studies of Wilson (1968), Reiss (1971) and Bittner (1970) suggest that debureaucratization and some degree of decentralization will have a beneficial effect on the quality of police service.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF POLICE ORGANIZATION

An important theoretical debate on alternative models of police organization has had a good deal of influence on the approaches which have been taken to the problem. Angell's 1971 article includes a succinct account of the dysfunctional effects and characteristics of bureaucracies in general and police bureaucracies in particular. In this, traditional police organizational models are critized for three critical deficiencies. These include: negative effects on police-community relations brought about by unrealistic polices which seek to enforce the law according to strict administrative criteria, but actually succeed only in antagonizing local populations and reducing their own effectiveness; low employee morale produced by autocratic management; and a hierarchical structure which distorts vertical communication and represents, at best, the attempt of administrators to impose an unrealistic degree of control over subordinates who may be the lowest-ranking officers in the organization, but who exert the greatest influence over police function.

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Angell's alternative to this is an organization model designed to circumvent the deficiences of the classical model, and in particular to bring about flexibility of response, to recognize the exercise of the considerable, and legitimate, discretion of patrol officers, and to encourage fruitful interaction between the police and their constituency.

In terms of organization, Angell's model department has: "...three primary sections: (1) General Services Section, (2) Coordination and Information Section, and (3) Specialized Services Section. This arrangement would not be structured in a hierarchical fashion with formal ranks and formal supervisors. In order to improve communication and increase the flexibility of the organization all supervisory positions, as they have been traditionally defined, have been abolished. Similarly, military titles and ranks are not used.

The controls in this system are varied, in contrast with the single chain of command control required by classic concepts. Although the control responsibilities will be well defined, no single section or individual will be totally responsible for controlling the entire organization. The control system is defined as a system of checks and balances in which one section of the organization has authority in one instance, another section of the organization has authority in a second instance, and the third section in the third. The General Services Section would consist of teams of generalists decentralized to work in a small geographic area. On the other hand, the Coordination and Information Section would be centralized and might even include many jurisdictions (e.g., a regional or state level). Within the Coordination and Information Section would be those activities related to the coordination of activities and house-keeping of the organization (e.g., those activities presently called administrative and staff functions). The Specialized Services Section would contain those specialized activities currently classified as line units (e.g., investigative, juvenile, and traffic functions)." 1971:195).

This model has not been exempt from criticism. One characteristic of it which has not been fully supported is its emphasis on the patrol team in isolation from police middle management. Sherman, for example, has criticized Angell's model for its continued acceptance of middle managers as agents which control team activities. In his account of a series of experiments in which sergeants and lieutenants hostile to the team policing concept were able to subvert the objectives of the team, Sherman suggests that efforts be made to reorganize middle managers as controllers of the flow of information and allocators of resources in such a way that the act to support, rather than supervise, team operations (Sherman 1975). Sherman's essay is more than a critique of a particular organizational model. It succeeds in building on a particular organizational construct to refine a theoretical model of policing which attempts to provide for a continuous and dynamic interchange between the internal structure of the organization and the environment in which it operates.

TEAM POLICING

Team policing is, of course, a major (perhaps the major) development in police patrol in recent years. As such, some discussion of its use in departments throughout the country is included in the following section of this account. From a theoretical perspective, there are important considerations which act both for and against the likelihood of its future success. On the 'pro' side of the equation, many sources, (such as Angell and Sherman), discuss the advantages of team policing by analyzing the deficiencies of more traditional forms of organization. A case can also be made, however, by considering the "service" style reflected in this concept as a natural police activity. There is substantial data to suggest that the provision of services of one kind or another, and which are releated to neither the "law enforcement" nor the "peace-keeping" role, constitute the bulk of police work. This observation was made in Whyte's classic study of social life in an Italian slum of Boston (1943) and has been

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supported in the literature ever since. This point is supported in the work of Lohman and Misner (1967), Pfiffner (1967) and Pepinsky (1975). Banton, in further substantiating the point, notes the apparent disfavor with which officers apparently regard such functions (1964). The variety and importance of these services is discussed at some length in Cumming, Cumming and Edell (1965). From this data, one can suggest that recognition of the service function as an integral element of policing seems to reflect the present realities of the police role.

The major objection to the concept which has been raised so far is that of Wilson who, as noted earlier, suggests that the service model is one which can only be applied in certain kinds of communities. This reservation does not, of course, mean that team policing is not a worthwhile and productive concept. It simply suggests that it is one which can only be applied in selected situations and can in no way be regarded as a universal panacea for resolution of the "police problem".

A more substantive criticism of the present emphasis on the service activities of the police is presented by Silver. After quoting discussion in the report of a recent federal government commission suggesting the possibility that the police be part of a broad social service team with responsibilities for identifying and screening disturbed and anti-social behavior, this author notes some of the less attractive aspects of broadening the legal powers of the police. Referring to the model suggested in this report, he observes: "This is a frightening description of a 'Brave New World' ruled by professional wunderkinder pulling 'antisocial' or 'disturbed' people off the street with, we can only hope, some kind of warrant" (Silver 1968:940).

However, team policing seems to be the most appropriate model yet suggested which combines the administrative reform and decentralization recommended by so many sources without going to the extreme step of requiring

community control of the police. Peter K. Manning, an eloquent and highly critical observer of the police, suggested a number of years ago that: "Three interrelated organizational changes must be made to insure that police attend to the job of maintaining public order. One is to reorganize police departments along functional lines aimed at peace-keeping rather than law enforcement; the second is to allocate rewards for keeping the peace rather than for enforcing the law; the third is to decentralize police functions to reflect community control without the diffusion of responsibility and accountability to a central headquarters" (1971:191).

The team policing model appears to fulfill the first two of these requirements. As a form of police organization which is community-based, rather than community-controlled, it seems to combine the advantages of allowing for community participation without running the risk of subjecting police organizations to direct involvement in the political process (Wilson 1975).

In this section, an effort has been made to review those theoretical developments and studies which seem, now and in the immediate future, likely to influence notions of what social roles the police are obliged to assume, and how these roles are likely to be fulfilled most productively. Recent trends in police practices, which are to a large extent direct consequences of these theoretical approaches, are considered in the following section of this account.

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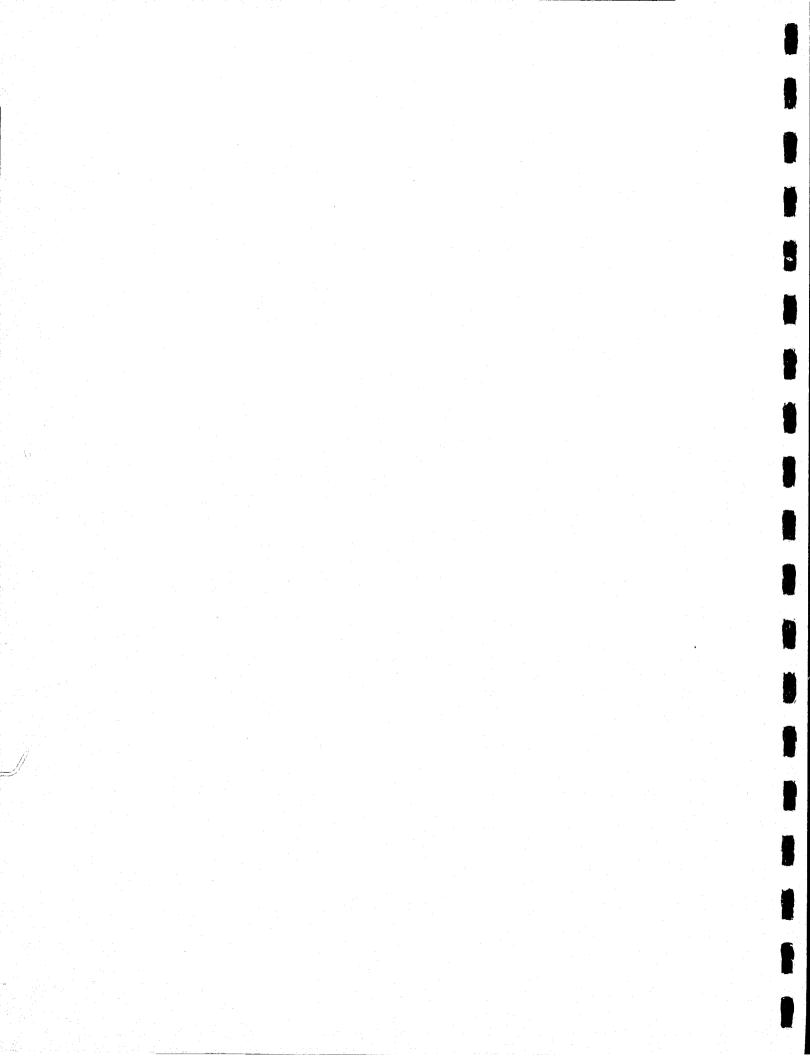
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CHAPTER 2

PRESENT CONCERNS IN POLICING

A recent overview of the contributions of sociologists between 1950 and 1973 to our understanding of the police function suggests that, since the mid-1960s, the findings of such research have had an impact on police policies and social reform (Sherman 1974). The principal concerns of police administrators, and their critics, at different points over the last few years are summarized as follows: "From 1950-1960 the focal concern was inefficiency; from 1960-65 corruption; 1965-70 racial discrimination; and from 1970 on organizational change and, again, corruption" (1974:260).

FINDINGS OF FEDERAL COMMISSIONS

These concerns have been reflected in the positions taken by the various federal commissions which investigated various aspects of the criminal justice system over the last ten years, (the Katzenbach Commission of 1967, the Kerner Commission of 1968, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence of 1969, the National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography of 1970, the Scranton Commission of 1970 and the Schafer Commission of 1972).

The conclusions and findings of the most recent commission, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (instituted in 1971) indicate concerns regarded as pressing and immediate in American policing today. Considerations given particular emphasis in Police, a 1973 report of the Commission, included the nature and objectives of the police function, the management, planning and budgeting of police operations and the selection and training of police personnel. The approaches taken in this report are particularly significant as the membership of the Task Force which prepared it was to a large extent made up of in-service police managers. This represented a substantial departure from the practices of previous commissions, whose task forces were largely manned by social scientists and high-level police administrators. The close involvement of police middle management in the

preparation of this report suggests that its contents are a clear indication of the present interests and problems which characterize American policing.

Discussions of the police function are strongly geared toward the organization of police agencies to meet the service function: "In less than 10 years, the nature of debate in the police service has changed. The question no longer is, 'should we be involved in nonenforcement programs?' Now the question is, 'How should we be involved in them?'" (1973:11).

An important chapter is devoted to a discussion of team policing as the major way in which the service function can be translated into a strategy for police patrol. Although the application of some version of the team policing concept is clearly recommended in this report, the idea is regarded in this report as still being in its experimental stages. Agencies are advised to undertake extensive research into the desirability of introducing the system into their jurisdictions before committing themselves to it on a large scale. However, the report does consider team policing an important innovation, not just in terms of the growing service role of the police, but also as a means of increasing the efficiency of criminal investigation crime prevention and patrol operations.

TEAM POLICING

Very recent publications dealing with this subject tend to give the Commission's view a somewhat conservative slant. In the 3 or 4 years since the Commission's findings were published, American law enforcement agencies have experimented quite extensively with the team policing concept. The most comprehensive evaluation of team policing in this country was undertaken by Sherman, Milton and Kelley and published in 1973. In this, applications of the concept in city agencies of varying size and population characteristics were examined in an attempt to determine common variables affecting the relative success of this form of policing. A number of such variables were

found to be closely related to the success of the experiment. These included geographic stability of the team, level of interaction between team members and the extent to which lines of communication were developed between the team and the community. In addition, a number of organizational variables were found to exert a significant effect on the efficiency of the team. Organizational supports, represented by assignment of investigative responsibility to the team, allowing a considerable degree of policy-making at team level, and the development of unified supervision and unified delivery of services, were found to have a considerable influence on the success of the project (1973).

The Sherman report was the first publication to demonstrate, fairly conclusively, that the team policing concept was, if instituted under the right circumstances, a viable proposition.

Seven detailed case-studies of how the principle has been applied in urban police agencies (Dayton, Detroit, New York City, Syracuse, Holyoke, Los Angeles and Richmond) are included and in each account a good deal of attention is paid to the local conditions which affected the success of the experiment. As the authors are careful to point out, team policing appears to have defined in slightly different ways in each agency in which it has been introduced. However, "...all of the team policing programs studied for this book--except Richmond--attempted to implement three basic operational elements which differ from conventional patrol concepts. These three elements are: geographic stability of patrol, maximum interaction among team members, and maximum communication among team members and the community" (Sherman, Milton and Kelly 1973:3).

Conclusions reached on the success of team policing in each of the situations studied indicate that the most successful applications of the concept shared four common organizational features: unity of supervision, flexibility in policy-making at the lower levels of the hierarchy, unified delivery of

services and integration of patrol and investigative responsibilities.

By no means all the experiments described in this account can be considered as even qualified successes. This report is, however, of considerable importance not only in evaluating and documenting the potential value of this form of patrol organization, but also in its discussion of the primary organizational obstacles which tend to subvert the objectives of team policing in many instances.

The lessons learned in this influential study seem to have been well-taken; (see, for example, Funkhouser 1976). Experimentation with the concept since 1973 seems to have produced results which are generally satisfactory. An evaluation of Cincinnati's Community Sector Team Policing Program (COMSEC), begun in 1973 in one district of the city, suggests that team policing has a beneficial influence on crime control, on levels of citizen support for the police and on the job satisfaction and attitudes of the officers involved (Schwartz et al. 1975).

A significant feature of this report is the reaction of officers to the demands of greater responsibility and decision making. These suggest team policing, or some version of it, to be a proven way of adopting police agencies to meet their service role.

Most recently, considerable attention has been paid to the assignment of investigative responsibilities to integrate teams of patrol officers and detectives. This attention is undoubtedly due to an increasing level of concern felt about the varying productivity of detective units, as well as to a belief in the fundamental soundness of the team policing concept. In the Sherman report itself, involvement of the team in criminal investigation is viewed as a logical consequence of the position of patrol units as the focal point of police operations. Members of the team are usually the first to reach the crime scene and can therefore reasonably be assigned responsibility

for intensive, as well as preliminary, investigation. Inclusion of detectives, as either specialist or generalist members of the team, has been a popular development. Those recommending detective participation in team policing include Pepinsky (1975), Polls (1976) and Brown (1976). A report on the application of policies of this type in Rochester, N.Y. suggests that the use of detectives on patrol teams is likely to have a beneficial effect on the productivity of the investigative process (Bloch and Bell 1976). Brand and Koroloff describe a similar experiment, in Oregon, in terms of similarly beneficial results (1976). W.A.P. Willmer, whose essential concern has been to examine information flow within law enforcement agencies, concludes in one study that "unit beat policing", a British variant of the concept, is the form of patrol best designed to maximize the amount of meaningful information available to the investigator (1968). The tenor of all these reports suggests team policing to be an efficient strategy for handling current police obligations, as well as an important one for future interpretations of the police role.

POLICE - SOCIAL WORK TEAM MODEL

A further example of the current interest in the service aspect of policing is provided by police acceptance of non-traditional functions and the tendency of some departments to apply the "police-social work team model" in many aspects of policing. The basic proposition underlying this model is acceptance of the fact that there are strong similarities in the day-to-day work and objectives of social workers and police officers. Although difficulties are often experienced in routine encounters between members of these two occupational groups, these are largely attributable to the inability of both sides to recognize their mutual objectives and social roles (Judge 1976, Hinton 1976 and Richards 1976).

Advocates of this team model of cooperation between these two groups suggest that the advantages of such cooperation lie in providing an avenue

through which counseling, referral, and other services usually associated with the correctional function, can be made available to offenders by law enforcement agencies: Several reasons are usually cited for the desirability of providing this type of service in law enforcement agencies: "A cooperative team relationship between the two disciplines can be more easily created when the police make social services available within the police department itself. This can eliminate communication gaps between social workers and police and thus help expand protection and service to the community. Such a relationship can have a positive effect on the image of both law enforcement and social work, as the community sees a new and vital function being carried out and thus develops an increased appreciation of the police department and the social workers within it.

The client can obtain important benefits by having immediate social services available in the police department. At the time of initial police contact, the offender may be more emotionally accessible than he will be later since he is in trouble and may welcome some help. When a helping relationship is established at this time, the offender and his family have a stronger desire to continue this relationship than if the referral process has necessitated a break in continuity of service.

The client is more likely to benefit from counseling before he becomes a repeater and becomes more deeply involved in the criminal justice system. A study of federal prisoners who were released in 1956 indicates that the younger the prisoner when first arrested, the more likely he is to return to prison...

It is with young people that efforts toward prevention are most needed and most likely to be effective. The handiest place and earliest opportunity to provide such services are within the police setting when the offender first comes to the attention of the law enforcement officer" (Michaels and Treger 1975:317-18).

Communities which have experimented with this concept include two in Illinois, Wheaton and Niles, which introduced police-social worker teams in the early 1970s. Reports suggest that these teams have been particularly successful in dealing with juveniles and in working toward two goals, rehabilitation and crisis intervention, not traditionally associated with the police function (Michaels and Treger 1975, and Treger, Thomson and Jaeck 1974). This experiment can be used as an important illustrative example of the ways in which police agencies are coming to accept the importance of their service functions.

COMMUNITY PROFILING

An important application of the concept that orientation toward the service style is the most desirable approach to police patrol, and that some version of the team policing form of organization is most likely to enable this style to be developed in an agency, is represented by the Community Profile Experiment, recently conducted by the San Diego Police Department; (Boydstun and Sherry 1975). In this experiment, a group of patrol officers, and their supervisors, were first subjected to a period of intensive training, intended to develop particular patrol skills, and then assigned to selected patrol areas for a 10-month period. The areas, or 'beats', selected "...were to reflect a high incidence of crime, high service call demand, significant minority-group population, and other related factors" (1975:17). In the final phase of the experiment, an attempt was made to evaluate the achievements of the training program in increasing the ability of the officers involved to cope with the demands of their service role.

The objectives of the experiment, and the training program designed to alter the practices of the officers involved were: "To improve police patrol practice by requiring each profile officer to (1) systematically learn his beat, (2) identify and document the full range of beat problems, and (3) develop patrol strategies to solve these problems at his level" (1975:71).

The most important distinguishing feature of this experiment lay in its application of community profiling as the principal tactic through which the beat officer was encouraged to develop and refine his knowledge of his immediate community's characteristics and needs. In their discussion of the application of community profiling as an information-gathering technique, the authors of this report go to some lengths to describe profiling as a responsibility of both the individual officer and the organizational structure within which he functioned:

"Community profiling requires a disciplined and methodical approach to beat knowledge. For this purpose, profile officers received instruction in a variety of methods of community analysis. As a method, profiling work involves systematic procedures of daily patrol planning, field observation, data collection, and problem analysis. The over-growing product of this activity constitutes an officer's personal community profile, and should provide him with a reasoned basis on which to develop responsive and innovative patrol goals and strategies in policing his area of responsibility. Routine random patrol and common sense appraisals of beat conditions frequently reflect a lack of accurate documentation and research into the scope and sources of police and community problems. Accordingly, in stressing the importance of method the CPDP sought to impart to profile officers an attitude of study toward their everyday patrol work.

CPDP officers' methodical work in developing profiles of their beats was intended to yield increasingly improved levels of beat knowledge. Such knowledge entailed an awareness of community structure (demography, socioeconomic conditions, institutions, agencies, groups, community leaders, and the like), as well as an analysis of beat patterns and trends of criminal, noncriminal, traffic, and police-community problems. To assist the officers in this process, the CPDP staff provided them with census statistics for each beat, monthly summaries of

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specific types of reported crimes per beat, and a comprehensive and cross-referenced directory of local social service agencies to inform them of available referral possibilities. A Resource Center containing a variety of other information sources was also established for their use. Further, profile officers were assigned to the same beat throughout the project, and were equipped with handi-talkies to free them for profile activities while allowing for their emergency availability. The officers maintained regular journals of their work; submitted a series of major profile reports which ranged from ecological studies of their beats to comprehensive analyses of beat problems; and kept these and other pertinent beat profile information in specially designed binders which had been distributed to them at the outset of the training program. But in developing beat knowledge, the CPDP emphasized not the collection of community data per se but the process to be undertaken by the patrol officer, premised on a high degree of beat accountability and community involvement." (1975:71-3).

Beat accountability, like community involvement, was considered in the experiment to be a natural and logical consequence of this particular attempt to develop a police agency to meet its service responsibilities:

"Beat accountability and community involvement are integral dimensions of the community profiling process. Beat accountability refers basically to a patrol officer's continuing development of a personal sense of responsibility for the people and problems of his beat. It is manifested by an officer's actual responsiveness to beat conditions, and by his increasing willingness to get involved in the community and help people solve such problems as pertain to the police service function. If it is to be at all meaningful, moreover, such community involvement must be based on the officer's knowledge and competence to solve beat problems at his level. Community involvement, in this sense, entails a demanding process of police-community

interaction oriented to problem-solving, rather than an image-selling program of "public relations." Further, a patrol officer's thorough familiarization with the people and problems of his beat helps to avoid those types of hasty police action which can provoke serious police-community confrontations, and spell the difference between a safe, effective response, and a dangerous, ineffective one. By definition, an increase in police-community cooperation brings a corresponding decrease in police-community polarization. From the point of view of the CPDP, then, beat accountability, community involvement, and beat knowledge are inseparable elements of a reasoned patrol practice which necessarily flow from one another." (1975:73).

The training program used to instill the skills required in the community profile approach consisted of a 60-hour period of intensive instruction, followed by a series of workshops held at intervals throughout the duration of the project. In these sessions, considerable attention was paid, naturally enough, to practical techniques used by officers from the ranks and insupervisory positions to develop profiles which were both satisfactory and accurate. One interesting characteristic of the entire program was, however, the considerable emphasis placed on theoretical problems raised by consideration of the police role in society. From the summary of the curriculum used in the initial training session, it is clear that an unusually high proportion of training time was occupied with theoretical considerations rarely brought up in programs intended for officers of the patrolman rank. (For example, the third day of the eight day training session was designed: "To provide a historical perspective on the development of the police as a social institution, to assess the function of the police in our times, and to examine the implications of the CPDP to police practice on the basis of the practical experience of the participating officers" p.8).

Such a theoretical approach in training was a basic characteristic of the Community Profile Development Project and was specifically intended to encourage officers to develop a view of the police function which incorporated broad social considerations:

"The relation of theory and practice was at the heart of the CPDP training phase. The function of patrol theory is to provide a clear orientation to patrol practice, to illuminate the larger context in which police work is done. Despite the assumption that 'theory' is somehow irrelevant to practical police training, project officers generally found the discussion of theoretical principles to be highly relevant and of considerable practical value" (p.74).

Attempts by the project staff to evaluate the impact of the experiment concentrated on attitudinal and behavioral changes in the officers involved. Because of the limited scope and duration of the experiment, no attempts were made to evaluate the project in terms of its impact in crime prevention. It was, however, felt that in the long term such effects would be significant. Changes which were observed indicated a greater degree of police involvement with the local community, a greater sense of officer responsibility, and a greater awareness of the characteristics of the community served on each beat.

As a result of these findings, a number of recommendations were made. These recommendations, which have important consequences for both police training and patrol organization, included the following:

"That an in-service training program be established at all levels of the department to provide for an integrated organizational reorientation to police patrol based on community profiling principles.

That the academy curriculum and the academy instructor selection process be revised to ensure for an integrated approach to recruit officer

education in community profiling theory and method, and for a consistent relationship between academy instruction and field training.

That the proposed CPDP system of officer performance evaluation be refined and fully implemented on a department-wide basis.

That communication and information systems be improved to provide organizational support to the community profile approach to patrol work.

That Patrol Bureau goals and objectives be clarified and specified, and that the Patrol Bureau establish role guidelines and expectations for all patrol personnel.

That patrol officers be assigned beats on an extended basis, and that beat tenure be decided on considerations of officer competence, commitment, and accountability to the community.

That all on-duty patrol officers be equipped with handi-talkies, and that officer training be provided on the effective use of this equipment.

That the formulation of patrol policies consistently reflect and procedurally support this orientation to a fully reasoned patrol practice based on beat accountability." (1975:77).

Many other new patrol concepts, all of which place heavy emphasis on a police commitment to the service function and most of which employ some variation of the team policing form of organization, have been introduced in departments all over the country in the last few years. Brief descriptions of some fifteen programs of this type are included in Whisenand and Ferguson (1973:183-7). These programs are discussed in five groups: those which apply some version of team policing, those which allow for some citizen participation in police decision-making, those intended specifically for crime prevention and reduction, those designed to increase effectiveness of police personnel and those which emphasize the importance of professional career paths within a police organization.

EVALUATION OF POLICE PATROL

Of all the factors which continue to influence the concern of police departments for demonstrating efficiency, productivity and effective management, two warrant particular attention. The first of these is represented by the doubts raised of late about the ability of traditional police operations to control crime and the second reflects the growing costs of maintaing law enforcement agencies in an age of eroding tax-bases and other fiscal difficulties of local governments.

Patrol operations have always been though of as the primary thrust of police activities. Their significance is emphasized in virtually every major study dealing with the police function. For example, Police, a report of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals states: "There is no more important police function than the day to day job of the patrol officer. The success of the police agency depends on it and every effort should be made to attract and retain highly qualified patrolmen" (1973:196). Patrol is the most traditional of police operations and departments have established reputations on the effectiveness of their patrol policies as techniques of crime control. Moreover, citizen demands for better police protection have been invariably expressed as a desire to see an increase in patrol activities; this desire being especially apparent among minority groups with whom the police have greatest dealings. (studies quoted by Wilson 1975).

It is not therefore surprising that over the years a number of efforts have been made to evaluate the significance of police patrol in the control and prevention of crime. An early attempt at such evaluation was made by the New York City Police Department in 1954 in the course of its "Operation 25". In this experiment, one precinct of the city, located in a high crime area and previously undermanned, was saturated with additional personnel. Most of these additional officers were assigned to patrol functions;

primarily to foot patrol. Over the four months in which the experiment was in operation, crime rates, particularly those involving muggings and other 'street-crimes', fell dramatically and this trend was attributed to the additional manpower (New York City Police Department 1955). The apparent success of this widely-publicized experiment was used, with considerable success, by the police bureaucracy of this city to obtain additional manpower for the department. The fact that crime rates have not fallen during the years when the number of police personnel in New York increased substantially does not, of course, serve to invalidate the principle which was allegedly demonstrated in "Operation 25": Crime rates can vary over time for numerous reasons unrelated to the level of police performance.

Two later studies do, indeed, provide some measure of support for the principle suggested in the 1954 experiment. In 1966 the Rand Institute repeated the experiment in a different precinct, this time using two additional precincts as control groups. The results obtained tended to substantiate the theory that increased patrol operations result in lower crime rates (Press 1971).

One of the most extensive experiments of its type yet undertaken was carried out to examine crime rates in the New York subway system over an eight-year period. Although crime rates as a whole rose dramatically in this period, in spite of the hiring of a large number of additional officers, some successes were achieved. The assignment of extra officers to the evening shift brought about a considerable, and apparently permanent, drop in crimes known to have been committed at this time of the day (Chaiken, Lawless and Stevenson 1974). It is, however, difficult to compare these results with those obtained in more traditional settings. Subway trains and stations represent a unique milieu which poses its own peculiar problems of crime control (Wilson 1975).

A comparable series of experiments in four British cities in 1965, however, suggested quite a different conclusion: The crime rate fell substantially when an officer was assigned on foot patrol to an area hitherto unpatrolled, but further decreases in the crime rate could not be produced by saturating the area with a large number of additional patrol officers. In other words, no direct relationship between the crime rate and the intensity of foot patrol could be observed as the crime reduction caused by the presence of one officer could only be bettered by assigning an additional two or three officers to the same beat (Home Office 1969).

Although all these studies undoubtedly suggest that the intensity of patrol is an important variable in the crime rate, they cannot be said to constitute a satisfactory solution to the question of just how important a variable it might be. Each of the studies has been critized for its failure to take account of local influences and the statistics used to measure crime rates themselves have been critized, like many official statistics, for reflecting reported rates only. The principal limitation of each of them, with the exception of the subway study, is that each experiment was undertaken for only a very short period of time. The possibility remains in each case that reductions in crime rates were temporary phenomena and that increased patrol may have only brought about displacement of crime to neighboring precincts.

Detailed summaries and criticisms of these studies are included in Wilson (1975:90-7). Although the results produced did not clearly point to a way of evaluating precisely how effective patrol operations are in reducing crime, none indicates that the importance of police patrol for this purpose is anything less than considerable.

More recently, a much better designed series of experiments intended to test this principle have been carried out in Kansas City, Mo., and the results, first published in the early 1970s, (see Kelling et al. 1974), have

aroused a volume of debate which is considerable and ongoing. James Q. Wilson is quoted at some length below as a concise summary of the study, and its findings, upon which it is difficult to improve:

"Prevention patrol, for long the fundamental assumption of police deployment, means having officers walk or drive through their beats whenever they are not answering a specific call for service or assistance. By their continuous, moving presence, so the theory goes, crime will be prevented because would-be criminals will be aware of and deterred by the police presence. Furthermore, this patrolling may enable the officer to witness a crime in progress or to discover and stop fugitives, suspicious persons, and stolen cars.

Officers in Kansas City designed an experiment to test these assumptions. In the southern part of the city, fifteen police beats were sorted into five groups of three matched beats each. Each group was made up of beats that were as similar as possible in population characteristics (income, ethnicity, transiency, and so on), reported crime levels, and calls for police services. Within each group, three different patrol strategies were used for a one-year period. One beat (chosen at random) was patrolled in the customary fashion by a single patrol car that cruised the streets whenever it was not answering calls. These were the "control" beats. A second beat in each group had a greatly increased level of preventive patrol---cars were visible cruising these streets two to three times more frequently than in the control areas. This strategy was called "proactive patrol." In the third beat in each group, preventive patrol was eliminated altogether---a police car would enter the area only in answer to a specific request for service. When that run was completed, the car would either return to the periphery of the beat or cruise streets outside it. This was called "reactive patrol." Before and after the experiment, individuals and businessmen were interviewed

to learn whether they had been the victims of crime, what they thought of the quality of police service, and to what extent they were fearful of crime.

The results analyzied by George L. Kelling and others were startling. After a year, no substantial differences among the three areas were observed in criminal activity, amount of reported crime, rate of victimization as revealed in the follow-up survey, level of citizen fear, or degree of citizen satisfaction with the police. For all practical purposes, the changes in the level of preventive patrol made no difference at all.

For reasons that are still hard to understand, citizen respect for the police increased somewhat in the control beats, where nothing was changed, and did not increase at all (indeed, declined slightly) on the proactive beats, where more police became available. And strangest of all, perhaps, the citizen living on the proactive beats felt more apprehensive than those living on others about the likelihood of being robbed or raped" (195:98-9).

Many writers have challenged the validity of attempts to apply the conclusions reached in this study. One series of criticisms suggested by Richard C. Larson, among others, postulates that patrol visibilities in the 'reactive' areas were actually quite high and may have had a significant impact in deterring crime. Larson also suggests that the Kansas City experience was not really a typical one in that patrol intensities in this city are normally well below those in other urban areas (1975). Tytell attempts to downgrade the value of the study in more down-to-earth terms by suggesting that, regardless of the outcome of the debate, patrol will always be an important aspect of policing simply because citizens want it and are reassured by it (1975). Although some of these criticisms have been refuted by some of the authors of the original study, (see Pate, Kelling and Brown 1975), the official position now taken by the International Association of Chiefs of Police is that the

study does not address a generalized patrol situation and its results cannot legitimately be applied without modification to other jurisdictions (I.A.C.P.1975).

Additional controversies in this debate are reviewed in Hurni (1976). General agreement would, however, be given to the following comment on the limitiations of the study's findings:

"The experiment does not show that the police make no difference and it does not show that the police make no difference and it does not show that adding more police is useless in preventing crime. All it shows is that changes in the amount of random preventive patrol in marked cars does not, by itself, seem to affect, over one year's time in Kansas City, how much crime occurs or how safe citizens feel" (Wilson 1975:99).

From the point of view of this account the Kansas City study, and the debate surrounding it, will have the probable effect of encouraging police administrators throughout the country to pay increased attention to the adequacy and cost-effectiveness of their crime prevention operations.

BUDGETING EXPENDITURES AND PRODUCTIVITY

Considerable attention is paid to fiscal management, budgeting and productivity in the 1973 report entitled Police. This attention can be ascribed to an ongoing concern, on the part of police administrators, local officials and citizens alike, with the costs and effectiveness of police service and with shrinkages in the tax bases on which financial support for public agencies in large urban areas is based. Traditional conceptions of the larger police agencies as those which are both most efficient and cost-effective are quickly being eroded (Ostrom 1973). A recent study by Ostrom and Smith (1975), for example, examined the performance levels of a variety of departments in the St. Louis metropolitan area, and concluded that the per capita costs of the very smallest agencies were in fact lower than either medium-sized or large

agencies. A comparative study of large departments in eighty SMSAs located throughout the country find variations in per capita costs according to both the size and the geographical location of agencies. The largest agencies examined, those serving populations of between 250,000 and 500,000, were found to have the highest personnel expenditures, per officer. The lowest such expenditures were found in those agencies serving the next largest group, 125,000 to 250,000 population. Tremendous variations in this figure were found between regions, with those in the South-Southwest and Mountain-West areas spending almost twice as much per officer as those in other regions (Ostrom, Parks and Whitaker 1975).

A recent study by Odini reports a survey of expenditure and employment trends in the police forces of large cities over a fifteen-year span; (1959-1973). In this study, undertaken by a research group from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a number of long-trends were apparent. As in other studies, the relatively high costs of the very largest agencies were noted, although it was observed that the rates of growth of expenditures were fairly standard for all departments. Similarly, although growth rates for police salaries and other expenditures rose considerably over this period, these rates were comparable with similar rates in other public agencies. A less fortunate trend observed in the study was the great increase in rate of growth of police protection costs generally. These were considered to have grown at a rate which greatly exceeded that of operating costs in most other public, or private, agencies. Uncertainty as to the continuation of this trend is suggested because of recent financing difficulties experienced by local governments at all levels (Odoni 1975).

The studies cited above are, among many others, in part responsible for the greater attention which police agencies will pay to cost factors, now

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and in the immediate future. There has been widespread dissatisfaction with the methods traditionally used by police departments to evaluate this productivity. Cost of police service per head of population served has been regarded as unsatisfactory because of the failure of this method to take account of the quality of services provided. Use of clearance rates, arrest rates and levels of reported crime have been criticized because of their subjectivity and vulnerability to distortion (Police 1973 and American Bar Association 1973).

Experimentation with a number of innovative measurements of productivity have been suggested. The Urban Institute, in its 1972 study, pointed to the difficulties of measuring police outpouts and noted that meaningful assessment of police outputs should take account of social benefits and client satisfaction with the level of services provided. Accordingly, this report, as well as a number of other sources, have recommended extensive use of citizen surveys as means of measuring how citizens evaluate the level of police service and of assessing true rates of criminal victimization (Urban Institute 1972; Holzer 1973).

Other authors have pointed out that the absence of very specific goals and objectives in police work has proven a substantial obstacle to productivity measurement and improvement. A recently published outline of productivity measures, presented in the context of the particular objectives of different departmental units, is provided by Hirsch and Riccio (1974). In this account, reliance on a number of measures is emphasized as a way of both evaluating a department in its entirety and identifying past and future departmental priorities. An overview of the methods and programs now being introduced into police agencies is included in Grimes (1975). This discusses a variety of productivity measures which have recently been applied and makes

the point that: "The argument is no longer whether methods of oductivity improvement are to be applied to police services, but how" (Grimes 1975:85). The most compelling trend discussed in this source is, however, the extent to which agencies have modified their policies and organization arrangements to meet the needs of increased cost effectiveness. Greatly increased use of. civilian manpower, integration of police and fire services, rearrangement of patrol hours and, not the least, incorporation of productivity clauses in collective bargaining contracts, are all described current techniques now being used or considered by departments across the country. However, one important point made by Grimes is that a concern for productivity is inseparable from a concern with developing a quality of police service which best fits the needs of the community served. In this sense, decisions based on considerations of productivity are closely related to those designed to assist the police in fulfilling their real social goals.

Hamilton makes the point that police productivity will continue to be a major concern for administrators in the future in rather a different way. He suggests that productivity in law enforcement is essentially a political phenomenon as it is commonly used by electorates as an indicator of the efficiency of an incumbent local government administration: "If any accurate generalization can be derived from the jumble of conflicting data on urban administration it is that every mayor and city manager has a deep and abiding interest in the productivity of the local police. If a citizen must select a single indicator of the effectiveness, responsiveness, and general character of the incumbent administration, the conventional wisdom is that in most cases it will be police performance. Whether or not the chief executive has the legal or traditional authority to affect police administration, he knows that his store of political capital--whether he conceives of it as a

personal asset or as the support necessary to exert effective leadership--
is greatly influenced by the public's perception of police productivity"
(Hamilton 1975:11).

According to this account, the present concern with productivity --
in policing is a consequence of historical urban realitites over the last
twenty years, and is likely to be with us for many years to come. This
concern is taken to represent the desire of political incumbents to demonstrate
to citizens that they are capable of and responsive to expectations of
increased ability to control crime. In this sense, police productivity will
remain a topic of focal concern to citizens, politicians and police admin-
istrators alike, and police agencies will be under continuing pressure to
demonstrate efficiency and capability.

An additional point raised by this author concerns the inability
of police bureaucracies to provide, from within their ranks, the specialized
and sophisticated skills needed to develop and implement productivity programs.
This is regarded as an obstacle to effective police performance which decreases
the abilities of police agencies to cope with demands now being made upon
them and increases their vulnerability to manipulation by the external
political structure. Implications of this point for the future training of
officers at all levels, but particularly those in middle and upper management
positions, are clear and unequivocal (Hamilton 1975).

POLICE PROFESSIONALISM

One area which is presently much debated in the world of law
enforcement, and which can be expected create increasing controversy, concerns
the notion of police professionalism and its relationship to police unionization.
In some ways, the idea of professionalism as a logical, and even laudable,
goal for police officers is deceptively simple. Traditional organizational
theory recognizes two alternative models of professionalism in an occupational
group. The view presented by Max Weber considers bureaucratization as the

most efficient means of administering the large-scale enterprise. The role of the bureaucrat, or administrative professional, is to conduct his operations impartially and dispassionately and according to a fixed body of regulations over which he has little authority to amend or influence: "Above all, bureaucratization offers the optimal possibility for the realization of the principle of division of labor in administration according to purely technical considerations, allocating individual tasks to functionaries who are trained as specialists and who continuously add to their experience by constant practice. 'Professional' execution in this case means primarily execution 'without regard to person' in accordance with calculable rules' (Weber 1954:350).

The Durkheimean view is similar in substance to this. Efficiency, rationality and expertise are emphasized as characteristics of the professional group. The professional culture exercises a monopoly over certain kinds of work and has the social and political power to control the ways in which this work is undertaken. In addition, however, Durkheim is concerned with the commitment of this group to a set of moral values. Besides being responsible for carrying out social role to prescribed rules, the professional is also charged with a commitment to exercising his authority in a way which is beneficial to society's goals (Durkheim 1958).

There is a certain paradox in the way in which the concept of professionalism has been applied in American policing. On the one hand, it is the Weberian model emphasizing efficiency and the universal application of a strict set of rules which has most usually been discussed by advocates of professionalism (see, for example, LaFave 1965). On the other, many critics of the professionalism concept have stressed the extent to which the rule of law is itself strongly influenced by the techniques used by the police

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to maintain it. Skolnick, for example, presents a strong case for saying that police interpretations of which laws should be enforced, and who should be prosecuted for violations of these laws, actualy determine the operational rules to which citizens should adhere (1966). In this view, the police are not so much applying a universal system of statutory law as determing, through their law enforcement policies, which rules are most heavily enforced. This author also suggests that the individual patrolman is charged with fulfilling organizational rather than social goals. As the organization may have a greater commitment to efficiency than to the objectives of a democratic society, members of the bureaucracy do not qualify as belonging to a truly professional group.

These same critics also suggest that the very considerable discretion exercised by patrol officers, the lowest members of the police hierarchy, is inconsistent with the professional's function of carrying out specific task according to precisely defined operational rules:

"...the order-maintenance function of the patrolman defines his role and that role, which is unlike that of any other occupation, can be described as one in which sub-professionals, working alone, exercise wide discretion in matters of utmost importance (life and death, honor and dishonor) in an environment that is apprehensive and perhaps hostile....This role places the patrolman in a special relationship to the law, a relationship that is obscured by describing what he does as 'enforcing the law'. To the patrolman, the law is one resource among many that he may use to deal with disorder, but it is not the only one or even the most important; beyond that, the law is a constraint that tells him what he must not do but that is peculiarly unhelpful in telling him what he should do" (Wilson 1968:30-1).

Those taking this point of view object to the notion of professionalism as one which assigns greater control over the police function to the practitioner.

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A better alternative, many feel, is for increased restrictions to be placed on police officers by making them more accountable to their constituencies.

Supporters of police professionalism focus on the high level of expertise required in police operations at all levels and on the lack of public understanding of the nature and demands of the police role. For them, it is the very ambiguities of the police role which create the necessity for our police forces to be manned by officers who are able to cope with many and varied demands of police work. Following this line of thought, one can argue that it is only those who are trained and experienced for, as well as physically and temperamentally suited to, police work who can begin to handle the contradictions inherent in the police role in any satisfactory manner.

The two views of professionalism which are presented here are not, however, in diametric opposition to one another. Increasingly, view of the nature of police professionalism are being advanced which rely less on the advantages to the streamlined and efficient police bureaucracy, and more on the additional demands being made by the increasing commitment of police agencies to the service model. Recent conceptions of this model emphasize two characteristics which are of vital concern to the professionalization debate: participatory management and the increased flexibility of police structure. The team policing model, discussed elsewhere in this account, is based on the idea of teams in which control of operations is diffused throughout the structure. Decisions are based, according to the nature of the situations being dealt with, on various types of professional expertise, rather than on rank. Centralized command will, of course, continue, but the need for flexibility of response will decrease the power and importance of bureaucratic goals.

Under this type of organization, the individual officer will undoubtedly have greater responsibility and greater demands made upon him. He will, on the

other hand, have increased access to a pool of professional and expert knowledge, supplied by his team-mates. In this way: "The general public will gain most from a truly professional police organization. Crime and its related social effects should decrease in the light of professionalism provided the department is interested in crime and not just perpetuating the educational aspect of police professionalism" (Hanley 1976:52).

A number of obstacles in the way of true professionalism still exist: "Members of the political and economic establishment will, most likely, fight police professionalism because their power may be weakened by a professional police force. They fear that control will be transferred from themselves to a professional administrator. To many, valuable tools will be lost if the police are professionalized. The influence peddling with regard to police matters will be lost if professionalism occurs; the politican will lose power and stature....

The cost of a totally professionalized organization may be prohibitive; salaries and benefits would necessarily have to be high to attract highly qualified, properly motivated, potentially successful candidates for a professional police force. The budget necessary to operate an organization of this magnitude would be prohibitive for most political subdivisions since the tax rate could not carry the burden alone. From an economic standpoint, police professionalism may never exist." (Hanley 1976:52).

POLICE UNIONIZATION

Closely tied to the discussion of police professionalism is the relationship between law enforcement agencies and the political structure of the communities which they serve. Traditionally, the relationship between the police and their political environments has largely been considered in

terms of the relative extent to which patterns of law enforcement are subject to political manipulation. August Vollmer attributed many of the problems of American law enforcement to the political appointment and _instability of tenure of police chiefs_, (1931), and many writers since then have emphasized vulnerability to outside influence as a factor counterproductive to the delivery of efficient and effective police service; (see for example, Jordon 1972 and Gardiner 1970).

In the last few years, increasing attention has been paid to the politicization of the rank-and-file members of police departments and the consequences of this for the future of the police function. A recent, and influential, work by Alan Bent (1974) discusses police agencies as political institutions which are influenced by their environments and which can no longer be analyzed in terms of their internal characteristics alone. Ruchelman's study of police policies in three American cities, (New York, Philadelphia and Chicago), between the years 1966 and 1969 demonstrates the extent to which these were influenced by the varying relationships between the police bureaucracy and the mayor (1974). Other factors considered by this author as influencing the nature and form of law enforcement include the power of local political organizations and police employee associations.

The 1970s have seen a marked increase in the strength and number of organizations which function as police unions. Although generally discussed as unions, these organizations have developed with quite varied objectives and different organizational bases. J. D. Smith, in reviewing the historical development and present situation of police associations involved in collective bargaining, describes the variety of such organizations, which range from those affiliated with trade unions, to those which continue their primary function as fraternal bodies (1975). Another review of the characteristics of emerging police employee associations describes these as deriving

from fraternal organizations, rather than through traditional trade-union structures (Olmos et al. 1974). According to this source, the economic and other gains which these organizations have achieved for their memberships have resulted largely from union exploitation of public fears of growing crime rates.

One of the most extensive surveys of police unionism yet carried out was undertaken by Juris and Feuille in 1971 and reported in 1973. Among the many interesting conclusions reached in this study was that many of the considerable gains made by these organizations in the last few years can be attributed to the inexperience of police bureaucracies and municipal administrative structures in dealing with the organized demands of patrolmen. Juris and Feuille suggest that a much more sophisticated management structure for dealing with collective bargaining will be a feature of large police departments of the future.

A number of sources suggest that the most important long-term effect of police unionism will be the debilitating influence it will exert on para-military forms of police bureaucratic structure. It is expected that increased organization of patrolmen into collective bargaining units will contribute toward an enforced element of participatory management in policing and will act to reduce the ability of agencies to apply authoritarian principles of management; (see, for example, Olmos et al. 1974).

Although ambivalent feelings toward the concept of police unionization are expressed in the literature, there is general feeling that this represents a clear trend for the future. There is, moreover, substantial support for the view that the involvement of representatives of patrol officers in some aspects of the decision-making process will have a beneficial effect on the movement toward police professionalism. Such involvement can be expected to assist police agencies in developing structures and policies which are more in accord with present and future changes in the police role (Olmos et al. 1974).

In Section III, reference is made to a number of forecasts which provide considerable support for the trends noted above. Hamilton's account, mentioned earlier, makes the point that, as productivity in public agencies is now of vital public concern, police union negotiators will be compelled to cooperate to some extent with police productivity measures: "...the savvy union leader discerns that his worst mistake would be to declare against productivity in principle. Taxpayers are in no mood to tolerate that, and there is no shred of rationale to support such a stand other than simple contrariness--a position which a challenger can afford to adopt but the person responsible for actual negotiation cannot" (Hamilton 1975:33).

UNIONIZATION AND PROFESSIONALISM

Another forecast, designed specifically as a measure of the direction and magnitude of broad future trends in police values, provides data of considerable relevance to the discussion of the relationship between police unionization and professionalism. Cooper's (1974) study reports the results of obtaining forecasts by application of the Delphi method which attempts to develop projections by the technique of assessing the opinions of experts: "The basic assumption underlying the Delphi method is that, with respect to matters about which ho one can be certain, such as future events, one means of arriving at working conclusions is through the use of expert judgment. 'Experts' are individuals whose experience, knowledge, or previous record of accurate judgment, suggests an intuitive grasp of how things happen and where things are going in a particular field. This intuitive ability to project decisions on the basis of both knowledge and experience is an expertise which can be effectively brought to bear on questions concerning the future" (Cooper 1974:20-1).

The limitations of this method of forecasting are apparent from the above discussion. The strength of these limitations can best be summarized

by noting that the results obtained from application of this method are projections rather than predictions. As such, they should be regarded as indicators of likely future trends, rather than certainties. The Delphi method is a practical tool and not a crystal ball.

Cooper assessed the opinions of two panels of experts regarding the attitudes and values held by police officers toward their professional role. Experts were asked to assess trends in these attitudes and values which had occurred over the previous ten years and to project trends which they expected over the next thirty years. The two panels reflected very different memberships. Panel A included academics and upper-echelon police administrators and Panel B was comprised of working officers, most of whom were of the rank of sergeant or below. There was general agreement between the two panels on the direction of past and future broad trends in policing. Both panels saw professionalization, exemplified by increased status, higher educational requirements for officers and a commitment to a broader police role in society, as a major trend for the future. At the same time, both panels also foresaw a dramatic increase in unionism and a much greater involvement of unions in political activity aimed at protecting the interests of their memberships. The results of this survey suggest that, if professionalized police forces of the future are not rewarded as such, or recognized by society, police unions could come to fulfill a dysfunctional social role:

"The power of union organization could replace the appeal of increased education as a means to improve the lot of the rank and file. A socially dangerous isolation of rank-and-file officers could be the result of their seeking refuge in politically active 'antiliberal' unions. An occupational group which exercises the legal power of physical coercion, even

to the point of decisions about the life and eath of citizens, must not be forced into alienation, either from the public they are supposed to protect and serve, or from those officially responsible for their supervision and control" (Cooper 1974:33-4).

This survey also brings out another factor which may serve to undermine the trend toward police professionalism. Both panels forecast that police bureaucracies would, now and over the next thirty years, continue to be concerned with demonstrating productivity, efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Cooper points out that administrative efficiency as a goal is not always compatible with the objective of developing a service-oriented group of professionals who have the ability, and the authority, to implement policy through considerable exercise of their own judgment. It is suggested that the tendency of the bureaucracy may be to increase organizational control and, in this way, the development toward true professionalism may be inhibited: "In fact, a better-educated, 'new breed' administrative corps may actually exacerbate the problem (of insufficient commitment to profession-alism) by more thoroughly implementing managerial efficiency techniques which tend to view officers more as quantitatively oriented functionaries than as qualitatively oriented professionals. The bind may become more severe, not less so" (1974:33).

Discussion of the above two points serves to dramatize a major limitation of the Delphi method as a forecasting technique. Trends which are clearly indicated may prove, upon analysis, to act in opposition to one another. Thus, Cooper's study supports the contentions that unionization, professionalism and a concern with administrative efficiency will be important factors in the future development of the police role. However, as all these trends do not necessarily point in the same direction, it does not tell us how policing in the future will ultimately be affected by internation between them.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

In this section, the most important trends likely to effect the
police role and the way in which this role is to be interpreted in the
immediate future have been discussed. There are, however, a number of other
additional factors which have recently begun to affect developments in
policing in this country. Those which will be discussed here are the use
of female officers in routine patrol situations, developments in police--
community relations, technological innovation, and the need for police legal
units.

1. Policewomen

Use of female officers in police departments has been an
established practice in this country for very many years. Until about
1910, virtually all the women employed in police agencies were occupied
primarily in non-law enforcement capacities, usually in custodial
positions which involved them in supervision of prisoners and of juveniles
in the care of the courts. In the years following World War I, however, an
increasing number of women were appointed to police agencies with full
law enforcement powers. This trend was primarily due to the burgeoning
power of the women's movement at this time, as will as to the efforts of
a number of very active poineers in this field. Between the 1930s
and the 1960s, few advances were made by women in the law enforcement
custodial or other specialist capacities (Milton 1972; Simpson 1976a).

Since the beginning of the 1970s, the use and deployment of
women officers has changed dramatically and there are a number of factors
which will probably insure that policewomen will, in the future, be
used even more extensively and in routine police operations. One
consequence of the disastrous narcotics epidemic of the 1960s and early
1970s was the increasing willingness of police departments is use female
officers as undercover officers. This represents the first area in which

policewomen were able to demonstrate their capacities in law enforcement.
(Fagerstrom 1970). A more important influence on the hiring and deployment
policies of agencies in this regard was, however, recent interpretations of
the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment, which have placed
the onus on police departments to adopt policies which will avoid charges
of discrimination on the basis of six, In the recent past, and in the
future, policeagencies will have little choice but to employ women in
a greater numbers, and to assign them to patrol duty, in order to
avoid law suits and possible withdrawal of federal goverment funds.

Until recently, very little data was available of the relative
ability of women officers to fulfill the demands of routine police work.
In the last few years there have, however, been a number of extensive
studies which suggest that women are fully capable of meeting the demands
of all types of police activity. The most influential of these studies was
carried out in Washington,D.C., under the joint sponsorship of The Urban
Institute and the Police Foundation, and the results published in five
volumes in 1973 and 1974 (Urban Institute 1973 and 1974). In its general
conclusions, these reports indicated that very little differences existed
between the patrol capabilities and preformances of male and female officers
studied consistently made fewer arrests and issued fewer summonses for
traffic violations. No conclusion as to the significance of this difference
was, however, offered in any of the reports.

A comparative study of male and female officers in the New York
City Police Department reached broadly similar conclusions, when judged
according to traditional police standards, no significant differences
between the performances of policewomen and policemen were observed.
However, when the author examined interactions between officers and
public, she found those in the female group to be much more able to

elicit positive responces from citizens and to control situations without resorting to official authority (Greenwald 1976).

The results of these studies and trends, and of others discussed and reviewed in Simpson (1976a and 1976b), suggest that police agencies will, in the immediate future, made increased attempts to recruit women for a broad range of police responsibilities.

2. Police-Community Relations

Although the whole area of police--community relations is intimately connected with the growing inclinations of police departments to commit themselves to their service functions, there have been a number of recent criticismswhich have suggested that attention paid to this topic by police agencies has actually declined in recent years. The reports of the Kerner Commission (1968) and the Task Force on the Police by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967), both advocated the institution of separate units to improve community relations. The 1973 report of the National Advisory Commission of Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Police, however, noted that:

> Attempts to involve the community in programs to
> prevent crime and improve police-community
> relations have often been met by both public
> apathy and resistance within police agencies.
> (1973:ii).

The report did, on the other hand, go on to state that many highly successful programs had recently been introduced, and these had resulted in increased mutual understanding between the police and their constituents.

A more critical view is suggested in a study conducted by Howard University which considers a whole movement to set up separate

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units for this purpose as one which has already passed its zenity and which is attracting less and less attention in policing (Brown 1973). The major point made in this study is that community-relations units, as these were instituted in most departments, attempts were made to integrate the objectives of these units with those of the agency in general, the unity degenerated into little more then public relations devices intended more for building the image of the agency than for creating a mechanism for making the police responsive to community feelings and needs.

Some support for this interpretation of the present status of police-community relations units can be provided. In a recent literature review of trends in policing, Jayewardene observes that while research on this topic in still being carried out, fewer studies are now being published (1976). If this is an indication of decreasing interest in this type of unit, then Brown's assessment of the present state of this feel can be taken to be correct.

However, the recent and growing levels of interest in police commitment to the service function, and to the implementation of this commitment through the development of team policing models, seems to indicate that concern for community relations is stronger then ever in police agencies. Research and experimentation on the efficency of the team approach, and of other forms of patrol organization, clearly suggest that, while the use of the separate community relations unit may be on the wane, police commitment to community needs is certainly on the increase. This statement is supported by much of the discussions included elsewhere in this section and elsewhere in this account.

A number of accounts suggest, however, that neither the further proliferation of police--community relations unity nor the commitment of police structures as a whole to the service function will be sufficient

in themselves to bring about satisfactory relationships between police

departments and the communities which they serve.Bennett-Sandler,

for example, discusses various forms of citizen participation in police

decision-making as the most potentially valuable way in which police--

citizen relations can be strengthened and in which society can maintain

an adequate level of control over its police system (1976). The emphasis

in Bennett-Sandler's paper is, however, on the lack of communications

between the police and the citizenry which emerges when a department

functions is isolation from local community structure. Under such conditions,

it is suggested that the involvement of citizens in policing provedes

the only ments by which social distance between police and citizens can

be reduced and police-- community relations can be improved.

3. Technology

As sections in the above discussion have demonstrated, there

is widespread seeling that technological innovarion will play a vital

rold in the decades to come. It there is relatively little discussion

of this in the literature, this is probably because the trends and

effects of police technology in the future are largely taken for granted·

and do not pose problems in police management which are of pressing

of immediate comcern, The article by Shaw (1975), for example, concentrates

on outlining the undoubted benefits of increased computerization while

paying little attention to the prganizational consequences of increased

reliance on more sophisticated and more centralized equipment and technology.

Grimes notes that vast range of law inforcement tasks to

which computers will be, and are being, applied. Quoting a recent, and

authoritative, study carried out by Dent Colton of M.T.I., Grines predicts

that, toward the end of this decade, three-quarters of the nation's

police agencies will be using computers to assist them in a variety of

functions(1975). In spite of the neglect displayed in the literature

of the implications of the trend, its existence will have obvious

consequences for the future training and recruitment needs of police

agencies. These will be discussed in a later chapter of this account.

4. Legal Units

Legal units have existed in large police agencies throughout

most of this century. Since the mid-1960s, and particularly in the last

two or three years, there has been a tremendous expansion in both

the number of such units and the interest in them which has been displayed

by planners at the national level and by police administrators themselves

In this period, the number of police legal units which have been instituted

has grown considerably and it is also significant that many of these

units have been established by local agencies without the benefit

of outside financial assistance and at a time of economic

exigency. This alone appears to indicate a lasting commitment to this

type of specialist unit on the part of law inforcement at all levels

(Hendrickson 1976).

This units were initially established to assist officers,

particularly patrol officers, in making decisions and executing policies

based on a rapidly changing body of criminal law. The concept of the

legal advisor can therefore be seen as recognition that law enforcement

today frequently involves the application of specialist and expert

knowledge which cannot reasonably be expected from a patrol officer. This

is the principal reason why the concept has been advocated in such

prestigious sources as the report of the federal Task Force on the police

(1967) and the American Bar Association's Standards Relating to the Urban

Police Function (1973).

Another reason has, however, recently emerged which suggests that the role of the police legal advisor can be expected to become increasingly important in the years ahead:

> Today, while the legal advisor still functions as a primary training officer in the rapidly changing field of criminal law, the attorney is increasingly confronted with civil and administrative matters affecting the administration of the agency. Today police agencies need full=time counsel to insure agency compliance with the increasing govermental regulations as. for instance, equal employment opportunity and the dissemination of police records, as will as to respond to the expanding civil litigation directed at law enforcement agencies and individual officers. (Hendrickson 1976:71).

The range of situations in which police officers con become liable in civil suits is discussed in some derail by Grande (1977). Unless substantial changes in the legal situation of law enforcement officers and agencies are made, it seems clear that the police legal advisor unit will become an indispensiable resource of police administrators.

In this chapter, some of the major themes relevent to police policy-making, in the present as will as in the immediate future, have been reviewed and summarized. This review is not, of course, comprehensive, but has been limited to those topics which appear to be of pressing concern. Additional discussions of these and other trends may be found in the two extensive literature reviews by Jayewardene (1973) and 1974), and in the collcetion entitled Innovation in Law Enforcement and published in 1973 under the sponcership of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

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CHAPTER 3

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN POLICING

Although most discussions of the present and future concerns
of policing recognize the increasing emphasis on rationality
and efficiency. in police operations, possible conflict between
these objectives and the provision of improved community ser-
vices is also recognized. Davis, for example, sees the future
of the police in terms of the general goal of becoming "servants
of the people," in a meaningful sense, and the specific goal of
being truly accountable for their effectiveness in reducing crime.
He suggests that consolidation of agencies into larger and more
rational structures may actually serve to undermine the ability
of the police to respond creatively to meet community needs:

> Total consolidation or regionalization will never solve
> our crime crisis because such a venture would inhibit
> the necessary relationship that must exist to resolve
> community crime problems.... Policing, of all public
> services, must be the most sensitive to local community
> needs. That means that officers must possess knowledge
> about the people they serve; and, most importantly,
> they must have the capacity to understand subtle differ-
> ences between communities. This capacity of understand-
> ing cannot reasonably exist in a regionalized system.
> The implementation of such a system would seriously
> hamper the ability of a policing agency to develop a
> standard of true sensitivity to the community being
> policed. (Davis 1976: 19)

For this writer, a variable of overriding importance to the
level and quality of policing in the future is the caliber of
leadership. Noting the observed tendency of police bureau-
cracies to personalize leadership, Davis suggests that future
developments will be very much affected by the extent to which
police chiefs are protected from political interference and

encouraged to implement policies of their own.

There is considerable support for Davis' position. A recent review of theoretical and practical approaches to the control of police corruption suggests that effective leadership has historically been the basis of those such approaches which have in any way been effective (Simpson, 1977). The effect that individual police administrators have had on particular departments has been considerable and one can expect that the accomplishments of the police of the future will be influenced by society's willingness to encourage capable leadership to develop.

Gordon Misner shares Davis' lack of confidence in consolidation as an automatic panacea for police difficulties. However, he suggests that as the technological advantages of shared central services are so considerable, future consolidation is inevitable:

> The key point to be made...is that notwithstanding the experimentation which goes on under the rubric of 'which is better--decentralized or centralized police command', technological developments and political developments within the social fabric of American policing have fairly well assured us that we will have a centralized police apparatus, all but in name. By 1980, we will surely see the increased use of centralized police staff services: training, personnel, communication, and EDP. If centralization of these services takes place, we will then have essentially centralization of operations, per se. (1975: 366)

A.C. Germann, in advocating the importance of police commitment to their service function, suggests that such a commitment is essential, not just to the future ability of the police to meet the demands of their changing social roles, but to the preservation of a free society under the rule of law.

Policing as a helping profession, recognized as such by the citizenry and supported by common consensus, is regarded by Germann as the only alternative to the degeneration of the paramilitary police bureaucracy as an agent, and an increasingly ineffective agent, for most authors suggest changes in police objectives to give greater attention to the service function as a natural and desirable goal. Germann presents this view as necessary for the maintenance of democratic institutions (1976).

This account offers little in the way of policy recommendations which are specific. It does, however, serve to emphasize the importance of changes in police objectives and organization and analyzes the consequences of possible failure to achieve these goals eloquently and in some detail.

THE SERVICE FUNCTION

Future commitment of the police to a service-oriented function is noted at various points in this paper as a trend which is indicated throughout the fairly modest volume of literature dealing with the future of the police function. In addition to those sources cited above, a number of other writers present the view that the development of the service function is incompatible with the maintenance of the paramilitary bureaucratic structure in police agencies. Elliott (1973), for example, discusses the future development of police agencies in the United States as part of the national system and suggests a future form of police organization based on commitment to the service function and antithetical to the paramilitary

type of organization. John E. Angell, one of the most
influential articles that excessive reliance on bureaucratic
systems of organization has been an important source of police
difficulties over the last few years. In Angell's view,
organization of police agencies along lines which are more
democratic and which rely heavily on the concept of team
policing, would be advantageous in enabling agencies to per-
form their real social function of providing a variety of
services to their communities. In the opinion of this author,
and of many others, the reality of police patrol is reflected
in the many statistical surveys which indicate that: "...crime-
related requests for police assistance actually comprise a
minority of all requests for polcie action." (Angell, 1976: 38)
Demands from citizens which occupy the larger proportion of
police time are those which require officers to serve in a
wide variety of public service capacities.

Angell's analysis therefore suggests that reorganization
of departmental structures to conform to the needs of the team
model be recommended primarily to enable police agencies to
cope more effectively with service demands not related to their
law enforcement function. However, it is also suggested,
quite strongly, that the greater ability of the police to
handle their service responsibilities would be associated with
a   greater capacity for crime control. Involvement of police
officers in social service activities is seen as a potentially
effective means of crime prevention:

In this society a multitude of human service organiza-
tions are responsible for performing functions that
will prevent deviancy and crime. These agencies exist
in every urban area, but they are frequently disregarded
by apprehension-oriented police. Many predeviates and
deviates who are ignored or funneled into the courts by
police could likely receive assistance which would
prevent the continuation of their behavior if they were
referred to welfare, mental health or other public
service organizations.... Closer organizational ties
between the police and other human service agencies
should increase the social utility of police. Crime
prevention would be increased and social justice would
be enhanced. Such alignment should further produce
greater effectiveness on the part of other human service
agencies. (Angell, 1976: 39)

Although this approach has received widespread support in

the literature, it is questionable whether it has yet exerted

a major influence on the organizational structures and patrol

policies of police agencies in this country. Angell himself,

while advocating the democratic model in the strongest terms,

expresses a rather pessimistic view when he addresses the

question of how likely this model is to supplant its more auth-

oritarian predecessor:

     One major obstacle to police adoption of a broader
role definition and the improvement of police and human
service relationships is the arbitrary classification
of police as the major component of the so called
'criminal justice system.' So long as the police con-
ceive of themselves as the key agency in a system dedi-
cated to arresting and punishing criminals, they will'
probably be shackled to a criminal apprehension approach
to handling crime. They are likely to continue to
devote their resourses to criminal investigation at
the expense of crime prevention and public service
activities. Jailing violators of the criminal code will
continue to seem more important then the long-range
deviancy reduction or social improvement activities.

This section of Angell's account illustrates one of the more

common problems encountered in attempts to make forecasts about

the future development of any social institution: One can suggest

those developments which seem the most logical, and the most appropriate, but such suggestions do not always reflect reality. As we all know, the future is more than just a streamlined version of the present and attempts to evaluate it must be based on more than just the hopeful application of logical reasoning.

Many other statements of views similar to those of Angell appear in the literature and could be cited here. Popular though such assessments of the future are, they are difficult to evaluate in terms of the likelihood of their occurrence. Plausible as they might be, such statements cannot be accepted as more than expressions of individual opinion. In a number of fields, forecasts of future trends have been made through the use of the Delphi method, (see below), to determine if significant trends emerge by polling fixed numbers of experts. Several forecasts relevant to the future of American law enforcement have so far been published. These will be discussed here as important and prestigious indicators of the future development of the police function over the next thirty years.

GENERAL ELECTRIC SURVEY

The first of these represents the results of a series of interviews conducted with a group of special scientists and educators in 1967, by a team from General Electric's Business Environment Seciton, in an effort to predict the future structure of organizations of a variety of types. Initial predicitons made on the basis of the data collected were issued in 1967 and revised two years later. The 1969 version of the forecast was analyzed in 1975 by C.J Swank in a report which: "looks at their over-

all predictions and applies them to specific trends which can
be anticipated in police organizations in years to come."
(Swank, 1975: 294)

This account is important as it represents the only series
of projections which are based on highly theoretical view of
the relationship between human needs and organizational structure
which is superimposed upon the theorists' evaluation of social
trends in this country. Unlike the other published predictive
studies discussed here, (and unlike the study undertaken by
the Criminal Justice Center for the purposes of this analysis),
no account was taken of the opinions of those in policing. Pro-
jections which are made were largely determined by the experts'
evaluation of the consequences of these changes on organizations
an those who are employed by these organizations or who receive
services from them.

Eight overall predictions are made which have important
consequences for the nature and form of policing in the future.
All are somewhat limited in the sense that they are based exclu-
sively on the operation of organizational factors. Nonetheless,
they are valuable in providing indicators which can be compared
favorably with those based on other variables and considered
later in this Chapter. The first prediction suggests that:

> ...from the mid 1970's through the early 1980's there
> will be a significant decrease in federal involvement
> as it relates to local police operations and administra-
> tion. For although Congress, through the Law Enforce-
> ment Assistance Administration, continues to allocate
> large sums of money, there appears within our society
> a growing trend away from this approach. (Swank, 1975: 296)

This projection is presented as being based on a variety of his-

torical and political factors. Support of it is, in fact, generated from a number of other sources. A recent report by a Task Force of the Twentieth Century Fund, for example recommends the dismantling of the regional bureaucracy of the L.E.A.A., the channelling of some funds to law enforcement below the federal level directly through state and local governments, and the creation of a new federal agency with the primary responsibility of supporting research and evaluation projects (1976). This report is cited here as an example of the proliferation of recent criticisms made of federal funding of law enforcement in general, and of the L.E.A.A. in particular. Swank's prediction is, however, made in reflection of a projected general trend toward more state and local control of government in activities at these levels.

A second trend suggested by Swank concerns to the re-ordering of managerial priorities, throughout bureaucracies in both the public and private sectors, in reflection of the inability of traditional managerial systems to achieve effective results. According to the views of human relations theorists such as Elton Mayo and Douglas McGregor, the goals of an organization are much easier to achieve if these are in some way congruent with the needs of the individual employee. Managerial techniques which are based on individual as well as organizational goal fulfillment are therefore likely to be much more effective than those designed to bring about employee cooperation through coercion. This approach, the very antithesis of the "scientific management" of the early twentieth century, is, of course, impossible within a paramilitary bureaucratic structure. As its

effectiveness becomes proven, police administrators will be forced to accept organizational changes which encourage attention to be paid to individual needs, in order that the needs of the agency be met effectively. Swank suggests that there is a particular reason why the human relations approach should only now become more effective than its traditionalist predecessor: increased prosperity will, now and in the future, cause people to rely on their jobs less for satisfaction of their physical needs and more for ego needs and "self-actualization." One by-product of future prosperity will therefore be to change the relationships between organizations and their members and to liberalize the arrangements through which organizations seek to control those who work for them. It is clear from Swank's discussion that this trend is considered as a universal one and is by no means limited to police agencies. As police departments are among the more authoritarian of employing agencies, it can, however, be expected that this shift in organizational policy will be particularly striking.

Allied to this trend, Swank suggests that "future shock" will bring about a system of values which values individualism in people, and flexibility of response in organizations. This new system of values will come to exert a radical effect on police organizational structure:

> ...as we move toward the 1980's, police organizations through lateral entry, interagency transfer, and advanced education will tend to show a growing emphasis on recruiting qualified managers from external sources. An overall commitment to managerial ability will predominate in lieu of the previous rigid promotional system. This will come about since the overall society will place

greater value on individualism and move away from
uniformity and conformity. The speed, scope and
diversity of change will demand variety and flexi-
bility in police organizations in order to achieve
successful management and meet community needs.
(Swank 1975: 298)

The fourth, fifth and sixth predictions suggested by

Swank also represent consequences of applying the Mayo-

McGregor model to police organizational structure. In these

shifts are seen from authority relationships to participatory

management, to encourage individual fulfillment and organiz-

ational flexibility of response; from dogmatic ideology to

pragmatic rationality, as a basis for policy as old ideas fail

to withstand the tests of experimentation and time; and from

orgnaizational absolutes to individual decision-making in

systems wherein: "...individual officers will formulate

their own value system and react to street encounters based on

this rather than edicts from above." (1975:299). Each of

these trends represents a consequence of pressures on organi-

zations to become more responsive to the needs of their members

and to become flexible enough to meet the changing demands of

their constituents.

Increasing support for individualism is the basis for

the seventh prediction made in this study. With a rise in

support for individualism, comes a parallel rise in concern

for individual rights and liberties. The ability of police

agencies to preserve and protect these rights comes to be a

major criterion by which agencies are judged by society.

However, this emphasis on rights is not achieved without cost;

a concern with rights can be seen in almost direct opposition
to the requirements of administrative efficiency and an agency
can only achieve a primary emphasis on protection of individual
liberties at the expense of cost-effectiveness:

> ...law enforcement in a totalitarian state is always
> more efficient than law enforcement in a democratic
> society. Without the constraints imposed by a bill
> of rights, enforcement activity can be direct, immed-
> iate, energetic and highly effective. Yet individual
> freedom can be severely curtailed in the process.
> With the limitations of a bill of rights, enforcement
> activity is indirect, often delayed, plodding and of
> lesser efficiency. Yet individual liberty is main-
> tained in the process. (1975: 299)

Under pressure from outside forces, Swank predicts that:

> ...in the ensuing decade police organizations will
> tend to reduce the value of efficiency. It is to
> be hoped that it will be replaced with values such
> as justice, equality, and increased concern for in-
> dividual freedom. (p. 299)

The final prediction made in this account points to a de-
emphasis on technological innovation in police agencies and an
increase in emphasis on the social advancement of their employees.
Little substantive evidence for this trend is given. The author
suggests that the many technological advances which have been
made in law enforcement in the past have been rationalized in
terms of the social objectives of police forces. Growing aware-
ness that such innovations have come to determine social goals,
rather than to merely serve them, is cited as the basis for
emerging hesitation about further dependence on technology. In
this sense, police agencies, in seeking to focus on individual
growth, rather than organizational growth, will simply be follow-
ing a general social trend.

Swank's predictions are valuable as they represent trends which are expected to exert a universal effect on large organizations of all types. More detailed analysis of the particular influences likely to affect police agencies alone is included in the comprehensive study undertaken by the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, discussed later in this Chapter.

EUROPEAN AGENCIES

Many of the forcasts offered byindividuals predict that the further development of the police service role will be the major factor influencing the police function and organizational structure in the decades to come. Before any summaries of the opinions of these forecasters are given, it should be pointed out that in following such a trend,the police in this country will be following a tradition long established in European policing. George Berkley, in his comparative analysis of the police systems of a munber of European countries, stresses the service aspect as the crucial element in how the police function is interpreted in these societies (1969). This author suggests, moreover, through a series of well--chosen examples that dedication to this interpretation of the police role has a profound and beneficial influence on the way in which officers carry out their more traditional functions of the law enforcement and order maintenance.

The point that European forces will continue to emphasize this philosophy of policing is made in recent

commentaries by Egon Schlanitx, of Interpol, review_ng and
commenting upon a recent survey undertaken by the United
Nations on the future of the police role throughout the
world; (see: Schlanitz 1976a and 1976b). A commitment to
the service function was indicated inthe increased emphasis
now being placed in crime prevention sctivities. Most of the
countries surveyed appeared to display increasing concern
with extending their activities to influence potential
criminals and potential victims through increased participation
in community life. Techniques such as team policing are
mentioned in this report as means of both facilitating the
further development of this type of function and increasing
the efficiency of police patrol, criminal investigations and
other more traditional police operations.

An interesting perspective on the service function is
presented in this survey. Although the service role is
emphasized, it is not considered as representing a radical
departure from traditional forms of policing. Rather is it
seen as a natural aspect of the police mission:

> General assistance to the public, including rescue
> work and protection, may be considered as part of
> the traditional police mission.... On the other
> hand, police participation in community life in
> general and all forms of public relations activities
> undertaken by the police are generally considered
> to stem from a modern progressive approach to the
> problems the police have to solve. Police forces
> (throughout the world) are now engaged in many
> activities of this nature and officers seem to be
> convinced that their work benefits.... Although
> there are grounds for thinking that, as the years
> go by, the police may give increasing emphasis to
> greater involvement in social welfare activities,
> it would be wrong to deduce from this that they
> are at the threshold of a revolutionary development
> which will transform their identity. On the whole
> we are left with a picture of the police attempting
> slowly but surely to extend their range so that

they can cope with the various forms of crime they
meet in their day-to-day work.(Schlanitz 1976b:127).

J.Q. WILSON ON SOCIAL-STRUCTURAL CHANGE

James Q. Wilson's 1968 work, which includes one of the

most important discussions of the police service function in

American agencies, actually makes a similar point. The

varations in "styles" of policing are considered throughout

this book, to represent differences in emphasis, rather

than as types of police behavior which are mutually exclusive.

It should perhaps be pointed out that, in most discussions

of the service model, (including this present account),

this emphasis is usually taken for granted. Preponents of

this model take the "law enforcement" and "order maintenance"

police functions as given, although they usually suggest

that these be integrated with the service function, The lack

of attention paid to traditional functions by such writers

is indicative of the relative importance of the service

function, rather than of a lack of awareness of the fact that

traditional police roles will remain an integral part of

policing.

In a later work, Wilson discusses four types of social-

structural change which will have an important effect on

policing over the next few decades. Legal changes are

expected to lean in the general direction of decriminalization

of types of behavior which no longer seem to be universally

disapproved of in society. The general influence of this

trend will, of course, be to lessen many of the strains on

the police officer and to improve relationships between

the police and the citizenry. Wilson does, however, point

out that the future may also include the passage of laws

which, in spite of being intended to protect citizens,

may act to increase tensions between the police and the

public. Increasingly severe laws against drunken driving,

and requirements that motorists wear seat-belts are cited

as possible examples of such laws. (1973).

Increasing experiments intended to involve communities

in policing are anticipated. Team policing and the greater

involvements which are logical and probable. With this

trend, Wilson sees the continued upgrading of the patrolman

through greater educational requirements and forms of

training which are improved and intensified. A by-product

of this tendency will be the increased use of civilians

for tasks not considered as professional.

Like many writers. this author considers that police

agencies will be subjected to greater political pressures,

from both the growing power of police unions and from

politicians anxious to demonstrate their concern for crime

control to the electorate.

In assessing the consequences of these changes,

Wilson is careful to note that, as several of the anticipated

future developments can act in opposition to one another,

the final outcomes of their combined effects are hard to

predict:

> Private industry, government agencies, hospitals
> and educational institutions have all been shaped

by both the demands for greater productivity and efficiency and the demand for improved human relations with the reconciliation of these demands occurring under the suspicious eyes of union and professional organizations. What is happening to police organization is not strikingly different from what has happened in other organizational contexts.... Since these changes... are to some extent imconsistent with each other, the absence of a reliable and widely accepted standard for testing them will probably lead to a hit-or-miss, start-and-stop style of police reform (1973:214-15).

Three trends which are potentially contradictory are surveyed . Decentralization, as a way of meeting the needs of the service function is contrasted with pressures that police operations be centralized in order to control corruption, combat particular types of crime and manage civil disorders. Job enlargement , to increase individual fulfilment and to support the team approach, is contrasted with the increased specialization which the demands of sophisticated techniques, as well as pressures to increase productivity, will encourage. Greater selectivity in recruitment, and demands for higher entrance standards for recruits are contrasted with pressures on agencies to hire more officers from ethnic minorities.

No hard -and-fast resolution to these contradictions is offered. Wilson suggests that they will be resolved by agencies on the basis of purely situational factors.

One important point made by this author involves the emphasis now being placed on the service function in policing. He suggests that while this emphasis is not misplaced, there are dangers in drawing parallels too closely between the patrol officer and the social worker model.His point is that,

regardless of how much the police focus on the service role, they will always retain their responsibilities for their traditional functions of law enforcement and order maintenance and that these responsibilities contain built-in difficulties and contradictions which will always, at least in the forseeable future, present problems in a democratic society. Wilson's final conclusion on this point is presented here without further comment.

> ... the patrolman can no more be a 'social worker'
> than he can be a 'cop'. Unlike the former, he
> wears a uniform, carries a gun, is a symbol of
> authority, and must often use force, unlike the
> latter, he rarely can make a 'clean' arrest of a
> solitary felon--such arrests as he makes are
> typically of a misdemeanamt, they frequently
> take plact in a social situation, and they often
> involve controversial standards of public propriety
> and order(Wilson 1973:219-20).

PROJECT STAR FORECASTS

The most ambitious effort yet made to forecast future
trends in policing in this country was undertaken by Project
STAR, a collaborative enterprise sponsored by four states
(California, Michigan, New Jersey and Texas), and intended to
present an overview of present and future trends in the entire
criminal justice system. A major concern of this enterprise was
to evaluate the implications of all forecasts made in terms of
the future training needs of agencies connected with the criminal
justice field (California, 1976). An assessment of the future
training needs of the police suggested in this study will be
given in a later chapter of this account.

Project STAR resulted in a series of forecasts which are
of paramount importance as indicators which are based, not just
on expert opinion or studies of organizational characteristics,
but on a wide spectrum of social and demographic data. Three
principal techniques were used to evaluate future trends; these
included expert opinion, analysis of historical trend data and
linear extrapolation of observed present trends. Forecasts
emerging from the application of these long-range techniques
are evaluated and modified through a series of "constraints
and limitations." These include critical analysis of the
assumptions underlying the extrapolations made, discussion of
possible conflict between short-range and long-range trends and
between countertrends and analysis of the possible reactions
to existing trends which may serve to inhibit the pace of their
development.

Ten major long-range sociocultural trends are discussed
at some length and analyzed in terms of their future impact on
policing: population growth and change, future patterns of
industrialization, urbanization, cultural change, increasing
scientific and technological capability, further democratization
and egalitarianism, organizational change, increasing affluence,
professionalization and automation.

1. Demographic Trends

Analysis of population trends between now and the year 2000
suggests that two major factors will influence the role of the
police in the decades to come. Birth-rates, among the poor as
well as among the affluent, are declining and will continue to
do so. The population will grow steadily over the next thirty
years, but at a decreasing rate. Significantly, the numbers
in the 14-21 age-group, which is known to be responsible for a
disproportionately large amount of criminal activity, are expected
to grow slowly between now and about 1980 and to decline thereafter.
Against this, the proportion of this age-group which belongs to
minority racial groups will increase astronomically. The employ-
ment prospects of minorities in this age-group are not considered
to be very bright:

> The general picture is becoming worse with time....
> In 1960, the unemployment rate for Negro teenagers
> was three times that for Negro adults, but it became
> five times the Negro adult rate by 1971. If this
> trend continued at the same rate, by 1982, the
> unemployment rate for Negro teenagers would be seven
> times the Negro adult rate. (1976: 30)

In assessing the overall impact of these factors on the
crime rate, the Commission stated that:

...it can be assumed that the types of crime committed
by the 14 to 17 age group will continue to increase
until 1976 and begin to decline the following year.
The types of crimes committed by the 18 to 21 age group--
acts of violence--will continue to increase throughout
the 1970-1980 decade and begin to decline in 1981.
(1975: 31)

As far as the police are concerned, crime will rise in

absolute terms and larger reserves of police manpower will be

needed:

Unless alternative methods are found to cope with
larger numbers of potential criminals, at least as
many police officers as now work in California must
be added to the Nation's police forces by 1980. (p.33)

Although a smaller proportion of crimes will be committed by

teenagers, the data indicate an increasing involvement between

the police and black teenagers. It is suggested that the

ability to deal with young, black offenders will become an

increasingly important requirement of the police role.

Specific consequences of future population trends are con-

sidered likely to influence both the size and organizational

structure of police agencies in the future. Larger numbers of

people employed in law enforcement, as well as in other sectors

of the criminal justice system, will be needed because of growth

in the population. Changes in the nature of the population group

with which police are most likely to deal will bring about changes

in the nature of police work. The paramilitary type of police

organization is no longer considered appropriate for the kinds

of confrontations between police and ghetto youth which are

anticipated. The development of the skills required to handle

such confrontations are suggested in this report as involving

much closer interaction with local communities--a type of
interaction which is much more compatible with the service model
of policing than with the authoritarian approach characteristic
of traditional police organization.

2. The 'Postindustrial Society'

The second trend discussed in this report concerns the
consequences of further progress toward a "postindustrial"
society. The study suggests that:

> As the role of manufacturing declines in the post-
> industrial society, other types of activities grow
> in relative importance, such as services, research,
> education and amenities. The professional-technical
> class becomes the major occupational group, and, most
> importantly, innovation in society becomes increasingly
> dependent upon theoretical knowledge rather than
> practical knowledge. (1976: 51)

One result of this trend will be an increase in the employment
difficulties of those who are without specialized skills, or
who are otherwise denied access to the advantages of the post-
industrial society. As jobs are likely to become more demanding
in terms of the specialized education or know-how needed,
those on the fringes of society will have greater and greater
difficulty in meeting the demands of everyday life. An increasing
proportion of poorly-educated people are likely to be virtually
unemployable and this factor, in combination with the population
trends noted above, is considered certain to compound the diffi-
culties faced by the police:

> It can be anticipated that the frustrations of the
> unemployable...will be manifested increasingly in
> deviant forms of behavior. Wherever   unemployables
> will be concentrated, they will pose maintenance
> problems for the police.... The average level of
> education of unemployables will increase steadily
> throughout the 1970-1980 decade. Thus, the police

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will be required to be increasingly careful in their
face-to-face encounters with potential offenders....
The police officer should expect to have his authority
challenged more frequently on the streets by indivi-
duals and, especially, by youthful gangs. (1976: 57)

3. Urbanization

Future patterns of urbanization are seen as further com-
pounding these difficulties. Between now and the end of the
century, urban areas will progressively become larger and more
congested, as a result of continuing patterns of migration and
natural population growth. The cities will contain increasing
proportions of the poor, the black and the young. This trend will
both exacerbate the difficulties of the police role and drama-
tize the necessity for the police to develop by following a
professionalized model dedicated to the service function.

4. Socio-cultural Values

The fourth major social change predicted by the California
Commission is the continuation of trends of changes in cultural,
social and moral values which are projected as resulting in a
marked increase in behavior regarded as criminal under existing
laws. Some of these changes are ascribed to increasing social
tolerance of activity traditionally regarded as deviant or
criminal (gambling, prostitution, homosexuality, pornography
for example). Others are considered as stemming from a general
decline in traditional values and the onset of: "...a period
of transition characterized by sensual gratification, hedonism,
materialism, and the pursuit of money, success and power."
(1976: 94-5)

All of these changes will increase the difficulty of the

police role. Social consensus on a variety of issues will become
harder to achieve and the direction of the trend will be manifes-
ted by a general unwillingness on the part of the population
to accept either social responsibility or the legitimacy of auth-
ority. The study does not, however, commit itself to an assess-
ment of the strength of the difficulties created by this trend.
One imponderable in the equation involves the question of how
flexible the body of criminal law be toward accomodating changing
social mores. If laws against types of behavior likely to be
affected by these trends remain unammended, then the police will
be placed in the unenviable position of being obliged to enforce
laws which do not have popular approval. Unless legislators
respond to these projected changes in moral values:

> More and more...the police officer may find himself...
> being required to enforce laws which the wider community
> does not regard as illegal or worthy of law enforcement
> and which he himself may not deem worhty of enforcement.
> This would not contribute to public respect for the
> criminal justice system or for the police, nor would
> it contribute to the self-respect of the police officer.
> (1976: 95)

5. Technology

One trend which is closely related to the patterns of post-
industrialization, (discussed above), concerns the many impli-
cations of the projected accelerated growth in scientific and
technological achievement. An important consequence of this
trend is discussed as the increasing application of scientific
techniques to the functioning of social institutions and the
application of more objective standards to evaluate, or ration-
alize, the ability of these institutions to achieve their stated
goals. This trend can therefore be expected to influence the

police of the future in two distinct ways: by encouraging the application of technological expertise to police operations, this trend will bring about increased efficiency in police agencies. In addition as attention is drawn to the rationality of organizations, increasing attention will be paid to the suitability of existing organizational structures to meet social goals.

The report points out that these two trends may, while working in the same direction, be of varying strengths. It is expected that technological innovation will continue to be accepted within the police bureaucracies much more readily than are rationalistic changes in organizational structure:

> While the growth of closer ties between the scientific community and the criminal justice system is clearly taking place...this development is primarily concentrated in the area of technology. As in other institutions of American society, changes in technology are more readily accepted than changes in organization behavior, attitudes and values. (1976: 113)

Again, the study recommends progress toward professionalism as the best avenue through which the police can, now and in the future, cope with these additional demands. A truly professionalized force is seen as one in which practitioners are both aware of their social goals and the necessity for an organizational structure which is designed to meet these goals in the most effective way. Practitioners are willing, by virtue of their training and commitment to their work, to accept the idea of continuous assessment and evaluation of organizational effectiveness, and the application of the findings of social researchers, as means of furthering the mutual interests of the profession and those whom it serves.

6. Egalitarianism and Democratization

Another factor which is expected to increase the difficulties of the police role in general, and police relations with urban youth in particular, is the increasing growth of egalitarianism and democratization. Although trends of increased educational opportunity lessening of racial and other discrimination and progress toward a true meritocracy are obviously regarded as progressive in this study, the paradoxical effect of these trends on the police role is noted. With increasing progress toward a society wherein the individual can rely on advancing in proportion to his or her abilities comes a concomitant increase in popular expectations. In a society which proclaims itself to be a meritocracy, all citizens will, quite reasonably, expect to be judged on their merits and to be rewarded accordingly. Unfortunately , as some of the factors outlined earlier suggest, a small, but significant, proportion of the population will not have acquired the education or the skills to enable them to play a full and productive role in the new technological society. These people will not, presumably, be immune from the same expectations as those in a more fortunate social stratum and, for them, the new meritocracy will result in increasing frustration and a feeling of relative deprivation.

The police can and certainly will respond to the demands that all citizens be treated on their merits and the study foresees increasing efforts being made by agencies to recruit citizens from all strata of society to their ranks and to make particular efforts to recruit those from minority groups.

However, no matter how successful policies of this sort are, the police will still be faced with the problems of dealing with sections of the population which have become more and more hostile to authority because of heightened feelings of deprivation and a sense of having been passed by in a world where so many are able to achieve a reasonable compromise between their own expectations and the rewards which society is actually able to provide.

7. Bureaucratic Centralization

A trend likely to have a direct and immediate impact on police organizational structure concerns the accelerating, and worldwide, tendency toward the growth and centralization of bureaucratic structures of all kinds. At the national level, this trend is associated with developments in communications, technology and population growth. Increasing specialization in organizations is described as resulting from the increasing complexity of modern life and having as one of its consequences the need for greater integration and coordination of activities. As organizations become larger and more diverse, their structure becomes more bureaucratized and more complex. Elaborate systems of rules are needed to insure universality of policy and methods of operation. Technological innovation encourages the further development of this trend and further increase in the size of organizations because of economies of large scale and the advantages of centralizing, and thereby avoiding duplication of, sophisticated technical operations.

As noted earlier in this essay, police agencies will undoubtedly reap considerable benefits from the centralization

of certain operations which integration of departments and the resultant ability to introduce advanced, and expensive, systems of operation. The California study does, however, pay greatest attention to the dysfunctional consequences of future integration and suggests that this trend may be in opposition to its general conclusion that the commitment of the police to their service function represents the most obvious, and the most fruitful, direction for policing in the future. Two important dysfunctional consequences of this trend are emphasized in this study. The first is the possible substitution of bureaucratic goals for social goals and the likelihood that increased bureaucratization will serve to undermine the ability of police to respond to the needs of their constituents and even to subvert their ability to fulfill their legal mandates; (see Chapter I).

A second consequence of this trend is seen as the possible development of "trained incapacity" in police agencies. It is suggested that, as bureaucratic goals become normative goals, the officer will begin to react to situations only within the framework of bureaucratic structure. This tendency will come to be reflected in training when:

> (t)he recruit discovers he will be rewarded for adhering to the regulations pertaining to internal discipline. Advancement within the police department will depend on following the regulations prescribed in the departmental manuals rather than upon getting along with the people in the areas of the city he must patrol. (1976: 155)

Taken on its own, this trend is viewed as one which is compatible with bureaucratic efficiency, but which ultimately reduces the ability of the police to cope with their social functions:

> The end result of increasing size of police departments
> with their emphasis on efficiency and impersonal rela-
> tionships is increasing alienation of the public they
> are supposed to serve.... Ideas about new roles for
> the police are embodied in such concepts as 'community
> relations' or 'social service' are incompatible with
> the nature of bureaucracy. Furthermore, at the pre-
> sent time in their relationships with Negro and White
> citizens, field studies indicate that the police are
> better able to relate to whites in a personal way than
> with blacks. Thus, as bureaucratic organization grows,
> police-Negro relationships may become worse. (1976: 165)

Further integration of departments and specialization

within them is considered as inevitable. It is not suggested

that these trends can be slowed or reversed. Instead, the

Commission advocates rigorous training methods designed to

overcome possible erosion of police commitment to social goals,

to understand the contradictory pressures of bureaucratic and

social responsibilities and to provide potential administrators

with greater expertise for managing police operations in a

bureaucratized setting.

8. Rising Income Levels

Increasing affluence at most levels of American society is,

like several of the trends discussed here, considered as exert-

ing conflicting influences on the nature of the police role

in the decades to come. On the one hand, it can be suggested

that greater affluence will likely be, (but not necessarily be),

associated with a falling volume of crime. On the other, many

of the other social and cultural factors noted earlier suggest

the opposite. Even if one accepts that the crime rate can be

reduced by economic factors alone, the reaction of the rela-

tively poor to the increased affluence of their surroundings

may be such as to reverse this general effect. The overall

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conclusion of the study on this point is that the salutary

effects of greater prosperity in the population as a whole will,

unfortunately, be more than offset by the reactions of the less

well-off to a more prosperous society:

> There is little reason to hope that increasing
> economic affluence will alleviate the tasks of the
> police in the years immediately ahead   If the
> theories about the causes of crime and delinquency...
> are correct, the role of the police will be made more
> difficult both because of rising affluence and be-
> cause of residual poverty and an increasing number
> of people, particularly Negroes, living below the
> official level of poverty. (p. 195)

It is suggested that crime rates may eventually decline, but

not in this century, and that an increasing volume of crime will

be characterized by violence and will be associated with

juvenile gang activity.

9. Automation

Further evidence for the relatively disadvantageous position

of the underprivileged classes in the decades ahead is presented

in the study's analysis of future trends in automation, and

the effects of these on society. The effects of techniques of

automation on both production and on the accessibility of infor-

mation are considered to be immense and the increasing use made

by industry of electronic data processing is substantial enough

to mean that:

> ...our society is rushing into the computer age at
> a pace 'which makes the Industrial Revolution look
> like a funeral procession.' (p. 238)

This development is analyzed as creating an additional obstacle

to the ability of the unskilled and undereducated to advance

themselves. The decreasing number of blue-collar workers is

cited as evidence that there will be a continually decreasing
need for unskilled workers in American society. It is suggested
also that the level of expertise required of employed workers
at all levels will be so high that it will be more and more
difficult for the poorly-educated to equip themselves with the
skills to obtain employemnt. In spite of the higher levels of
prosperity, and greater social resources for encouraging the
upward mobility of members of this stratum of society:

> The fact remains that automation of production reduces
> the needs of industry for the unskilled, the semiskilled,
> and the least educated workers. The trend toward the
> automation of production thus contributes to the dis-
> advantaged position of the young-poor-black in American
> society.... The general implication of the automation
> of production for the criminal justice system can be
> briefly summarized: it will serve to increase the
> pool of young-poor-black persons who commit the most
> crime. This is the category of persons who are concen-
> trated in the urban ghettos with inadequate training
> or education to compete successfully for an ever decreas-
> ing proportion of unskilled and semiskilled jobs. (pp. 242-3)

Increased automation of information will have the effects
of both increasing various types of computer-related crime
and the technological efficiency of the police. By far the
greatest attention is, however, paid in this report to the
effects of automation on police organization and operations.
Effects on police operations are discussed and summarized as
those affecting command-and-control of police operations, infor-
mation storage and retrieval and pattern recognition and research.
All are expected to have a marked and beneficial effect on the
ability of the police to control and manage police patrol and
investigative functions.

Some attention is paid to the manpower effects of these

innovations. It is suggested that agencies will rely more and more on specialized police personnel to develop and manage the hardware and software needed to implement these new techniques. The Commission envisages the emergence of a new group of specialists within police agencies and notes that these new specialists will represent an area of specialization which is largely divorced from the traditional police role. However, this new group is regarded as possessing a level of expertise which is both specialized and professional and which is consistent with the needs of a fully professionalized police force:

> These computer specialists will have no direct contact with the law breaker. However, the need for coordination and cooperation between these two types of police personnel will be very great. Experience with the development of computer-based information systems in the past, in government, military, and business areas, has shown that successful system design depends upon the integration of the design requirements of operations personnel and systems analysts. (p. 251)

Specialized training and recruitment is therefore advocated in the place of the continued : reliance of agencies on the use of outside consultants and civilian personnel.

10. Professionalization

The tenth major trend of concern to the police of the future concerns increased professionalization of occupational groups at a variety of current levels of prestige in American society. Factors influencing this trend are implicit at various points in the preceding discussion and include the considerably greater expertise needed in almost all occupations, as these will be defined in years to come, and in particular, the very considerable administrative and other skills which will be required to insure

that the diverse operations of larger, and increasingly complex
organizations are managed and integrated effectively and efficient-
ly.

At many points in the California study, professionalization
of police is recommended as the only viable solution to the
difficulties and challenges which lie ahead. In particular, this
approach is suggested as the only way in which the police can
cope with the greater demands which can be expected to be made
upon them as intermediaries between those who support society's
structure and those who feel slighted by it, while at the same
time changing the focus of their operations to respond to the
service aspects of their role more effectively. The Commission
is not at all sanguine about the challenges that lie ahead.
Many of the trends indicate that, at least for large urban
agencies, these challenges are likely to be overwhelming.
However, the arguments in favor of police professionalism are
articulated clearly as representing a philosophy of policing
which must be adopted if the police are to have a substantial
chance of meeting their social goals.

It is interesting that, at this point in the analysis,
professionalization of the police is discussed as part of a
universal trend which will manifest itself in many occupational
groups in the decades to come. Particular reasons why profess-
ionalism is especially important for the police have been cited
above. However, the point is made again and again in this
study that the arguments for police professionalism can be
whittled down to the single, and devastating, point that this

is the only means through which police organizations can achieve

the flexibility they need to emphasize the service function

as a means of fulfilling the broad spectrum of their social roles

in the communities and social structures which they are intended

to serve.

11.   Scope of Projections

The California study is relevant to this discussion for a

variety of reasons. Not the least of these is the time-span it

is intended to cover. The Commission's own statement of the

scope of its projections is given here without further comment:

> The time span covered by this study is primarily the
> 1970-1980 decade. However since education and train-
> ing are long lead-time items, we are also concerned
> with the 1980-1990 decade. In addition, the linear
> extrapolations of long-range trends presented in the
> tables and figures in the report frequently extend to
> the year 2000 or beyond. (p. 19)

THE SYSTEM APPROACH

Throughout this study, the point is repeatedly made that

changes in police structure and objectives cannot be considered

in isolation from the rest of the criminal justice system. The

policies, objectives and accomplishments of the courts and the

corrections system will, in the future as in the past, exert

a very great influence over the activities of the police. The

present interrelationship between the various elements within

the criminal justice system has been widely documented. The

most recent statement of the desirability of the police, correc-

tions and the courts working together to create a system which

could serve to plan and to create policy, is included in the

general report of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal

Justice Standards and Goals. In this, entitled A National
Strategy to Reduce Crime, considerable attention is paid to the
need for establishing agencies at the state level which have
the power and the capability to direct policies which will
determine the future roles of the police, as well as other units
within the system:

> No one agency alone has been given the societal respon-
> sibility of reducing crime. Questions of major policy
> in criminal justice require agreement among police,
> courts, corrections, and other public and private
> agencies. The Commission's standards on criminal
> justice informaiton systems, and criminal justice edu-
> cation present avenues for reaching agreement. (1975: 79)

A good many other sources also emphasize the importance
of future integration of this system to the further development
of the police role. Robert Gallati, for example, in a 1975
essay discusses the future importance of criminal justice infor-
mation systems through an analysis of the present achievements
of NYSIIS. In the course of his discussion, this author empha-
sizes the importance of the courts, both as consumers and gener-
ators of criminal offender data and suggests that a close rela-
tionship exists between the efficiency of the system and the
ability of the courts to introduce data into it. One of Gallati's
main points is that the system described is fundamentally the
product of the criminal justice system as a whole and repre-
sents an important model for future inter-agency cooperative
efforts.

Most outside observers of the police draw attention to
the folly of considering this element of the criminal justice
system in isolation from corrections and the courts, as well as

in isolation from general social trends. The recent, and influential commentaries on the police by James Q. Wilson (1975) and Herman Goldstein (1977) both make the point that influences stemming from the outside are by far the most important determinant of policing. Wilson is particularly critical of attempts by the police to change the nature of their role and notes that this is the one thing the police have no control of. It is society which determines what the police role shall be, and the police are best advised to limit their efforts to discovering what society expects of them, and how they can best meet these expectations (Wilson 1975). In this sense, increasing emphasis on the service function can best be seen as reflecting the needs and wishes of citizens, rather than as a way in which police agencies can defuse local hostility and criticisms against them.

A recent article by John W. McKay provides an excellent example of this systems approach to crime control in general, and the function of the police in particular. In concentrating on the importance of crime prevention as the most effective means of crime control, McKay suggests that reliance on any one public agency to solve the problem is unrealistic and ineffective. Of the many possibilities discussed in this short article, the cooperation of a variety of agencies, both within and without the criminal justice system, is regarded as the most promisimg single means for dealing with the problem:

> Crime prevention should not be viewed as an isolated
> phenomenon restricted solely to those government
> agencies which are normally considered part of the
> criminal justice system. Crime prevention should
> be viewed as a total government program. All agencies

and departments can contribute to crime prevention.
A few examples of non-criminal justice agencies con-
tributions to crime prevention are well-lighted
streets, schools which teach law and justice classes,
building codes with security requirements, and public
housing design. (McKay, 1976: 57)

Some writers have taken the concept of total, integrated
system of criminal justice one step further and describe agents
of this system as specialists in a variety of related occupa-
tions. Mathias and Stephens, in a 1975 article entitled
"Criminal Justice in the 21st Century," suggest that, at
this stage, police agencies as such will no longer exist. They
foresee a criminal justice system divided into seven broad
areas: crime causation, criminal law, system-wide changes,
juvenile delinquency, law enforcement, courts and corrections.
Agents of this system are specialized in terms of function,
rather than acting as employees of a particular agency, and are
charged with undertaking a variety of 'human service' responsibil-
ities.

There seems to be no shortage of predictions as to how
the police of the future are likely to develop, and what pro-
blems they are likely to face. A number of these have been
discussed in this chapter of this account and some of the more
important projections which relate more closely to the future
training needs of police are summarized in a later chapter. One
problem with many projections which appear in the literature is
that, unlike those of Schlanitz (1976a and b), Cooper (1974),
Swank (1975) and California (1976), which are at least based
on data which is both visible and quantifiable, they are diffi-
cult to evaluate in terms of the likelihood of their occurrence.

There is, of course, nothing unreasonable about making predictions based on informed opinion and one's personal evaluation of the future importance of current trends--indeed, some predictions made in this way will doubtless prove at least as accurate as those based on hard data. However, it is frequently difficult to distinguish between those projections of this kind which represent opinions based on theoretical evaluation of observed trends, and those which represent the optimism, or pessimism, of the writer's world view. The additional reports considered in the remainder of this chapter should be evaluated with these comments in mind.

OTHER PROJECTIONS

The point that further centralization and integration of police agencies in the U.S. is a likely development is discussed by Berkley (1970). The focus of this discussion is to make the point that centralization must be considered as a world-wide phenomenon in policing and the author discusses this trend in countries in Western Europe and elsewhere in the Free World. Although the discussion is given largely in terms of the European experience, it is suggested that many of the advantages of amalgamation may apply in this country. Such advantages are considered to include independence from local political pressure, increased job mobility for officers at all levels in the hierarchy and centralization of collective bargaining with police unions.

Berkley also considers a number of consequences of integration which he terms advantages, but which might be considered

as potentially dysfunctional, or at least problematic. Standardization of rules and procedures, creating a greater level of impersonality between officers, and between officers and the public, is viewed as a benefit of larger organizations. As discussion elsewhere in this chapter suggests, this characteristic of bureaucracy has recently been thought of as running in opposition to the police service objective. Similarly, Berkley considers that this trend will bring about more effective citizen control of police, by creating a national structure for this which is managed by elected representatives. This seems to run contrary to American conceptions of service based on the team policing model, in which communities are encouraged to make their needs and wishes known to police structures at the very local level.

Sandler and Mintz discuss the modification of the paramilitary model of police structure in theoretical terms and suggest that sufficient awareness of the limitations of this model now exists to permit radical changes in it to be made. The point made here is that, as everyone now knows how limited this type of structure is, and the structure itself is not immutable, police organizational in which the community service model has been superimposed on traditional police structures to suggest that bureaucratic organization can be made flexible enough to meet changing needs (1974).

Particular attention is paid to changing policies in the New York City Police Department in order to demonstrate this point. Collaborative policing, participatory management, experimentation with team policing and training programs geared to

the service function are cited and described. Although these authors certainly suggest that changes in police bureaucratic goals can be made, their final conclusion serves to give warning that not all of the changes required to bring about full commitment to the service function can be achieved within the traditional model:

> Ultimately, however, the military structure rests upon the rigid rank hierarchy and the ingrained self-image of the organization and its members as crime fighters. The effect can be modified by programs such as those that have been mentioned. However, a rational transition to becoming a full service agency functioning in cooperation with its community cannot occur without significant modifications in the internal structure of the organization. The elimination of ranks, the actual decentralization of authority, and a reorientation of the police image to one of social service officer are all prerequisites to significant alteration of the style and value system of any police agency. (1974: 463)

POLICE AND FUTURE SHOCK

General assuptions seem therefore to exist on how
the future police role will develop and debate in this
field seems generally to be limited to how and when it
will occur. Victor Cizanckas, chief of police in Menlo
Park, California, describes the problem in terms of the
concept of "future shock", which takes account of the
extraordinary difficulties faced by people in attempting
to cope with a rate of social change which is beyond
their experience and comprehension:

> Future shock is the dismaying disorientation
> brought on by the premature arrival of
> the future. It is a time phenomenon, a
> product of a greatly accelerated rate of
> change in society. What it means is that
> change is avalanching down upon our heads,
> and most people are grotesquely unprepared
> to cope with it. (1975:16)

In terms of this debate, one can suggest that the necessity
for the adoption of the service model of policing may have
been accepted as an intellectual level by police administrators,
but it has yet to be put fully into practice.

The classis account of"future shock" and its organizational
consequences is, however, given in the work of Alvin
Toffler. This author suggests that, far from bureaucratic
forms of organization becoming increasingly powerful and
oppresive, there is a likelihood that they will eventually
be successfully challenged by a new, and more flexible

system; the Ad-hocracy". The principal arguement used
by this author to support his theory concerns the accelerated
levels of organizational change which can be expected to
occur in bureaucracies within the public and private sector. .
Citing the waves of reorganizations brought about primarily
by recent tendencies toward merger and divestiture of interests,
Toffler describes the permanance of such change and its effect
on the nature of bureaucracies:

> ..-more and more sophisticated managers
> are recognizing that in a world of acceler-
> ating change reorganization is, and must be,
> an on-going process, rather than a traumatic
> once-in-a-lifetime affair. (Toffler 1973:190

Effects of this continuous change on the individual are to
render job environments and relationships temporary and
unstable, to break down use of standard bureaucratic channels
of communication and to otherwise de-stablize relationships
between individuals and their surroundings.

An important effect of these changes will be to bread the
power of the bureaucracy and the bureaucratic hierarchy. As
job assignments will be temporary, and working arrangements
short-lived , the individual's relationships with his fellow-
workers will largely be characterized by the increased
specialization undertaken by each member of the team, and by
the greater skills needed by all workers to manage the.
increasingly sophisticated technology at their disposal.

An eventual consequence of this trend will be to make
the bureaucracy and the organizational arrangements which go
with it, redundant. However:

It will be a long time before the last bureaucratic
hierarchy is obliterated. For bureaucracies are
well suited to tasks that require masses of moder-
ately educated men to perform routine operations,
and, no doubt, some such operations will continue
to be performed by men in the future. Yet is is
precisely such tasks that the computer and auto-
mated equipment do far better than men. It is
clear that in super-industrial society many such
tasks will be performed by great self-regulating
systems of machines, doing away with the need for
bureaucratic organization. Far from fastening the
grip of bureaucracy on civilization more tightly
than before, automation leads to its overthrow.
(1973: 197)

These consequences are viewed by Toffler as eventually

affecting all agencies, including police departments. One

potentially dysfunctional aspect of the "Ad-hocracy," discussed

to soem extent by Cizanckas, (see above), concerns the tre-

mendous burden of adaptation the new form of society makes on

its members. "Future Shock" experienced by individuals who

have been conditioned to life in a different, and more slowly-

paced, society will both inhibit their ability to adapt to new

conditions and delay the onset of the "Ad-hocracy." The diffi-

culties and trauma which police agencies can expect to undergo

in the course of the transition are, in Toffler's terms, no dif-

ferent from those which will be experienced by individuals and

organizations in other parts of society.

On the basis of the above discussion, the following

quotation can be used as a succinct outline of the police

role as it is expected to develop over the next few decades:

Future organizations must be staffed by well-
educated, well-trained, persons who, for the most part,
will be generalists providing the myriad of traditional
police and social services that only the police can
perform and which are vital to the health of our comm-
unities.

What seems to be a dichotomy between social work and the police work must be resolved. Only when we realize that police services are social services will we have a police profession. The men and women in this new profession will be products of psychologically healthy organizations which will no longer employ the bureaucratic paramilitary management style that pervades police organizations today. They will operate within broad parameters and with great discretion, and their worth to the community and their organization will be measured in terms of their ability to solve problems and to interact positively with all segments of the community.

Police will no longer be the keepers of the community's morals, but they will be effective protectors of its property and persons. (Cizanckas, 1975: 16; See also Cizanckas, 1973)

LIMITATIONS OF PROJECTIONS

A thoughtful qualification of the general desirability of applying projections of this sort is presented by Leslie T. Wilkins. This author suggests that the failure of the legal system as a whole to respond to changes in the social environment is the essential problem facing the criminal justice system today and he predicts that, unless planners in this area become responsive to changes in social attitudes and moral values a breakdown in the machinery of justice will occur by the year 2,000. The point of view expressed here is not that experts are <u>wrong</u> in evaluating trends and currents which affect law enforcement, but that they have been unwilling to recognize the importance of burgeoning social movements and patterns of thought.

An additional problem lied in the ingerent attraction of technological projections as a basis for predicting social trends

> ... two major considerations appear
> in any attempt to project into the future;
> namely, the technological and the moral
> future states. Projecting technological
> developments accurately is generally
> thought to be simpler; and, indeed,
> there have been some quite remarkable
> forecasts. Where serious forecasts have
> been made, with the use of sophisticated
> methods of analysis, and have subse-
> quently been disproved, the projected data
> for the technological development has most
> often been found to be the inaccurate
> factor.,. On the other hand, projecting
> likely future moral standards seems to be
> much more difficult. We cannot quantify
> moral positions; we cannot use envelope
> curves or other numerical analyses of trends."
> (Wilkins 1976:505-506)

Wilkins' further point is that, all probabilities being equal, we are naturally attracted to more optimistic forecasts and that this factor may have an unfortunate influence on the forecasts we are willing to accept:

> There is a strong tendency to believe that
> what is desirable is the more probable;
> while there may be no direct reason why
> this should be so, there is little doubt
> that possible developments which are seen
> as desirable tend to gain in their levels
> of probability. . We are inventing the
> future now; we must make that process a
> conscious and rational one. We must accept
> the idea that the idea of relevance must be
> future oriented." (1976:515-16).

It would seem that these qualifications can be profitably applied in evaluating any and all of the projections discussed in this paper.

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CHAPTER 4

POLICE TRAINING: PRESENT CONCERNS AND FUTURE NEEDS

It is obvious from the discussion included in previous sections of this account that present and future changes in the police role, growing crime rates, increased potential for conflict between police and minorities and greater reliance on more sophisticated technology will exert a very considerable influence on future policies toward the selection, training and education of police personnel. Acceptance of the notion of professionalism mandates an acceptance of the acquisition of those specialized skills and capabilities which distinguish those truly qualified to claim professional status. Police personnel policies introduced over the last few years have largely been aimed at preparing officers to meet increased emphasis on their service function, to fulfill specific technical and/or administrative job assignments and to insure that entering personnel have the potential to assume fully the responsibilities of professionalized status. In accordance with the objectives of this report, no other types of policies or programs will be discussed or considered here.

Several of the projections discussed in Sections II and III present some rationale for the necessity of continuing to gear police priorities toward the general objective of achieving full professionalism, and the specific objective of providing officers with the skills for meeting their service obligations. As all these attempts at rationale point roughly in the same direction, only one of them, that provided in one of the reports of Project STAR, (California 1976), will be considered further. The general tenor of the California report's recommendations relating to education reflect the concerns noted above and will be considered later in this discussion.

Support for policies which embody careful of evaluation of the future needs of police agencies has been provided by the two most influential federal commissions, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, to discuss the police in recent years. Each of the commissions paid particualr attention to the need for police agencies to develop more exacting standards of selection, training and education to meet the future obligations and demands likely to be made of them.

SELECTION OF PERSONNEL

On the subject of the selection of personnel, both commissions were highly critical of existing arrangements. The general report of the earlier commission, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (1968), discussed the police manpower problem as involving difficulties in attracting sufficient applicants qualified to meet the very low standards generally required for admission to police departments in this country. The report of the task force of this commission assigned to study the police discussed this two-fold problem of quality and quantity of potential manpower in more detail (Task Force Report: The Police 1967). In this, great attention was paid to the need for establishing high minimal educational and other qualifications for entrance to police service, to the use of extensive background checks and psychological and other forms of testing to insure the emotional stability and general suitability of those accepted as recruits, and increased use of probationer status to weed out, at an early stage, those recruits who are demonstrably unable to achieve the high standards of performance demanded by the agency.

1. RECRUITMENT AND THE POLICE SUBCULTURE

Reports of the later commission maintained this interest in police recruitment. More aggressive and professional recruiting programs were recommended and even greater attention was paid, in the general report and that dealing specifically with the police, to the need for higher standards and sophisticated techniques for identifying those unqualified for police work at either the recruitment stage, or at a very early point in their police careers (A National Strategy to Reduce Crime 1975; Police 1973). The recommendations and standards included in the reports of both these commissions are presented in the context of informed discussion of the unique demands made by the police role on those who assume responsibility for it. There are, however, a number of additional reasons why particular attention has been paid to improvement of law enforcement recruitment standards and policies.

In discussing the nature of police work, and the effect it has on the individual officer, many authors describe a process of socialization during which the beginning policeman is conditioned to accept the norms and standards of behavior of a police subculture which is both strong and distinctive; (see Section I for further discussion of this). One of the best, and most widely-quoted, descriptions of the policeman's 'working personality' describes this as being largely determined by reactions to an almost impossible mandate and to perceived hostility and danger in his working environment. The police subculture, with its own values and approved norms of behavior, is seen as a protective device (Skolnick 1966). In this discussion, the police occupational culture is viewed mainly as a consequence of the conflicting demands of the police bureaucracy and the society which it serves.

Many have, however, suggested that the police 'working personality' has been strongly reinforced by patterns of recruitment which have attracted particular social groups and personality types to police work. The influence of particular ethnic groups on the character of American policing is discussed by Niederhoffer (1967), Wilson (1964) and Berkley (1969). This last author gives considerable emphasis to the point that, in a culturally and ethnically hetero- geneous society like the U.S., the consequences of the failure to insure that police personnel reflect the characteristics of the communities they serve have been counterproductive. More recently, this kind of discussion has focused on the failure of police agencies to recruit members of minority groups to their ranks in sufficient numbers. The two federal commissions mentioned earlier both paid considerable attention to this point. Standard 13.3 recommended in the 1973 report Police, for example, is devoted to the question of minority recruiting. The need for greater minority representa- tion is discussed in some detail and recruitment policies designed to achieve this kind of representation are outlined. In its discussion of this standard, the philosophy of the Commission is stated explicitly:

> "Increasing emphasis must be placed on recruiting qualified blacks
> as police officers in communities with black residents...This
> standard, however, is not limited to any one ethnic minority group.
> Whenever there is a substantial ethnic minority population in any
> jurisdiction, no matter what the ethnic group may be, the police
> service can be improved by employing qualified members of that
> group. Every police agency should adhere to the principle that
> the police are the people and the people are the police" 1973:329-330).

One consequence of the considerable published discussion of the police subculture in recent years has been a growing awareness of the strength of this subculture in determining the values and behavior of its members. Discussions of ways which can be used to break the power of the police

'code', or at least to modify its dysfunctional effects, have come more and more to recognize that training programs cannot, in and of themselves, provide adequate solutions to the problem. Rigorous selection criteria must also be applied to insure that high quality of training is not used as a poor substitute for poor quality of personnel; (see for example, Ingersoll 1964; Goldstein 1975).

A number or researchers have, in fact, tended to minimize the importance of subcultural influences on police behavior by suggesting that there is actually a typical 'police personality' which has been strongly reinforced by patterns of police recruiting, as well as by the police socialization process. These authors suggest that persons with distinctive personality traits are attracted to careers in law enforcement and that this circumstance has been an influence on the character of American policing; (see Levy 1968, for example). Other authors emphasizing the significance of officers' personality characteristics in exacerbating the failures of police agencies to respond adequately to the demands made upon them include Hahn (1971), Fichter and Jordan (1964), McNamara (1967) and Snibbe and Snibbe (1973).

So far, the question of whether or not there is a typical police personality remains unresolved. Discussion of the available evidence is included in Balch (1972), Gray (1975) and Tifft (1974). No universally accepted answer has yet been found to the dual question of whether there is such a personality and, if so, whether its existence has had a significant effect on the quality of policing in this country.

There is, however, considerable evidence to indicate that American police agencies have failed to implement policies designed to attract well-qualified

recruits and to weed out those who are inherently unsuited to police work.

The Presidential Commission's Task Force on the Police stated this general

conclusion quite explicitly:

> "Existing selection requirements and procedures in the
> majority of departments, aside from the physical requirements,
> do not screen out the unfit. Hence, it is not surprising that far
> too many of those charged with protecting life and property and
> rationally enforcing[life and property and rationally enforcing]
> our laws are not respected by their fellow officers and are
> incompetent, corrupt, or abusive" (1967:125).

A number of studies document the high incidence of corrupt or otherwise

illegal behavior on the part of police officers. A review of these studies is

included in Simpson (1977). Whether or not this behavior can be attributable

to low selection standards, the fact remains that, as the Presidential

Commission pointed out, these standards are generally low.

2. INVESTIGATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING

Use of thorough background investigations of applications seems to be

supported by most agencies in their policies, although it has been pointed

out that many agencies do not in fact pursue these investigations with the

vigor they warrant and rely on routine searches of local records and on

references supplied by the applicant. One source notes that those departments

which do rely on intensive background investigation invariably reject higher pro-

portions of applicants (Saunders 1970). Again, only a minority of departments

administer psychiatric examinations and psychological tests to applicants,

although those which do exclude quite a number of candidates on the basis of

their results (I.A.C.P. 1968). Similarly, few departments administer I.Q.

tests to candidates, although most use some form of written test intended as

a rough gauge of mental ability. It has, however, been pointed out that such

tests do not provide any safeguard against the appointment of officers of

inadequate mental calibre, as the grades designated as qualifying are

arbitrary in most cases and subject to fluctuation (Saunders 1970).

The importance of using tests of this sort has been emphasized in

many sources. The reports of the President's Commission on Law

Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the National Advisory

Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals include detailed

discussion of the kinds of tests they recommend and the value of such tests

as a means of eliminating unsuitable applicants and identifying serving

officers who are unable to meet the high standards of emotional stability

demanded in police work:

> "Psychological techniques are...independent of the background investi-
> gations in a great number of cases. Severe emotional disabilities
> or mental illness may be discovered through psychological screening
> even though it is not evident from an examination of past behavior.
> This is particularly true of younger applicants who have not been
> subjected to pressure and emotional stress significant enough
> to manifest symptoms of emotional disorders in their regular
> conduct." (Police 1973:339).

Numerous examples of the success achieved by departments which have

introduced such techniques could be cited. The police department of Sausolito,

California, is a case in point. Primarily in an effort to cope with a breakdown

in relations with the community, this agency began in 1964 to use psychiatric

testing as one technique for evaluating the suitability of potential recruits.

This was extended apparently with beneficial results, to members of the

department and programs of individual therapy and group psychotherapy

were incorporated into the in-service training activities of the agency. There

is ample reason to believe that these policies have had a significant impact on

the ability of this department to carry out its functions (Shev and Wright 1971).

2. EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Most of the detailed discussion and body of recommendations relating to selection criteria included in the reports of the two federal commissions have not aroused a great deal of controversy. While the recommendations themselves may not have been followed by a large number of agencies, the principles reflected in them have not been seriously challenged by academic researchers or by police leaders. The heavy emphasis placed in these reports on the need for high standards of educational attainment in law enforcement has been the subject of considerable recent discussion in the field. In The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, the general report of the earlier commission, an unequivocal commitment to higher educational standards for officers at all levels of the police hierarchy was demonstrated and the following specific recommendations were made:

> "Police departments should recruit far more actively than they do now, with special attention to college campuses and inner-city neighborhoods...The ultimate aim of all police departments should be that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees...Police departments should take immediate steps to establish a minimum requirement of a baccalaureate degree for all supervisory and executive positions" (1967:109-10).

Following this emphasis, recommendations were included that promotion eligibility lists should be weighted by educational achievement and that continuing education be a permanent feature of the officer's career. One very interesting feature of this report was that the Commission took the view that education and training were inseparable components of the officer's ongoing preparation to meet the demands of his social role. Formal education, in the traditional college setting, was, of course, recommended. In addition, the Commission perceived such education as being supported within the context of in-service training programs:

"Professional educators and civilian experts should be used to teach specialized courses--law and psychology, for example. Recognized teaching techniques such as problem-solving seminars should be incorporated into training programs" (1967:112).

The report of that task force of this commission which dealt with the police was rather more realistic in its goals. While maintaining the general goals noted above, the task force viewed them as desirable objectives, rather than as criteria for immediate implementation:

> Hence, all future personnel serving (as police officers) should be required to have completed at least 2 years of college preparation at an accredited institution. While such educational requirements could be implemented in only a limited number of departments today, it is imperative that all law enforcement agencies strive to achieve these goals as quickly as possible. As an appropriate first step, all departments should immediately establish a requirement that no person be employed in a sworn capacity until he has received a high school diploma and has demonstrated by appropriate achievement tests the ability to perform successfully college level studies...To assist departments in ultimately reaching desirable requirements, educational standards should be increased progressively as conditions permit. The ultimate goal is that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees" (Task Force Report: The Police 1967:126).

The later commission, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, maintained this same emphasis on educational attainment as a criterion for entering a police agency and for advancing within it:

> "The standards (recommended) would require all police officers to have an undergraduate degree or its equivalent no later than 1982. In the meantime, the standards propose: immediately, all police officers should have at least 1 year of college or obtain 1 year of college within 36 months; by 1975, 2 years of college; and by 1978, 3 years of college" (A National Strategy to Reduce Crime 1975:311).

This unambiguous commitment of the Commission to the uplifting powers of the educational process is further indicated in suggestions that agencies make efforts to accommodate the needs of those attending courses in their scheduling, that pay incentives be given to encourage college attendance, that police administrators make liaison with educational institutions in their area in order to

minimize the difficulties of officers taking classes, and that officers be encouraged to take courses in a broad range of disciplines, and not to limit themselves to those in the criminal justice field. (Police 1973).

It is important that these recommendations be viewed in their correct context. Underlying them all is a strong commitment on the part of both these commissions to the development of a professionalized police system which is geared toward its social function as a service agency. All those reports of these commissions which dealt with the police include detailed descriptions of the service responsibilities of the police of the future and all make the reasonable assumption that these responsibilities can only be undertaken by police forces which are professionalized, educated and which have been trained intensively to fulfill the obligations of their roles. In recognition of the inherently professional nature of police work in the future, a complete re-organization of the patrol officer function is recommended. It is suggested in the 1967 report that the single category of patrol officer be replaced by three specialized types of officer, each of whom would concentrate on one particular function.

Of these three, only one, the "police officer," would be responsible for undertaking traditional police functions of law enforcement, order maintenance and preliminary crime investigation. The "community service officer" is envisaged as performing a number of police tasks of a routine, and generally unspecialized nature. His primary responsibility is, however, to act as an avenue of understanding between the police and their communities. This rank is considered to carry the approximate status of "apprentice policeman" and those in it are expected to eventually advance to more specialized ranks. Those occupying this position are expected to be young people, mainly in the 17 to 21 age-group, and to be drawn primarily from minority members of slum communit

Above these two ranks in the hierarchy is the "police agent." Those holding this rank will be experienced, well-educated and well-qualified officers and will be responsible for carrying out sensitive assignments requiring considerable judgment and expertise:

> "...police departments should establish a distinct classification of officers, designated herein as police agents, who would be assigned to the most complicated, sensitive and demanding police tasks. For example, police agents could be assigned to patrol high-crime neighborhoods or areas of social unrest, to investigate major crimes, or to respond to the more serious domestic disputes or a gathering of troublesome juveniles...Agents would replace, but have a much wider responsibility than the existing detective. In most departments, the detective is limited to an investigative function. Many tasks currently performed by detectives, such as routine follow-up investigations on certain classes of crime, could be assigned to police officers, and in some cases, to community service officers" (Task Force Report: The Police 1967:122).

This form of structural reorganization of the lowest rank in the agency is described as bringing about the more efficient use of manpower, and of involving, through application of the community service officer concept, minority groups in the activities of the police agency. Above and beyond this, however, this recommendation recognizes the professional nature of police work.

Probably the most significant feature of the recommendations regarding to educational attainment made in the reports of these two commissions lies in their underlying that police work, as it should be carried out and as it will be caried out in the foreseeable future, is essentially professional. By this view, distinctions can be made between education and training of personnel, but such distinctions are intrinsically unhelpful. Both are interrelated aspects of an integrated system of advancement intended to instill the skills and attitudes which characterize those who are practitioners of a true profession. For this reason, police education and training cannot be considered in isolation from one another

and policies intended to promulgate one must also be planned and evaluated in terms of their position within the overall structure of police advancement toward full professionalism. This point has been given emphasis in a number of accounts. Glisson, for example, devotes his entire discussion to the point that there is no basis for conflict between those advocating more intensive training and those upholding the goal of increased educational attainment of police officers. Exposure to both is regarded as a fundamental precondition for professionalism:

"Educators and trainers need not and should not be adversaries.
They should (and most do) work in close cooperation to see that
the police officer receives the finest training and education available.

It is true that educators and trainers have special needs and may
emphasize different priorities; therefore, it is reasonable that
educators and trainers will form specific organizations devoted to
fulfilling those special needs and achieving different priorities.
This, in no way, suggests an isolationist attitude by either group.
It simply reflects a recognition of the difficulty of one organization
actively pursuing the needs of two groups that often have different
priorities. The goal is the same for both groups--police professionalism.
Professionalism, however, cannot be achieved by trainers or educators
alone. Each must pursue their mutually supportive objectives to
ultimately achieve the common goal" (Glisson 1976:62)

4. BENEFITS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The reasons generally advanced in support of the recommendations of the two commissions regarding mandatory higher education for policemen can be grouped conveniently into two categories; those which support this level of education by assuming the benefit of it as a generally liberalizing influence on police agencies and those which suggest that it has specific, and identifiable, effects on police performance. Reasons in the first category are essentially the same as those used to support the extension of the privileges of higher education to any other group within society. Education at this level is regarded as having a generally uplifting influence on the values, personalities and character of

those receiving it and this influence is reflected in both the mental horizons and capabilities. Proponents of higher education for policemen on these grounds are therefore simply extending a general principle relating to the beneficial effects of education and feel that this is a principle which is widely, if not universally, accepted within society. As such, this principle is regarded as one which can be accepted at its face value, and without being subjected to rigorous testing. Indeed, supporters of this view can, and do, argue that the qualities conferred by superior educational attainment are sufficiently diverse to defy meaningful testing:

> "One can justify requiring art, music, literature, on the grounds that a policeman, in his work, sees so much of the seamy side of humanity that he should have some acquaintance with the sublime and noble products of the human spirit in order to keep his sanity, balance and judgment. But these are not the real justifications; rather, we justify the requirements of liberal arts in law enforcement education on the grounds that they contribute in ways for which no substitute has been found, to the development of men as thinking, critical beings, with an awareness of their relations to the whole of mankind. We do this in the faith that this type of man is a better man--whatever occupation he pursues" (I.A.C.P. 1962).

Most of those who advance such views also suggest that there are particular ways in which higher education can be directly relevant to the day-to-work of professionals in any field of endeavor. Exposure to advanced study of any kind supposedly stimulates an intellectual curiosity and creates a flexibility in the individual's approach to the world which cannot otherwise easily be obtained. This flexibility, a valuable asset in a world of social flux and constant technological innovation is, in one sense:

> "...the most efficient form of occupational training. Rapid change is hostile to narrow expertise and a curriculum that emphasizes breadth and flexibility may better equip students to meet unpredictable vocational demands" (Bressler 1967:50).

The two arguments outlined above, both variations of the general belief that higher education has a value which is intrinsically beneficial, have been widely expressed in government reports, monographs and journal articles relating to law enforcement--especially those published within the last decade. These arguments have proven particularly persuasive when applied in the context of discussion of the present complexities of the police role and the exercise of skill and judgment required by the increased future emphasis on the service aspect of policing.

A number of attempts have, however, been made to demonstrate that superior education has a beneficial and demonstrable effect on police attitudes and performance. Correlations between the performance ratings achieved by patrol officers and their educational levels have been found in the studies of McGreevey (1964), Rutherford (1968; quoted by Saunders 1970) and Baehr, Furcon and Froemel (1968). A greater body of data is available to suggest that a college education exerts a significant effect on the attitudes of officers. In one study the levels of authoritarianism in college-educated policemen were tested and compared with those of a control group which included officers who had not attended college. Other differences between the two groups were minimized and members of them were of broadly similar social and cultural backgrounds. The study found significant correlations to exist between age, education and level of authoritarianism. Officers who attended college were found to be less authoritarian than those who had not and, in the educated group, older officers were found to be more authoritarian than the younger (Smith, Locke and Walker 1967). In a later study, the attitudes of police officers who had just begun to attend college were compared with those with several years of college education. The lower

levels of authoritarianism in the more highly-educated group were taken as evidence of the positive influence of higher education on this personality characteristic (Guller 1972). Further evidence for this point is provided in a later study of Smith, Locke and Walker in which police attending college were found to be less authoritarian than their civilian classmates (1968).

One well-known study investigating the relationship between the background characteristics and performance of police officers examined the careers of a cohort of over 1,600 officers of the New York City Police Department over a period of eleven years. Close correlations were found between educational attainment, career advancement and susceptibility to disciplinary actions in this group. Higher education, whether acquired by an officer before or after entering police service, was associated with greater likelihood of promotion, lower susceptibility to disciplinary action and also with lower frequencies of time taken on sick leave (Cohen and Chaiken 1972). These trends were found to persist regardless of the ethnic or cultural background of officers.

Not all the data are favorable to the view that higher levels of education produce superior officers. A study carried out of the attitudes of personnel from three small police agencies in California attempt to show that thoseofficers with college educations would most strongly endorse the principle of police professionalism. The data collected did not, however, suggest that educational level affected the job-related strains or satisfactions experienced by the officer or the ways in which he evaluated his work. No correlation was found to exist between possession of a college education and attitude toward the nature of police work (Miller and Fry 1976).

A similar result was found by Weiner in his analysis of the results of an attitude questionnaire administered to about 400 members of one police agency. Attitudes, measured according to four separate standardized scales of measurement, were not found to be affected significantly by educational level (Weiner 1974). Pearson's detailed study of the attitudes of members of the patrol bureau of the Columbus, Ga. Police Department indicated that a greater commitment to the rule of law was not likely to be associated with higher educational levels of attainment (1974). The general conclusion reached in this analysis is that, as far as the police are concerned, educational accomplishment, personality characteristics and other background variables have less influence on the performance and attitudes of officers than do the unique demands made by the police role. Pearson's conclusions therefore support the views of those who consider that patterns of police response to citizens are largely determined by occupational factors and are not strongly influenced by the characteristics of individual officers; (see also Chevigny 1969).

Other studies have suggested that, as the better-educated officer is likely to experience greater levels of frustration in his job, higher education can actually be counterproductive in this context. One account compared the educational levels of officers who had been dismissed, those who had resigned, and those who were currently serving in one urban department. Members of the first two groups were found to have significantly better educational qualifications (Baehr, Furcon and Froemel 1968). Niederhoffer presents a more theoretical statement of why increased education may prove disadvantageous to the patrol officer and describes induction into a "subculture of cynicism" as a likely consequence of the educated officer's struggle with the difficulties and frustrations of the police role (1967). A cynical view of the world in general,

and the police role in particular, is viewed by this author as the way in which many educated policemen, unable to otherwise resolve the conflict between their expectations and the realities of police work, are able to come to terms with their job situations.

One problem in this entire discussion of whether the benefits of higher education exert a demonstrable effect on police performance has been the failure of many participants in this discussion to take account of the broad range of factors influencing police behavior. Education cannot be discussed or critized as a universal panacea for police difficulties. Meaningful attempts to assess its value to the policeman of the present and the future can only be undertaken with a realization that education is only one of a number of devices which can be used to upgrade the quality of American law enforcement. Increased organizational flexibility, restructuring of organizational arrangements and commitment of agencies to the service model and to fulfilling the training needs demanded by this model constitute the operational environment in which a better-educated and more sophisticated police force can best be developed. Higher education, as a criterion for entrance into a department or advancement within it, cannot be considered in isolation from policies toward the objectives of the agency and the training techniques used to meet these objectives. Many studies could be cited to make this point and reviews of these are included in Jayewardene (1973 and 1974), Gross (1973) and Sparling (1975).

Two important studies which consider the effects of both training and education on police values and behavior are those carried out by Savitz (1971) and Dalley (1973). In the first of these, the effects of training on a group of

officers were observed over a period of three years, beginning at the point when the officers first began recruit training. Although the effects of the police role itself on values attitudes and behavior, were found to be considerable, Savitz concluded that the combination of training and education tended to make officers less authoritarian, less traditional and more liberal. Dalley's study of the career progress of recruits entering the Royal Canadian Mounted Police reached very similar conclusions. The effects of the police role were found to be the strongest determinants of subsequent changes in attitudes and values, but these changes were favorably influenced by training and, in particular, by higher education. A further study to have reached generally similar conclusions was carried out by Sterling (1972). Again, this emphasizes that, while both education and training have a significant, and beneficial, impact on police perform- ance, it is the nature of police work itself which is the strongest determinant of police values and behavior. These and other reports can be used to emphasize the point that neither the educational policies nor the training practices of agencies can be formulated in isolation from departmental evaluations of what their social role should be and how this might be accomplished most productively.

There are many other arguments to suggest that traditional criticisms of the goal of developing an educated and professional police in this country fail to appreciate the long-term social effects of this trend. Many of these focus on education as a way of encouraging flexibility within the police subculture and of in fact opening this subculture to outside influences. George Berkley, after discussing the disadvantages and shortcomings of police education in a variety of European countries, including Sweden, France, Great Britain and Germany, concludes that the overall effect of policies in these societies is one of

democratization. He also suggests that an important by-product of the

requirement that police attend college lies in the way in which officers

are exposed to civilian influences and values. This exposure is considered

as having the probable effect of reducing subcultural influences and making

officers more receptive to general social currents and values (1969).

5. LATERAL ENTRY

At various points in this report, references have been made to existing and

future trends in police organization and responsibilities which require the

development of a class of police managers with the very considerable pro-

fessional skills needed to effect these changes. Many authors suggest that, unless

police agencies adopt practices of attracting and developing educated manpower,

the quality of leadership in them will not be adequate to meet future demands.

This point has been made in a number of prestigious sources, including the

reports of the two federal commissions dealing with the police. The problem

of recruiting personnel who will not only provide a satisfactory patrol force,

but will also provide a pool from which managerial talent can be drawn, is

frequently discussed in the context of alternative policies which can be used

to increase the resources of talent which can be attracted to police executive

positions. In recent years, a great deal of attention has been paid to lateral

entry as a means of both improving the quality of police middle management and

exposing police structures to outside influences. The National Advisory

Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, for example, emphasized

the importance of this type of recruitment as a way in which agencies could

attract specialized personnel, as well as superior managerial talent. In the

reports of this Commission, there is considerable awareness of the changes

in some of the legal aspects of present recruiting policies, and an indication

is given of the extensive modifications which would have to be made if lateral

entry were to become a general policy:

> "Before the full benefits of lateral mobility can be realized, certain
> dynamic changes must be made within the police service. Among the
> necessary changes is the elimination of overly restrictive residency
> requirements and of civil service restrictions on eligibility for entry-
> level and advanced positions. Additionally, State and national provisions
> must be made for transferring retirement pensions and other fringe benefits
> so that those who desire to move laterally do not suffer financially" (1975:253).

In spite of these present obstacles to implementation of lateral entry on a

large scale, there now seems to be considerable interest in the concept in

American agencies. A recent survey of some 383 exurban police departments

in Missouri indicated that almost half the agencies in this state have expressed

a willingness to implement policies of lateral entry, although only four of those

polled had actually initiated such policies (Schwartz and O'Bryan 1976). This

suggests that widespread interest in lateral entry exists, even though few

departments have so far been willing to express this interest in more tangible

terms:

> "Apparently the precedent has already been set, and one can question
> why so many police chiefs who are willing to implement a program
> of lateral entry persist in waiting until others do so. Perhaps those
> interested were not aware that many of their colleagues agreed to this
> policy" (1976:61).

A similar survey, recently carried out in California, studied 144 police agencies

in this state which apparently had policies of lateral entry. However, although the

overwhelming majority of respondents expressed support for the concept, this

support was not universally reflected in departmental policies. Only 61% of

the respondents actually recruited personnel in this way; the remainder limited

themselves to expressions of approval for the idea (Tafoya 1974).

6. EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF POLICE

The entire debate concerning the relative importance of recruitment policies, training and education as means of upgrading the quality of law enforcement personnel has been further complicated by controversy about the type of higher education which should be required of police officers. The vast growth in the number of police-related programs in colleges which has occurred in the last few years has mainly affected the community colleges (Kobetz 1975). Many of the programs offered in these institutions are of dubious quality and, moreover, focus on teaching a vocationally-oriented curriculum which does not provide the kind of liberal arts education called for in the reports of the two federal commissions (Berkley 1969; Gross 1975; Wachtel 1972). Education to enable the police to respond to the future demands made upon them should primarily be in the liberal arts and social sciences. It should be integrated with vocational training, but should provide the student with a degree of breadth and knowledge which is above and beyond the needs of training which is purely vocational. As one authority in this field has stated:

> "What we would like to see happen is that the vast majority of students in
> community colleges, both pre-service and in-service, would be in fully
> articulated programs with four-year colleges. The programs would
> combine both the development of technical competence and intellectual
> vision, which Alfred North Whitehead so aptly prescribes as the goal of
> education. The largest part of the training function should be carried out
> in police training establishments, either local or regional, although training
> and professional studies could be an integral part of the basically liberal
> arts curriculum of the community and senior colleges. The members of
> the field who form that cadre of individuals who, in any profession, teach
> rather than practice would not be expected to have practiced for the major
> part of their careers before becoming teachers. The faculties would include
> some members who were formerly practitioners but whose scholarship,
> teaching ability, and academic credentials would be the primary criteria
> for teaching. The attitude that "you can't teach a cop unless you've
> carried a night stick" would be thoroughly exposed as the antithesis of
> education except, of course, for the professional courses where it might
> in fact be an advantage. In this case, it would be relevant for technical
> and experiential reasons and not as an emotional call to arms for police
> to band together"(Lynch 1976:64).

Probably the most effective argument supporting college education for police as a mandatory requirement for entry into police work and subsequent advancement through the ranks is that presented in one of the reports resulting from Project STAR. In this, a series of future social developments in American society are analyzed and discussed in terms of their anticipated effects on the police role; (see Section III). Professionalization and advanced education for police are prescribed as being appropriate responses for a number of the developments which are foreseen. In particular, this report noted that, if police agencies fail to upgrade the education and training of their personnel, not only will they fall behind in their abilities to respond to social trends and to take advantage of new techniques, but their employees will be left behind in the general movement of the population toward professionalization and improved occupational status. Education is therefore necessary, if for no other reason than to enable the police to develop their expertise and social status at a rate comparable with that of the population they serve:

> "the population of the United States is becoming more highly educated.
> An increasing proportion of the population has some college education
> and a college degree is becoming commonplace. Thus, the nation
> is entering an era in which the population served by the police will
> be more highly educated than the average policeman, unless job-entry
> standards for police recruits are raised. In effect what is happening
> is that the police are failing to keep up with the general upgrading
> of educational requirements in other occupations such as social work,
> teaching, and nursing, for example, where at least a bachelor's
> degree is required for entry. There is increasing recognition of
> the need in our society for continuing education in many spheres of
> activity, particularly those recognized as professions, that is, fields
> of work in which academic knowledge and education are required for
> entry. This recognition is based on the realization that the rate of
> growth of science and the knowledge it generates is such that
> existing knowledge becomes obsolete very quickly... This idea of
> continuing education needs to be applied to police officers as well as
> to personnel in other professions. This is critical for at least two

reasons: (1) the educational base to start with is lower since one can become a policeman with only a high school diploma in many police departments; and (2) the rate of growth of relevant knowledge will be very rapid since the application of science in this field is so recent.

Under the circumstances sketched above, it would seem essential for police departments to undertake at least the following: (1) raise the educational standards for job entry of police recruits to a level equivalent with other professions such as teaching, social work, and nursing; (2) provide opportunities for continuing education to those police officers who do not have at least the equivalent of a bachelor's degree; and (3) create professional schools where the relationship between the functions of the police and scientific scholarship can be established" (California 1976:115).

Policies regarding the selection, education and training of police should therefore be regarded as a continuum. The ability of police forces to meet the demands made by their future position in society will depend to a large extent on the recognition by agencies of the importance of viewing these policies as integral to their growing commitment to their service function.

POLICE TRAINING: 1. TRADITIONAL PROGRAMS

Earlier in this section, reference was made to studies which have indicated that, while traditional forms of police training exert some influence on the behavior and values of recruits, this influence is insufficient to offset that of later peer group socialization and on-the-job experience. These last two factors are widely regarded as the most influential determinants of the characteristics of the police subculture and there has been considerable recent discussion on the desirability of developing new forms of training which are more relevant to the day-to-day work of policemen and which are more successful in imbuing officers with a set of values more consistent with the social objectives of the police function. A number of studies actually suggest that the traditional forms of training function primarily to inculcate subcultural values and are to this extent counterproductive. Harris' (1973) study, based on participant observation, of a recruit training academy criticised standard

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training techniques on two principal grounds. In the first place, the ethos of the training program was seen as encouraging the self-conceptions of recruits as a group apart within society and the police academy investigated by Harris was considered to serve the function of introducing new members of the force to the values and characteristics of the subculture. Secondly, the level of training observed focused heavily on idealized police responses to typical situations and no attempt was made to enable recruits to observe how such infield situations were actually handled by seasoned patrolmen. Harris in fact suggests that this reluctance on the part of academy policy and was designed primarily to discourage recruits from noting just how often police behavior diverged from official procedures. The net result of this training strategy was, however, to provide recruits with a very unrealistic view of the nature of police work and to leave them ill-equipped to handle the responsibilities of his role.

Rubinstein, in his study of the Philadelphia police, also suggests that formal training programs are quite ineffectual in preparing the recruit for his future role and points out that not only do traditional recruit training programs fail to impart the knowledge which is needed, but they encourage a consequence of this failure is, according to Rubinstein, the reliance of recruits on an informal apprenticeship system by which recruits seek to attach themselves to experienced officers in order to gain the skills which they failed to gain in training. Although common practice in the agency studied, this system was not sanctioned in any way by the bureaucracy and apparently existed as an informal way in which the limitations of official training were in part overcome within the ranks of the agency. In this author's view, the major

drawback of this practice was the unfortunate tendency for experienced

officers to teach recruits undesirable practices, as well as to impart to

them knowledge which was valuable. This system of informal apprenticeship

is for this reason criticized as dysfunctional and a means by which the recruit

is further socialized into accepting the values and practices of the police subculture

(Rubinstein 1973).

Use of some form of apprenticeship system is not, however, universally

criticized. The province of Ontario recently gave considerable support to

this concept in recommending that a recruit's basic training be obtained during

a probationary period in which his performance is evaluated at three-month

intervals. During this probationary period, it is recommended that a con-

siderable proportion of the training be carried out by use of the 'parent constable'

system, by which an experienced officer assumes responsibility for teaching

the probationer a broad range of strictly job-related skills (Ontario 1974).

It can be suggested that formalization and control of this type of procedure,

even to the point of using it as a practical and realistic adjunct to recruit

training, might go a long way toward alleviating its dysfunctional effects.

Traditional training programs can be critized in terms of both their

objectives and the tactics they use to achieve these objectives. In his study

of police recruitment and training in New York City in the 1960s, McNamara

observed that a training program could opt for one of two incompatible

objectives. A program could be designed either to encourage the officer's

powers of self-reliance and judgment, or to increase his suceptibility to

bureaucratic control. McNamara observes that the second of these two

objectives has been that most often sought by training programs (1967).

However, this is clearly not the goal which is advocated by the many and vocal

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supporters of the importance of the police service function. A statement

taken from one of the reports of the National Advisory Comm ssion on Criminal

Justice Standards and Goals most clearly illustrates the extent to which

programs stressing individual development have come to be regarded as of

major importance in producing officers capable of meeting the demands of this

function:

> "The training provided recruit officers is a continuation of the selection
> process whereby efforts are made to screen out those who are lacking
> in police aptitude. In all recruit training, emphasis is placed on
> developing the reasoning ability and judgment of each officer"
> (Police 1973:613).

Critics of police training routinely make the points that many programs

used in this country provide training which is insufficient in terms of quantity,

poor in terms of quality and inadequate in its lack of attention to needed skills

All these points have been made, at some length, in various of the reports of

the two federal commissions and by many other observers. Saunders, author

of what is probably the single most influential work on this subject, noted in

1970 that:

> "Today, about one-quarter of all cities and half of the small towns still
> do nothing to train new recruits, unless it is to refer them to the Ten
> Commandments. Only a small minority of agencies providing training
> do so upon entry; the vast majority send new men out on the street
> immediately and train them--if at all--'as soon as possible' within
> their first year. Once an officer has passed the recruit stage, he is
> unlikely to receive further training to maintain or improve his general com-
> petence or to qualify him for specialized assignment or promotion.
> Few departments conduct systematic inservice training for all personnel
> and fewer still provide formal management training for those entrusted
> with administrative and supervisory responsibilities...The training
> conducted in most police departments fails to meet minimum standards
> of adequacy even in terms of hours of instruction. Nor is length of training
> a sufficient measure of adequacy. Training quality has received relatively
> little analysis, but available data suggest that the content and methods of
> instruction are grossly deficient in most agencies. Serious deficiencies
> have been observed in the programs provided in the best departments, in

methods of instruction are grossly deficient in most agencies. Serious deficiences have been observed in the programs provided in the best departments, in the most respected state and regional academies, and in the F.B.I.'s prestigious National Academy" (Saunders 1970:118-20).

Similar criticisms of existing training practices are included in the reports of the latest federal commission dealing with the police. In its extensive discussions of training, this commission paid considerable attention to the development and maintenance of minimum standards in agencies throughout the country. Responsibility for this function was considered to belong to individual state governments and an important recommendation made was that:

> Every state, by 1975, should enact legislation establishing mandatory minimum basic training for a police, a representive body to develop and administer training standards and programs for police, and financial support for mandated training...on a continuing basis to provide the public with a common quality of protection and service from police employees throughout the State'(Police 1973:384).

Most of the discussion relating to training which was included in this report centered on how minimum standards should be developed and the recommended standards which were presented provide considerable discussion of how adequate levels of police training can be achieved and maintained. In the course of this, specific recommendations are made as to how much time should be spent in recruit training on different subject-areas. Six general 'topic areas' are outlined in this report and the percentages of the training period which each should occupy are noted:

"Introduction to the Criminal Justice System	8 percent	
Law	10 "	
Human Values and Problems	22 "	
Patrol and Investigation Procedures	33 "	
Police Proficiency	18 "	
Administration	9 "	" (Police 1973:394).

This recommended syllabus is particularly valuable as it is presented in the context of an overall training system which includes continuing in-service training and specialized instruction for specialists and administrators at various levels in the organizational hierarchy.

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2. INNOVATIVE TRAINING METHODS

Many sources, including the report cited above, present guidelines suggesting how training objectives can best be achieved and many of these discussions emphasize the value of non-traditional methods of instruction. The reports of the National Advisory Commission mention a number of such methods in the context of recruit, in-service and specialized training. In particular, individual programs which involve centralized training, field supervision and the use of seminars, workshops, programmed texts, audio-visual techniques and home study courses are outlined and described. The value of these types of approach to education and training in a variety of fields of endeavor is well-documented and there has been a growing interest in innovative methods of instruction in police agencies throughout the country.

3. VIDEO TECHNIQUES

A number of departments have achieved considerable success in using such methods for teaching subjects in the traditional police academy curriculum. The use of television, training films and other audio-visual aids has grown considerably over the last few years and many states now provide instruction in this way. The survey carried out by Wilcox evaluates the use of television as a medium of instruction and analyzes the experiences of a number of police agencies with this means of instruction (1971). Grosboll discusses training through open-circuit TV as a technique implemented in South Carolina as a way of centralizing training standards and improving the quality of instruction provided to officers in outlying areas. In this program, as in most, efforts are made to supplement lessons broadcast over a TV channel with printed material and discussion groups. Officers watch broadcasts in small groups, at local

centers and under supervision, and each lesson is followed by demonstrations and discussion. This program has apparently been very successful and has so far chiefly been used for the teaching of legal procedure and other subjects traditionally taught in the classroom (Grosboll 1975). Programs which also rely heavily on the use of audio-visual techniques of various kinds to supplement classroom discussion are reported in Denver (Denver 1975) and Texas (Taylor 1975). Horn's study of recruit training methods in nine urban police agencies reports a considerable degree of reliance on classroom education, field experience and audio-visual aids in training and discusses the association between the willingness of agencies to use new techniques and their willingness to accept responsibility for training to equip the recruit to meet the service role (1975).

4. FIELD TRAINING

A number of other techniques have been used to teach a variety of subjects normally taught strictly through the medium of classroom instruction. Field training for recruits is now a standard method of training in many jurisdictions. Agencies in California, for example, use a system of on-the-job training for officers who have recently left the academy and provides each officer with a programmed "Field Training Guide" which serves a course of instruction and a guide to the officer's ability to handle field situations (California 1975). A variation on this technique has been developed by the New Haven Police Department which uses training tapes, broadcast by radio over police frequencies, to teach a variety of subjects (Berg 1974).

5. INTERPERSONAL SKILLS

Many other examples of the increasing willingness of agencies to use such techniques could be cited. This trend can in part be explained by the greater realization by agencies of the need to upgrade and professionalize their personnel. However, the greatest single influence encouraging police

experimentation with non-conventional training methods has been the movement toward the development by police of more sophisticated interpersonal skills.

This movement has exerted its influence in two distinct, although related, fashions; from external pressures on police agencies to improve their relations with minority groups, and from pressures from within and without agencies to develop the service aspect of policing. Together these influences have revolutionized police training. In 1968, the report of the Kerner Commission suggested that the general inability of police to deal with minority groups was a major cause of many of the civil disorders of the 1960s. Since this pronouncement, police agencies have made particular efforts to reduce tensions between them and minorities in urban areas. Hiring of minority officers, spurred by this factor and by pressures stemming from the affirmative action programs imposed on public agencies from the 1960s onward, became one device used by departments to imporve police-community relations in urban areas. As a result of this trend, police forces have become somewhat more representative of the communities they serve. It is, however, debatable whether the presence of a higher proportion of minority officers has had a significant effect on policing in urban areas. A study of black officers in Detroit certainly indicates that these officers were at least as good as their white colleagues, but suggested that the problems black policemen experience in dealing with black citizens were substantially the same as those experienced by white officers. Mistrust of the police, whether the officers were black or white, appeared to be a common attitude on the part of black citizens (Bannon and Wilt 1973). Knowles and Brewer's survey of a black community in Los Angeles indicated a real awareness of the problems faced by the police (1973). This community appeared to believe that the level of police service was improving but the results of the

survey do not provide a clear answer to the question of whether this improvement was a consequence of the increased presence of black officers or of changing police responses. Some authors have argued that class, rather than race, is an important determinant of the relationships between citizens and police. Odell, for example, maintains that tensions between black citizens and white officers are largely a consequence of class differences and that increasing numbers of black officers in an area would not, per se, improve police community relations(1973).

6. AND THE SERVICE FUNCTION

Be this as it may, it is undoubtedly true that changing departmental attitudes toward the necessity for hiring minority officers have gone hand-in-glove with changes in police awareness of the need to improve relationships with their communities. An important consequence of this is the increasing emphasis now placed on human relations and sensitivity training by departments in all parts of the country. The rationale behind these training programs comes from several directions. The first of these reflects the view that the de facto role of the policeman is to act as a mediator between different subcultural values and different conceptions of norms of behavior. An integral part of the police service function is therefore to reduce tensions arising between individuals and between groups and to operate with a level of awareness which requires considerable experience and knowledge of human psychology; (see SectionI). Probably the most persuasive argument for the need for this type of training is presented by those who point out that the importance of the police service function is not just a future possibility; it is a statistical fact. Many writers have observed that patrol officers

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have historically spent a large proportion of their time on this function and, moreover, have always incurred the largest number of job-related injuries when intervening in various crisis situations (see, for example, Bard 1973).

Pressures upon police agencies to improve community relations and to increase the abilities of officers to cope with their service activities have therefore combined to encourage the introduction of sophisticated methods of human relations training into recruit and in-service training programs. As the various forecasts dealing with the future of policing, discussed elsewhere in this account, suggest, police forces will experience even greater difficulties over the next two or three decades in dealing with minorities in urban areas and will also be under greater pressure to continue to develop the service aspect of their role. In this light, the recent emphasis on human relations training is a logical one and can be expected to assume a position of even greater importance in police curricula in the years to come.

A number of excellent training programs of this type have now been established. Many of these have used innovative classroom techniques to improve the quality and impact of the training offered. Local agencies in Illinois, for example, now have access to a series of traveling workshops, sponsored by the Illinois Association of Chiefs of Police and developed by the University of Illinois Police Training Institute, which are expressly designed to provide expert training in areas relevant to police-community relations (Manella 1970). A recent evaluation of the Human Relations Training Program (HRTP), developed by the Philadelphia Police Department, discusses the wide variety of innovative teaching techniques and educational materials

used (Pennsylvania 1975). Fischer discusses the development of such
programs and outlines the instructional approaches which must be taken
if the objectives of these programs are to be attained (1975). Many excellent
training films which use problem simulation to enable officers to examine
their responses to a variety of commonly-encountered situations are now
available. An eight-part series developed by Smith and Kirkham at Florida
State University, intended for both pre-service and in-service officers, is
intended to stimulate discussion of police handling of situations involving
ethical considerations, use of authority, minority groups, and local
communities, as well as others likely to produce tension between officer
and citizen and to cause stress to the officer involved (1975).

A series of very influential programs have attempted to involve
citizens at some point in the training process. San Francisco's Project
PACE was a two-year action program designed to educate both police
and citizens and to provide the basis for policies which had the support of
patrolmen and citizens alike. The project was carried out in three stages. In
the first, a series of critical issues were identified through an attitudinal
survey of both officers and members of the community. Following this, a
series of discussion sessions, involving both officers and the citizens, were
carried out and were designed to influence the attitudes of both groups and
to identify areas for policy change. In the last stage, ten action programs
were implemented. Evaluation of the project suggested that the attitudes
and beliefs of both groups had been changed positively and relationships
between the two groups had been improved (Eisenberg, Fosen and Glickman 1971).

At this point, it is appropriate to draw attention once again to the Community Profile Development Project (CPDP) developed by the San Diego Police Department; (see Section II). This program represents the results of an unusually innovative experiment designed to assist participating officers in learning and applying the particular skills needed to evaluate the unique needs and characteristics of the communities they serve. Although the success of this program in reducing crime in the areas in which it has been applied has yet to be demonstrated, there is little doubt that the program has encouraged officers to carry out their duties in a more knowledgeable fashion. The CPDP may well prove the forerunner of a new, and even more successful, strategy of police patrol.

7. CRISIS INTERVENTION TRAINING

The six-month Quaker Project on Community Conflict was expressly designed to improve police handling of difficult situations in high-tension neighborhoods in Buffalo. Again this project allowed for some citizen participation and both officers and community residents were polled in an effort to determine which types of situation were most likely to produce conflict. The training program stemming from this project relied heavily on the use of role-playing exercises, in which both officers and citizens participated, to evaluate alternative means of defusing particular situations. These exercises were followed by a series of training workshops in which policemen were given an opportunity for further discussion and evaluation of intervention techniques (Quaker Project 1971).

Finkelman and Reichman present a contingency model for developing training programs and suggest that the instructional techniques which are used

should be determined by the nature of the subject being taught and also

by the characteristics of the subjects being trained (1974). This account

suggests that differences between groups being trained should exert a

strong influence on the teaching methods which are used:

> "Trainers often make the mistake of planning a single training
> program applicable to all levels of police. In fact, there are
> very great differences among police groups and to treat them
> all alike is to compromise the potential effectiveness of a training
> program... Experience in training programs with state and
> municipal police, chiefs of police and local police reveal certain
> distinctions which suggest the utility of differential training approaches"
> (1974:423-4).

It is suggested that, as a general rule, the greater the level of sophistication of the

audience, the less effective will traditional classroom instruction be. Use of

workshops, seminars and other types of participatory training is recommended

for training conducted at the higher legels.

In their subsequent discussion, these authors point to the variations

in training techniques required in the teaching of programs designed to

development of general psychological insight and human relations skills, and

human relations skills, as opposed to those intended to teach specialized

police subjects. The system of training through formal lecture is considered to

be appropriate for teaching both types of subjects at fairly low levels, but

Finkelman and Reichman put considerable emphasis on the use of outside

consultants, who are specialists in their fields, to teach those subjects

which involve application of the behavioral sciences. It is interesting that,

in this account, the characteristics of the group being taught is regarded as

a more important determinant of the teaching techniques selected than the

nature of the subject matter under discussion.

Few authorities would agree with this opinion. Most of the non-traditional teaching methods which have been introduced in the field of police training over the last few years have been applied in courses designed to improve human relations skills and are based on the view that, in this type of training, classroom lecture instruction is unsatisfactory. One of the best overviews of police training techniques and objectives to have been published in recent years makes this point quite explicitly:

> "(It) is important to observe that traditional classroom methodology, relying on didactic, verbal approach, is not an effective means of teaching interpersonal skills. As one author has pointed out, lasting change in behavior as a result of conventional classroom methods are quite unlikely. Another... has stated that interpersonal skills, particularly those to be used in emotionally volatile family conflict situations, cannot be taught successfully by the typically intellectual and cognitive methods employed in the classroom" (Badalamente et al. 1973:448).

8. ENCOUNTER GROUPS

In this account, five types of participatory training, which are especially appropriate to programs aimed at developing human relations skills, are discussed. These include T-group/Encounter group/Sensitivity training, Role playing, Self-disclosing behavior, Dramatizations and On-the-job training. All of these techniques can be applied to bring about long-term attitudinal and behavioral changes, rather than to instill a particular body of information in an individual, although all have slightly different objectives. The goal of T-groups and encounter groups is essentially therapeutic and participants are encouraged to evaluate their own attitudes and behavior by developing an appreciation of how their reactions are regarded by others. The learning experience is, in this sense, a group phenomenon. Participants are encouraged

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to listen critically to one another and to provide mutual assistance to each

other in analyzing the motivations, and social consequences, of their own

behavior. Encounter groups are usually small, (six to twelve members),

and, although unstructured, guidance is provided by the presence of a

group leader:

> "The major aims of small group therapy have been consolidated
> within three broad categories: (1) enhancing organizational
> efficiency, (2) enhancing interpersonal skills, and (3) enhancing
> the sense of well-being" (Badalamente et al. 1973:448).

Several police agencies have experimented with this concept. A report

of its application in the Houston Police Department describes encounter group

therapy as being used to alleviate tensions and increase understanding between

police and minority groups. Officers and community residents participated

in the same group sessions and the report indicates that these sessions

contributed toward the achievement of better police-community relations

(Bell et al. 1969). The technique has been applied in Cincinnati with the

quite different objective of assisting police recruits to obtain a better

understanding of both their own personality characteristics and the difficulties

they are likely to encounter when assigned to patrol (Mills 1969).

9. DRAMATIZATIONS

Dramatizations, whether involving professional actors, police officers

and/or local residents, and presented through live performances, films,

videotapes or closed-circuit television, have been used extensively. These

undoubtedly assist the participants and observers in evaluating their own

motivations and reactions, but they have primarily been used to illustrate

to recruits the kinds of situations they are likely to be involved in and how

these situations can be resolved:

"Dramatizations serve to provide the trainee (with) the situational perspective or operational context first, then illustrate, either during the performance or after, the relationship between the various situational factors. This kind of training approach differs from the conventional classroom approach in that general laws and principles are presented only as they become relevant to dealing with the situation under study. This approach to training has been termed the 'functional context' method, and evidence of its success when employed in Army technical training courses has been established: (Badalamente et al. 1973:450).

An experiment undertaken by the New York City Police Department in which both professional actors and recruits were involved is described in Police Training and Performance Study, a 1969 report on training in the NYCPD prepared for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. For a number of years, the Dramateurs, members of a drama group at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, have been actively involved in this type of training. This group, made up of amateur actors who are either civilian or in-service students at the College, has undertaken a number of presentations to police audiences, members of which may or may not be encouraged to participate in the dramatizations themselves.

10. ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

A number of references have been made in this account to the importance of on-the-job training as a technique for exposing officers both to actual police situations and to the methods police officers apply in practice to deal with these situations. As noted earlier, there is some evidence that departments are somewhat reluctant to expose recruits to actual police behavior during recruit training because the gap between police practice as taught in the academy and as carried out in field situations is so large; (see, for example, McNamara 1967 and Saunders 1970). However, there is increasing acceptance of the fact that, if the police are to become effective human relations specialists, a training curriculum which is appropriate to the real difficulties

faced by the patrolman in his work is essential. The police department of Seattle is one of many which have taken this principle to its logical conclusion in recruit training. In the Seattle training program, recruits not only spend a specific period of time in actual patrol operations, but are also assigned a certain number of hours to various human resource centers, such as drug rehabilitation centers, legal clinics, youth centers, etc., in order that they may appreciate their own service role and the contribution made by other agencies to the fulfillment of community needs (Tielsch 1972).

11. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Without doubt, the interest of police agencies in crisis intervention has had the greatest influence on their willingness to introduce nonconventional training techniques in order to equip their officers to deal more effectively with this major police function. In its early stages, police concern for developing crisis intervention techniques sprang from quite practical considerations. As noted elsewhere in this discussion, a number of studies have deomonstrated that the police spend a very large proportion of their time in order maintenance activities which involve the resolution of interpersonal conflicts. Moreover, an equally large proportion of police injuries are sustained in the course of these activities. However, it is only in recent years that agencies have come to accept this aspect of the police task as an integral part of their social function. This acceptance has been determined by a greater willingness on the part of police to acknowledge the reality of the difficulties experienced by officers on patrol operations and by general recognition of the need for further commitment to the service aspect of policing.

Present interest in crisis intervention, and in the training methods which must be applied to make officers specialists in this field, should therefore be interpreted as reflecting an essentially pragmatic view of policing:

> "The reluctance of both the public and the police to acknowledge the role of the police in conflict management is a costly misrepresentation of an important reality. More and more, the police, who are our most immediate representatives of a remote governmental authority, find it difficult to separate their duties in social regulation and public security from the day-to-day management of complex human problems. Conceptions of the police role which emphasize remoteness of authority by downgrading human services contribute to public disorder and insecurity, alienate the police from those they are charged with protecting, and, in a circular sense, negatively affect their crime control objectives. It can be reasoned that the goal of delivering human services can be regarded as an objective that, because of its profound effect upon public trust and cooperation, is equal with the objective of crime control. The usual role of the policeman is one which leads naturally to his becoming involved as a third party in interpersonal conflicts. This function is one which can neither be readily delegated nor ignored. Both the urgency and distructive potential of interpersonal conflict requires the kind of timely and authoritatively lawful third party response capability that is absolutely unique to the police function" (Bard 1973:4).

Although greatest attention has been paid to police training for dealing with family disputes, many other types of police activity fall within the purview of crisis intervention and, as such, require intensive training at various points in the policeman's career. These activities include interviewing of crime victims, with the dual-objective of eliciting valuable information and reducing the level of stress experienced by the victim; restoring order and counseling victims of natural disasters; notifying next of kin of the injury or death of a member of the family; assisting at accident scenes; handling cases of psychosis, and counseling the families of those exhibiting psychotic reactions; managing situations involving suicides and attempted suicide (Bard 1973). The many

specialized programs which have been introduced in police departments have all sought to enable officers to resolve these types of situations in such a way that honest concern is demonstrated for the interests of the _ individuals involved and that the resolution of a conflict situation is viewed by the officers concerned as being of greater importance than identifying laws violated, making arrests and otherwise affirming the authority of the police (Katz 1973).

Of the many specialized programs now in operation, a number focus on particular types of crisis situations. A series of workshops conducted by the Niagara County, N.Y. Law Enforcement Academy concentrated on a number of specific areas in which police are obliged to deal with situations involving questions of mental health (Mohr and Steblein 1976). A number of departments have, probably as a result of pressures from women's groups, instituted specialized training for officers who interview rape victims. The New York City Police Department, for example, now provides all officers assigned to the investigation of sex crimes with in-service training which concentrates on crisis intervention and the acquisition of skills need for reducing anxiety and interviewing victims in a compassionate and productive way (Keefe and O'Reilly 1975). Similar programs in other departments are discussed in Zlotnick (1977) and Symonds (1975).

Other programs have been designed to reduce the strength of racial and other job-induced biases in police officers. Hughes describes the use made by one large urban department of social workers in the training of police recruits. In the training program, considerable attention was paid to expose trainees to the cultural values of the groups with which they could expect to deal and efforts were made to encourage recruits to evaluate their

involvement in the community structure. To achieve this goal, extensive reliance was placed on role-playing sessions, discussion groups and field visits to a variety of social service agencies (Hughes 1972). Tytell provides an outline of two training programs designed to reduce antagonism of officers toward black communities by encouraging trainees to appreciate the social situations of these communities within a broad historical context (1975). Use of role playing to facilitate communication between black and white officers is described by Teahan (1975).

However, most of conflict management training programs which have been instituted by police agencies have, as noted above, concentrated on intervention in family disputes and the primary training technique which has been applied has been application of rol playing. Like the other crisis intervention training methods noted here, this technique is intended to stimulate the trainee in analyzing his own behavior and reactions and has the objective of inducing permanent changes in attitudes:

> "Role playing involves the display of behavior patterns defined as being consistent with the personality of an individual or class of individual being portrayed. Just as an actor 'plays a role' the trainee is asked to play a role in the training situation. It may be one defined for him, or it may be left up to him to define it. He may, in fact, be asked simply to 'be himself.' Role playing usually takes place in context, rather than 'free form' i.e., the scene is set, and is followed by some form of feedback/critique on the trainee's role playing behavior. Role playing is usually described as giving a better 'feeling' (relative to conventional lecture techniques for one's own predispositions and the pre-dispositions of others" (Badalamente et al. 1973:449).

Detailed discussions of the implementation of this type of program indicate local techniques and problems encountered in Dayton, Ohio (Barocas and Katz 1970), Richmond, California (Phelps, Schwartz and Liebman 1971), Oakland, Cal. (Flint 1974) Norwalk, Conn. (Bard and Zacker 1976), New York City (Bard 1972 and 1973), Simi Valley, Cal.

(N.C.C.D. 1975), Buffalo, N.Y. (Flannagan n.d.), Boulder Colo. (Schreiber and Andrews 1975), Holland (Beek 1975), Lowell Mass. (Katz 1973 and Columbus, Ohio (Spitzner 1975). Discussion of additional programs are provided in the review article by Schwartz (1975) and in the excellent overview of the accomplishments and future directions in this field presented by Zlotnick (1977).

Many of these programs have now been in existence long enough for informed evaluations of their worth to be made. Wylie et al. (1976) studied family crisis intervention training programs in six cities and attempted to determine just what the goals of these programs were, and if these had been accomplished. Although critical of some aspects of these programs, this evaluation was markedly favorable toward the concept. This source is particularly valuable for its inclusion of a detailed critique of existing training programs and presentation of an alternative training model. Walsh and Witte report an evaluation of a training program conducted in a suburban department and, using data stemming from the opinions of the participants themselves, suggests that considerable differences exist between the needs of agencies in this type of area and those in urban environments (1975). An evaluation carried out by Driscoll, Meyer and Shaine (1973) also studied the reactions of officers to this form of training. From the results of questionnaires distributed to both officers and citizens, they concluded that training had had a significant effect on the levels of understanding demonstrated by policemen involved in crisis intervention and had greatly increased their overall effectiveness in this area.

As the above discussion indicates, there is now a considerable volume data available on crisis intervention training programs. Many of the sources cited above present detailed discussion of the methods by which such programs can be formulated and implemented. At present, the major obstacle to the further development of this concept seems to be a reluctance on the part of some police bureaucracies to accept the organizational changes necessary to provide an optimal climate for this type of training. As Zlotnick points out:

> "One of the major principles of crisis intervention training...
> is that training programs must have administrative support and
> recognition so that trainees will believe the training is valuable
> and commit themselves to it and not just view it as "window
> dressing." To accomplish this task requires a number of
> changes within interested agencies including a modification of
> the human service aspect of the police role as imparted by the
> department's administrative staff and the police officer's peers.
> To achieve this will require not only securing administrative
> acceptance but also exploring methods of modifying the reward
> and sanction dimension of a department's human service component
> so that appropriate recognition is given by the police department
> to those police who exhibit high levels of competence and skill in
> these vital human service areas... Before beginning any training
> program, administrators should also be encouraged to assess and
> effectively overcome any organizational resistance by departments
> to the human service model in police work."
> (Zlotnick 1977:6).

12. IN-SERVICE TRAINING

It is implicit in the above discussion that these types of training will require a substantial commitment on the part of police departments to in-service training programs which are intensive and ongoing. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals paid particular attention to the need for in-service training and in fact devoted one of its standards to this subject. In this, it was suggested that:

"Every police agency should provide 40 hours of formal in-service training annually to sworn police employees up to and including captain or its equivalent" Police 1973:404).

In addition, it was recommended that the results of this training be included in an officer's annual performance evaluation and be considered in assessing his eligibility for promotion. Attention was also paid for the need for agencies to appoint qualified training officers and to provide adequate equipment and training materials for the use of all personnel.

Many discussions are highly critical of what they consider to be the generally low levels of commitment to in-service training on the part of local agencies. A survey conducted in 1966 for the International Association of Chiefs of Police, for example, concluded that, except in the very largest agencies, such training was virtually non-existent (O'Connor 1966). Saunders describes this lack of commitment as resulting from a variety of factors which include a shortage of resources and qualified instructional staff, and confusion about what the ultimate objectives of this training should be (1970). However, this author also suggests that, in recent years, the larger agencies in particular have greatly increased their efforts to provide generalist and specialist training throughout an officer's career.

13. MANAGERIAL TRAINING

In Saunders' account, and in many of the sources cited in this report, training programs designed to teach specialized police-related skills are outlined. However, a problem which is of paramount importance to law enforcement today, and which does not appear to have generally been resolved, concerns the present failure of agencies to develop managerial skills in supervisory and administrative personnel. Many examples of this

failure could be given.   One of the more dramatic of these is provided in a very recent sociological study, which has already attracted a good deal of attention and which promises to become a classic in its field, of an urban police agency in California.   Among the few recommendations included in this work is the suggestion that agencies pay considerably more attention to the education and training of 'front-line supervisors' at the sergeant level.   The aughor suggests that a number of police difficulties are created by the lack of exposure of those at this level of supervision to any form of managerial training (Muir 1977).

It has also been suggested that, not only is managerial training indispensable if a class of police administrators be developed which can cope effectively with the administration of a large and sophisticated bureaucracy, but that such training must be continuous:

> "The traditional methods of teaching management are not
> consistent with an area of study which is in a state of dynamic
> change and constant revision necessitated b its lack of
> universal principles.   Under these conditions it is desirable
> for managers to develop an attitude of constant and continuous
> learning.   Of special importance is the ability on the part of
> a manager to capitalize on his experience and to crystallize
> that experience into rules of operation.   In conjunction with
> this is the ability to function effectively in team situations where
> the contributions of a number of persons may be needed to solve
> complex problems." (Shagory and Deneault 1975:327)

These authors go on to outline a managerial training program which uses a variety of nontraditional techniques, in addition to formal lecture instruction, to insure that a maximum impact is made by the program in the limited time available.   Such techniques include case studies and other group decision-making exercises, team projects, role playing sessions and debates.

14. SUBSTANTIVE TRAINING AREAS

As indicated above, the literature includes a number of discussions which can be used as guidelines for the preparation of training programs of various kinds. Outlines of syllabi are included in Saunders (1970) and, as noted earlier, in one of the reports of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. Vandall presents a model training guideline which is based on problems arising in the day-to-day work of the patrol officer. This focuses on the procedures and policies for handling domestic disturbances and emphasizes techniques designed to control the officer's exercise of discretion in the application of his authority (1971). A number of the descriptive and evaluative studies of crisis intervention training also include detailed accounts of how training programs can be implemented; (see, for example, Bard 1976).

Two additional training strategies included in the literature are worthy of particular attention. That by Badalamente and associates has the value of providing a basis for policy which is integrated within an overall strategy for upgrading police performance through rigorous policies of selection, education and training:

> "Based on our analysis, we would recommend the following courses of action:
> (1) Improve the screening of police candidates through the development and implementation of a standard battery of paper and pencil tests, plus in-training observation.
> (2) Broaden the coverage of subjects pertaining to the policemen's social role in training programs, to include law enforcement orientation to the behavioral and social sciences human behavior and civil rights, minority cultural patterns, needs, values, family structure, religious philosophies, and individual and group attitudes, concepts of mental health, alcoholism and drug abuse, among others. At least 25 percent of the total training curriculum should be devoted to these areas.

(3) Improve training methods by employing innovative training techniques, such as: T-group/sensitivity training, role playing, dramatizations, self-disclosing behavior, programmed instruction and computer-assisted instruction (CAI).

(4) Emphasize the selection of superior regular police officers to act as supervisor/trainers for the new recruit in on-the-job training and performance evaluation.

(5) Conduct a program to familiarize the new recruit with community human resource centers/rehabilitative services.

(6) Conduct periodic retraining for regular police officers, including supervisory personnel.

(7) Develop a systematic plan to periodically reevaluate training objectives and techniques and revise/upgrade as required.

(8) Define specific performance criteria for the police officer's social role emphasizing observable behavior, and base pay increments on performance so observed.

Based upon other materials covered during this study, we would add the following recommendations:

(9) Carry on an active community relations program through community relations program through community relations workshops, television/radio addresses, recreation programs, speaking addresses, recreation programs, speaking at high schools, youth centers, boy scouts, etc.

(10) Recruit more actively from minority groups and on college campuses.

(11) Increase police salaries to competitive levels.

(12) Increase promotion potential, stressing ability.

(13) Explore regional training facilities for smaller city police agencies.

(14) Emphasize and strive for police professionalism. (Badalmente et al. 1973:453).

In Section III, some considerable attention was paid to the conclusions reached in that report of Project STAR which examined the future problems which the police are expected to face in the years and decades to come. The training recommendations included in this report do not constitute a comprehensive basis for a departmental training program. They do, however, represent areas of expertise which agencies must strive to develop in their personnel on a regional, if not a departmental level.

The final summary of training policy implications of trends discussed throughout the report suggests that, if the police are to become

equipped to handle the challenges of the next two or three decades, attention should be paid to education and training in some twenty-two substantive areas:

"The use of discretion in law enforcement.

The nature of prejudice and juvenile gang behavior and subculture.

The social service concept of the police function as more important quantitatively than the law enforcement function.

Personal, informal, face-to-face relationships with local citizens.

The causes of crime; the relationship between crime and types of social environment.

The legal rights of citizens to challenge a police officer's authority, as specified by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The relative nature of deviant behavior.

The variety and nature of deviant subcultures: juvenile gangs, homosexuals, drug addicts, communes, and religious sects.

Study habits.

Dispassionate reasoning.

Computer concepts and the nature and use of computers and computer-related technology.

The ability to establish communication links and to communicate with all types of persons, particularly with young-poor-black persons living in urban ghettos.

Riot control under a high degree of discipline.

History and nature of community relations programs.

Dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy.

Management and organization theory.

Coordination and cooperation across police departmental lines.

Coping with senseless acts of violence.

Cooperation and coordination with juvenile specialists to divert juvenile offenders from the courts.

Physical sciences, mathematics, statistics, and systems analysis.

The conduct of research in an operational setting.

The role and functions of the generalist, as distinct from the narrowly defined specialist" (California 1976:340-341).

15. TRAINING NEEDS IN NEW YORK STATE

Although this section of the discussion, like most of this volume of the report, is primarily concerned with trends and developments which apply within the nation in general, particular mention must be made of a recent study of police training needs in New York State. This was carried out by Maxwell and reported in 1977. Maxwell's study undertook to determine the executive development and management training needs in small and medium-sized departments in New York State.

In presenting a rationale for conducting such a study, Maxwell goes to some lengths to document the view that specialized, and ongoing, training programs for police supervisors and administrators represent one of the more pressing concerns in law enforcement today. The provision of adequate levels of advanced managerial training is regarded as a fundamental requirement in enabling police agencies to implement the structural and organizational changes necessary if they are to cope with the public demands made of them:

> "At no time in history have police chief executives in the United States been faced with such a wide array of complex problems. The changing nature of today's social environment requires that police be flexible and receptive to new concepts. Narrowly traditional methods are no longer effective...In our complex urban society, people look to their police for assistance in many matters once not remotely thought to be police business. If the police chief is to meet the challenge of these problems, he must be adequately prepared. Proper training and development will assist the police chief executive in his quest to strive continually to lower operating costs, increase departmental efficiency, improve

police services, obtain optimum performance from his employees, properly motivate the employees to their full potential, and, apply new techniques and approaches to solving problems. Police departments are like many businesses, and the responsibilities of their respective chiefs are in the executive area--that is, of managing men, money, and materials. More important, however, is an additional social burden on the law enforcement agency. A police department is a social agency which is open for business twenty-four hours a day with life, liberty, and property dependent on it" (1977:12-13).

Having established this point, Maxwell suggests that, because of their lack of resources and personnel, the problem of insufficient executive training is particularly acute in the smaller agencies. The body of his study therefore focuses upon identifying the problem, in one geographical area, by determining the extent to which chiefs have acquired such training in the past, and upon delineating the specific subject-areas in which police executives themselves feel should be included in future training programs at this level. Data was obtained from the results of a questionnaire mailed to the chiefs of 109 departments in New York State whose total number of employees ranged from twenty to 200 people. Sixty responses were received, representing a return of fifty-five percent. The forty questions included in the survey were designed to elicit information which can be categorized within six main groups: background and characteristics of the chief, characteristics of the department, relative involvement of the chief in administration and police work, training commitment of the department, executive training needs in the agency (and the various cost factors influencing the department in its efforts to fulfill these needs), and a summary of the chiefs' assessments of the problems faced by their agencies over the next ten years.

The results of the survey clearly indicated that executive training

for administrators in departments of the size and types studied would

be both appropriate and relevant to the day-to-day activities officers in

this category. Most of the chiefs surveyed spent eighty percent or more

of their time on administrative and related matters--the remainder being

occupied by actual police work. It was observed that a strong correlation

existed between the size of a department and the degree of involvement

of the chief in administration. The smaller the agency, the less time

was spent by the chief in administrative matters. A similar trend was

observed in the commitment of agencies to departmental training. Not

surprisingly:

> "The probability of a department having a full-time training
> officer or unit increases dramatically with the size of the
> department. Only one of the smallest fifteen departments
> surveyed has a full-time training unit while nine out of the
> fifteen largest surveyed have full-time units" (1977:37).

A majority of the respondents had received executive training.

However, in most cases this training had been acquired since the

appointment of these individuals to their present positions and fully

one-third of the respondents had never received any managerial training

before assuming command of their agencies. An overwhelming majority

of those polled indicated a belief that such training should be mandatory

for all officers in executive positions.

The responses also included considerable information on the

subject-matter which training programs at this level should, ideally cover:

> "From a list of the following topics the respondents selected five
> subjects which they felt would be most beneficial to them, in order

of their personal feelings as to their importance, if this training were available. The highest numerical value accompanying the subject matter reflects its importance, while the lowest number indicates a lesser beneficial value to those polled:

155 Organizational Planning

151 Budget Preparation and Presentation

130 Management

114 Personnel Administration

112 Executive Decision-Making and Problem-Solving

63 Motivation

43 Leadership

37 Labor Relations and Collective Bargaining

34 Police Unions

33 Behavioral Science

20 Communication Concepts

8 Organization Theory

8 Programming

7 Computer Technology" (1977:40-41).

Additional responses suggested that the cost of executive training and the geographic location of classes would exert a strong influence on the level of attendance. Respondents felt much more positive about classes and training sessions held locally, (i.e ., in their counties), than about those held further afield. The cost factor also represented a major limitation on the chiefs' abilities to take advantage of outside training. Exactly half the executives polled indicated that the amount of money available within their agencies for such training did not exceed $500.

Maxwell's survey is valuable in providing a factual basis for developing executive training programs for police chiefs in New York State. Its results suggest the curriculum for such programs and indicate that maximum attendance would be attained if training sessions were condensed into periods no longer than two weeks, if they were held locally and if their total cost could be kept to a minimum.

One section of the questionnaire asked respondents to assess the major problems facing the police administrator over the succeeding decade. Answers to this question generally uniform and reflect concerns demonstrated in most of the studies mentioned in Section III. Chiefs expressed particular concern for future problems concerning budget limitations, financial cutbacks, increasing involvement of labor unions in personnel negotiations, recruitment, selection standards, motivation of personnel, a projected increase in crime and service calls, a projected manpower shortage and a continuing need of police personnel for more advanced training.

This discussion includes eight principal recommendations, based on analysis of responses to the survey and on a review of recent literature. These are quoted below as recommendations which are directly relevant to the needs of chiefs in all but the larger police agencies in New York State:

"1. that all departments be encouraged to have at least a part-time training officer,

2. that executive development and/or management training be mandated for chiefs and other high-ranking command officers in policy-making positions,

3. that the potential recipients of this type of training be polled in advance as to what topics would be most helpful to them should they be in a position to receive them,

4. that this type of training be offered in convenient locations near the recipient's place of work,

5. that this type of training be offered to the potential recipient at as low a cost as possible,

6. that the length of the course be as short as possible without curtailing its effectiveness,

7. that consideration be given to making this type of training available to those who are interested through correspondence or home-study materials, and

8. that in designing a course of this type particular attention be given to subject matter that will assist the police administrator in facing those problems he feels will be of major and critical importance in future years" (Maxwell 1977:53).

The review presented in this section has, like most of the other sections included in this report, discussed trends and priorities as national phenomena and has made little effort to identify trends which are peculiar to New York State. This has been done primarily because it was felt that the significant influences on policing in this State are indistinguishable from those affecting police policies elsewhere in the country. Demographic influences which are purely local in their effects are discussed in Section V.

At this point, consideration will be given of two reports which are important in documenting the view that police tasks, responsibilities and difficulties in New York State are substantially similar to those encountered by police in other jurisdictions. The recent Comprehensive Crime Control Plan issued by the State Division of Criminal Justice Services (1976) follows most modern opinion in its presumption that the police function be considered within the framework of an integrated system of criminal justice agencies. The goals and objectives considered in this report are accordingly presented as requiring a large degree of cooperation of the various components of the system. Six types of program are discussed

in this report as being of high priority for implementation. The first

of these, the only one to concern the police explicitly, deals with the

need for various types of situational intervention in high crime neighborhoods

(1976:47-51). Discussion of this focuses upon crime prevention and

intervention techniques; topics which are, as indicated elsewhere in this

section, currently of great concern to police agencies throughout the nation.

The only hard data on the actual tasks performed by police officers

in this State unearthed in the literature search conducted for the purposes

of this report is included in a very recent (1977) study carried out on

behalf of the State Department of Civil Service. In this, quite extensive,

analysis, the opinions of a cross-section of officers, representative of

the 363 full-time police departments in the State, were sought in an

effort to determine the most important and most frequent police tasks,

and the levels of knowledge of skill required to carry them out effectively.

Two of the findings reached in this study are of particular significance to

the question of police training:

> "Statewide, the questionnaire responses show that 14 of the tasks
> done by 90% or more of the officers; 83 tasks by 70% or more.
> There are only 20 tasks which fewer than 60% of those responding do"
> (New York State 1977:157).

This finding, and the discussion of it, suggest that the pattern of skills

and abilities required of the patrol officer is fairly uniform throughout

the State. In terms of its implications for training policy, this finding

suggests that a discreet body of knowledge essential to the competence

of the officer can be identified and the data which is provided on the nature

and types of the officer's common tasks can be used as a basis for

curriculum development.

The second finding of considerable relevance to this account concerns the documentation of the point that less specialization, and performance of a greater diversity of tasks, occurs in the smaller agencies:

> "In most cases, there was a relatively small but noticeable trend for the percentage of people who do each task to decrease as agency size increases. This is to be expected since in larger departments there is more specialization, causing greater numbers of people to perform a narrower range of duties" (1977:157).

An obvious, but very important, implication of this finding is that the officer in the small agency probably requires more training, to enable him to cope with his more diverse responsibilities, than does his colleague in the larger department.

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CHAPTER 5

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND POLICING IN NEW YORK STATE

The forecasts and projections outlines in Chapter 3, generally pay some attention to the size, composition and distribution of population as factors which are important in influencing the nature and severity of the future difficulties with which the police will be faced in the decades ahead. In sum, the population factors which are expected to contribute toward future police difficulties throughout the country include an overall population growth in an era in which police agencies will be hard put to increase their operational budgets, continued migration to urban areas, and increasing isolation of the poor from the mainstream of prosperity. All of these trends are likely to increase the difficulties of the police function. For police agencies in urban areas, increased interaction with the group categorized by James Q. Wilson and others as "young-black-poor" is predicated.

Those forecasts presented in the literature, and outlined in Chapter 3, are of course, generalized ones which refer to the country as a whole. As such, they have considerable relevance for the future trends and social problems likely to influence the number of social and demographic trends peculiar to this State which suggest that the findings presented earlier should be modified to allow for local developments in this region.

POPULATION

1. Stability

Unlike most areas of the country, New York is expected to

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maintain a stable population level between now and the year 2000.
As the table, (taken from a recent report of the State of New
York Economic Development Board) beginning on the following
page indicates, the State as a whole is expected to experience
only marginal increases in population during the rest of this
century. In the report from which this table was derived, this
situation is ascribed to a number of causes: In common with a
general national trend, New York State has experienced a recent
and sharp decline in the birth-rate. The projections given in
the table are in fact based on an assumption that the birth-rate
will not remain at its present unusually low figure but will rise
to a plateau nearer to the traditional levels:

> New York State's birth-rate will increase somewhat
> during the remainder of (this present) decade and
> approach the completed fertility rate of 1.90 by
> 1980. This assumes that the recent sharp decline in
> birth rates reflects, in part, a deferral of births
> and, economic factors.... Census information on
> anticipated fertility...reflects the probable long-
> term national trend in desired birth rates. Most
> recent information (1974) indicates that married
> women aged 18-24 years old anticipate having an
> average of 2.20 children; such a figure is consistent
> with a completed fertility rate of 2.00 children per
> woman for the entire cohort population. Consistent
> with the long-term trend, New York State fertility
> rates will continue somewhat lower than national
> rates. (New York State 1976 B)

2. Migration

The second major reason for the current and future stability
in the State's population concerns the high rate of outward mig-
ration which has characterized the region as a whole in recent
years:

> Recent trends in the economy of the State which gener-
> ally reflect current national forces of economic and

Table 1 Population Projections for New York State Counties: 1970-2000

(Population in Thousands)

County	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
New York State Total	18241	18247	18350	18630	18977	19261	19456
Albany	287	290	293	296	299	301	301
Allegany	46	51	54	58	61	65	68
Bronx	1472	1403	1344	1305	1274	1246	1223
Broome	222	218	216	214	215	214	213
Cattaraugus	82	85	89	92	95	98	101
Cayuga	77	78	79	80	82	82	83
Chautauqua	147	149	150	152	153	152	151
Chemung	102	100	98	97	96	95	94
Chenango	46	47	49	50	52	54	55
Clinton	73	83	93	101	110	118	126
Columbia	52	58	64	70	77	83	89
Cortland	46	47	48	51	53	56	58
Delaware	45	48	50	53	56	58	60
Dutchess	222	233	248	269	291	311	328
Erie	1113	1102	1098	1106	1115	1116	1108
Essex	35	36	37	38	40	41	42
Franklin	44	45	46	46	47	47	48
Fulton	53	56	59	62	64	66	67
Genesee	59	60	62	64	66	67	69
Greene	33	39	45	49	53	57	61
Hamilton	5	5	6	6	7	7	7
Herkimer	68	68	68	67	67	66	65
Jefferson	89	92	96	99	103	107	110
Kings	2602	2467	2358	2287	2226	2172	2128
Lewis	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Livingston	54	57	60	62	65	68	71
Madison	63	66	69	72	76	80	84
Monroe	712	710	719	742	770	799	820
Montgomery	56	57	59	60	62	63	64
Nassau	1429	1405	1395	1393	1391	1377	1350
New York	1539	1451	1371	1309	1255	1208	1170
Niagara	236	237	237	235	231	226	220
Oneida	273	269	266	264	264	262	259
Onondaga	473	475	483	498	515	528	538
Ontario	79	85	91	98	105	112	119
Orange	222	244	274	317	364	413	463
Orleans	37	39	40	42	44	46	47
Oswego	101	109	117	126	135	145	153
Otsego	56	58	60	63	65	67	69
Putnam	57	68	79	92	106	119	130
Queens	1987	1958	1932	1909	1888	1861	1831
Rensselaer	153	157	160	164	168	172	175
Richmond	295	325	357	396	440	483	525
Rockland	230	253	279	309	340	364	380
St. Lawrence	112	117	123	130	138	144	149
Saratoga	122	145	169	191	214	237	259

(over)

CONTINUED

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Table 1 (Continued)

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Schenectady	161	159	158	157	159	161	162
Schoharie	25	30	35	39	43	47	52
Schuyler	17	18	19	20	20	21	22
Seneca	35	33	32	31	30	30	29
Steuben	100	101	102	103	104	104	103
Suffolk	1127	1245	1371	1510	1653	1777	1866
Sullivan	53	62	68	73	79	83	87
Tioga	47	48	50	52	55	57	59
Tompkins	77	84	89	95	100	106	110
Ulster	141	156	171	186	200	214	223
Warren	49	52	55	59	63	66	70
Washington	53	55	58	61	64	66	68
Wayne	79	83	86	90	95	99	103
Westchester	894	890	881	881	882	881	873
Wyoming	38	38	38	39	40	41	41
Yates	20	21	22	22	23	24	25

NOTE: The State total may not agree with summed county populations due to rounding.

demographic change affecting the nation's largest
metropolitan areas and large urban industrial states,
especially in the Northeast and North Central Census
regions. Current rates of employment and population
growth in these regions are far below the national
average. For example, during 1970-75 period the pop-
ulation of the Northeast region grew by only 0.8
percent and that of the North Central region grew by
only 1.9 percent in contrast to the nation which grew
by 4.8 percent. As a further example, nine of the
15 largest metropolitan areas (those with over 2,000,000
population in 1970) lost population during 1970-74 and
of those nine, eight are in the large industrial
states of the Northeast and North Central regions.
Boston, the only large metropolitan area in either
region to experience growth during 1970-74, increased
by only 1.8 percent. (New York State 1976 B)

Again, the projections which are given in the table are

based on the supposition that such high rates of outward migra-

tion will not continue in the long run, but will tend to fall

as the economic climate of the region begins to improve. It

is, however, noted that, if present rates of births and migra-

tion do continue, the population of the State will actually

experience a substantial decline in future years.

As the table indicates, this trend toward projected popu-

lation stabilization is a general one and will be reflected

in counties throughout the State. Although it is anticipated

that some counties will experience a modest population increase

in the next two or three decades, it is expected that popula-

tions will generally stabilize and will actually decrease in

many urban counties.

3. Rural and Suburban Counties

This trend is reinforced by the findings of a very recent

study conducted by Peter A. Morrison under the sponsorship of

the Rand Corporation; (reported in the New York Times, May 2,

1977, P. 36). This documented the trend for rural and other non-metropolitan areas of the State to gain population, at a time when the population of the State as a whole is stabilizing, and ascribed this trend to three principal factors: retirements to non-metropolitan areas, growth in rural industries such as recreation, and an increasing willingness on the part of those working in urban areas to commute from suburban counties. Re-location of retired persons on fixed incomes is considered in this account to explain population growth in Columbia, Essex, Greene, Sullivan and Yates Counties. Development of recreational industries is suggested as a cause of growth in mountain areas, such as the Adirondacks, and along lake shorelines. The increase in the willingness of workers to commute to jobs in urban areas is explained by reference to a longstanding American character-istic of:

> ...trying to reconcile two conflicting desires...one
> to have access to neighbors, the other to keep them at
> arm's length.... (American's exhibit) preferences
> for living in rural and small-town settings, but with-
> in 30 miles of a big city. Evidently, with television
> and long-distance commuting, the sense of isolation
> bred by geographic distance and small-town mores has
> broken down, and these specifications can now be met
> in the heart of Yates and Schoharie Counties as well
> as in Suffolk or Rockland. (New York Times, 1977: 36)

This factor is considered to be an important one in the current and future growth of Cayuga, Columbia, Fulton, Genesee, Greene, Orange, Schoharie, Schuyler, Seneca, Ulster, Wyoming and Yates Counties.

4. Urban Areas

Trends for the State as a whole, however, showed a net effect of continued and increasing outward migration. It was

noted that, since 1970, five of the ten metropolitan areas in the State have either ceased to grow or have actually declined in population; (these five are Buffalo, Elmira, Binghamton, Utica-Rome, and New York City). Moreover, the characteristics of those leaving the State are considered to be such as to exert a disproportionately negative effect on the productive capacity of the State:

> The State has had 640,000 more people move out to other states than moved in from 1970 to 1976, up from a net out-migration of only 101,000 in the entire decade of the 1960's. Since out-migrants tend to be in the prime working ages and more highly skilled and educated...New York State is losing not merely people but human capital as well. Since 1970, the State has been losing workers under age 30, whereas it formerly gained them at these ages. In another break with the past trend, black workers appear to be leaving New York to go South in greater numbers than they are arriving. (New York Times, 1977: 36)

The somewhat gloomy predictions for the future of urban areas of the State which appear in this report and in the official report cited earlier, (New York State 1976 B), are echoed in a number of reports which attempt to assess the future development of the city in this country. Robert C. Weaver, Distinguished Professor of Urban Affairs at Hunter College, discusses current urban problems as stemming largely from historical trends which have been in evidence for a number of generations and which can be expected to continue into the future. Migration of the more prosperous away from the center of the city is one such trend which is described as a traditional and established phenomenon. The causes of it are discussed in terms of social factors which persist today:

The first was the revolution in transportation , which

facilitated much greater dispersal of the urban pop-
ulation within the city and beyond its corporate limits
into suburbs. Economic groups which had previously
not been able to do so, increasingly participated in
this process. Other factors were the development of
long-distance electric power transmission, which made
suburban location of manufacturing feasible, the pro-
gressively limited number of large vacant sites in the
city, the restraints on residential development which
municipal governments began to effect, and the emphasis
upon home ownership, a part of our rural heritage and
subsequently nurtured by federal housing, highway, and
tax policies.

Because in recent decades the exodus from the
central city to the suburbs peaked at the same time that
a large number of the newcomer were readily identifiable
minorities, there has been much distortion of what has
been involved. Some have confused coincidence with
causation. To them desertion of the central cities by
middle-and upper-income whites is purely and simply
a means of escape from blacks, Puerto Ricans and
Chicanos. Actually, many metropolitan areas with ex-
tremely small non-white populations were and are involved
in the process of suburbanization. Binghamton, New York;
Brockton, Massachusetts; Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Duluth,
Minnesota and Superior, Wisconsin are just a few exam-
ples. Thus color alone cannot account for the great
migration to the nation's suburbs; for middle-class
flight from the poor and disadvantaged was a character-
istic of big cities of Europe during the Industrial
Revolution and, in this nation, from the time that cities
emerged as a way of life.

The early movement of higher-income whites from
other whites who were poor was a class phenomenon. It
became racially identified only after large numbers of
blacks moved to the cities. In both instances, the
more affluent sought status and property values, as
well as a threat to their safety. Had there been no
migration of nonwhites to urban communities, large-
scale suburbanization would have occurred, involving
flight from the city's poor. Racial attitudes translated
a class phenomenon into a color problem.

Recent changes in the structure and the social and
economic role of the city have created new and difficult
problems for it. In the past large cities had an advan-
tageous position. Although they then had much greater
expenditure responsibilities than any other class of gov-
ernment, they also had the greatest concentration of fiscal
resources. The latter were generated primarily by forces
which increased the property tax base. Included were great

concentrations of retail and other economic activities
in the central business districts, concentration of
manufacturing, and growth of city areas, at the same time
that the latter held a broad spectrum of the population, --
including the more affluent. (Weaver 1977: 55)

The fundamental nature of many of the problems of American

cities is reflected in the tendency on the part of a number of

authorities to discount the ability of urban institutions to

survive in future society. The English journalist Norman

Macrae, a major proponent of this view discusses future indus-

trialized societies as manifestations of the 'post-service

economy'. In this, the city is described as going through three

stages in its development in industrialized economies. In the

first, the city is vital as a social grouping through which firms

can achieve economies of scale derived from concentration of

firms and marketing outlets. In the second, the cities are no

longer absolutely necessary in providing business with uniquely

desirable milieux for carrying out their operations--at this

point, transportation and other systems are so highly developed

that suburban and other locations can provide firms with most

of the conditions which they need to conduct business at optimal

levels of efficiency. Cities are, however, still advantageous

to industry at this point because they provide the physical

proximity which is necessary for the face-to-face contacts between

businessmen in order that complex business operations be carried

out smoothly. In the final, post-urban, stage technological

advances, particularly in the field of telecommunications, have

rendered such face-to-face contact unnecessary. Business trans-

actions can be carried out without the need for commercial and

industrial enterprises being in close physical proximity to one
another. By this categorization, Macrae considers urban con-
glomorates to be redundant in the world of the future (1976).

Against this type of argument, there are a number of
accounts which present the more manageable, and probably more
realistic, picture of the cities as social units which continue
to survive, albeit in situations of limited growth and less
prosperity. Peter D. Salins has presented a detailed series of
projections for New York City in the year 2000 in which the
city's population and class and income structures are described
as being very similar to those in this city today. The principal
change which is expected to occur lies in the racial composition
of the five boroughs:

> The New York State portion of the Standard Metro-
> politan Statistical Area will continue to grow in
> population from its present level of eleven million
> to over fourteen million by the year 2000. However,
> the entire growth will be accounted for by increasing
> numbers of blacks and Puerto Ricans, with the metro-
> politan non-minority population declining slightly
> from 8.8 million today to 8.2 million at the end of
> the century. The city, on the other hand, will remain
> virtually static at its present population of just
> under eight million--experiencing, if anything, a
> slight decline over the next three decades; but its
> racial composition will continue to shift significantly.
> There will be an unrelenting out-migration of non-
> minority families, their places being taken by blacks
> and Puerto Ricans until minority families comprise half
> the city's population by 1990 and become a clear major-
> ity of nearly 60 percent by 2000. (Salins, 1974: 8)

The two most significant findings to emerge from this study
concern the net effect of this trend on the city's overall class
structure and its consequences for the ethnic composition of
nearby suburban counties. Salins' account does not suggest that

the increasingly non-white population of New York City will be characterized by changes in class or income structure:

> The shift in New York's racial composition does not mean that the city will be becoming less middle-class or even significantly poorer. As rapidly as it loses white middle-class families to the suburbs, New York will be recruiting new middle-class families from among the increasingly affluent ranks of its swelling black and Puerto Rican population. With the gradual ending of the in-migration of poor families from Puerto Rico and the South, there will be no offset to the upward mobility of today's minority members and their children. (Salins, 1974: 12)

The second finding, which is of greater relevance to this report lies in the extent to which these population changes can be expected to influence suburban areas close to the city:

> Even with most of the metropolitan growth of the black and Puerto Rican population being absorbed by New York City, a large part of the increase will be found in the inner suburban counties of Nassau and Westchester. The already largely mythic concept of the totally white suburban ring will be a total fiction within the next two decades. (Salins, 1974: 8)

There is unfortunately, little projected data on future developments in other urban areas of the State. The 1976 official report cited earlier in this chapter suggest, as a long-term trend, a pattern of slow economic growth and population stabilization which seems to characterize urban areas in the country as a whole, and particularly in the Northeast. Although no specific projections can be cited to document the point, it seems likely that urban areas in New York will also follow the national and regional trend in terms of the changes which can be expected to occur in the ethnic composition of metropolitan and suburban populations. There is certainly plenty of evidence to suggest that this trend has already been established. Tables

2,3,4, and 5, (see following pages), document the growing non-
white population of the State and indicate trends in the ways in
which this population is geographically distributed.

Table 5 shows the extent to which this population is concen-
trated in the ten Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the
State. This trend appears to have been fairly constant in the
period convered by this table. However, there also appears to
have been a growing tendency for those in this group to gravitate
toward the areas defined as "central cities."

5. Ethnic Composition

Table 2 illustrates the ethnic composition, between the years
1950 and 1970, of all counties in the State. From this, it is
apparent that two main types of areas have been attracting non-
white residents: the few rural counties which are experiencing
population growth, (see earlier disucssion), and those counties
which include sizeable population centers. Tables 3 and 5 show
that, while the overall population of the State is not increasing
significantly, the non-white population is growing steadily.
Although the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in general,
and the inner city areas of these in particular, have absorbed
most of this growth, there is evidence that suburban areas have
for some time been experiencing an increase in their proportions
of non-whites populations. Table 4 shows the proportions of
whites and non-whites in cities and "large incorporated villages"
in the period 1950 through 1970. This shows that, with few
exceptions, communities of this size in New York State have seen
a steady growth in the ethnic diversity of their residents. As

TABLE 2

TOTAL NEW YORK STATE AND NONWHITE POPULATION, BY COUNTY

1950 - 1970

County	1950 Total	1950 Nonwhite	1960 Total	1960 Nonwhite	1970 Total	1970 Nonwhite
New York State	14,830,192	958,097	16,782,304	1,495,233	18,241,266	2,402,877
New York City	7,891,957	775,516	7,781,984	1,141,322	7,895,563	1,846,021
Bronx	1,451,277	99,615	1,424,815	168,531	1,471,701	390,842
Kings	2,738,175	213,057	2,627,319	381,460	2,602,012	696,224
New York	1,960,101	403,502	1,698,281	426,459	1,539,233	449,931
Queens	1,550,849	53,723	1,809,578	154,619	1,987,174	291,185
Richmond	191,555	5,619	221,991	10,253	295,443	17,839
Rest of State	6,938,235	182,581	9,000,320	353,911	10,345,703	556,856
Albany	239,386	6,286	272,926	11,512	286,742	16,797
Allegany	43,784	157	43,978	161	46,458	251
Broome	184,698	899	212,661	1,487	221,815	3,118
Cattaraugus	77,901	1,316	80,187	1,585	81,666	1,952
Cayuga	70,136	1,035	73,942	1,387	77,439	1,911
Chautauqua	135,189	827	145,377	1,471	147,305	2,088
Chemung	86,827	1,900	98,706	2,637	101,537	3,609
Chenango	39,138	191	43,243	238	46,368	358
Clinton	53,622	850	72,722	2,760	72,934	2,722
Columbia	43,182	1,075	47,322	1,545	51,519	1,925
Cortland	37,158	85	41,113	91	45,894	243
Delaware	44,420	101	43,540	199	44,718	404
Dutchess	136,781	5,614	176,008	10,260	222,295	16,093
Erie	899,238	43,026	1,064,688	79,245	1,113,491	106,648
Essex	35,086	139	35,300	162	34,631	145
Franklin	44,830	1,597	44,742	1,784	43,931	1,764
Fulton	51,021	315	51,304	357	52,637	487
Genesee	47,584	855	53,994	1,241	58,722	1,693
Greene	28,745	886	31,372	917	33,136	1,018
Hamilton	4,105	2	4,267	4	4,714	11
Herkimer	61,407	57	66,370	148	67,633	172
Jefferson	85,521	170	87,835	352	88,508	434
Lewis	22,521	20	23,249	19	23,644	30
Livingston	40,257	660	44,053	918	54,041	1,250
Madison	46,214	281	54,635	389	52,864	565
Monroe	487,632	8,247	586,387	25,067	711,917	56,096
Montgomery	59,594	279	57,240	251	55,883	276
Nassau	672,765	17,757	1,300,171	42,132	1,428,838	72,326
Niagara	189,992	4,760	242,269	9,992	235,720	11,776
Oneida	222,855	2,538	264,401	5,084	273,037	8,404
Onondaga	341,719	6,275	423,028	14,094	472,835	26,776
Ontario	60,172	501	68,070	1,025	78,849	1,613
Orange	152,255	5,305	183,734	9,948	221,657	15,306
Orleans	29,832	329	34,159	1,491	37,305	2,068
Oswego	77,181	135	86,118	249	100,897	548
Otsego	50,763	100	51,942	202	56,181	438
Putnam	20,307	97	31,722	150	56,696	357
Rensselaer	132,607	1,260	142,585	2,623	152,510	4,300
Rockland	89,276	4,608	136,803	7,152	229,903	14,278
St. Lawrence	98,897	150	111,239	316	111,991	661
Saratoga	74,869	717	89,096	886	121,764	1,321
Schenectady	142,497	1,535	152,896	2,358	161,078	4,203
Schoharie	22,703	109	22,616	89	24,750	183
Schuyler	14,182	65	15,044	110	16,737	134
Seneca	29,253	227	31,984	375	35,083	536
Steuben	91,439	508	97,691	819	99,546	1,076
Suffolk	276,129	13,592	666,784	34,787	1,127,030	58,521
Sullivan	40,731	745	45,272	2,014	52,580	3,861
Tioga	30,166	182	37,802	214	46,513	437
Tompkins	59,122	1,164	66,164	1,673	77,064	3,045
Ulster	92,621	2,419	118,804	4,182	141,241	5,890
Warren	39,205	145	44,002	200	49,402	327
Washington	47,144	504	48,476	560	52,725	819
Wayne	57,323	464	67,989	1,549	79,404	2,733
Westchester	625,816	38,716	808,891	62,485	894,406	91,382
Wyoming	32,822	628	34,793	831	37,688	1,254
Yates	17,615	110	18,614	134	19,831	225

Year and Color		New York State	Albany-Schenectady-Troy	Bing-hamton 1/	Buffalo	Elmira	Nassau-Suffolk	New York 2/	Pough-keepsie	Roch-ester	Syra-cuse	Utica-Rome	Outside SMSA's
1900	Total	7,269	443	97	509	54	133	3,674	82	383	280	184	1,431
1910	Total	9,114	504	104	621	55	180	5,061	88	456	311	211	1,523
1920	Total	10,385	527	138	753	66	236	6,021	92	519	352	248	1,434
1930	Total	12,588	580	173	912	75	464	7,525	105	595	401	263	1,455
1940	Total	13,479	590	193	958	74	604	8,119	121	613	406	263	1,533
	Percent White	95.6	99.0	99.5	97.5	98.4	96.2	93.7	96.4	99.2	99.1	99.6	98.8
	Percent Nonwhite	4.4	1.0	0.5	2.5	1.6	3.8	6.3	3.6	0.8	0.9	0.4	1.2
1950	Total	14,830	649	215	1,089	87	949	8,627	137	675	465	284	1,653
	Percent White	93.5	98.4	99.5	95.6	97.8	96.7	90.5	95.9	98.5	98.6	99.1	98.7
	Percent Nonwhite	6.5	1.6	0.5	4.4	2.2	3.3	9.5	4.1	1.5	1.4	0.9	1.3
1960	Total	16,782	715	250	1,307	99	1,967	8,759	176	801	564	331	1,814
	Percent White	91.1	97.5	99.3	93.2	97.3	96.1	86.2	94.2	96.2	97.4	98.4	98.0
	Percent Nonwhite	8.9	2.5	0.7	6.8	2.7	3.9	13.8	5.8	3.8	2.6	1.6	2.0
1970	Total	18,241	778	268	1,349	102	2,556	9,077	222	962	637	341	1,951
	Percent White	86.8	96.5	98.7	91.2	96.4	94.9	78.5	92.8	93.4	95.6	97.5	97.4
	Percent Nonwhite	13.2	3.5	1.3	8.8	3.6	5.1	21.5	7.2	6.6	4.4	2.5	2.6

TABLE 4

POPULATION AND PERCENT NONWHITE IN CITIES AND IN LARGE INCORPORATED VILLAGES 1/

1950, 1960 and 1970

			Population 2/						Rank According to 1970 Population
			1950		1960		1970		
City (c) or Village (v)	County Where Located	Date of Incorporation	Total	Percent Nonwhite	Total	Percent Nonwhite	Total	Percent Nonwhite	
Albany (c)	Albany	1686	134,995	4.4	129,726	8.5	115,781	12.9	6
Amsterdam (c)	Montgomery	1885	32,240	0.7	28,772	0.6	25,524	0.7	34
Auburn (c)	Cayuga	1848	36,722	2.5	35,249	3.5	34,599	4.9	22
Babylon (v)	Suffolk	1893	6,015	1.5	11,062	1.3	12,588	2.3	72
Batavia (c)	Genesee	1914	17,799	0.4	18,210	1.1	17,338	2.5	58
Beacon (c)	Dutchess	1913	14,012	8.5	13,922	13.0	13,255	13.8	71
Binghamton (c)	Broome	1867	80,674	1.0	75,941	1.7	64,123	2.6	12
Buffalo (c)	Erie	1832	580,132	6.5	532,759	13.8	462,768	21.3	2
Canandaigua (c)	Ontario	1913	8,332	0.3	9,370	0.3	10,488	0.6	80
Cohoes (c)	Albany	1869	21,272	0.1	20,129	0.1	18,653	0.2	54
Corning (c)	Steuben	1890	17,684	0.5	17,085	0.6	15,792	1.3	65
Cortland (c)	Cortland	1900	18,152	0.2	19,181	0.2	19,621	0.7	47
Depew (v)	Erie	1894	7,217	*	13,580	0.1	22,158	0.6	40
Dobbs Ferry (v)	Westchester	1873	6,268	0.4	9,260	2.8	10,353	4.2	81
Dunkirk (c)	Chautauqua	1880	18,007	0.4	18,205	0.9	16,855	3.8	60
East Rockaway (v)	Nassau	1900	7,970	0.9	10,721	1.3	10,323	0.7	83
Elmira (c)	Chemung	1864	49,716	3.6	46,517	5.4	39,945	8.1	18
Endicott (v)	Broome	1906	20,050	0.1	18,775	0.2	16,556	1.5	62
Floral Park (v)	Nassau	1908	14,582	0.1	17,499	0.2	18,422	0.7	55
Fredonia (v)	Chautauqua	1829	7,095	0.3	8,477	0.3	10,326	0.8	82
Freeport (v)	Nassau	1892	24,680	6.2	34,419	7.3	40,374	19.2	17
Fulton (c)	Oswego	1902	13,922	0.3	14,261	0.6	14,003	0.8	69
Garden City (v)	Nassau	1919	14,486	0.9	23,948	0.7	25,373	1.8	36
Geneva (c)	Ontario	1898	17,144	1.7	17,286	4.2	16,793	6.3	61
Glen Cove (c)	Nassau	1918	15,130	9.2	23,817	8.9	25,770	7.4	32
Glens Falls (c)	Warren	1908	19,610	0.6	18,580	0.8	17,222	1.1	59
Gloversville (c)	Fulton	1890	23,634	1.1	21,741	1.3	19,677	1.7	46
Great Neck (v)	Nassau	1921	7,759	4.1	10,171	4.2	10,724	6.6	79
Hamburg (v)	Erie	1874	6,938	0.1	9,145	*	10,215	0.3	84
Hempstead (v)	Nassau	1853	29,135	8.9	34,641	22.4	39,411	36.8	20
Hornell (c)	Steuben	1888	15,049	0.3	13,907	0.5	12,144	1.1	74
Ithaca (c)	Tompkins	1888	29,257	3.4	28,799	4.8	26,226	7.5	29
Jamestown (c)	Chautauqua	1886	43,354	1.2	41,818	2.0	39,795	2.3	19
Johnson City (v)	Broome	1892	19,249	*	19,118	0.1	18,025	0.6	57
Johnstown (c)	Fulton	1895	10,923	0.4	10,390	0.3	10,045	0.6	87
Kenmore (v)	Erie	1899	20,066	*	21,261	*	20,980	0.5	45
Kingston (c)	Ulster	1872	28,817	3.0	29,260	4.4	25,544	7.7	33
Lackawanna (c)	Erie	1909	27,658	10.8	29,564	10.2	28,657	10.3	26
Lancaster (v)	Erie	1849	8,665	*	12,254	*	13,365	0.2	70
Lindenhurst (v)	Suffolk	1923	8,644	0.4	20,905	0.2	28,359	0.6	27
Lockport (c)	Niagara	1865	25,133	1.0	26,443	2.2	25,399	3.7	35
Long Beach (c)	Nassau	1922	15,586	1.9	26,473	3.5	33,127	7.6	23
Lynbrook (v)	Nassau	1911	17,314	0.5	19,881	0.7	23,776	0.7	38
Malverne (v)	Nassau	1921	8,086	0.5	9,968	0.7	10,036	0.5	88
Mamaroneck (v)	Westchester	1895	15,016	6.8	17,673	7.5	18,909	7.7	51
Massapequa Park (v)	Nassau	1931	2,334	*	19,904	0.2	22,112	0.2	41
Massena (v)	St. Lawrence	1886	13,137	0.3	15,478	0.4	14,042	0.4	68
Middletown (c)	Orange	1888	22,586	3.4	23,475	4.3	22,607	7.6	39

* Less than 0.05 percent.
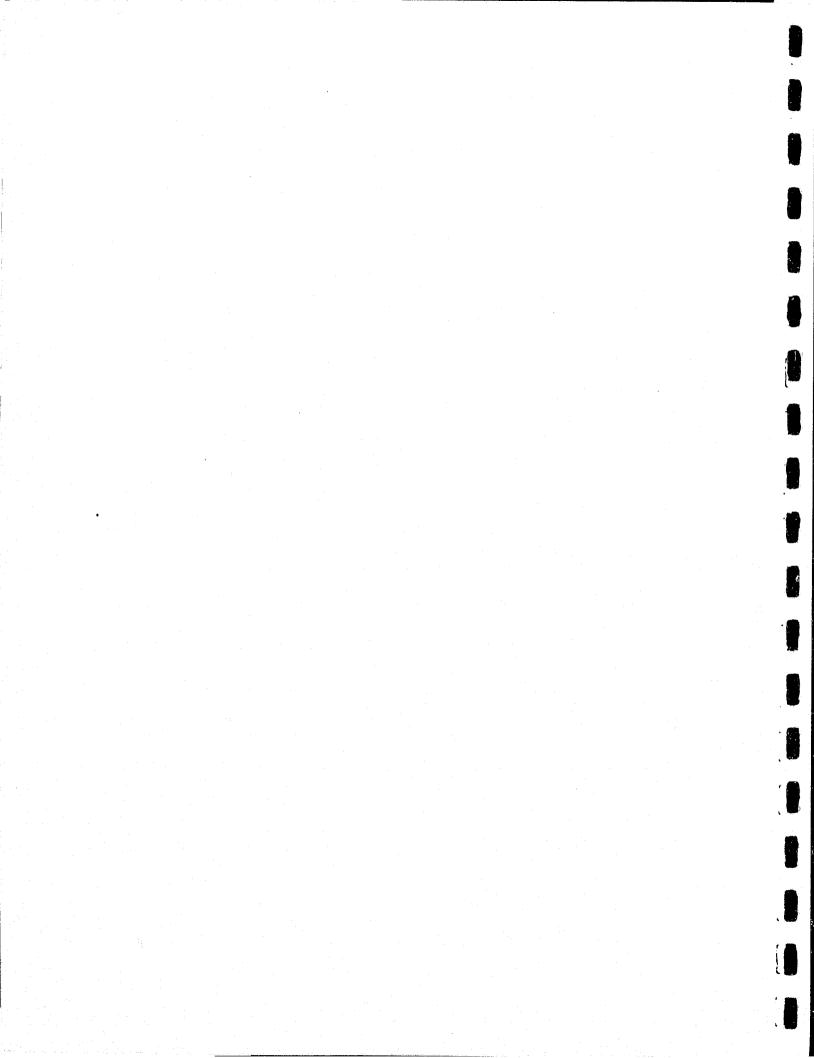1/ 10,000 population or more in 1970.
2/ Data include institutional population.

TABLE 4 (Continued)

POPULATION AND PERCENT NONWHITE IN CITIES AND IN LARGE INCORPORATED VILLAGES 1/

1950, 1960 and 1970

City (c) or Village (v)	County Where Located	Date of Incorporation	Population 2/						Rank According to 1970 Population
			1950		1960		1970		
			Total	Percent Nonwhite	Total	Percent Nonwhite	Total	Percent Nonwhite	
Mineola (v)	Nassau	1906	14,831	0.4	20,519	0.6	21,845	1.0	43
Mount Vernon (c)	Westchester	1892	71,899	11.0	76,010	19.9	72,778	36.3	11
Newark (v)	Wayne	1853	10,295	1.0	12,868	0.6	11,644	2.0	76
Newburgh (c)	Orange	1865	31,956	6.4	30,979	16.6	26,219	30.0	30
New Hyde Park (v)	Nassau	1927	7,349	0.1	10,808	0.3	10,116	0.8	86
New Rochelle (c)	Westchester	1899	59,725	12.6	76,812	13.6	75,385	15.7	10
New York (c)	Five counties	1653	7,891,957	9.8	7,781,984	14.7	7,895,563	23.4	1
Niagara Falls (c)	Niagara	1892	90,872	4.1	102,394	7.5	85,615	10.3	8
North Tonawanda (c)	Niagara	1897	24,731	0.1	34,757	0.3	36,012	0.3	21
Ogdensburg (c)	St. Lawrence	1868	16,166	0.3	16,122	0.6	14,554	0.7	67
Olean (c)	Cattaraugus	1893	22,884	1.1	21,868	1.5	19,169	1.9	50
Oneida (c)	Madison	1901	11,325	0.7	11,677	1.1	11,658	0.9	75
Oneonta (c)	Otsego	1909	13,564	0.5	13,412	0.5	16,030	1.8	63
Ossining (v)	Westchester	1813	16,098	12.3	18,662	13.6	21,659	18.7	44
Oswego (c)	Oswego	1848	22,647	0.2	22,155	0.1	23,844	0.6	37
Patchogue (v)	Suffolk	1893	7,361	1.7	8,838	2.7	11,582	3.0	77
Peekskill (c)	Westchester	1940	17,731	5.7	18,737	11.5	19,283	17.8	48
Plattsburgh (c)	Clinton	1902	17,738	0.2	20,172	2.2	18,715	1.5	53
Port Chester (v)	Westchester	1868	23,970	6.0	24,960	7.8	25,803	14.4	31
Poughkeepsie (c)	Dutchess	1854	41,023	4.5	38,330	9.6	32,029	18.8	24
Rensselaer (c)	Rensselaer	1897	10,856	1.9	10,506	2.8	10,136	4.0	85
Rochester (c)	Monroe	1834	332,488	2.4	318,611	7.6	296,233	17.6	3
Rockville Centre (v)	Nassau	1893	22,362	4.5	26,355	5.3	27,444	4.4	28
Rome (c)	Oneida	1870	41,682	1.4	51,646	2.8	50,148	4.3	15
Rye (c)	Westchester	1942	11,721	3.3	14,225	3.3	15,869	3.2	64
Saratoga Springs (c)	Saratoga	1915	15,473	3.8	16,630	4.3	18,845	4.5	52
Scarsdale (v)	Westchester	1915	13,156	4.1	17,968	4.9	19,229	3.1	49
Schenectady (c)	Schenectady	1798	91,785	1.6	81,682	2.7	77,958	4.7	9
Spring Valley (v)	Rockland	1902	4,500	4.0	6,538	10.3	18,112	23.4	56
Syracuse (c)	Onondaga	1847	220,583	2.3	216,038	5.7	197,297	12.0	6
Tarrytown (v)	Westchester	1870	8,851	4.7	11,109	6.3	11,115	6.7	78
Tonawanda (c)	Erie	1903	14,617	0.1	21,561	0.2	21,898	0.4	42
Troy (c)	Rensselaer	1816	72,311	1.4	67,492	3.1	62,918	5.4	13
Utica (c)	Oneida	1832	101,531	1.6	100,410	3.2	91,611	5.9	7
Valley Stream (v)	Nassau	1925	26,854	0.2	38,629	0.2	40,413	0.4	16
Watertown (c)	Jefferson	1869	34,350	0.4	33,306	0.5	30,787	0.6	25
Watervliet (c)	Albany	1896	15,197	0.3	13,917	0.2	12,404	0.5	73
Westbury (v)	Nassau	1932	7,112	2.4	14,757	3.2	15,362	9.4	66
White Plains (c)	Westchester	1916	43,466	10.0	50,485	11.9	50,346	15.1	14
Yonkers (c)	Westchester	1872	152,798	3.3	190,634	4.2	204,297	7.1	4

1/ 10,000 population or more in 1970.
2/ Data include institutional population.

TABLE 5

POPULATION OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS AS DEFINED IN 1973

TOTAL AND NONWHITE

1950, 1960 and 1970

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Total			Nonwhite		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
New York State	14,830,192	16,782,304	18,241,266	958,097	1,495,233	2,402,877
All SMSA's	13,177,497	14,968,442	16,290,566	936,237	1,459,507	2,351,686
Central cities	9,638,877	9,441,136	9,386,374	841,199	1,278,618	2,060,625
Outside central cities	3,538,620	5,527,306	6,904,192	95,038	180,889	291,061
Albany-Schenectady-Troy	648,953	714,743	777,977	10,077	17,630	26,897
Albany City	134,995	129,726	115,781	5,881	10,972	14,930
Schenectady City	91,785	81,682	77,958	1,476	2,183	3,622
Troy City	72,311	67,492	62,918	978	2,092	3,404
Outside central cities	349,862	435,843	521,320	1,742	2,383	4,941
Binghamton 1/	214,864	250,463	268,328	1,081	1,701	3,553
Binghamton City	80,674	75,941	64,123	832	1,281	1,683
Outside central city	134,190	174,522	204,205	249	420	1,870
Buffalo	1,089,230	1,306,957	1,349,211	47,786	89,237	118,424
Buffalo City	580,132	532,759	462,768	37,700	73,388	98,401
Outside central city	509,098	774,198	886,443	10,086	15,849	20,023
Elmira	86,827	98,706	101,537	1,906	2,637	3,609
Elmira City	49,716	46,517	39,945	1,811	2,525	3,251
Outside central city	37,111	52,189	61,592	95	112	358
Nassau-Suffolk	948,894	1,966,955	2,555,868	31,349	76,919	130,847
New York 2/	8,627,356	8,759,400	9,076,568	818,937	1,211,109	1,952,038
New York City	7,891,957	7,781,984	7,895,563	775,516	1,141,322	1,846,021
Outside central city	735,399	977,416	1,181,005	43,421	69,787	106,017
Poughkeepsie	136,781	176,008	222,295	5,614	10,260	16,093
Poughkeepsie City	41,023	38,330	32,029	1,829	3,697	6,011
Outside central city	95,758	137,678	190,266	3,785	6,563	10,082
Rochester	675,216	800,658	961,516	10,201	30,050	63,760
Rochester City	332,488	318,611	296,233	7,845	24,228	52,115
Outside central city	342,728	482,047	665,283	2,356	5,822	11,645
Syracuse	465,114	563,781	636,596	6,691	14,732	27,889
Syracuse City	220,583	216,038	197,297	5,058	12,281	23,597
Outside central city	244,531	347,743	439,299	1,633	2,451	4,292
Utica-Rome	284,262	330,771	340,670	2,595	5,232	8,576
Rome City	41,682	51,646	50,148	603	1,456	2,159
Utica City	101,531	100,410	91,611	1,670	3,193	5,431
Outside central cities	141,049	178,715	198,911	322	583	986
Outside SMSA's	1,652,695	1,813,862	1,950,700	21,860	35,726	51,191

1/ Excluding Pennsylvania portion.
2/ Excluding New Jersey portion.

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the discussion in Chapter 3 indicates this situation reflects a national trend which is firmly entrenched and which is expected to continue through the next few decades.

DEVELOPMENTS IN POLICING

Generally speaking, future demographic trends in New York State are consistent with those in the rest of the country and will cause the police to be faced with problems and situations similar to those encountered by their colleagues in comparable regions. In suburban as well as urban areas the problems of police relationships with a diversity of ethnic groups will become of increasing importance and will require the development of a sophisticated level of police response.

A number of demographic factors peculiar to New York State are, however, likely to make their influence felt and these should be taken into account in any long-term plan to streamline police service capabilities to best meet future needs. Unlike most states, the population of New York is not likely to increase to any significant degree between now and the year 2000. Additional police manpower will not therefore be needed to cope with pressures brought about by future population expansion. This is, however, a conclusion which is only applicable to the State in general and does not necessarily apply to specific areas. Suburban counties, in particular, are expected to grow in size and to change in ethnic composition. These areas will be well-advised to develop the quantity and quality of their police manpower in such a way as to enable them to cope with the demands of the future.

Policing in rural areas will be affected to some extent by population pressures. As a report cited earlier in this discussion has indicated, a number of rural counties are expected to grow in population in the coming decades. Police systems in these counties should endeavor to recruit and train officers with the capability of fulfilling their responsibilities under these conditions.

In this chapter, and in the latter part of Chapter 4, the rather scanty body of data which relates specifically to the future of policing in New York State has been reviewed. Additional mention of the latest State Comprehensive Crime Control Plan, issued by the DCJS, should be made as this includes information of major concern to developments in policing in the State in the immediate future. The general message presented in this report serves to make the point that it is quite unrealistic to discuss the goals and objectives of any particular criminal justice agency without considering the operation of other agencies within the system. The DCJS report does not focus on the police, but considers crime control within the context of the operation of a series of agencies which together constitute a truly integrated criminal justice system.

However, the account of "Situational Intervention in High Crime Neighborhoods" which is included in the DCJS report, (New York State 1976a: 47-51), is of particular relevance to this present discussion. In this, attention is drawn to the fact that:

> ...the six priority crimes tend to occur in dispro-
> portionately large numbers in a limited number of
> identifiable neighborhoods within the State's major
> cities. The same analyses revealed a similar pattern
> of concentration with regard to the areas of residence

of those arrested for these offenses. These analyses further suggest that many of the situational patterns typically associated with the occurrence of these offenses...can best be changed or monitored on the neighborhood level. (p. 47)

The discussion which follows this statement is largely designed to draw attention to the ways in which strategies of "situational intervention" can be used to monitor and control crimes in these categories which occur in the situations described. No attention is given in this discussion to the many and varied forms of "situational intervention" which represent a significant proportion of the police function. As has been indicated throughout this report, the trend in policing is more and more toward the provision of services to citizens. Intervention by police as a means of crime control is, of course, a responsibility of major importance. However, it is the wide variety of situations not involving violations of the law, but which require police intervention, which have recently come to be the object of study by police administrators, educators and others concerned with training police officers to meet the increasingly complex demands of their role in modern society.

A very useful addition to the body of knowledge available on future problems, trends and training needs of the police in New York State will have been made when the study currently being undertaken by the DCJS Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals is completed and published. This study, which is expected to be released early in 1978, will present the results of a Delphi questionnaire analysis designed to identify the five most important problems faced by criminal justice agencies in

the State, now and in the immediate future.

However, the results of this literature review suggest
that, while there are certainly local factors which will in-
fluence future developments in policing, in this State as in
any other, the most significant influences are national in
their incidence and their effects. As the projections discussed
in Chapter 3 suggest, the forces which will continue to shape
policing, like those which will affect other social institutions,
will tend more and more to be national rather than regional in
their influence and origin.

Macrae, Norman. America's Third Century. New York:
     Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1976.

New York State. Division of Criminal Justice Services.
     Office of Planning and Program Assistance. 1976
     Comprehensive Crime Control Plan. New York, 1976a.

New York State. Division of the Budget. Statistical
     Coordination Unit. New York State Statistical
     Yearbook--1974. Albany, 1974.

New York State. Executive Department. Economic Devel-
     opment Board. Preliminary Revised Population Proj-
     ections by Age and Sex for New York Counties. Albany,
     1976b.

"Rural New York State Reversing a Trend by Gaining in
     Population," New York Times (May 2, 1977); page 36.

Salins, Peter D. "New York in the Year 2000," New York
     Affairs 1: 6-21 (Spring, 1974).

Weaver, Robert C. "Tomorrow's City," New York Affairs
     3: 52-68 (Summer/Fall, 1976).

<u>Appendix</u>

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The review given in the preceeding pages is not, of course, an exhaustive one for the subject-fields covered. Only those published materials which were considered, in the opinion of the author, to be of particular importance have been cited and discussed.

In the literature search conducted for this project, all relevant bibliographic tools in the social sciences in general, as well as in the particular field of criminal justice, were consulted. Such tools included card catalogues of outstanding library collections, national bibliographies, specialized indexing and abstracting services, separately published bibliographies, and bibliographies included in selected monographs and journal articles. An especially helpful resource was the computerized bibliography prepared for the project by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. This proved invaluable as a beginning bibliography which by no means included all the major works on the subjects covered, but which cited many important sources which would probably not otherwise have been located.

A list of the library tools found to be the most helpful is given below. This is presented here to provide the reader with the means for developing a more extensive bibliography on the topics covered in this report, and as an introduction to the major bibliographic sources for locating published material

on other topics of concern to those undertaking research in this area. Those items marked with an asterisk were found to be especially valuable.

* Abstracts on Criminology and Penology. Deventer, Holland: Kluwer, 1969-.. Bi-monthly; index cumulates annually. Provides international coverage of journal articles and monographs. Formerly entitled, Excerpta Criminologica.

* Abstracts on Police Science. Deventer, Holland: Kluwer, 1973- . Bi-monthly; index cumulates annually. Provides international coverage of journal articles and monographs.

* Criminal Justice Abstracts. Hackensack, N.J. : National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1969- . Quarterly; index cumulates annually. Provides extensive coverage of journal articles, monographs, government documents and other materials published in the English language. Formerly entitled Crime and Delinquency Literature

Criminal Justice Periodical Index. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1975 . Semi-annual; annual cumulations. The only source covering the contents of English-language newsletters in the field. A few of the standard journals are also covered.

Personnel Management Abstracts. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, Graduate School of Business Administration, Bureau of Industrial Relations, 1955- . Quarterly.

Public Affairs Information Service. Bulletin. New York, 1915- . Weekly; with quarterly and annual cumulations. Covers a broad range of journals and other forms of material in a field defined as 'public affairs.'

* Robertson, Mary A. and Charles A. Tracy. Education and Training of Criminal Justice Personnel: A Bibliography. Menlo Park, Cal.: Stanford Research Institute, 1971. 75p.

Skinner, Linda J. Manuals for Criminal Justice Training; Annotated Bibliography #1. Report No. 15. University, Ala.: University of Alabama, Center for Correctional Psychology, 1974. 9p.

Social Sciences Index. Bronx, N.Y.: H.W. Wilson,
    1907- . Quarterly; with annual cumulations
    Formerly entitled International Index and
    Social Sciences and Humanities Index.

U.S. Civil Service Commission. Library. Personnel
    Literature. Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1941- .
    Monthly.

* U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.
    Police Training and Performance Study.
    New York: New York City Police Department, 1969.
    569p. An extensive bibliography on police
    training, compiled in the course of this pro-
    ject, is included on pages 515-550.

U.S. Library of Congress. Processing Department.
    Monthly Checklist of State Publications. Wash-
    ington, D.C.: G.P.O.,1910- . Monthly; with an
    annual index.

U.S. Superintendent of Documents. Monthly Catalog of
    United States Government Publications. Washington,
    D.C.: G.P.O., 1895- . Monthly; with an annual
    index; regular decennial subject indexes are also
    issued.

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