

**COMMUNITY POLICING IN MADISON:
QUALITY FROM THE INSIDE, OUT**

AN EVALUATION OF IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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I. PROJECT OVERVIEW

This report is the evaluation of the effort by the Madison, Wisconsin Police Department to create a new organizational design (structural and managerial) to support community-oriented and problem-oriented policing.

The ultimate goal of the Madison Department is better, more responsive service to the community. The plan for accomplishing this goal is a sequential one in which internal organizational changes are believed to be necessary before the external goal of improved service can be accomplished. One Madison manager summarized the theory by writing, "...if we are to try new ideas, we need to first develop a supportive leadership style; otherwise, it's analogous to planting a seed with tremendous potential in an unprepared surface, expecting it to grow. Growth will be short-lived but eventually community policing will not survive." (Masterson, 1992)

This report, then, is the study of an effort to bring about change in policing from "the inside, out." Internal changes would be followed by external changes.

One-sixth of the organization serving approximately one-sixth of the community was used as a test site or prototype for the new approach. This site, the Experimental Police District (EPD), was charged with implementing "Quality Policing," the concept which, in Madison, encompasses community-oriented policing, problem-oriented policing, and employee-oriented management. The first objective was the implementation of three conditions that the Madison Department considered to be critical pre-conditions for improved service delivery; these were:

1. Quality Leadership;
2. a healthy workplace; and
3. physical decentralization.

With a grant from the National Institute of Justice, the Police Foundation was to determine:

1. whether these pre-conditions were accomplished, and
2. if they were, whether they were related to improved perceptions of service delivery on the part of citizens.

Over a three year period developments in the Experimental Police District were monitored. Madison police officers were surveyed before, one year after, and two years after the creation of the EPD. Attitude changes for officers working in the EPD were compared to those of officers working in the rest of the organization. A random sample of Madison residents was surveyed before and two years after

the EPD opened. The attitude changes for residents served by the EPD were compared to those for residents in the rest of the City.

After an implementation period of two years, it was determined that: a new, participatory management approach was successfully implemented in the EPD; employee attitudes toward the organization and toward their work improved; and physical decentralization was accomplished. These changes were associated with a reduction in citizens' perceptions that crime was a problem in their neighborhood and an increase in the belief that police were working on problems of importance to people in the neighborhood.

II. COMMUNITY POLICING IN MADISON

Improved police service is the constant goal of what is intended to be an evolving process of learning and change in the Madison Police Department. At this point, Madison personnel believe improvement should take the form of community policing, a general concept that stresses a closer working relationship between police and the citizens they serve. In Madison, the umbrella of community policing is used to cover a variety of means of learning about and responding to the needs of the Department's citizen "customers." The commitment to constant improvement suggests that one day the Department may work to implement other approaches to police service, but the assumption is that those will evolve out of current efforts to develop a community orientation to police service.

Madison's interest in community policing currently is shared by large numbers of police organizations. Operational definitions may differ, but the underlying theme is a closer, two-way relationship between police and their communities. This community orientation is emerging from the police practice and literature of the past twenty-five years. In 1967 the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice advocated more frequent, informal contact between police and the public. Commission recommendations were reflected in team policing projects conducted in the 1970s (Sherman, Milton and Kelly, 1973; Schwartz and Clarren, 1976) and in the San Diego Community Profiling Project¹ (Boydston and Sherry, 1975). In England, Cain (1973) and Alderson (1977) were calling attention to the value of close contact between police and citizens—an idea that was losing currency as the British police "modernized." In the States, police chiefs Frank Dyson (1971), Lee Brown (1985), Ray Davis (1985), Neil Behan (1986) and Bill Hegarty, among others, became articulate spokesmen for the idea that police should be knowledgeable of, and responsive to, the needs of all segments of the community.

While crime prevention and community relations were considered functions important enough to merit special units in many departments, research in the 1960s and 1970s (summarized in Wycoff, 1982) demonstrated that the vast majority of service requests received from the public—calls that were handled by non-specialist patrol officers—had nothing to do with "crime fighting." Rather, 19 to 55 percent of all calls concerned order maintenance and service needs. Yet, in the 1970s, the function of crime fighting was practically synonymous with concepts of policing. In 1982, Wilson and Kelling made the argument that order maintenance policing is critical to the survival of troubled urban areas, and the Fear

¹ This Police Foundation report contains one of the earliest references to community oriented policing, including what may be the first public commitment of a police organization to implement community policing on a city-wide basis.

Reduction studies (Pate, Wycoff, Skogan and Sherman, 1986) funded by the National Institute of Justice demonstrated that police could use a number of different approaches to break into the fear cycle about which Wilson and Kelling had written. In addition to the fear reduction strategies tested in Houston and Newark, other research suggested that foot patrol also could be an effective means of increasing police-citizen contact and improving citizen attitudes (Police Foundation, 1981; Trojanowicz, 1982; Hornick, et. al, 1989).

By 1986 Skolnick and Bayley were noting the growing popularity of such strategies in a number of departments around the country and Goldstein (1987) had begun to conceptualize the issues that fall under the broad umbrella of "community-oriented policing." These works are part of the rapidly growing body of literature that emphasizes the importance of knowing needs and preferences of "customers" (citizens) and the need to involve these customers in decisions about which services are to be delivered and how they are to be delivered. (See, for example, Alderson, 1977; Brown, 1985; Davis, 1985; Weatheritt, 1986; Braiden, 1987; Goldstein, 1987 and 1990; Bayley, 1988; Green and Taylor, 1988; Kelling and Moore, 1988; Mastrofski, 1988; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Wycoff, 1988; Alpert and Dunham, 1989; McElroy, Cosgrove and Sadd, 1989; Skogan, 1990; Sparrow, Moore and Kennedy, 1990; Trojanowicz, 1990; Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990; Wadman and Olson, 1990 and many others.)

In Madison, community policing concepts are inextricably bound with the Department's philosophy of "Quality Policing" which emphasizes quality of service delivery; quality of life in the community; quality of life in the workplace; the Quality Productivity/Quality Leadership processes advocated by Edwards Deming; and "Quality Improvement," the organization's commitment to continual improvement.

Since 1987 the Madison Department has believed three conditions to be necessary for the development of "Quality Policing." The first is the implementation of a new management approach that supports employee participation in organizational decisions. The management philosophy is known as "Quality Leadership," an approach that emphasizes the role of managers as facilitators whose job it is to improve systems, involve employees in decision-making, employ data-based problem-solving approaches, promote team work, encourage risk-taking and creativity, and give and receive feedback from employees.

The second necessary condition is a healthy work environment for employees. In Madison, this means treating employees as "internal customers" whose problems should be identified and resolved. Quality Leadership is the means of creating the healthy workplace.

Physical decentralization is believed to be the third necessary condition. A small workgroup (the consequence of decentralization) is considered essential for improving conditions in the workplace. At the same time, closer physical proximity to citizens is crucial to knowing citizens and being aware of their problems.

The relationship of these three conditions to the goal of Quality Policing is reflected in the motto of the Madison Department:

**CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE:
QUALITY FROM THE INSIDE, OUT**

It is expanded in the Department's mission statement:

MISSION STATEMENT

We believe in the DIGNITY and WORTH of ALL PEOPLE.

We are committed to:

- PROVIDING HIGH-QUALITY, COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICE SERVICES WITH SENSITIVITY;
- PROTECTING CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS;
- PROBLEM SOLVING;
- TEAMWORK;
- OPENNESS;
- PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE;
- PROVIDING LEADERSHIP TO THE POLICE PROFESSION.

We are proud of the DIVERSITY of our work force which permits us to GROW and which RESPECTS each of us as individuals, and we strive for a HEALTHFUL work place.

In 1987 the Madison Police Department believed it had to first change itself before it could change the quality of its service delivery.

The relationship between the internal changes and the goal of better service to the community is outlined in Exhibit 2-1, and is discussed below.

A. The Change Process

The process of change referred to in the model (Exhibit 2-1) is identified for the purposes of this research project as the one that began to take shape in the Madison Department in the 1980s with the deliberate and increasing involvement of employees in the organization's decision processes. In 1984 Chief David Couper established the Committee on the Future of the Department, the members of which were broadly representative of the organization. In 1985 the Committee released a report that made three major recommendations for the future of the organization:

- (1) Get closer to the people we serve.
- (2) Make better use of available technology.
- (3) Develop and improve health and wellness in the workplace.

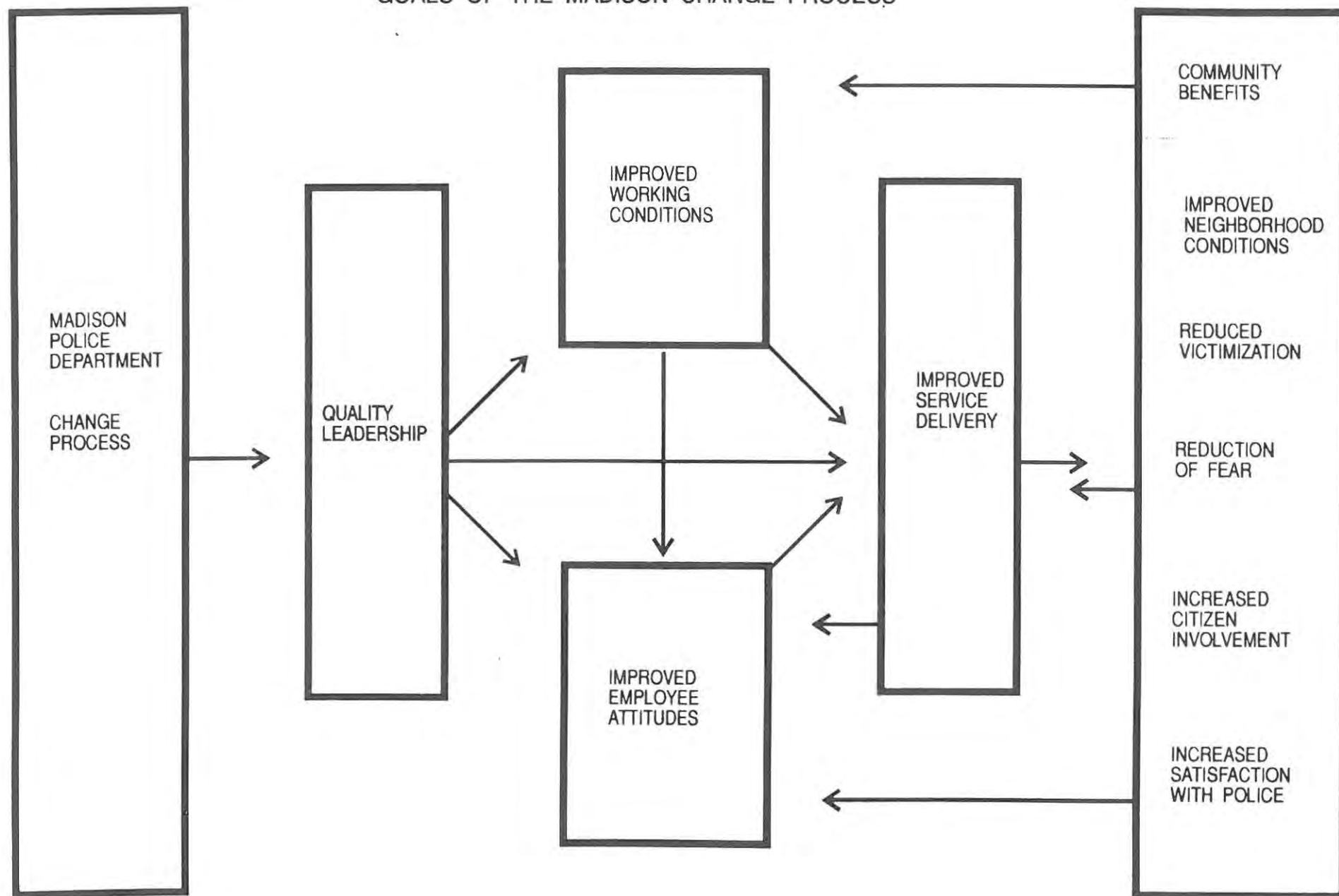
With a great deal of employee input since that time, the Department has been refining and reshaping those basic goals and working toward their implementation. This process became more sharply focused with the introduction in 1985 of the concepts of Quality/Productivity to the City by then-Mayor Joseph Sensenbrenner. A four day workshop conducted by Edwards Deming, the leader of the Quality movement in this country, was followed by two weeks of training in Quality/Productivity principles and procedures for selected City employees.

B. Quality Leadership

Following participation in the Quality/Productivity training, the Department articulated the management philosophy of Quality Leadership, the twelve basic principles of which are drawn from the works of Deming (1986), Peters and Waterman (1982), Peters and Austin (1985), Naisbitt and Aberdene (1985) and others. These principles, listed in Chapter IV, emphasize teamwork for planning, goal setting and operations, data-based problem-solving, a customer orientation, employee input in decisions, respect and trust among employees, improvement of systems and processes, organizational policies developed to support productive employees, encouragement for creativity and risk taking, tolerance for mistakes, and the manager as coach and facilitator rather than commander. Quality Leadership became the managerial linchpin for a number of ideas that had been evolving and coalescing in the department for several years. With its emphasis on

EXHIBIT 2-1

GOALS OF THE MADISON CHANGE PROCESS



employee input it became, in part, both the end and the means to the organizational goal of a healthier workplace. It is both the means of giving employees "ownership of the house" (Braiden, 1991) and a means of making the best use of all available ideas and information in the organization. The emphasis on managers seeking input from employees parallels the emphasis in community policing on officers seeking input from citizens. As stated at the start of this report, Madison Police Department managers believe Quality Leadership is a necessary antecedent of community policing; if managers do not use input from employees for decision-making, officers cannot be expected to think about using input from citizens for making decisions about the work to be done.

C. The Healthy Workplace

In the model the "healthy workplace" is represented in Exhibit 2-1 by the boxes for "Improved Working Conditions" and "Improved Employee Attitudes." Better conditions and better attitudes are hypothesized to be causally linked and together produce the healthier environment. Improved working conditions could include anything that employees felt needed to be changed in the workplace. This is where Quality Leadership becomes both a means and an end. In Madison, with its high percentage of college graduate employees, input into decision-making was one of the top concerns (just after improvement of the promotional process) of MPD employees in 1986. Letting bright, educated people exercise their brains is one way of improving their work environment (Lawler, 1984; Braiden, 1991). But it is the practice of Quality Leadership with its emphasis on listening to employees that makes it possible to know the concerns of employees.

Employee attitudes of interest include job satisfaction, attitudes toward the role, toward the self in relationship to the role, and toward the community. Job satisfaction, for example was expected to be increased by Quality Leadership. Job satisfaction is a multifaceted concept consisting of both intrinsic and extrinsic components (Kunin, 1955, Dunnette, Campbell, and Hakel, 1966; Weiss, Davis, England and Lofquist, 1967; Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969; Dunham and Herman, 1976, Smith, 1976). It was expected that Quality Leadership would affect primarily the intrinsic elements of job satisfaction—those associated with the doing of the work (liking for the work, satisfaction with supervisors, satisfaction with co-workers, etc.) rather than those associated with social and material rewards resulting from work (e.g., salary, status pension, job security). It is the intrinsic elements that should be affected by participative management. The Quality Leadership approach is intended to encourage creativity and risk-taking and should challenge officers to develop and experiment with their own ideas about policing. This should increase their belief that their MPD job is one in which they can experience personal growth. It was anticipated that Quality Leadership would give employees a sense of ownership of their work with subsequent satisfaction and increased commitment to the job. It also was expected that employee participation in the planning process would increase tolerance for, or receptivity to,

change (Coch and French, 1948; Watson, 1966; Hersey and Blanchard, 1972; Kanter, 1983; Dunham, 1987).

D. Improved Service Delivery

"Improved Service Delivery" is the umbrella label for the implementation of three approaches to service delivery:

- (1) Quality/Productivity as propounded by Deming(1986),
- (2) Community policing, and
- (3) Problem-oriented policing as first proposed by Goldstein (1979, 1990) and discussed in Eck and Spelman (1987).

The Quality/Productivity management philosophy emphasizes the importance of knowing the needs and preferences of the customer, the analysis of systems to improve processes and products, the involvement of employees in decisions about how to improve systems, and the use of quantitative data for organizational decision-making.

Community policing, the second major component of improved service delivery, has been discussed above.

At the same time the idea of a close working relationship between the police and the community was gaining popularity and being tested, so was the concept of problem-oriented policing, first advocated by Herman Goldstein in 1979 and tested by him and the Madison Police Department (Goldstein and Susmilch, 1982). The idea was further developed and tested in Newport News, Virginia (Eck and Spelman, 1987) and Oakland, California (Toch and Grant, 1991). The central idea of problem-oriented policing is that underlying many of the individual calls (incidents) to which police respond are more general problems which, in order to be resolved, require a different type of response than do the incidents which are indicative of the problems. Problem solution requires analysis of the incidents by persons knowledgeable of the context in which they are occurring, followed by creative brain-storming about and experimentation with possible responses. While problem-oriented policing theoretically can be conducted in the absence of community-oriented policing (although its proponents do not suggest that it should be), it is one excellent method of achieving the goals of community-oriented policing. It can be argued that a patrol officer closely familiar with his or her neighborhood can make an essential contribution to the analysis of the nature of the incidents/problems occurring there.

Improved service delivery was expected to result from better working conditions (e.g., better technology and information systems, the ability to adjust

schedules for problem-solving, and the freedom to try new approaches to problems). It was also expected to result from the anticipated improvement in employee attitudes. It was believed that officers who were more involved and more satisfied would do more effective work. There is evidence (Davis and Cherns, 1975; Hackman and Suttle, 1977; Lawler, 1984) that organizations that encourage participation of employees tend to experience lower turnover, tardiness and absenteeism; lower material and labor costs; and higher quality work performance. It was anticipated that Quality Leadership would have a direct, as well as indirect, effect on the quality of service delivery through its emphasis on listening to the customer and seeking to satisfy customer needs. Managers as well as other employees would more directly seek information from the citizen customers about problems of concern to them and, therefore, should be better able to direct organizational resources to those problems.

It was expected that improved service delivery would have a reciprocal effect on employee attitudes; the ability to see a job more effectively done through problem-solving policing would increase job satisfaction and the sense of efficacy in the role.

E. Community Benefits

Benefits to the community or the external customers are the ultimate goal (both causally and temporally) in the model. It was expected that improved service delivery would lead directly to improved neighborhood or community conditions, reduced crime victimization, reduced fear and worry, increased involvement of citizens in problem-solving, and increased satisfaction with police. It was also expected that the community benefits would work in a feedback relationship with employee attitudes; as citizens became more appreciative of better service, officers would develop more positive attitudes toward citizens and the job. The more involved officers became in community policing and problem-solving, the more likely they would be to interact with satisfied citizens.

F. The Model in Context

This kind of model, with its implied causality, suggests an almost automatic effect of one element of the model on another. However, even if a more satisfied employee working in a better environment is inclined to work harder or better, the model gives no assurance about the substance or direction of those improved service delivery efforts. When an organization is attempting to adopt a new approach to service delivery, as Madison was in moving toward community-oriented and problem-oriented policing, what is the guarantee that the more highly satisfied employee will become enthusiastically committed to the new approach rather than re-energized toward the familiar one?

Unspecified in Exhibit 2-1 is the context in which the model was developed. The employees for whom the model was expected to be most immediately relevant were those who would work in the new Experimental Police District where the chances for fostering Quality Leadership, improved working conditions and improved employee attitudes were expected to be very good. The model evolved from the work of the EPD planning team which also designed the orientation and training that would prepare the new EPD officers for their assignment. Training included discussions of ways of getting closer to the community, instruction in the use of data for decision-making and instruction in the problem-solving approach. Additionally, it was anticipated that the management team at the EPD would reinforce the community and problem orientations through group discussion, planning, goal setting, facilitation of problem-solving activities and additional training. The arrow from the "Improved Employee Attitudes" box to the "Improved Service Delivery" box was not left unguided; the path was to be influenced by management and a new service delivery philosophy. These, of course, would be in competition with old work habits.

III. EVALUATION DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research design and methods are discussed separately for each research objective.

A. Objective One: Document the Process of Developing the Experimental Police District

Beginning in mid-1987 and continuing through 1990, the Evaluation Project Director monitored the implementation process through review of documents produced during the EPD planning process, through on-going review of memos and other documents produced by the Department and the EPD, direct observation of the EPD through site visits, regular review of newspaper articles, frequent telephone contact with EPD managers, occasional rides and interviews with EPD and Non-EPD officers, and frequent conversations with two University of Wisconsin faculty members who are regular observers of the relationship between the Department and the community.

Three annual administrations of the police personnel survey provided opportunity for numerous informal conversations with personnel throughout the organization concerning their perceptions of the change process.

During the summer of 1988 and again in the summer of 1990, the Project Director, assisted by Dr. George Kelling, conducted lengthy interviews with all members of the Department's management team. Additionally, in August of 1990 they conducted interviews with fourteen lieutenants and eight detectives.

B. Objective Two: Measure the Internal Effects of Change

It was expected that successful implementation of Quality Leadership and the orientation of the Department to community- and problem-oriented policing would have an impact on personnel that would be reflected in their attitudes toward:

- the organization, management and supervision;
- the nature of the police role;
- the role of the community in policing.

It was further expected that change in employee attitudes during the evaluation period would occur primarily in the Experimental Police District. The design for testing this assumption was a quasi-experimental one in which changes

in attitudes of EPD employees would be compared over time with attitude changes of employees in the rest of the Department. Exposure to the impacts of the changes in the EPD was to be controlled by analyzing changes for employees who had been in the EPD for the entire evaluation period of two years in comparison to those of employees who were never in the EPD during this period.

The conditions of a true experiment did not exist since the program site (the service area of the Experimental Police District) was not randomly selected but was selected by the Department, based on a number of indicators of need. Officers were not randomly assigned to work in the EPD but were allowed to bid for assignment there just as they annually bid for other assignments. The low seniority of some officers meant that they had no choice but to accept EPD assignment. Low seniority further meant that younger officers were assigned to the night shift. The employee union agreed there would be no changes in personnel during the originally planned one year of the evaluation period. When the time frame for the evaluation was later extended by several months, there was some movement in and out of the EPD with the result that the size of the analysis panel was reduced.

B.1. Personnel Survey

Employee attitudes were measured by the administration of a written survey to all commissioned personnel three times during the evaluation period:

- (1) December, 1987, prior to the opening of the Experimental Police District;
- (2) one year later in December, 1988; and
- (3) again in December, 1989.

Surveys were administered by the Project Director to small groups of personnel during normal working hours. At each administration the purpose of the survey was explained; officers were assured of the confidential nature of the data and told how the identity of respondents would be protected; and they were told that participation was voluntary.

Despite the fact that most of the analysis was to be based on the panel, an effort was made to survey all commissioned personnel during each survey administration period. It was anticipated that the full survey would have additional research value for the Department as well as other research organizations. Although the immediate interest is in comparing attitudes of EPD officers in the panel with Non-EPD officers in the panel, the full survey of all commissioned personnel allows for developing a picture of the entire organization over time. Since the ultimate goal of the Department is change across the entire organization,

the ability to monitor changes for the organization as a whole, as well as within organizational groups, will be important.

B.2. Survey Participation Rates²

In 1987, 97 percent (N = 270) of the total commissioned personnel (N = 278) in the Department participated in the employee survey; 97 percent (N = 268) participated in 1988 and 86 percent (N = 239) participated in 1989.

B.3. Panel Participation Rate

Of the 270 respondents to the Time 1 survey, 14 had left the Department by the time of the third survey. Two hundred and two persons participated in all three survey waves; thus the participation rate for the panel is $202/256 = 79$ percent.

The panel was further defined by assignment; to be part of the panel for the purpose of analysis, the respondent had to have been in the EPD for all of the two years that constituted the evaluation period or not in the EPD for that entire period. Persons who moved into or out of the EPD after the first survey administration were not included in the analysis panel. The result is an analysis panel of 169 respondents, 25 of whom were in the EPD for the entire evaluation period and 144 of whom were never in the EPD during that same period.

The panel is equivalent to 61 percent of the total sworn personnel at any one of the three survey times. The tables in Chapter V include data for the EPD and the Non-EPD panels and also for cross-sections of the EPD and Non-EPD parts of the organization. Presentation of the cross-sectional data provides both an overview of the organization over time and a means of determining the extent to which the panels are representative of the parts of the organization from which they are drawn. In fact, in almost every analysis, the panel data are highly similar to the corresponding cross-sectional data.

² This section discusses participation rates rather than response rates because the latter suggests the actual completion of a survey. At each survey period there were a very few individuals who came to the survey site and completed a survey identification form but did not actually complete the survey.

B.4. Analysis of Personnel Survey Data

Originally it was anticipated that measurement of change would rely almost entirely on regression analysis that would test for significant changes between EPD and Non-EPD officers, controlling for a number of background characteristics. It became clear—first from observations of the Department and later from data analysis—that change was occurring throughout the Department. Regression analysis often resulted in statistically insignificant differences between the EPD and the rest of the Department while masking magnitudes and patterns of change occurring across the organization. Subsequently, it was decided to conduct and present within-group analyses so that it would be apparent whether statistically significant change occurred among EPD officers and among Non-EPD officers. These data give the reader a feel for the magnitude, direction, and pattern of changes that were occurring. Additionally, regression analyses were conducted in which group assignment (EPD or Non-EPD) is the independent variable and the pre-test score is controlled. These regression analyses provide the most stringent measures of program effect. All of these analyses are presented in detail in the technical report (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993), and are summarized in this document.

To facilitate both analysis and the presentation of data, comparisons are made for only two survey periods—usually Time 1 (1987) and Time 3 (1989)—unless the analysis is of items that were added to the second survey, in which case the comparison is of Time 2 and Time 3 data. The decision to simplify data analysis and presentation by using only two waves of data was made after multivariate analysis determined there was a linear relationship across the three waves. The Madison project was not one in which measurable change occurred in the first year, only to be eroded during the second. Change was steady and continuing.

C. **Objective Three: Measure the Effects of Change on the Community**

C.1. Citizen Survey

It was expected that residents of Madison who were served by EPD officers would, over time, interact more frequently with police, perceive that they were receiving better service and believe that police were addressing problems of concern to the community. These assumptions were tested using a quasi-experimental design that compared attitudes and perceptions of residents in the EPD service area with those of residents in the rest of the City. There were two reasons for using the rest of the City as a control group: (1) it would have been difficult to find another area of the City that was a close match for the program area; and (2) reliance on one or two "matched" areas as controls leaves the evaluation highly vulnerable to the possibility that something (e.g., a dramatic

crime or significant demographic change) will occur in the control areas during the course of the project that will cause the control area to become less comparable to the program area. When the remainder of the City is the control area, regression analyses can be used to control for the pre-test as well as for a wide range of demographic characteristics that might account for measured differences between experimental and control subjects. The same respondents were surveyed twice, the first survey was conducted in person in February and March of 1988 just prior to the opening of the EPD station; the second was conducted by telephone in February and March of 1990.

The goal was to interview 1200 Madison residents, 600 in the EPD service area of South Madison and 600 from throughout the rest of the City. Because the research team predicted a 75 percent completion rate, 1676 households were included in the initial sample. The selection of households was based on 1980 Census block statistics. The decision was made to exclude City blocks that were essentially business areas or that consisted primarily of student housing.

The analysis plan was based on the use of a panel; the same people were to be surveyed at Time 2 as were surveyed at Time 1. A panel analysis significantly strengthens the ability to determine that observed changes in the research area are due to the strategies being studied rather than to factors associated with changes in the composition of the population. To reduce the magnitude of panel attrition between the first and second surveys, an effort was made to eliminate areas of University student housing from the sample since students would be the segment of the Madison population with the highest rate of residential instability.

Letters from the Office of the Mayor were sent to the selected addresses a few days ahead of the scheduled contact. Interviewers carried a copy of that letter and presented photo identification cards at each residence.

The selection of respondents was made by the interviewers at the selected household addresses, using a Kish selection table included in each questionnaire. Individuals under the age of 18 were not included in the household listing.

Interviewers made a total of six attempts to interview the selected respondent in each household. All refusals in which the respondent was not hostile were reassigned to different interviewers. Twenty-five (25) percent of all completed interviews were validated, i.e., the respondent was recontacted to verify that the interview took place, that it required an appropriate amount of the respondent's time, and that a few key questions were answered the same way during the validation call as in the original contact.

The total number of completed interviews at Time 1 was 1,170. The response rate in the EPD area was 77.8 percent; it was 75.1 percent in the rest of the City.

The citizen survey questionnaires are available in the appendices of the technical report (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993) for this project.

C.2. Survey Administration

The Time 1 survey was administered in early 1988 by interviewers who were recruited, trained and supervised by Police Foundation personnel. Interviews were conducted in-person at the residence of the respondent. At the end of the interview, the respondent was asked for his or her telephone number. A review of the Time 1 data showed that 97.6 percent of the respondents gave their telephone number. This was an important factor in the decision to conduct the Time 2 survey by telephone. The Time 2 telephone interviews were conducted in early 1990 by the Wisconsin Survey Research Lab at the University of Wisconsin. In-person interviews were attempted with about 70 percent of the Time 1 respondents who did not provide telephone numbers.

For the post-test (1990) survey, 772 interviews were completed for a panel completion rate of 66.2 percent.

Among the 772 successfully completed interviews were 45 for which there were substantial mismatches between information provided in 1988 and 1990. The differences might have involved "change" of race or sex, decrease in age, increase in age by more than two years, decrease in years of education, or increase in years of education by more than two years. These 45 respondents were removed from the panel, leaving an analysis panel of 727 respondents of whom 388 were from the Non-EPD areas of the City and 339 were from the EPD area.

C.3. Panel Attrition

Because of the lengthy period between the two administrations of the residents' survey, it is not unusual that 44 percent of Time 1 respondents could not be found for a reinterview. The attrition rate differed between the program and comparison areas of Madison. In the EPD area 56 percent of the original respondents were reinterviewed, as contrasted to 69 percent of those living elsewhere in Madison.

Panel attrition of this magnitude and distribution raises questions concerning the validity of inferences that can be made about the impact of the program upon the residents of Madison. To address these issues, analyses were done to examine correlates of attrition and the relationship between these factors and key outcome variables in this project. Attrition was strongly related in expected ways to indicators of family organization, affluence, community ties and work-force status of respondents. It was related also to prior burglary and vandalism victimization.

The main outcome measures used in the evaluation were unrelated to attrition, either in general or within the program and comparison areas. Also, there were no consistent differences between the areas in how rates of attrition were related to social and demographic factors. Estimates of the impact of naturally occurring variation in the kinds of factors being manipulated during the program period were the same among the initial panel sample and the reinterviewed subset.

All of these factors suggest that neither overall sample attrition nor differential sample attrition threaten to bias the quantitative findings of the evaluation, either by masking or falsely suggesting program effects.

C.4. Analysis of Citizen Survey Data

As with the officer survey, the original analysis plan called for using regression analysis to determine whether an effect was occurring in the area served by the Experimental Police Station that differed from effects in the rest of the City. Two factors influenced a decision also to present within-group analyses.

- (1) The first was the recognition that change was occurring throughout the Madison Police Department that could result in improved service throughout the City.
- (2) The second was the recognition that the major focus of the change process, even into the second year, continued to be on internal reorientation with the result that fewer new policing initiatives or approaches were tested in the community than had been anticipated during the planning period. Through observations and discussions, the research staff came to believe that the community-oriented activities of EPD officers during the first two years were more likely to have an effect on individuals, on particular groups of people, or on certain businesses than on the entire survey area. With time, enough of these focused efforts would produce broader community awareness of the new orientation. Recognition would spread gradually; there would be no dramatic fanfare.

These two conditions increased the probability that regression analyses could mask changes that might demonstrate a pattern across indicators while not producing significant coefficients on many of them. Therefore, the technical report (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993) presents within-group analyses as well as regression analyses that allows for the observation of patterns that tests for the significance of differences between experimental and control subjects. The data are summarized in this report.

In the regression analysis, the following covariates were controlled: area of residency, number of adults in household, whether employed, education, residency in Madison in 1988, gender, U.S. Citizenship, length of time in Madison, months lived in current residence, number of children in household, student status, race, whether employed full or part-time, home ownership, income, whether living alone or as a couple, number of adults in household over 60 years of age, and respondent's age.

Whenever appropriate, multiple items have been used to measure a given construct. Factor analysis was used to confirm that the items selected to represent each potential outcome (e.g., fear of crime, etc.) were closely interrelated. Scores on separate items were then combined in an additive fashion to produce summary scale scores. Such scores are more reliable measures of the outcomes than their components taken individually, and have a range and distribution which are appropriate for statistical techniques such as multiple regression.

IV. THE EXPERIMENTAL POLICE DISTRICT

The decision was made to develop a prototype of a new organizational design in one part of the department before attempting to reshape the entire organization. The result was the "Experimental Police District" (EPD), the first decentralized police facility in Madison. Opened in 1988, the EPD housed approximately one-sixth of the Department's personnel, including patrol officers, detectives, and parking monitors, and served approximately one-sixth of Madison's population.

The charge of the Experimental Police District was to promote innovation and experimentation in three areas:

- (1) employee participation in decision-making about the conditions of work and the delivery of police service;
- (2) management and supervisory styles supportive of employee participation and of community-oriented and problem-oriented policing; and
- (3) the implementation of community-oriented and problem-oriented policing.

While these objectives formed the central focus for the EPD, the special district had a more general mandate to be "experimental" that extended beyond working through the problems of decentralization and creating closer relationships with the community. The EPD was to be the Department's laboratory. Personnel were encouraged to identify organizational policies and practices that should be questioned and to test alternatives. Decentralization was to be the first test the EPD undertook as a project.

A. Development and Operation of the Experimental Police District³

In 1986, Chief Couper proposed utilizing one of the City's existing patrol districts for the creation of the EPD, a decentralized station at which new ways of organizing the workplace and new methods of service delivery could be developed and tested. Planning for the EPD was done by a team of persons representing all areas and ranks of the Department. The planning process began in July of 1986 with a meeting for all those interested in the project. Those attending the meeting decided how the EPD project team would be chosen and designated a selection

³ This description of the Experimental Police District (Section A) is indebted to the work of Chris Koper, currently (1992) a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Maryland, who worked for the Police Foundation as an intern during the summer of 1989.

committee to select the team. Application for membership on the project team was open to all interested personnel. The selection committee then chose 10 people to serve on the team. Chief Couper reserved the right to choose a team leader and name a team facilitator. Additionally, he established a project coordinating team to act as a steering committee and assist the project team. The coordinating team consisted of Chief Couper, four captains, and the president of the officers' union.

One of the project team's first major tasks was to choose the project area from among the Department's six existing districts. In doing so, they used criteria which included area demographics, calls for service, crime profile, and need for services. The district they chose constitutes 10 square miles, making it about one-sixth of the City. The district also contains approximately one-sixth of the City's population with 29,000 people living in an estimated 12,775 households. The district has 11 neighborhood associations and 3 business groups, and there are four alderpersons representing areas within the district.

The population of the area is diverse and includes Whites, Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, and Hispanics. Relative to other areas of the City, minorities are overrepresented. Another significant feature is a large student population in one portion of the district.

Overall, the EPD accounts for 20 percent of the City's reported crimes. More specifically, the district experienced 17.7 percent of the City's property crimes, 16.9 percent of the personal crimes, and 16.7 percent of the general disturbances in 1986. Also in that year, the district had 15,761 calls for service which amounted to 16.3 percent of the Department's total. Nearly 40 percent of the district's calls involved assists, parking, accidents, or noise complaints.

As a first step in the planning process, project team members identified organizational problems that they felt needed to be corrected, such as lack of meaningful involvement with the community, lack of teamwork and/or team identity among officers, inflexible management styles and resulting loss of creativity, and lack of communication and information exchange among ranks. Team members next met in small groups with all the Department's employees to find out what they felt needed to be corrected. In addition, an EPD newsletter was published to keep personnel informed about EPD developments, and employees were invited to attend weekly EPD planning meetings whenever they wished.

The project team also made efforts to get feedback from special groups within the Department. Sergeants, lieutenants, and captains were asked to identify what they thought should be the responsibilities of managers at the EPD. The Madison Professional Police Officers Association also was consulted in the planning process.

To get citizens involved, the project team held a total of eight community meetings in the project area, two in each alderman's district. The first set of meetings in each district was for people whom the Department and aldermen designated as community leaders. The second set of meetings was open to all concerned citizens. At the meetings, citizens were questioned about their knowledge of and satisfaction with police services, neighborhood problems and concerns, and how they felt police could work with them in responding to problems. The group process used at the meeting resulted in a listing of problems rated by priority.

Interested officers and sergeants were able to choose the EPD assignment as well as their shifts on a seniority basis. The captain and lieutenant (initially the EPD had only one lieutenant) were chosen according to a two part process. First, a list of interested candidates was given to the project team and all personnel who would be working at the EPD. All of the project team members and EPD personnel voted for their choice for each position. In the second phase of the selection process, the candidates answered essay questions developed by the project team. All project team members and EPD members then voted on the best essays. Identities of the essay respondents were kept anonymous. Scores from both phases were totalled and the selections made.

In addition to Quality/Productivity training, which all members of the Department received, the EPD conducted its own four-day training session. Professor Herman Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin Law School spent one of these days discussing problem-oriented policing with the group. Problem-oriented policing is an operational philosophy that calls for officers to look beyond individual incidents (crimes, disturbances, etc.) to identify recurring problems and, most importantly, the underlying causes which contribute to those problems. Once these problems are better understood, officers should draw upon both police and community resources to address the problems, thereby preventing future incidents.

Much of the rest of the EPD training focused on decentralization issues and developing teamwork. Trainers also discussed the use of data for problem analysis and measurement of problem resolution.

The EPD continues to hold training sessions when necessary to address issues that arise. Patrol officers, neighborhood officers, and detectives who work the same area are brought together to identify area problems and work on solutions. Occasionally, the EPD invites personnel from the Department's central station to attend EPD training sessions to discuss problems between EPD and central personnel. Though the training function will remain formally at the central station, EPD managers feel that having their own training sessions has facilitated teamwork and the handling of area problems.

Opened in April 1988, the EPD currently has 41 sworn employees: 22 patrol officers (the station is authorized to have 23), 3 neighborhood officers, 6 detectives, 3 parking monitors, 4 sergeants, 1 lieutenant, and 1 captain. The captain has responsibility for all patrol and investigative operations at the station. The captain reports to the Department's deputy chief of operations but has substantial flexibility in running the EPD. Besides the sworn personnel, the EPD has a civilian stenographer, 2 volunteers, and, at times, one or more student interns.

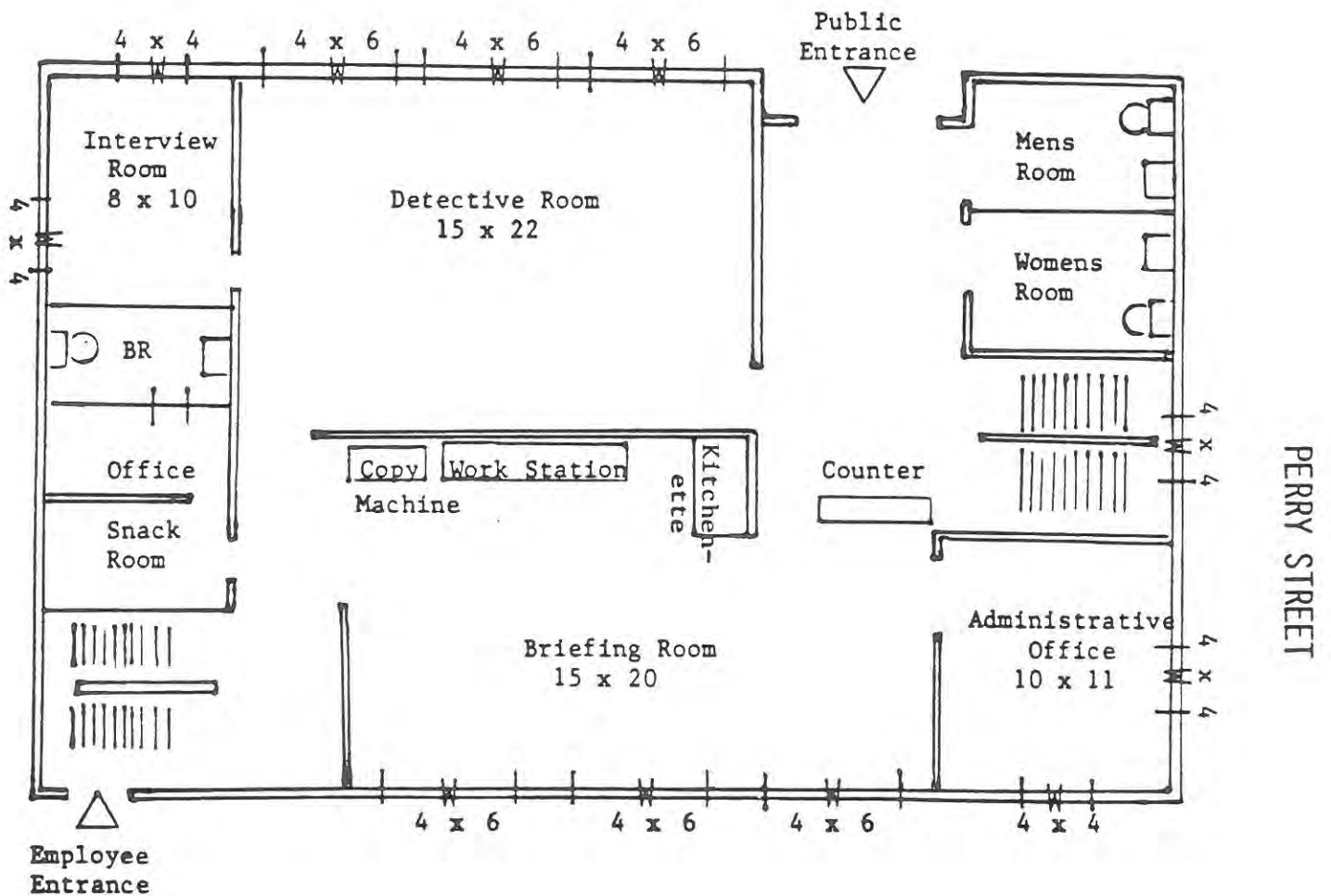
The EPD station is a small building approximately 30' x 50'. There are two floors. The ground floor provides the operational space. The basement contains lockers for officers, an exercise area, and storage space. It has work areas for the officers and detectives, a room for equipment and temporary storage of evidence, and a reception area (see Floor Plan, Exhibit 4-1). There is a computer at the station that is linked to the Department's main computer and can be used for activities such as address checks, license checks, and review of area crimes and calls for service. The station has a fax machine and a copy machine.

The computer is at a work station between the copy machine and a "kitchenette" area where a sink, small refrigerator, and coffee pot are located. These are on one wall of the briefing room which is dominated by a large table surrounded by comfortable chairs. The arrangement suggests a corporate conference room rather than a traditional roll call room. There is no podium and no special commander's chair. The service counter that citizens approach from the public entrance is open to the briefing room. The secretary's desk is situated at the end of the briefing room adjacent to the administrative office. To go anywhere else in the building, the captain or lieutenant, who are in the administrative office, pass through the briefing room. There is no separate lounge area in the building. If someone wants to sit down for a cup of coffee or to eat a meal they have bought with them, they do it at the briefing room table. This is also where officers do paperwork. If there are committee meetings, this is where they occur. Because of its location and the functions, the briefing room is critical to (and probably a major cause of) the close interactions among all EPD personnel. It even facilitates interaction across shifts. While it is the core of the workspace, it is also the EPD "family room"—a place where officers often gather to talk prior to the beginning of their shift and where they are likely to remain for a period afterward for conversation or coffee. It is not uncommon to find personnel from two different shifts talking together before briefing.

If additional decentralized stations are built, it is expected they will have more space and equipment than does the EPD. At that time, the EPD, too, may be moved to a larger facility. If they had the option, EPD personnel would vote for expanded space, but they very probably would remain sensitive to its configuration. When some new officers transferred into the EPD at the end of the

FLOOR PLAN FOR EXPERIMENTAL POLICE DISTRICT BUILDING

BADGER ROAD



PARKING LOT

evaluation period, they suggested at an early group meeting that the briefing room be moved into available basement space so there would be fewer disruptions during meetings and when doing paperwork. The long-term EPD members explained the multiple advantages of the upstairs location, and the arrangement remained unchanged. Clearly, space configuration can facilitate or hinder team-building.

The concept of Quality Leadership is viewed as the foundation for the other changes being implemented at the EPD and the rest of the department. This management philosophy is based heavily on the work of management expert Edwards Deming (1986), who holds that managers should seek the input of their employees in making decisions and make efforts to better understand the needs and perceptions of the customers (for police, citizens) they serve. Deming calls this approach "Quality Productivity" (Q/P). Its ends are better service and a healthier and more rewarding workplace for employees. In practice, Q/P means interacting with customers to determine which services need improvement, using the expertise of line personnel to improve work processes, collecting data and using it to inform decision-making, and allowing employees to have greater control over their working conditions.

In Madison, these ideas are reflected in the Department's Twelve Principles of Quality Leadership. (Emphases are those of the Madison Police Department.)

1. Believe in, foster and support TEAMWORK.
2. Be committed to the PROBLEM-SOLVING process; use it and let DATA, not emotions, drive decisions.
3. Seek employees' INPUT before you make key decisions.
4. Believe that the best way to improve the quality of work or service is to ASK and LISTEN to employees who are doing the work.
5. Strive to develop mutual RESPECT and TRUST among employees.
6. Have a CUSTOMER orientation and focus toward employees and citizens.
7. Manage on the BEHAVIOR of 95 percent of employees and not on the 5 percent who cause problems.
8. IMPROVE SYSTEMS and examine processes before blaming people.
9. Avoid "top-down," POWER-ORIENTED decision-making whenever possible.
10. Encourage CREATIVITY through RISK-TAKING and be tolerant of honest MISTAKES.
11. Be a FACILITATOR and COACH. Develop an OPEN atmosphere that encourages providing and accepting FEEDBACK.
12. With teamwork, develop with employees agreed-upon GOALS and a PLAN to achieve them.

These principles are guiding the entire Department at this time but are given concerted attention in the EPD where the managers were selected, in part, because of their personal commitment to these ideas. The captain and lieutenant report seeing themselves as facilitators of officers' efforts to identify and solve problems. Their goals are to become coaches and teachers who allow and encourage creativity and risk-taking among officers. They have given officers substantial latitude to decide their own schedules, determine their work conditions, and decide how to address neighborhood problems. In other matters, the managers consider the input of employees before making decisions.

EPD managers try to encourage problem-solving by offering ideas, information, and scheduling alternatives. Yet they do not direct officers to do any particular neighborhood problem-solving activities. Initially, the EPD project team had planned for EPD personnel to develop specific community policing strategies for the station. However, it was decided after opening the station that EPD officers should individually, or in smaller teams, identify neighborhood problems and plan responses. Though things moved slowly at the beginning, the managers report that they are starting to see increased use of problem-solving as a tool.

When officers identify problems, they are free to consult other officers and their supervisors to make arrangements for the necessary time and resources to address the problems. (This means ensuring there will be enough people working, enough cars available, etc.). To date, the managers feel this practice has worked well. Officers have worked cooperatively, switching their days off or changing their schedules in other ways to accommodate their colleagues. Managers provide support by facilitating teamwork between shifts and coordinating the efforts of officers wishing to address the same problems.

To help make time for problem-solving and shift meetings, the sergeants, the lieutenant, and even the captain work the streets from time to time. This has the added benefit of giving managers a better sense of the types of data and other resources their officers need in order to identify and address neighborhood problems. The EPD managers tend to think of this as management participation versus participatory management. By occasionally working the streets to allow officers time for other activities, the managers add to the sense of teamwork among EPD employees. To illustrate, one evening a sergeant needed an officer to stake out a liquor store suspected of selling to minors. Because it was considered a boring assignment, no one volunteered. Rather than arbitrarily assign it, the sergeant said he would work it. During the course of the stakeout, however, he was visited at one point or another by all of the shift officers, each of whom offered to relieve him.

Supervision and discipline are deliberately more informal at the EPD than in the rest of the Department. Managers consciously attempt to accept honest

mistakes. As stated previously, officers are given wider latitude for carrying out problem-solving activities and are encouraged to seek innovative solutions and take risks. Accordingly, disciplinary actions are more likely to begin with an attempt at reconciliation between citizen and officer. When looking at incidents between officers and citizens or officers and other officers, EPD managers are not quick to label incidents as complaints and to institute formal processes. Instead, incidents are examined to see whether they involved honest operational mistakes or blatant wrongdoing.

Further, by sharing decision-making with officers, managers have fostered supervision by peers. Rather than depending on their sergeants to handle problems among officers, EPD officers are learning to handle these issues through informal discussions, and group discussions at shift meetings and roll call meetings.

In general, the environment created at the EPD is one in which compromise, teamwork, and creativity are stressed. Within the framework of Quality Leadership, the EPD managers encourage community policing by giving officers the flexibility to pursue their interests and address community needs.

The EPD uses three patrol shifts, a 7 am to 3 pm day shift, a 3 pm to 11 pm evening shift, and an 11 pm to 7 am night shift. When the station opened, the patrol officers felt each shift should decide how to deploy its personnel throughout the district. As a result, each shift devised a different deployment scheme. The day shift, for example, divides the district into two areas. On a given day, there is usually one permanently assigned officer in each of the two areas who is responsible for the neighborhoods in the area, while two other officers act as "rovers" covering the whole district. Thus, not all of the patrol officers have responsibility for specific neighborhoods. The district is small enough, however, for all of the officers to be familiar with the various neighborhoods. Shifts may be rotated after one year and are chosen by seniority.

Officers communicate with their counterparts on other shifts through a shift overlap procedure. Officers finishing their shifts return to the station a few minutes early while officers on the next shift come in a few minutes early. Dispatchers facilitate this by placing the EPD's non-emergency calls on hold during the last half-hour of each shift. The shift overlap procedure provides an opportunity for officers to discuss important events and general conditions of their areas. Officers also use phone calls and notes to communicate with personnel on different shifts.

Dispatch for the City of Madison is now handled by employees of the county government through the county's new 911 system. Dispatchers try to keep EPD officers in their district as often as possible and do not send them out of the district for low priority or routine calls. If a shift uses rover officers, they act as

backups whenever possible to help the permanently assigned officers stay in their areas. Nevertheless, beat integrity is not always maintained, and officers are sometimes too busy handling calls to do problem-solving.

EPD officers report they are beginning to interact to a greater extent with citizens. When answering service calls, officers make notes and ask citizens if there are problems, other than the subject of the call, about which officers should be aware. Officers also make more efforts to talk informally with citizens, visit businesses and schools, and attend neighborhood meetings. This reflects an emphasis on what managers at the EPD and in the rest of the Department call "value added service." Basically, this means going the extra distance to do a good job: spending more time at calls for service; making follow-up visits or calls to problem addresses; analyzing calls for service to identify problems and proactively contacting those involved to seek a solution; and, in general, taking more time to understand the problems and concerns of citizens.

Officers from the EPD cooperated with a neighborhood association, for instance, to correct a speeding problem in one of the district's neighborhoods. In a community meeting with EPD officers, area residents had identified speeding on a particular street as a major concern. Three officers worked the problem street by setting up an electronic sign that displayed the speed of passing cars and pulling over speeding motorists. Instead of issuing tickets, though, the officers gave the speeders warnings. Neighborhood residents participated with the officers by delivering personal pleas to the speeders and giving them a flyer explaining the speeding problem and showing them what they would have been fined had the officers chosen to give them tickets.

Patrol officers at the EPD are allowed to develop their own, individualized patrol strategies if they wish; managers encourage problem-solving but do not force it. Getting the officers involved in problem-solving has been a gradual process. Some of the officers who came to the EPD came for reasons other than the opportunity to do community-oriented policing. They may have been attracted by the EPD management style, the chance to work a different shift or work closer to home, or by more convenient parking. Nonetheless, active problem-solving officers have, in some cases, drawn these other officers into community-oriented work by asking for their help on different projects.

The flexibility EPD officers have to pursue interests and the teamwork orientation of the EPD employees are the major forces behind changes in service delivery. If, for example, a patrol officer wishes to work plainclothes on a burglary problem, he is free to set it up with his supervisor and any other officer, such as a detective or a neighborhood officer, with whom he would like to work on the problem. In another police setting, such a request from a patrol officer might be

denied out of concern for the awkward, unmanageable precedent it would set. At the EPD, this is the desired precedent.

Patrol sergeants at the EPD spend some of their time working with patrol officers on the streets. The sergeants meet with their officers at daily briefings to discuss the officers' area observations and activities. (The EPD has not yet developed an instrument for formal documentation of officers' neighborhood problem-solving activities).⁴ In an administrative capacity, sergeants are responsible for a number of tasks, most importantly setting work schedules that will maintain necessary staffing levels and accommodate officers' problem-solving activities. Further, they hold regular meetings with their officers at which they discuss issues such as scheduling, problem-solving, training, personnel matters, and other topics of concern to the officers.

The lieutenant and the captain have patrol management responsibilities that are, to some degree, interchangeable. Besides their administrative tasks, they are leaders in problem-solving. They accomplish this, in part, by collecting and presenting crime statistics, accident statistics, information on repeat calls for service, results of surveys given to citizens and EPD personnel, and information they receive from neighborhood groups and alderpersons. The lieutenant and captain work evening and night shifts on occasion to make themselves available to officers working those shifts. They also work the streets when necessary to make time for shift meetings or other special activities. Finally, they act as the lead liaisons with neighborhood groups, district alderpersons, and the Department's central personnel.

B. The Context of the Experimental Police District Implementation

The implementation of the Experimental Police District did not, of course, occur in a vacuum. The phenomenon of the EPD and the process that produced it are part of a larger context with at least three levels: the Madison Police Department; the City of Madison; and the profession of policing.

B.1. The Madison Police Department

The context of the Department can be divided into the current and the historical context.

The current context within which the EPD opened its doors was that of an organization with a highly educated and socially diverse workforce. In 1988

⁴ This remains true in 1993.

approximately one-half of the MPD employees had a college education or higher degree. Nineteen percent of the employees were women. While the preponderance of employees (and the entire command staff) were White, there were several Hispanics and Blacks in supervisory ranks and the detective bureau. There was a high ranking female on the management team.

Even prior to the evolution of Quality Leadership, managers did not appear to be heavily traditional in their management style. The command staff was relatively young, not overtly concerned with rank and power, and they appeared to be "open" and "approachable." Managers and supervisors collectively gave the impression of being committed to the job, the organization, and the community.

Organizational life was relaxed but orderly and respectful. In 1987 the odor of popcorn might have been a visitor's first hint of the organizational culture. There was little apparent apprehension about the physical security of the building or individual offices; there was no sense of a "fortress mentality" even after a fatal shooting that occurred in the hallway of the City/County Building where the Department is housed. Dress codes did not appear to be rigid but Madison officers, almost without exception, appeared neat and professional. The same was true of work spaces. There were no potentially offensive calendars, posters, or cartoons on the walls. Observers overheard no crude jokes, no racial or ethnic slurs. Cultural diversity within the workforce was a value that was strongly stated in the Department's mission statement, and was reinforced by the atmosphere of the organization.⁵

A sense of respectfulness was noted in the daily work of officers. Observers saw citizens virtually always well treated, regardless whether the citizen was a college professor in a community meeting or a rumpled drunk in a holding cell. Officers were courteous and competent. During the project, an issue of considerable concern to the management team was the appropriate response to an officer who had reported his own mistreatment of a citizen. A person lying under a

⁵ As with any of the other organizational goals, respect for cultural diversity did not occur as an automatic function of the Department adopting diversity as one of its values. In 1987 one researcher observed a few examples of graffiti in police locker rooms that indicated tension among officers of differing sexual orientations. In 1992, when officers were asked whether such graffiti still could be found, even officers in the targeted group responded negatively and had trouble recalling that there had once been slurs scrawled on locker doors. The explanation offered was that as officers of various backgrounds, interests or orientations worked together and became acquainted, interpersonal tensions decreased.

bush would not move when the officer requested that he do so; after repeated requests, the officer rapped the soles of the person's shoes with a night stick. The officer reported his actions, and the management team took them under review.

While officers seemed directed by a clear sense of professional propriety, they did not appear bound by a narrow set of rules or expectations about the way in which work would be done. There seemed to be considerable latitude for individual styles. This tolerance for individuality meant there was no single line of thought about what the job should be or how it should be done; differences in approach resulted in discussion and analysis rather than conflict and hostility.

With respect to organizational change, there is also an important historical context within which to consider the Department's efforts. The Madison Police Department has been experiencing planned change since at least 1973 when David Couper became Chief. A review of fifteen years of history at the time the project began (1987) revealed an organization that had been moving, if sometimes taking turns that were later abandoned, in the general direction in which the Department was focusing its efforts in 1987. In 1989, Chief Couper gave an address to a local business group to which he had spoken shortly after taking office in 1973. In comparing his notes for the 1989 speech with those from the original speech, he was himself surprised to find the general outline of the current change effort in that early presentation. There has been, for many years in the Madison Department, a ongoing commitment to seek better, more effective ways of delivering police service.

That context was humorously, if somewhat sardonically, recorded on a tee shirt MPD officers designed in 1987. The shirt is blue with the gold logo of the Department printed over the left breast. The front is proper and decorous. The back bears the following:

MADISON POLICE OFFICERS We've Survived	
ACADEMY TRAINING ADMINISTRATORS BAIL SCHEDULE REVISIONS BIKE PATROL BLUE TENT BOTTOM-UP MANAGEMENT BRAINSTORMING BUDGETARY PROCESS CALL DIVERSION CAREER DEVELOPMENT CHOIR PRACTICE COMMITTEES TO SELECT COMMITTEES COMPUTERIZED NEWSLETTERS CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS DEMING DISPATCHERS DOLLARS FOR DAVID ENGLISH PATROL METHOD EXPERIMENTAL POLICE DISTRICT EXTERNAL CUSTOMERS FACILITATOR FIELD TRAINING IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS INPUT-FEEDBACK IN-SERVICE INTERNAL AFFAIRS DIVISION _____ _____ _____ _____ } _____ } _____ }	LACK OF PRIORITIES LOW MORALE MANAGEMENT TEAM MEMOS MISSION STATEMENTS NEIGHBORHOOD BUREAU O.I.C. P & BB PINK PAPER "POLICE IN A FREE SOCIETY" POLICY MANUAL PORTABLE RADIO SELECTION POSTERIOR OSCULATION PRIMA DONNAS QUALITY LEADERSHIP QUALITY PRODUCTIVITY RECRUITMENT PROCESS RECTAL CRANIAL INVERSION ATTITUDE RESIDENCY RIOTS SEMI-AUTO TRANSITION S.O.S./N.R.U./S.P.T. SUBCOMPACT SQUADS TEDDY BEARS UNDERSTAFFING TO BE COMPLETED WITH FUTURE PROGRAMS
In spite of all this, we still get the job done!	

The list includes the usual police jokes and complaints; it also alludes to considerable experience with change and employee involvement in planning. Designing the Experimental Police District was far from the Department's first exposure to the change process.

A similar point is made more academically and with close attention to the change process in a publication by Chief Couper and Sabine Lobitz (1991) in which they describe the Madison experience with change in preparation for Quality Policing. They discuss the way in which the Officer's Advisory Committee, the Committee on the Future of the Department, participation in the City's Quality and Productivity efforts, development of a mission statement, experimentation with the Neighborhood Service Bureau, and a number of other steps all led incrementally to Quality Leadership and the planning of the Experimental Police District. The volume describes a continuing process of moving an organization and preparing it

for additional change. It is valuable reading for any manager who seeks ways of improving an organization.

Apart from the specifics of Madison's experiences and the lessons they may hold, the critical point of either the tee shirt or the Couper and Lobitz volume is that the Department did not begin suddenly, in 1985 or 1986, to develop a management philosophy and a program and move off in new directions; there is a long and strong history of organizational preparedness for the specific change process portrayed in this report. The Department's stated commitment to constant, steady improvement argues that the change process is and should be continuous.

B.2. The City of Madison

Couper and Lobitz describe in their monograph the involvement of the City of Madison in the Quality/Productivity (Q/P) movement, beginning in 1985 when the ideas were introduced by then-Mayor Joseph Sensenbrenner. (See also Sensenbrenner, 1991.) The City sponsored workshops and training in the Deming approach and the Mayor's office committed staff that helped train facilitators in various City departments. The Mayor established a competition among City departments to develop QP projects, one result of which was the plan for the Experimental Police District. It is apparent, and fully acknowledged by Chief Couper, that the commitment by the City to Deming's ideas was a major source of support and stimulation for the efforts in the Police Department. When Mayor Sensenbrenner lost re-election, there was concern about whether that support would continue under Mayor Paul Soglin who, after review of the ideas and their application in the City, has endorsed them.

The context of the City includes the University of Wisconsin where MPD employees are frequently enrolled in classes and the Chief, other managers and employees may be invited to lecture. There are faculty members, including Herman Goldstein, the leading advocate of problem-oriented policing, who maintain a close relationship with the Department. Every semester law students or sociology students conduct observations or other research in the Department. These contacts and access to the campus library facilitate the flow of professional literature and ideas through the Department.

Beyond this, the City of Madison and the State of Wisconsin are heirs of the "progressive tradition," a political philosophy and movement begun in the State during the last century. Its tenets of government involvement to improve quality of life continue to provide a socio-political underpinning for institutional change even in conservative political eras.

B.3. The Policing Profession

During the past twenty years, paralleling Chief Couper's tenure in Madison, the policing profession has developed a literature and a growing commitment to research as one important means of determining policies, procedures and organizational orientations. Many of the current Madison ideas (i.e., teamwork, participatory management, decentralization, closer contact with the community) were ideas being voiced in the just emerging body of police literature in the early 1970s. There were progressive chiefs who attempted to implement some of these same ideas then, only to find, in many cases, that they either did not know how to manage organizational change or that their organizations simply were not prepared to accept it. A literature and a body of research based on these ideas have developed over the past two decades. During this same period there has been ever increasing commitment to higher education for police and ever greater numbers of personnel have been enrolled in courses where the literature and these ideas were part of the curriculum. Twenty years ago police managers were confronted with some radically new notions about policing and police management. Police managers today take many of the same ideas for granted; they have grown up with them and they are now in positions to begin implementing them.

As they have become more highly educated, police managers have been more likely to absorb the management literature of other professions. The ideas behind Quality Leadership and employee participation are not the products of police literature and research; they come from the literature of business schools. Because police managers and employees of the 1990s are exposed to and seeking broader bases of knowledge, efforts to change police organizations may no longer be synonymous with trying to "bend granite" (Guyot, 1979).

V. INTERNAL EFFECTS: CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHANGE PROCESS FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

This section summarizes the findings about the consequences of the change process for the organization and its employees. The data are from the three surveys of sworn personnel conducted in 1987, 1988, and 1989. The findings presented below are for the panel members, those officers who were in either the EPD group or the Non-EPD group for the entire two year period and who completed all three surveys. There are 25 EPD panel members and 144 Non-EPD panel members. The number of respondents varies by question or scale. The detailed data and description of the analyses on which these summaries are based as well as data for cross-sectional analyses are presented in the technical report for this project. (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993.)

The tables in this chapter report two types of data. The first two columns of each table (headed "NON-EPD" and "EPD") report data for within-group analyses. Each cell in a column shows the direction and magnitude of change over time for that one group of officers. For example, in Table 5-1, the second cell in the column labeled "NON-EPD" reports that the scores of these officers on a scale measuring participatory management increased by 3.4 points between the first and third surveys. Beneath this value, the number in parentheses (.001) says that the change is statistically significant. In this case, the odds of this finding occurring by chance are 1 in 1000. The third column reports the results of a between-group regression analysis that indicates the extent to which the changes were related to service in the Experimental Police District. The within-group analyses let us examine patterns of changes across variables. The regression analysis provides the test of program impact. The "b" reported in the third column is the size of the regression coefficient; the statistical significance of the coefficient is recorded beneath it. In the second row of Table 5-1, the third column tells us that a score on this scale in the final officer survey was positively and significantly related to membership in the EPD. Although the NON-EPD officers reported a larger change over time, the EPD officers reported a significantly stronger perception of being involved in participatory management at Time 3 than did the NON-EPD officers, thus accounting for the significant "b."

A. Quality Leadership

It was expected that, by Time 3, EPD officers would be more likely than Non-EPD officers to believe that Quality Leadership had been implemented. At Time 3, twelve questions were asked about the extent to which each of the twelve principles of Quality Leadership had been implemented. At all three survey times,

officers were asked a series of questions about the extent to which they perceived themselves involved in a process of participatory management. Findings from this scale are reported in the second row of Table 5-1.

TABLE 5-1
Indicators of Quality Leadership
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Twelve questions about whether Quality Leadership was implemented	Inap	Inap	Inap
Scale ^a measuring perception of participatory management	+3.4 (.001)*	+.8 (.001)*	2.38 (.001)*

*Significance $\leq .05$

Inap = Time 3 question only.

The one-time (Time 3) analysis of the twelve items about the implementation of Quality Leadership does not conform to this table, but on all twelve items EPD respondents were significantly more likely (.001) to believe Quality Leadership had been implemented than were Non-EPD respondents.

Findings based on the participatory management scale indicate that respondents in both groups were significantly more likely over time to believe that participatory management had been achieved; even so, at Time 3, EPD officers were significantly more likely to believe that it had than were Non-EPD officers.

B. Employee Input

The officer survey lacked items about the extent to which employees were having input into organizational decisions. However, repeated observations of patrol briefing sessions and team meetings as well as conversations with employees indicate that between 1987 and 1989 employees throughout the Madison Police Department played an increasingly greater role in organizational decision-making.

^a Scale is from Vroom, 1959.

C. Working Conditions

C.1. Employee Interaction

It was anticipated that both the physical arrangements at the Experimental Police District and the management style that was to be used there would result in closer working relationships among employees. Two scales were used to measure this potential outcome. The first examined the extent to which employees felt they worked closely with colleagues. The second asked whether officers felt they received feedback about their performance from other officers.

TABLE 5-2

Indicators of Employee Interaction
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
3-item scale ⁷ measuring extent to which job requires close cooperation with other workers	+ .2 (.25)	+ 2.0 (.02) *	.55 (.26)
3-item scale ⁸ measuring extent to which officers feel they receive feedback from other officers	- .2 (.46)	+ 2.5 (.01) *	2.18 (.001) *

*Significance $\leq .05$

Over time EPD officers became significantly more likely to believe they work in close cooperation with others. There was a slight but insignificant change in this direction for Non-EPD officers. Regression analysis found a positive but insignificant relationship between Time 3 scores on this scale and EPD membership.

⁷Scale is from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

⁸Scale is from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

EPD officers became significantly more likely to feel they received feedback from other officers. Time 3 scores on this scale were related significantly to EPD membership.

C.2. Patrol Officer and Detective Interaction

The working relationships at the EPD and the assignment there of detectives to geographic areas were expected to produce closer working relationships between patrol officers and detectives. Respondents were asked about the number of contacts between the two groups and about the frequency with which officers became involved in investigations.

TABLE 5-3

Indicators of Patrol Officer and Detective Interaction
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and Probability of Change	EPD Size and Probability of Change	b Significance
Question about number of contacts per week between patrol officers and detectives	-.9 (.14)	+8.5 (.001)*	.45 (.01)*
Question about frequency with which patrol officers participate in follow-up investigations	+.0 (.66)	+.3 (.07)	.45 (.01)*

*Significance $\leq .05$

Membership in the EPD was positively and significantly associated with greater reported contact between officers and detectives and with greater reported involvement of officers in follow-up investigations.

C.3. Problem-Solving

Given the training EPD officers received in problem-solving and the managerial support that was to be provided for it, it was expected that they would feel more successful and more supported as problem solvers. Two questions about problem-solving were asked in the Time 3 survey only.

TABLE 5-4
Questions About Problem-Solving
Time 3 Only
Means and Probabilities

Indicator	NON-EPD Time 3	EPD Time 3	Probability
Question about perceived success at problem-solving	3.4	4.2	.11
Question about organizational support for problem-solving	3.6	4.9	.001*

* Significance $\leq .05$

When asked about their success at problem-solving, both groups tended to report success some of the time, with EPD officers more likely to report feeling successful than Non-EPD officers. The difference was significant in the cross-sectional but not the panel analysis.

When asked about levels of support for problem-solving efforts, EPD officers were significantly more likely ($p \leq .05$) than their Non-EPD counterparts to report that the organization supported them.

C.4. Time Available for Proactive Work

EPD officers should be expected to have more time to conduct problem-solving or other proactive work. Efforts are made to keep them working within the EPD area except for high priority call outside the EPD; and they have the opportunity to arrange their work schedules to accommodate these efforts.

TABLE 5-5

Availability of Time for Proactive Work
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Question about time available for proactive work	-.1 (.15)	+.0 (.80)	.32 (.10)

There were no significant changes over time in perceptions of either group of officers about their ability find time for proactive work. Both groups at all times tended to rate the ability to find such time at the mid-point between "very difficult" and "very easy." The data cannot indicate why EPD officers do not feel they have more time available for proactive work. We can only suggest that this is an issue that EPD managers should explore with personnel.

C.5. Ease of Arranging Schedules

These were questions about the ability to arrange schedules to permit activities other than work. It was anticipated that the small work group at the EPD would find it easier to shift schedules to accommodate both personal and training needs.

TABLE 5-6
Indicators of Ease of Scheduling
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Question about ease of taking comp or vacation time	+ .1 (.22)	+ .2 (.21)	.44 (.02)*
Dept. data about the number of training hours per officer	- 5 hours (Inap)	+ 40 hours (Inap)	Inap

*Significance $\leq .05$

Inap = descriptive data only.

Officers' belief that it was easy to take time off when they wanted to was positively and significantly associated with membership in the EPD where officers negotiated schedules among themselves (with subsequent review by a sergeant) and sergeants and managers sometimes would work the streets in order to accommodate an officer's need to be off duty. EPD managers would do the same to make more training time available for their officers; the consequences are reflected by the dramatic increase in training time for EPD officers. Managers report this was due also to the ease of communicating training opportunities to a smaller group of employees.

C.6. Safety of Working Conditions

A question about the availability of backup was asked because some officers feared that decentralization and the use of "flex time" would reduce the number of personnel available for this function.

TABLE 5-7
Availability of Backup
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Question about frequency with which backup is available when needed	-.2 (.001)*	-.1 (.74)	.33 (.01)*

*Significance $\leq .05$

Non-EPD officers did report a slight but significant decrease in the extent to which they perceived backup support being available. Officers in both groups perceived backup as being "often" to "almost always" available. At Time 3, perceived availability of backup was related significantly to EPD membership.

D. Job-Related Attitudes

A central expectation of the Madison effort was that as management practices and conditions of work changed, officers would develop more positive attitudes toward several aspects of the job, the organization, and the community.

D.1. Satisfaction With Working Conditions

It was expected that EPD officers would be more satisfied with the smaller, more relaxed environment of the Experimental Police District station and that they would have the opportunity to change other conditions that they might feel needed correction.

TABLE 5-8

Satisfaction with Physical Working Conditions
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
6-item scale ⁹ concerning satisfaction with physical working conditions	+ 1.2 (.001)*	+ 2.3 (.04)*	1.68 (.03)*

*Significance $\leq .05$

Over time officers in both groups became significantly more satisfied with their physical working conditions; even so, at Time 3, satisfaction with physical working conditions was positively and significantly associated with membership in the EPD.

⁹Scale is from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

D.2. Satisfaction With Kind of Work

EPD officers were to have more latitude to make decisions about the work they did and the way they did it. They also were to have flexibility in scheduling their time to accomplish specific tasks. It was expected that these conditions would lead to greater satisfaction with the kind of work the job entails.

TABLE 5-9

Satisfaction with Kind of Work
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
6-item scale ¹⁰ concerning satisfaction with the kind of work the job entails	+ .3 (.18)	+ 1.5 (.04) *	.69 (.22)

*Significance $\leq .05$

This is an indicator on which EPD officers registered lower satisfaction in 1987 than did Non-EPD officers. By 1989, EPD officers were significantly more satisfied with the kind of work they were doing and were slightly more satisfied than Non-EPD officers. The Time 3 scores on this variable were positively but not significantly related to EPD membership.

¹⁰Scale is from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

D.3. Satisfaction With the Organization

The variety of changes associated with assignment to the EPD (e.g., small work group, management style, greater freedom to make work-related decisions) was expected to lead to greater satisfaction with the organization as a place to work.

TABLE 5-10

Satisfaction with Organization
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
6-item scale ¹¹ concerning satisfaction with the MPD as a place to work	+ .3 (.33)	+ 1.7 (.05) *	1.99 (.01) *

* Significance $\leq .05$

On this indicator, EPD officers registered more satisfaction in 1987 than did Non-EPD officers and they became significantly more satisfied over time. The Time 3 scores were positively and significantly related to membership in the EPD.

¹¹Scale is from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

D.4. Satisfaction With Supervision

The closer working relationship between officers and supervisors at the EPD was expected to result in more positive attitudes toward supervision among EPD members.

TABLE 5-11

Satisfaction with Supervision
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
6-item scale ¹² concerning satisfaction with supervision	+ .8 (.09)	+ 1.8 (.04) *	1.64 (.04) *

* Significance \leq .05

This is another case in which EPD panel respondents were more satisfied than Non-EPD panel respondents in 1987 and continued to be more highly satisfied in 1989. Time 3 levels of satisfaction with supervision were positively and significantly related to EPD membership.

¹² Scale is from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

D.5. Commitment to Department

If officers became more satisfied, then it was anticipated that they would feel stronger commitment to the organization. Commitment was assessed by asking officers how long they planned to remain with the department and by the number of sick hours that officers spent away from the job.

TABLE 5-12

Commitment to Department
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Question about frequency with which respondent considers leaving the organization	+ .2 (.01) *	+ .1 (.43)	- .17 (.37)
Department data on average hours of sick leave	- 6 hours (Inap)	- 16 hours (Inap)	Inap

*Significance $\leq .05$

Inap = descriptive data only.

Both Non-EPD and EPD officers were slightly more likely to consider leaving the organization (everyone had aged?); the change was significant for Non-EPD officers. The Time 3 scores were negatively but insignificantly associated with EPD membership.

Over the course of the project, EPD officers did dramatically reduce their use of sick time, suggesting, perhaps, a strengthened sense of commitment to the job.

D.6. Psychological Relationship to Work

The scales in this section are designed to capture the relationship between the employee and the job in terms of the effect the job may have on the employee's feelings about the value of the work and the potential for freedom and growth in the job. EPD officers were expected to feel greater significance for their work, to have a stronger sense of identity with an assigned task (or the sense that they were able to do a "whole" task rather than only a part of it), a greater sense of autonomy, and greater satisfaction with their potential for personal growth on the job.

TABLE 5-13

Psychological Relationship to Work
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
3-item scale ¹³ measuring the perceived significance of the job	+ .4 (.04)*	+ .8 (.08)	.13 (.75)
3-item scale ¹⁴ measuring sense of task identity or "wholeness"	+ .2 (.26)	+ 2.0 (.01)*	1.21 (.04)*
3-item scale ¹⁵ measuring sense of autonomy in job	+ .2 (.26)	+ .9 (.18)	.75 (.05)*
4-item scale ¹⁶ measuring satisfaction with potential for personal growth in job	+ .3 (.39)	+ 1.8 (.01)*	.84 (.14)

*Significance $\leq .05$

On all four of these scales, both groups of officers experienced increases over time; the largest absolute changes are for EPD officers. At Time 3 the sense of doing a "whole" job and the sense of having autonomy in doing that job are positively and significantly related to being in the EPD.

¹³ Scale is from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

¹⁴ Scale is from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

¹⁵ Scale is from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

¹⁶ Scale is from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

D.7. Attitudes Related to Community Policing and Problem-Solving

EPD officers were expected, over time, to become more supportive of the ideas of knowing neighborhoods and working on their problems, involving citizens in problem-solving, and including non-crime problems among their problem-solving concerns. It was expected that they would be less likely to believe in strict enforcement of all laws as they learned methods of solving problems that, at times, might include alternatives to law enforcement. Table 5-14 summarizes findings for scales developed to measure these types of attitudes.

TABLE 5-14

Attitudes Related to Community Policing and Problem-Solving
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
3-item scale ¹⁷ measuring disbelief in knowing neighborhood and working on its problems*	- 1.9 (.001)*	- 2.1 (.001)*	- .31 (.25)
5-item scale ¹⁸ measuring belief that citizens should be involved in problem-solving	+ .0 (.80)	+ .1 (.73)	.25 (.35)
4-item scale ¹⁹ measuring belief in non-crime problem-solving	+ .1 (.65)	+ .3 (.07)	.33 (.07)
3-item scale ²⁰ measuring belief in strict enforcement	- .1 (.80)	- .2 (.42)	- .21 (.32)

* Significance $\leq .05$

Scores on all of these scales show some slight movement toward attitudes supportive of community policing. On the first, which measures belief in knowing a neighborhood and working on its problems, both groups of officers became significantly more likely over time to support these ideas. (Note that because of the way in which items were worded, the change is recorded as moving away

¹⁷ Scale is from Police Foundation, 1987.

¹⁸ Scale is from Police Foundation, 1988.

¹⁹ Scale is from Police Foundation, 1988.

²⁰ Scale is from Police Foundation, 1988.

from disbelief in these ideas.) Because change was significant for both groups, the Time 3 scores are not significantly associated with EPD membership. The other three scales show much less movement. Of particular interest is the second scale that was designed to measure belief in citizen involvement in problem-solving. Neither group of officers increased their belief in citizen involvement over the course of the project. However, at Time 1 both groups already agreed that citizen involvement was desirable. Any movement over time would have been from "agree" to "strongly agree." Similarly, at Time 1 both groups agreed with the importance of non-crime problem-solving and disagreed with the idea of strict enforcement of all laws.

D.8. Police Perception of Relationship with Community

It was expected that EPD officers would develop more positive attitudes about the quality of their relationship with the community. Their efforts at increased community contact and problem-solving should give them increased opportunities to associate with a more satisfied citizenry.

TABLE 5-15

Police Perception of Relationship with Community
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
5-item scale ²¹ measuring belief that patrol function develops community support	-.4 (.28)	+3.0 (.01)*	3.84 (.001)*
3-item scale ²² measuring police perception of citizen regard for police	+.0 (.10)	+.5 (.15)	.47 (.06)

* Significance $\leq .05$

At Time 3, EPD officers were significantly more likely than Non-EPD officers to believe that patrol work can foster good relationships with the community. The belief that citizens have a positive regard for the police was positively but not significantly associated with EPD membership at Time 3.

²¹ Scale is from Police Foundation, 1987.

²² Scale is from Police Foundation, 1987.

D.9. Police Views of Human Nature

Closer interaction with citizens was expected to lead to more positive views toward citizens on the part of EPD officers.

TABLE 5-16

Police View of Human Nature
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
3-item scale ²³ measuring belief that people are altruistic	+ .1 (.41)	+ .0 (.81)	.005 (.99)
3-item scale ²⁴ measuring belief that people are trustworthy	- .1 (.69)	+ .2 (.38)	.15 (.50)

There was no significant change on these scales over time. At all survey times, both groups of officers agreed that citizens are altruistic and that they are helpful.

²³ Scale is from Wrightsman, 1964.

²⁴ Scale is from Wrightsman, 1964.

E. Reactions to Change

E.1. Attitudes Toward Change

We did not have strong hypotheses about the reactions officers would have to the change process. The interest was in determining what impact the experience of change had on officers, since the reaction to change might be related to other outcomes of interest (e.g., job satisfaction). Three separate scales were used to measure how officers felt about the experience, whether they considered the change to be beneficial, and whether they would actively support change.

TABLE 5-17

Attitudes Toward Change
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
5-item scale ²⁵ measuring positive feeling for change	-.5 (.01)*	-.6 (.24)	.21 (.65)
6-item scale ²⁶ measuring belief in benefits of change	+.2 (.52)	+.8 (.08)	1.35 (.01)*
6-item scale ²⁷ measuring willingness to behaviorally support change	+.0 (.97)	+.3 (.56)	.45 (.38)

* Significance $\leq .05$

Both groups at all survey times were more positive than neutral in their willingness to say they liked change, that they believed in the benefits of change, and that they were willing to actively support change. But the change process was not painless. Both groups "liked" the change experience less over time, and the change among Non-EPD officers was significant. Over time, belief in the benefits of change was positively and significantly associated with membership in the EPD.

²⁵ Scale is from Dunham, et al, 1989.

²⁶ Scale is from Dunham, et al, 1989.

²⁷ Scale is from Dunham, et al, 1989.

E.2. Attitudes Toward Decentralization

As with attitudes toward change, there were not specific hypotheses about attitudes toward decentralization. We simply wanted to know how officers felt about the new arrangement.

TABLE 5-18

Attitudes Toward Decentralization
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
3-item scale ²⁸ measuring belief in decentralization	-.7 (.007)*	+ 1.0 (.09)	2.22 (.001)*

* Significance $\leq .05$

Over time, Non-EPD officers became significantly less supportive of the idea of decentralization; EPD officers became more supportive, but the change for these officers was not significant. The result was that the Time 3 scores on this scale were positively and significantly associated with EPD membership.

F. Summary and Discussion of Officer Attitudes

We have presented data about changes in attitudes and reported behaviors of personnel in two ways: (1) we have examined within-group changes to assess the magnitude and patterns of change; and (2) we have used regression analysis to test the strength of the proposition that the observed changes are the result of the approaches to management and operations used in the Experimental Police District.

The following table summarizes all of these findings within the two analytic frameworks. Under the heading of "Within-Group Analyses," we indicate in the first column whether both the Non-EPD and EPD groups experienced the same direction of change, thus indicating whether a change characterized the entire organization. These data are useful for developing a general sense about what

²⁸ Scale is from Madison Police Department, 1989.

was occurring in the department. The next two columns report the direction of change (+, -, or 0) experienced within the Non-EPD panel and the EPD panel and indicate whether the within-group change was statistically significant (yes or no). The fourth column summarizes the findings from the regression analysis, indicating whether the measure of association ("b") was significant. A significant "b" is evidence that the observed changes probably can be attributed to the efforts made in the Experimental Police District during the test period.

TABLE 5-19

Summary of Internal Changes

	Within-Group Analysis			Regression Analysis
Outcome	Did both groups change ?	Non-EPD Direct. and signif.	EPD Direct. and signif.	b Significant ?
Increased sense of participation in decision making	yes	+ yes	+ yes	yes
Increased sense of cooperation	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Increased feedback from other officers	no	- no	+ yes	yes
Increased contacts between officers and detectives	no	- no	+ yes	yes
Increased officer participation in investigations	no	0 no	+ no	yes
More time available for proactive work	no	- no	0 no	no
Increased ease of time off	yes	no	no	yes
Increased training time	no	-	+	inap
Perceived availability of back-up support	yes	- yes	- no	yes
Satisfaction with physical working conditions	yes	+ yes	+ yes	yes
Satisfaction with kind of work on job	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Satisfaction with Department as place to work	yes	+ no	+ yes	yes

Satisfaction with supervision	yes	+ no	+ yes	yes
More frequently consider leaving organization	yes	+ yes	+ no	no
Increased sense that job is significant	yes	+ yes	+ no	no
Increased sense of "wholeness" of task	yes	+ no	+ yes	yes
Increased sense of autonomy in job	yes	+ no	+ no	yes
Increased satisfaction with potential for personal growth	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Increased belief in working on neighborhood problems	yes	+ yes	+ yes	no
Increased belief in citizen involvement in problem-solving	no	0 no	+ no	no
Increased belief in non-crime problem-solving	yes	+ no	+ no	no
Decreased belief in strict enforcement	yes	+ no	+ no	no
Increased belief that patrol function develops community support	no	- no	+ yes	yes
Increased sense that citizens have high regard for police	no	0 no	+ no	no
Increased belief that people are altruistic	no	+ no	0 no	no
Increased belief that people are trustworthy	no	- no	+ no	no
Increased "liking" for change	yes	- no	- no	no
Increased belief in benefits of change	yes	+ no	+ no	yes
Increased willingness to support change	no	0 no	+ no	no
Increased belief in decentralization	no	- no	+ no	yes

The overall picture suggested by the first column in the table is of the entire department moving generally toward goals of the change program. The remainder

of the table indicates that the efforts made in the Experimental Police District are moving that part of the organization toward the desired outcomes to a greater extent or, perhaps, at a faster rate.

Among the thirty outcome measures, fourteen are significantly and positively related to being in the Experimental Police District (see Column 4). These include officers':

- Sense of participation in organizational decision-making
- Belief that feedback about performance is provided by peers and supervisors
- Reports of contacts between officers and detectives
- Reported participation of officers in investigative process
- Perceived ease of arranging for "comp" or vacation time
- Perceived availability of backup support
- Satisfaction with physical working conditions
- Satisfaction with the Department as a place to work
- Satisfaction with supervision
- Sense of doing a "whole" task
- Sense of autonomy in doing the job
- Belief that the patrol function can increase support from the community for the police
- Belief in the benefits of change
- Belief in organizational decentralization.

There is another outcome for which there is significant change within both the EPD and Non-EPD groups, which may explain the lack of significance on this scale for the measured program impact (Column 4). This variable is the belief in working on neighborhood problems.

For another three measures, there is significant change within the EPD and statistically insignificant change in the same direction for the Non-EPD group, which, again may have prevented the measure of program impact from reaching significance. These include officers'

- Sense of cooperation among organizational members
- Satisfaction with the kind of work the job entails
- Satisfaction with the potential for personal growth on the job.

In addition to the outcomes summarized in the table, there were three other variables that were measured in only the third wave of the survey. One consisted of twelve separate questions about the extent to which officers felt the twelve principles of Quality Leadership had been implemented. On each of these, EPD officers were significantly more likely ($p \leq .00$) to believe that the principles had been implemented.

At Time 3 officers were asked how successful they felt in their problem-solving attempts. There was no difference between EPD and Non-EPD officers, both groups of whom said they felt successful "some of the time."

When asked at Time 3 how much organizational support they believed they received for problem-solving, EPD officers felt they received more support than did Non-EPD officers but the difference was not significant.

Insofar as it can be determined from attitudinal questionnaires, the data reviewed in this chapter strongly suggest that substantial progress has been made in the Madison Police Department, and especially in the Experimental Police District, toward the implementation of Quality Leadership.

The attitudes toward management and working conditions (the internal aspects of the job) changed more dramatically than did attitudes toward community involvement and the nature of the role. Nevertheless, there was a pattern of change within the EPD toward greater belief in community policing and problem-oriented policing. The apparently greater strength of the internal changes suggests support for the two-stage model of change in Madison which calls for creating greater quality on the inside of the organization before it is manifested on the outside .

There is no way of knowing to what extent these attitudinal changes are dependent on the personal management styles of the two managers of the EPD; it

is possible that had they worked elsewhere in the Department without making a conscious effort to develop the principles of Quality Leadership, the personnel who worked with them would have exhibited similar attitudinal changes. The fact that their contributions to the change process cannot be teased out is simply one of the limitations of a study of one management team in one site. While the EPD captain and lieutenant may have been "natural" choices for the EPD management positions, there is anecdotal evidence as well as evidence from attitude change elsewhere in the Department to suggest that other MPD managers are developing a style of management similar to that implemented in the EPD; change, therefore, is not dependent on only the personal approaches of the EPD managers.

Although the EPD managers were clearly instrumental in bringing about changes in the EPD, another factor appears also to have played a major role; that is the size and configuration of the EPD workplace. Although everyone working in the EPD would have preferred slightly more spacious surroundings, the small space made interaction among officers, between officers and detectives, and between officers and managers unavoidable. So did the layout of the space which made it nearly impossible for any work unit to become isolated from another. Detectives passed through the briefing room to get from the parking lot to their offices and they came into the briefing room whenever they wanted coffee or to use the computer or the fax machine. The sergeants' office and the captain's and lieutenant's office opened into the briefing room and were on either side of it; they all crossed the briefing room in order to interact. The briefing room was both the social area and the space in which reports were completed, citizens were contacted by phone, computer work was done. The multiple purposes of the room and its central location in the space made it easier than not for everyone to know what anyone else was doing. Even if miraculously large amounts of funding were available to build decentralized stations, careful consideration should be given to the design of the buildings so that the flow of traffic, the integration of functions and space, and the shared use of mechanical facilities would contribute to the sense of close interaction and "teamness" such as characterized the EPD.

VI. EXTERNAL EFFECTS: CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHANGE PROCESS FOR CITIZENS

The data presented in this section are developed from the surveys of citizens conducted in 1988 and again in 1990. The same persons (a panel) were surveyed at both times; the number of respondents in the EPD service area is 339 and the number of the Non-EPD areas (the rest of the city) is 388. For each outcome discussed below, the number of respondents will vary by question or scale. The regression analysis controlled for eighteen demographic and background variables (see Chapter III), in addition to area of residency and the score on the pre-test survey. A detailed presentation of these data is available in the technical report for this study (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993).

Like the tables in Chapter V, the tables in this chapter report two types of data. The first two columns of each table (headed "NON-EPD" and "EPD") report data for within-group analyses. Each cell in a column shows the direction and magnitude of change over time for that one group of citizens. For example, in Table 6-1, the first cell in the column labeled "NON-EPD" reports that 3% more respondents living in the Non-EPD service area reported seeing an officer in the previous 24 hours at the time of the second survey than at the time of the first one. Below this figure, the one in parentheses (.09) indicates that this change was not significant. The next cell in the row reports that among EPD area respondents, 9% more reported recent sighting of an officer in 1990 than had in 1988. The figure in parentheses (.01) indicates that this change over time was significant for this group of respondents. The data in the third column report that, for the whole group of respondents, the likelihood at Time 2 of reporting recent sighting of an officer was not significantly (.62) related to residency in the EPD area.

A. Perceived Police Presence

As officers became more involved with the community and participated in problem-solving activities, it was expected that residents in the EPD area would have an increased sense of police presence. The following table reports data about a number of different activities citizens might have seen police performing in their areas.

TABLE 6-1

Perceived Police Presence Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Respondent Saw Officer	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
In area in past 24 hours	+ 3 % (.09)	+ 9 % (.01) *	.02 (.62)
Driving through area in past week	+ 6 % (.04) *	+ 7 % (.02) *	.05 (.12)
Walking on patrol in past week	± 0 % (.71)	± 0 % (.72)	.03 (.01) *
Issuing traffic ticket in past week	+ 8 % (.01) *	+ 2 % (.41)	- .09 (.01) *
Checking an alley in past week	- 1 % (.84)	- 2 % (.42)	.08 (.02) *
Having friendly chat with neighborhood people in past week	+ 4 % (.02) *	+ 4 % (.01) *	.02 (.36)
Walking patrol in shopping area in past year	+ 6 % (.02) *	+ 8 % (.01) *	.02 (.48)

* Significance ≤ .05

Citizens' sense of police presence increased throughout the City during the project period. In both the Non-EPD and the EPD areas, there were four activities for which citizens reported significantly more sightings between the first and second surveys. At Time 2, reports of seeing an officer walking on patrol or checking an alley were slightly positively and significantly associated with living in the EPD service area. Reports of seeing an officer issuing a traffic ticket were slightly negatively and significantly related with living in the EPD area.

B. Frequency of Police-Citizen Contacts

Living in the EPD area also was expected to be associated with the number of contacts citizens have with police. The following table summarizes data about a number of different types of informal contacts citizens might have reported having with police.

TABLE 6-2
Frequency of Informal Contacts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Police came to door to ask about neighborhood problems or provide information	- 1% (.39)	- 3% (.27)	.01 (.67)
Officer gave citizen a business card	+ 1% (.47)	- 3% (.31)	.004 (.98)
Knew of community meeting to discuss area problems	+ 4% (.100)	+ 9% (.01)*	.11 (.002)*
Attended meeting at which officer was present	± 0% (.76)	+ 1% (.73)	.04 (.02)*
Attended area social event with officer present	+ 2% (.08)	+ 3% (.11)	.005 (.78)

Respondents living in the EPD area were significantly more likely to report knowing about community meetings and to have attended a meeting at which an officer was present.

The next table summarizes data about formal contacts with police that were initiated either by citizens or by officers. It was not necessarily expected that citizens in the EPD area would have more formal contacts with officers. If they did, it could be as the result of increased willingness to report problems or as a result of officers working more proactively in an area for which they felt responsible. Questions about formal contacts were asked primarily for purposes of documentation.

TABLE 6-3

Frequency of Formal Contacts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Citizen Initiated Contacts			
Reported crime to police	+ 2% (.40)	± 0% (.92)	.02 (.51)
Reported traffic or medical problem	+ 5% (.04)*	+ 1% (.52)	-.06 (.04)*
Reported suspicious person	± 0% (.99)	+ 3% (.22)	.02 (.28)
Reported suspicious noise	- 1% (.42)	± 0% (.33)	.03 (.03)*
Reported other event that might lead to crime	- 1% (.33)	- 1% (.33)	.04 (.05)*
Reported neighborhood problems or concerns	- 2% (.38)	- 2% (.43)	.03 (.27)
Reported other problem	± 0% (.89)	- 2% (.36)	-.01 (.91)
Asked police for other information	- 1% (.59)	- 6% (.03)*	-.03 (.30)
Gave information to police	+ 1% (.59)	+ 2% (.51)	.03 (.29)
Police Initiated Contacts			
Received parking ticket	- 6% (.02)*	- 4% (.16)	.05 (.10)
In vehicle stopped by police	- 1% (.59)	+ 2% (.38)	.01 (.61)
Stopped while walking	± 0% (.32)	± 0% (.56)	.01 (.20)

* Significance $\leq .05$.

While there are two significant relationships in this table, we do not see any pattern that is readily interpretable, except that there is no apparent difference in the likelihood of having a formal contact with police as determined by area of residence.

The next table reports citizens' feelings about the amount of contact they experienced with police in their area.

TABLE 6-4

Evaluation of Frequency of Police Contacts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Percentage of citizens stating that lack of police contact with residents was a "somewhat big" or "big" problem	10% (.02)*	- 1% (.94)	-.06 (.16)

* Significance $\leq .05$.

Over time respondents in the Non-EPD area were significantly more likely to say that lack of contact with police was a problem. However, the scores at Time 2 were not related significantly to living in the EPD area.

C. Quality of Police-Citizen Contacts

C.1. Knowing an Officer's Name

It was believed that knowing the name of an officer who worked the area would be an indication of a better quality of citizen-police contact than the mere sighting of an officer.

TABLE 6-5

Knowledge of Officers' Names
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Percentage of residents who report knowing the name of an officer who works in their area	$\pm 0\%$ (1.00)	+ 2% (.30)	.001 (.94)

There was no significant difference between EPD and Non-EPD respondents in the likelihood of knowing an officer's name.

C.2. Satisfaction With Contacts

Quality of actual contacts was assessed by questions about officers' behavior during formal contacts. These data are summarized below are for contacts that were initiated by citizens.

TABLE 6-6

Descriptions of Police Responses to Citizen-Initiated Contacts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Respondents report that during their most recent contact, the police:	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
...paid careful attention to what respondent had to say	$\pm 0\%$ (.95)	$- 6\%$ (.06)	Inap.
...explained whatever action they would take	$+ 3\%$ (.52)	$\pm 0\%$ (.63)	Inap.
...were very helpful	$- 6\%$ (.72)	$- 6\%$ (.39)	Inap.
...were very polite	$+ 2\%$ (.91)	$\pm 0\%$ (.93)	Inap.

Inap = regression analyses were not run since the Time 1 and Time 2 groups of respondents were not the same people, thus making it impossible to control for Time 1 scores on the variable.

Citizens were not more likely to report more "sociable" behavior on the part of EPD officers at Time 2. In fact, although the changes were not statistically significant, citizens said that, at Time 2, EPD officers were less likely to pay careful attention to them and less likely to be "very helpful" than they were at Time 1. We cannot know whether this change is real or whether, if it is, it is due to changes in behavior of officers or due to a change in the types of calls to which officers were responding between Time 1 and Time 2. In any case, this was not the expected outcome.

Table 6-7 summarizes citizens' overall level of satisfaction with the contacts they had initiated.

TABLE 6-7

Satisfaction With Self-Initiated Contacts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Mean level of satisfaction with most recent self-initiated contact with police	± 0 (.76)	$-.2$ (.19)	Inap.

These data echo those of the previous table; citizens were slightly, if insignificantly, less satisfied with the behavior of EPD officers at Time 2 than at Time 1.

Table 6-8 summarizes citizens' observations about officer behavior during contacts initiated by officers.

TABLE 6-8

Descriptions of Police Responses to Officer-Initiated Contacts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Respondents report that during their most recent contact, the police:	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
...paid careful attention to what respondent had to say	- 13% (.17)	+ 8% (.41)	Inap.
...explained whatever action they would take	- 8% (.41)	+ 11% (.29)	Inap.
...were very helpful	- 18% (.16)	+ 25% (.01)*	Inap.
...were very polite	- 6% (.85)	+ 5% (.18)	Inap.

* Significance $\leq .05$

We see a very different picture for contacts initiated by police. Behavior appears to have been deteriorating in the Non-EPD areas and improving in the EPD area. We do not know what is happening here. One possibility is that the EPD officers who were inclined toward community policing and problem-solving policing were making a number of contacts that were deliberately and proactively designed to provide better service. While doing this, they may have been leaving more of the routine citizen-initiated calls to colleagues who had less interest in being proactively involved in community policing. Even if this was the case, it does not account for the pattern of deterioration in the Non-EPD areas.

In a separate section of the questionnaire, citizens were asked for their overall opinion of police service, independent of specific contacts. Table 6-9 summarizes responses to these questions.

TABLE 6-9
Ratings of Police Style
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Respondents say neighborhood police are "very"...	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Polite	- 4% (.18)	- 5% (.06)	-.01 (.84)
Concerned	+ 4% (.11)	- 3% (.71)	-.06 (.17)
Helpful	- 6% (.32)	- 4% (.11)	-.01 (.90)
Fair	- 8% (.06)	- 1% (.99)	.04 (.38)

Although none of the differences is significant over time, we see the same pattern of deteriorating opinions here as we did in the table for contacts initiated by citizens. These changes may not be "real" since they are not significant. They may be an artifact of the surveys having been administered in person at Time 1 and by telephone at Time 2. They may be real. They may be related to the increasing call load in Madison or to any number of other factors that we are not in a position to identify. We can only indicate here that this is a pattern to which the Department needs to be sensitive at this time.

D. Problem-Solving

D.1. Estimate of Problems

At both survey times respondents were asked to estimate the magnitude of various problems in their neighborhoods. Table 6-10 reports increases or decreases in the percentages of respondents, by area, who considered each of the problems listed to be either a "somewhat big" or "big" problem. The third column indicates whether the difference in perceptions of problems at Time 2 was related significantly to the area of residence of the respondent.

TABLE 6-10

Perceptions of Problems
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Auto theft	+ 3% (.08)	- 1% (.51)	.01 (.61)
Robbery/attack	+ 7% (.01)*	- 7% (.01)*	-.08 (.05)*
Park maintenance	+ 6% (.68)	+ 1% (.63)	.009 (.98)
Drug use/sale (adults)	± 0 (.68)	+ 6% (.22)	.11 (.005)*
Loud parties	- 3% (.44)	- 3% (.25)	.06 (.11)
Disturbance around schools	+ 6% (.02)*	+ 3% (.19)	-.07 (.14)
Drug use/sales (juveniles)	- 2% (.35)	+ 6% (.08)	.12 (.004)*
Drinking/gambling in parks	+ 8% (.01)*	+ 5% (.32)	-.001 (.97)
Drunk driving	+ 4% (.13)	+ 2% (.33)	-.04 (.39)
Thefts from outside house	- 4% (.38)	- 5% (.25)	.05 (.28)
Ignoring parking rules	- 4% (.06)	+ 1% (.67)	.17 (.001)*
Snow removal	+ 1% (.79)	- 9% (.01)*	-.07 (.14)
Residential burglary	+ 5% (.01)*	- 7% (.01)*	-.05 (.30)
Pot holes/street repairs	+ 2% (.40)	- 2% (.43)	-.05 (.28)
Speeding/careless driving	± 0% (.04)*	+ 8% (.01)*	.06 (.14)

* Significance ≤ .05.

The notable within-group changes in this table concern the significant reductions in the EPD area in the extent to which respondents see robbery and burglary as big problems. At Time 2, the scores for concern about robbery are significantly and negatively related to residency in the EPD area. The relationship for burglary does not achieve statistical significance. At the same time, EPD residents say that drug use and sales by adults and juveniles have become bigger problems, as has the violation of parking rules. These outcomes may be related to some marked demographic changes that were occurring in the EPD area during the course of this project. People involved in drug sale and use were moving into the area in significant numbers, leading eventually to a police response (Operation Blue Blanket) that would not be reflected in these data.

D.2. Evaluation of Problem-Solving Efforts

Citizens were asked how well they thought the police were doing in handling problems in the neighborhood. The next table summarizes responses to three related questions.

TABLE 6-11

Evaluation of General Problem-Solving Efforts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: How good a job are the police doing:	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
working with residents to solve local problems?	-.1% (.14)	+.1% (.13)	.18 (.007)*
dealing with problems of concern in neighborhood?	-.1% (.23)	.1% (.13)	.07 (.22)
at spending enough time on important problems?	±0% (.10)	+.2% (.00)*	.09 (.04)*

* Significance ≤ .05

At Time 2, tendencies of respondents to say that police were doing a good job of working with citizens to solve problems and that they were working on important problems were positively and significantly related to residency in the EPD.

Citizens also were asked to rate police handling of specific problems (Table 6-12).

TABLE 6-12

Evaluation of Specific Problem-Solving Efforts
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Citizens' Ratings of Police Handling of Problems	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Preventing Crime	- 5% (.61)	+ 5% (.03)*	.06 (.30)
Keeping order	+ 1% (.46)	+ 2% (.09)	.12 (.07)
Enforcing parking rules	- 1% (.46)	+ 2% (.09)	.12 (.07)
Controlling speeding and careless driving	+ 3% (.31)	- 1% (.46)	.06 (.39)
Controlling drunk driving	- 5% (.50)	- 4% (.07)	.02 (.77)
Helping victims	- 3% (.53)	+ 5% (.36)	.05 (.50)

* Significance $\leq .05$

At Time 2 significantly more EPD respondents thought their police were doing a good job of preventing crime than did at Time 1. The difference between responses of Non-EPD and EPD residents at Time 2 was not statistically significant, nor were any of the differences for responses to other kinds of problems.

E. Perceptions of Neighborhood Conditions

All respondents were asked a number of questions about the South Madison area, the area in which the EPD is located, and an area that has, for years, been considered one of the less safe parts of town. The next table summarizes citizen perceptions about the quality of life and safety in South Madison.

TABLE 6-13
Assessments of South Madison
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Citizens' Assessments of South Madison	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Area as a place to live	$\pm 0\%$ (.94)	$-.1$ (.27)	.07 (.19)
Disorder as a problem	$\pm 0\%$ (.27)	$+.1\%$ (.23)	$-.10$ (.04)*
Crime as a problem	$+.1\%$ (.03)*	$\pm 0\%$ (.88)	$-.15$ (.001)*
Area includes place where I would fear to go alone	$\pm .0\%$ (.21)	$\pm .0\%$ (.88)	$-.05$ (.07)
Sense of safety alone in area at night	$\pm .0\%$ (.92)	$\pm .0\%$ (.76)	.11 (.14)

* Significance $\leq .05$

Changes over time were small, but at Time 2 the perceptions that crime and disorder are big problems in South Madison were significantly and negatively related to living in the EPD service area. Residents served by the EPD were significantly less likely than Non-EPD respondents to feel that disorder and crime were serious problems in their area.

F. Levels of Fear and Worry

The reduction of levels of fear and worry is a long term goal of Madison's change efforts. It is expected that citizens in the EPD area will become less concerned about crime as police become more effective at solving and preventing crimes in the area, as citizens learn more about preventing crimes, and as citizens become more convinced that police are working hard to address these problems.

F.1. Fear of Personal Victimization

Respondents were asked several questions, summarized in Table 6-14, about their levels of fear and worry with respect to their personal safety.

TABLE 6-14

Fear of Personal Victimization
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Respondents say	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
...they are somewhat or very unsafe outside at night	- 3% (.42)	- 3% (.05)*	- .004 (.94)
...there is a place where they fear being alone at night	- 3% (.24)	± 0% (.83)	.06 (.09)
...they are somewhat worried about being robbed	- 1% (.77)	- 2% (.53)	- .02 (.68)
...they are somewhat or very worried about attack	± 0% (.92)	- 2% (.60)	- .00 (.91)
...worry about crime somewhat or very often prevents desired activity	- 2% (.70)	- 1% (.50)	- .02 (.63)

* Significance ≤ .05

This table indicates that, over time, all Madison residents became slightly less worried over time about crime. The relationship at Time 2 between lower levels of worry and residency in the EPD is not statistically significant.

F.2. Worry About Property Crime

Respondents also were asked how worried they were that various kinds of property crime might occur.

TABLE 6-15

Worry About Property Crime
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Respondents say they are somewhat or very worried about:	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
...burglary when no one is home	+ 2% (.06)	+ 2% (.93)	– .03 (.52)
...theft outside at night	+ 3% (.15)	– 6% (.02) *	– .01 (.88)
...vandalism of house	+ 2% (.30)	+ 1% (.98)	– .06 (.18)

* Significance $\leq .05$

The pattern for worry about property crime is somewhat different, especially with respect to worry about theft outside at night, which decreases significantly in the EPD area over time. In general, the tendency at Time 2 to worry about property crime is negatively but insignificantly related to residency in the EPD.

G. Actual Victimization

G.1. Personal Experience of Victimization

Respondents were asked whether during the previous year they had experienced a robbery in their neighborhood, or burglary or vandalism to their home.

TABLE 6-16

Victimization During Previous Year
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator: Type of Victimization	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Robbery in area	$\pm .0\%$ (.99)	$-.6\%$ (.42)	.004 (.38)
Burglary	$+ 2.8\%$ (.10)	$\pm 0\%$ (.99)	.05 (.04)*
Vandalism	$-.6\%$ (.76)	$- 1.7\%$ (.37)	.004 (.85)

* Significance $\leq .05$

The changes in reported victimization are slight with the exception of burglary which increases by 3 percent in the Non-EPD area while remaining steady in the EPD area. The increase in the Non-EPD area is not statistically significant and, at Time 2, reports of burglary are significantly related to living in the EPD area. In other words, despite the fact that the burglary problem may be getting no worse in the EPD area, a resident is still more likely to experience a burglary than is the typical resident in the Non-EPD areas.

G.2. Knowledge of Victimization of Other

Respondents also were asked whether they knew anyone who had experienced a residential burglary or attempted burglary during the previous year.

TABLE 6-17

Knowledge of Burglary Victim
Direction, Magnitude and Significance of Change

Indicator	NON-EPD Size and probability of change	EPD Size and probability of change	b Significance
Knowledge of burglary victim	+ .01 (.56)	- .08 (.00) *	- .02 (.35)

* Significance $\leq .05$

At Time 2 EPD respondents were slightly but significantly less likely to report knowing someone who had been burglarized. The difference between EPD and Non-EPD respondents at Time 2 was not significant.

H. Summary and Discussion of Citizen Attitudes

As with the officer data, the citizen data have been presented so that it is possible to examine within-group changes for the purpose of detecting magnitudes and patterns of change while also being able to see whether observed changes are related significantly to the EPD experience.

The following table summarizes the findings about the external effects of the EPD approach. Under the heading of "Within-Group Analyses," we indicate in the first column whether respondents in both the Non-EPD and EPD areas experienced the same direction of change, thus indicating whether a change characterized the entire community. The next two columns report the direction of change (+, -, or 0) experienced within the panels of Non-EPD and EPD respondents and indicate whether the within-group change was statistically significant (yes or no). The fourth column summarizes the findings from the regression analysis, indicating whether the measure of association ("b") was significant. A significant "b" is evidence that the observed changes probably can be attributed to living within the area served by Experimental Police District officers during the test period.

Because it is the intent of this section to provide a summary, we will not attempt to recap each of the 75 separate outcome variables reviewed in the preceding section of the report. Instead, we have selected those outcomes which we feel are the most telling indicators of improved community relations and the implementation of community oriented and problem oriented policing.

TABLE 6-18
Summary of External Changes

	Within-Group Analysis			Regression Analysis
Outcome	Did both groups change ?	Non-EPD Direct. and signif.	EPD Direct. and signif.	b Significant ?
Seeing officer in area, past 24 hours	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Seeing officer walking patrol, past week	no	0 no	0 no	yes
Seeing officer in friendly chat with neighborhood people, past week	yes	+ yes	+ yes	no
Police came to door to ask about problems	yes	- no	- no	no
Citizen attended meeting at which officer was present	no	0 no	+ no	yes
Lack of police contact a problem	no	+ yes	- no	no
Know name of officer	no	0 no	+ no	no
Satisfaction with most recent self-initiated contact	no	0 no	- no	inap
Officer attentive in proactive contact	no	- no	+ no	inap
Officer helpful in proactive contact	no	- no	+ yes	inap
Police work with citizens to solve problems	no	- no	+ no	yes

Police spend enough time on right problems	no	0 no	+ yes	yes
Police are good at preventing crime	no	- no	+ yes	no
Police are good at keeping order	no	+ no	0 no	no
Police are good at controlling speeding and careless driving	no	+ no	- no	no
Police are good at helping victims	no	- no	+ no	no
Robbery/attack a problem	no	+ yes	- yes	yes
Adult drug use/sales a problem	no	0 no	+ no	yes
Residential burglary a problem	no	+ yes	- yes	no
Speeding and careless driving a problem	no	0 yes	+ yes	no
Belief that police are polite	yes	- no	- no	no
South Madison is good place to live	no	0 no	- no	no
Crime is a problem in South Madison	no	+ yes	0 no	yes
Feel unsafe in neighborhood at night	yes	- no	- yes	no
Worry about being robbed	yes	- no	- no	no
Worry about burglary	yes	+ no	+ no	no
Worry about theft outside at night	no	+ no	- yes	no
Have experienced robbery	no	0 no	- no	no
Have experienced burglary	no	+ no	0 no	yes
Know burglary victim	no	+ no	- yes	no

There is evidence from several variables treated in this chapter as "external outcomes" that the EPD is having a positive impact on the part of the City that it serves. Among the thirty outcomes summarized in the preceding table, there are seven for which a significant regression coefficient (Column 4) suggests that improved attitudes or conditions may be attributable to the EPD efforts. These include:

- Perception of increased police presence (officer walking in neighborhood)
- Reported attendance at meetings at which police are present
- Belief that police are working with citizens to solve neighborhood problems
- Belief that police are spending the right amount of time on problems of concern to area residents
- Decreased belief that robbery is a big problem
- Feeling that crime in South Madison is less of problem than other citizens consider it to be.

Undesirable outcomes associated significantly with residing in the EPD service area are:

- Increased belief that drug use and sales are big problems in the area, and
- Increased belief that the violation of parking rules is a big problem.

There were other changes within the EPD area which did not result in statistically significant differences between EPD and Non-EPD respondents in 1990. These changes might, therefore, be due to causes other than residency in the EPD area. They include:

- Increased likelihood of seeing an officer having a friendly conversation with a resident
- Increased belief that police are helpful during proactive contacts
- Increased feeling that police are doing a good job preventing crime

- Decreased belief that burglary in the area is a big problem
- Decreased sense of being unsafe in the neighborhood at night
- Decreased concern about theft occurring outside the house, and
- Decreased likelihood of knowing a burglary victim residing in the area.

Whether one considers only the outcomes for which there was a significant regression coefficient or also considers the ones for which there was significant within-group change over time, there is evidence in the citizen survey data that the effects of Quality Leadership are extending beyond the police organization into the community it serves. Quality Leadership, with its inherent support for community policing, can have positive and important benefits for the community.

It is the case, however that the external benefits are not as numerous as the internal benefits that were measured (Chapter V), and there are not as many that are as clearly attributable to community policing as the Department had hoped. We list below conditions that may limit our ability to find more evidence of the benefits of the EPD experiment for the community.

These conditions or constraints include:

- the possible inadequacy of measures of impact. More development and testing of appropriate outcome measures specifically designed for community-oriented and problem-oriented policing needs to be done.
- the fact that community policing began to emerge late in the test period. The two-stage process of change in which the EPD was involved required more time and energy for the first stage (internal change) than had been anticipated; the second stage (improved external service) was not sufficiently developed at the time of measurement to show as much impact as had been expected when the evaluation was designed.
- too many changes were occurring at once. Ironically, the process of developing Quality Leadership, a goal of which is better service for the customer, may have interfered initially with efforts to create a new external orientation.
- attitudes of the EPD managers toward research. They knew what could be done to produce positive outcomes in the citizen surveys (e.g., door-to-door contacts just prior to the second survey) but deliberately chose not to induce an artificial effect, preferring the long-

term benefits of changes that grew naturally out of the process of "permitted" or "facilitated" change.

- characteristics of the personnel who were the first members of the EPD. Because of seniority rules, those most interested in community-policing and problem-solving policing worked the late shift where they were least able to work on problems with the community.
- citizen satisfaction levels already so high that efforts to raise them will have to be dramatic before changes will register as statistically significant.
- the EPD was not changing in isolation of the rest of the Department. The entire organization was being affected by the transition to Quality Leadership and was exposed to the ideas of community policing and problem-oriented policing. This made it difficult to find significant differences between the EPD and Non-EPD areas of the City.

The impacts of these various conditions cannot be measured and cannot be teased apart. They can only be noted as possible alternative explanations for findings or the lack of significant findings.

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Surely the most dramatic finding in this project is that it is possible to "bend granite" (Guyot, 1979); it is possible to change a traditional, control-oriented police organization into one in which employees become members of work teams and participants in decision-making processes. The Madison Police Department has changed the inside, with apparent benefits as reflected by improved attitudes, for employees. This research suggests that associated with these internal changes are external benefits for citizens, including indications of reductions in crime and reduced levels of concern about crime.

Are these relationships causal, as the Madison Model (Exhibit 2-1) suggests? Or do they occur together in these data because they result from a variety of efforts, all of which were undertaken in the Experimental Police District at the same time? It is impossible to say. What can be said is that it is possible to implement participatory management in a police-department, and that doing so is very likely to produce more satisfied workers.

Is the Quality Leadership approach a necessary condition for community-oriented and problem-oriented policing? This research cannot say with certainty that it is. Many managers and employees in Madison believe that it is, as do some theorists who write about these approaches to policing. Employees who are treated as internal customers, the logic goes, are better able to understand what it means to treat citizens as external customers. Employees whose input is valued learn to value the input of others (e.g., citizens). Employees who are invited to work in team relationships to solve internal problems learn, in this way, to work with citizens in team relationships to solve problems. People closest to the problems (officers and citizens) have the most information about those problems, and their input is critical for problem definition and resolution. Finally, students of change have long argued that organizational change is more readily accepted by employees who participate in the process of creating it. All of these arguments appear to have been supported in the Experimental Police District. If our data cannot prove a necessary relationship between the management style of Quality Leadership and the new approaches to policing, they do indicate that they were highly compatible in the Experimental Police District.

The data do indicate that officers' attitudes can shift from more traditional views of policing to ones that are more in line with police-community involvement in problem identification and resolution, even among officers with many years of service.

The data cannot prove that decentralization is a necessary condition for community-oriented policing. Madison Police Department managers now tend to

agree that it is. As observers, we believe that decentralization made an important contribution to the process of creating the new management style. It also contributed to the development of team spirit and processes, conditions that should facilitate problem-solving policing. Officers who work in the EPD believe the decentralized station also enhances relationships with the public; they report increased numbers of contacts with citizens in the community and an ever-increasing number of citizens who come to the station for assistance.

The scale on which decentralization occurred was important. The small physical space of the EPD station and its floor plan made close interaction among officers, detectives, supervisors and managers unavoidable.

Our data also cannot prove that changing one part of the organization before proceeding with department-wide implementation is the best way to move toward decentralization and community policing. However, after more than three years of experience with this approach to change, the managers of the Madison Police Department—all of whom have experienced the various costs of changing in this way—tend to agree that this way is the right approach. They were able to learn lessons as they developed their model that could be applied without disrupting the entire organization.

These include lessons about:

- the need to establish reliable communication systems linking the decentralized unit to the rest of the organization
- size of support systems (both human and physical/mechanical) needed for decentralization
- the need to work out a system of "exchange" so centralized and decentralized officers could equitably cover for each other at times of personnel shortages
- the dynamics of small group management
- the role of leadership in a participatory style of management
- the degree of participation appropriate to each type of organizational decision.

Further, as the data indicate, special attention to one part of the organization did not block change elsewhere. Quality Leadership is being implemented

throughout the Department, if at a somewhat slower rate than in the Experimental Police District.

At the end, it must be said again that the changes that have occurred in the Madison Police Department did not begin within the time frame of this study. This study is a window into one relatively brief period in the much lengthier process of change. This research project did not begin at The Beginning, and we have no idea when to expect the full impact of the changes that are sought. The changes that are documented in this report have occurred and are occurring in a context of organizational history and community culture that may determine, to some unmeasured degree, the ability to implement the changes and the magnitude of the impact of the changes. The Department began the change discussed in this report after nearly fifteen years of ongoing experimentation with new ideas and a commitment to seeking better ways to conduct policing. Although the move to Quality Policing is the largest change to be undertaken to date, change is not a stranger in this organization. Also, during this same period, continual efforts have been made to recruit educated officers whose backgrounds, life experiences and attitudes should increase their ability to relate to a diverse community and their ability to assess the need for organizational change.

Although Madison as a City is beginning to cope with an increasing number of social problems (poverty, homelessness, drug use) and associated crime, the City and the police are not yet overwhelmed by problems. There is not the sense of "where do you begin?" that one might find in some larger, older cities or the sense of "how can you begin?" that haunts financially depleted cities. Madison has not yet (1992) experienced cut-back budgeting and citizens are reportedly willing to pay the projected costs of decentralization.

Many police executives may sigh wistfully at this point and assume Madison is too good to be true—too atypical to yield general lessons. It seems to us that too much is made of the uniqueness of Madison. It is a pleasant city. It certainly is not one of the hardship cases among American cities (just as most cities its size are not). It is a community in which there is a long-standing concern for quality of life. There was a mayor who was staunchly supportive of the Quality Leadership approach. But Madison is not unique. Austin, Texas and Portland, Oregon come immediately to mind as having much in common with Madison, and there are many cities that share qualities of relative stability, low industrialization, the presence of a college or university, and political support for community policing. Add the elements of being midwestern and a state capital and having a relatively homogeneous population with growing minority communities, and you still will find a large number of similar cities. The exaggerated liberal reputation of the town may be based more on highly publicized activities on campus in the 1960s and 1970s than on the broader orientation of the citizenry. There are 125 cities in this country that are between 100,000 and 249,000 in population, and there are many

more police departments the size of the MPD than the size of the departments in New York or Los Angeles, cities to which we pay considerable attention but which may not be the best models for the "average" police department.

We have a concern with the replicability of the Madison experience that has much more to do with whether other Departments are willing (and are able) to make a similar commitment to long-term (twenty years or more) change. The community culture in which the change is made will, of course, play a part, but it is much less a determinant factor in our opinion than is the commitment to a lengthy process that is guided by a vision and by strong leadership. To be fair, we should acknowledge again one way in which the Madison Department is different from most others. Chief Couper has tenure. There is no question that this factor—and all that it entails—greatly contributes to his ability to develop, guide and otherwise sustain a vision. While "tenure" may not be a politically viable option in most communities, a contract for the police chief is; almost unheard of a few years ago, it is increasingly likely that a police executive can negotiate for a contract or some form of supported longevity. The city administration that is serious about attempting to undertake this type of reorientation of policing has to be serious about supporting the police chief who will lead the effort. Such change requires a long term commitment, and both the city administrators and the police administrator must be committed. They must make this commitment clear to the police organization and to the broader community.

The Madison process of change should not be misunderstood as an employee movement that did not require a strong leader. Although the goal of the change is participatory management and information flow that moves from the bottom to the top of the organization, that is not how the change in Madison occurred. It was not a response to a demand from the bottom. It was a response to the vision of a strong leader—a strong leader who had employment security.

While tenure gives Chief Couper an enviable advantage, he is not alone among present day police leaders in his ability to create and promote a vision that directs an organization. It is happening in a number of departments. If change and improvement depended only on the endurance of the person who initiated a new direction, change would be a hopeless undertaking. In fact, we have seen a tremendous amount of change in American policing during the past twenty years, and for the most part it has been initiated by leaders who had to prepare others in the organization to accept and carry the torch when it had to be passed. The result has been progress by fits and starts in some agencies with the torch sometimes being passed more successfully from one agency to another than from one generation to the next within an organization. The ideas and the processes of change continue to develop and be shared and to enrich both the profession generally and individual organizations. So, while Madison may have some special

advantages, change in modern American policing has not been dependent on such advantages.

Even though many police executives may agree with this general premise, they still will have trouble foreseeing a day when their city budget will include physical decentralization. To them it is suggested that regardless whether physical decentralization is possible now or later, they will want to consider the benefits of a management style based on Quality Leadership principles. In Madison, decentralization has almost certainly facilitated the implementation of Quality Leadership and has enhanced its effects, but Quality Leadership is being practiced with positive consequences for employees in the five-sixths of the Department that remain physically centralized. If the theory that more satisfied employees become more productive is correct (which the data presented suggest), then Madison officers may work either harder or more efficiently as the quality of their work lives improves.

Whether centralized officers will be as likely to work differently (i.e., in closer consort with the community) remains to be seen. Until such time as further physical decentralization is approved for Madison, the Department is implementing an approach that has been termed "centralized decentralization" in which patrol captains have responsibility for parts of the City (essentially quadrants). While all personnel (except those assigned to the EPD) remain based in the central facility, those assigned to an area are encouraged to have a sense of responsibility for that area; to become familiar with its people, problems and resources; and to apply this knowledge to problem-solving. This approach has developed since the termination of the current study and is not documented in this report. However, future reports from the Madison Department may provide information about a model that could be applicable for Departments that wish to implement community policing but cannot expect to achieve physical decentralization under current budgetary conditions.

VIII. RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

We suggest that research attention be given to the following issues:

- efficient, inexpensive means of documenting police efforts to conduct community policing and problem-oriented policing. These are performance measures. These means of documentation must be independent of the currently popular labels for these approaches.
- outcome (impact) measures, both intermediate and long term, for community policing and problem-oriented policing.
- appropriate methodologies for the collection of outcome data. When the outcomes are citizen attitudes and perceptions, should these be measured in large scale surveys? Should there be special target populations? Are focus groups appropriate?
- the appropriate time frames within which it is reasonable to expect to measure various kinds of outcomes.
- the styles of management and the organizational structures being used in other departments that are attempting to reorient entire organizations to community policing and problem-oriented policing.
- Technological systems to support community and problem-oriented policing, especially systems for data collection, collation, and dissemination.
- whether there are identifiable characteristics of police officers that are associated with attitudinal support for, and performance of, community policing and problem-oriented policing.

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**COMMUNITY POLICING IN MADISON:
QUALITY FROM THE INSIDE, OUT**

AN EVALUATION OF IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT

TECHNICAL REPORT

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IN THE BEGINNING (March of 1987) there was:

The planning team for the Experimental Police District who invited me to a meeting to discuss developments in other police agencies. That's what they said, anyway. Within hours, they had persuaded me to draft the proposal that resulted in the research reported in these next pages. They were: Richard Bach, Ted Balistreri, Joe Balles, Steve Cardarella, Richard Ellingson, Tony Jarona, Tony LaFrancois, Jay Langfeld, Cheri Maples, Mike Masterson, Alix Olson, and Larry Pasha.

Chief David C. Couper supported the planning team in that, as in so many other, ideas.

LATER THAT YEAR there was:

James K. Stewart, Director of the National Institute of Justice when this project was funded, who recognized the innovativeness and the potential of the Madison Department's plans.

The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the Johnson Foundation provided support for the Police Foundation's Wingspread Conference on Community Policing, which helped give voice to many of the ideas that later were explored in this project. At that conference were representatives of sixteen police departments who articulated those ideas.

When the project was funded in October of 1987, Lois Felson Mock became the NIJ program monitor who has firmly but graciously provided theoretical insights, technical advice and critical moral support for more than four years. Fred Heinzelman, Ms. Mock's supervisor, also has lent support and guidance.

In December, 1987 several people braved one of Madison's stunning winter storms to attend a project advisory committee meeting that examined all the critical substantive and methodological issues connected with this project. The Advisory Committee itself consisted of Superintendent Chris Braiden of the Edmonton, Alberta Police Service; Captain Curt Curtsinger of the Los Angeles Police Department; Professor Herman Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin Law School, and Deputy Chief Elizabeth Watson of the Houston Police Department.

Since that meeting Chris Braiden has become an international spokesperson for community policing and has been given responsibility for implementing the concept throughout the Edmonton Police Service. Curt Curtsinger has become the Chief in St. Petersburg, Florida where community policing is the organizational goal. Herman Goldstein published Problem-Oriented Policing (1990). Elizabeth Watson became the Chief in Houston where she continued Lee Brown's plans to develop neighborhood oriented policing.

We believe these accomplishments, and those of the Madison Police Department, attest to the advantages of snow binding great minds and spirits together for three days at a time.

Also at that meeting was Professor Jack Ladinsky of the University of Wisconsin Department of Sociology who, throughout the project, served as an analytic, on-site observer of the Madison Police Department and the City of Madison. Professor Herman Goldstein, too, served in that capacity. Without their concern, alertness, and collegueship, my long-distance relationship with this project would have resulted in several blind spots in the reporting and analysis of developments in the Madison Department.

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IN THE SUMMER OF 1989:

Chris Koper, then an intern with the Police Foundation and now a Ph.D. student at the University of Maryland, did a masterful job of documenting the history and the nature of the Experimental Police District.

THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE PROJECT:

"Officer Joe" Balles frequently filled a critical role as on-site research assistant. Even more essentially, he has taught many of us about the heart and soul and strategies of community policing.

All of the men and women in the Madison Police Department contributed in some way to this project. At the very least they made me feel welcome in their midst, and some went to great lengths to share feelings and insights with me. Together they made me feel grateful for the opportunity to share four years with them.

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Hubert Williams, President of the Police Foundation, and all of my colleagues have provided material, intellectual and moral support.

My mate, Keith Bergstrom, has been an intellectual and emotional mainstay. His only reward has been the golf score he improved while I sat at this computer.

AT THIS LAST MOMENT:

Virginia Burke, administrative assistant to the research staff at the Police Foundation, has been proofreader, editor, aesthetic consultant, and production manager for this report. She contributed her computer, printer, heart and brain. More than once she has housed and fed me and roused herself at 5 am to make certain I still was writing. When I could not face another paragraph, she urged me on and brewed one more pot of proper English tea.

TO ALL OF YOU:

these inadequate words of thanks for allowing me to be part of an extraordinary research partnership.

Mary Ann Wycoff
Project Director

I. INTRODUCTION AND MAJOR FINDINGS

COMMUNITY POLICING IN MADISON

This report is the product of a project funded in 1987 by the National Institute of Justice. At that time the police profession was only beginning to discuss "community policing," a concept encompassing a variety of strategies or tactics that share the goal of uniting citizens and police in efforts to improve the quality of life in communities. Since then the Madison Police Department has become nationally recognized for its efforts to redesign itself for the purpose of accomplishing community policing.

In Madison the term is "Quality Policing," a label with symbolic and substantive linkages to: quality of service delivery; quality of life in the community; quality of life in the workplace; the Quality Productivity/Quality Leadership processes advocated by Edwards Deming; and "Quality Improvement," the organization's commitment to continual improvement.

The Department viewed two conditions as necessary for the development of Quality Policing. The first was a management system that would include employees in decision-making about both the way in which they lived their organizational lives and the way in which they dealt with the problems of the City and its citizens. The Department's managers believed that employees, through direct contact with citizens, would have the most timely and accurate understanding of problems and would be able to generate more ideas for solving them than would a small number of managers who had less direct contact with the problems and the community.

Similarly, employees would have the most direct knowledge of their own working conditions and would have the best understanding of what needed to be done to improve them. A healthy working environment was the second necessary condition for Quality Policing. Quality conditions inside the organization were considered prerequisites to quality performance outside the organization.

A third condition also was important. It was believed that physical decentralization and the resulting police identification with a specific part of the City would give officers more opportunity and motivation to be familiar with people and problems of the area. Physical proximity of citizens and their police would help close the psychological gap between "us" and "them" that has come to characterize professional policing.

This study is most essentially a determination of whether the foundations for Quality Policing were established in the Madison Police Department. If these conditions were established, the second question is whether they resulted in a different approach to service delivery that might be described as community policing.

THE EXPERIMENTAL POLICE DISTRICT

In 1986 the Madison Police Department began planning an organizational change designed to test the means of producing Quality Policing and its effects on both citizens and police employees. The result was the "Experimental Police District" (EPD), a project that would involve the decentralization of approximately one-sixth of the Department's personnel in the organizations's first physical move of police patrol and investigative facilities away from the main building located in the center of the City. The EPD was to be the first step toward decentralization of the entire Department. It would be the test site at which problems of decentralization would be identified and resolved prior to Department-wide implementation.

The Experimental Police District was to promote innovation and experimentation in three areas:

- (1) employee participation in decision-making about the conditions of work and the delivery of police service;
- (2) management and supervisory styles supportive of employee participation and of community-oriented and problem-oriented policing; and
- (3) the implementation of community-oriented and problem-oriented policing.

While these objectives formed the central focus for the EPD, the special district had a more general mandate to be "experimental" that extended beyond working through the problems of decentralization and creating closer relationships with the community. The EPD was to be the Department's laboratory. Personnel were encouraged to identify organizational policies and practices that should be questioned and to test alternatives. Decentralization was to be the first test the EPD undertook as a project.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

A three year study of the ability of the EPD to create the necessary conditions for Quality (or community) Policing, was funded by the National Institute of Justice (Grant #87-IJ-CX-0062) and conducted by the Police Foundation. The goals of the project were to:

- (1) document the process of developing the Experimental Police District, with the expectation of identifying lessons that could be transferred to other police departments;
- (2) determine whether the EPD experience resulted in a changed relationship between the organization and its employees and among employees;
- (3) determine whether the EPD experience resulted in a changed relationship between officers and citizens; and

- (4) measure the impact of those changes on both officers and citizens.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research was designed to compare outcome variables, measured before and two years after the implementation of the EPD, for officers in the EPD and citizens in the EPD service area with those measured in the rest of the Department and the rest of the City. The whole Department, minus the EPD, served as a "control" area for the EPD. The whole City, minus the EPD service area, served as a "control" area for the EPD service area. For most of the officer survey analyses and all of the citizen survey analyses, the data analyzed were collected from a panel—those respondents who participated in the survey each time it was administered.

Data collection methods included:

- three police personnel surveys, conducted before, one year after, and two years after the EPD was opened;
- two citizens surveys, conducted before and two years after implementation of the EPD;
- observations;
- structured interviews; and
- review of written materials, including Department documents and press coverage.

MAJOR FINDINGS

This project determined that the Madison Police Department has succeeded in changing the internal culture of the organization to one in which employees feel involved in decision-making about their work. One result has been increased satisfaction of employees with their organization and with their job. This change has occurred throughout the Department but currently is more pronounced in the Experimental Police District than in the rest of the organization.

The researchers conclude that decentralization made an important contribution to the process of creating the new management style. It also contributed to the development of team spirit and processes, conditions that should facilitate problem-solving policing. Officers who work in the EPD believe the station also enhances relationships with the public; they report increased numbers of contacts with citizens in the community and an ever-increasing number of citizens who come to the station for assistance.

The scale on which decentralization occurred was important. The small physical space of the EPD station and its floor plan made close interaction among officers, detectives, supervisors and managers unavoidable.

The effects of the change effort on the community are somewhat less dramatic. There is a pattern of improved attitudes and perceptions on the part of the public that was surveyed, but few of the changes achieve statistical significance. There was a statistically significant reduction in the number of reported burglaries in the EPD area. From the first to the second survey, EPD residents recorded a significant decrease in their tendency to view either robbery or burglary as big problems in their areas, and they were significantly more likely to report at Time 2 that the police are doing a good job at preventing crime. EPD area respondents also recorded a statistically significant increase in the belief that officers in their area are paying attention to the "important" problems in the neighborhood.

The positive impacts for residents may have been fewer than expected for any of several reasons:

- the measures used to assess change may have been insufficiently sensitive;
- the EPD was attempting to implement a number of different, simultaneous changes, the demands of which diminished the ability to focus on external relationships;
- the first, internal, stage of the change process required more time to accomplish than had been anticipated, and the research project may not have allowed adequate time for the development of a larger community impact;
- among EPD officers, those who were most inclined to attempt innovative approaches to community problems were likely to be assigned to late shifts during which it was more difficult to make community contact and conduct problem-solving.

It is the view of the research staff that all of these conditions affected, to some extent, the measured outcomes.

COMMENT

The Madison Police Department's efforts to change the organizational culture and the orientation of the organization to the community are producing positive results for both employees and citizens. The processes and structures used to increase:

- democracy in the workplace;

- the ability of officers to know neighborhoods, residents, and problems;
- the ability of officers to solve problems; and
- the ability of police personnel to work collaboratively across ranks and assignments

should be of interest to any police department seeking ways to improve both internal working conditions and external service delivery.

It is important to understand, however, that the changes that were documented in Madison occurred in a context of organizational history and community culture that may determine, to some unmeasured degree, the ability to implement the changes and the magnitude of the impact of the changes. The Department began the specific change effort discussed in this report in the context of nearly fifteen years of experimentation with new ideas and a commitment to seeking better ways to conduct policing. Although the move to Quality Policing is the largest change to be undertaken to date, change is not a stranger in this organization. Also, during this same period, continual efforts have been made to recruit educated and experienced officers whose backgrounds and attitudes should increase their ability to relate to a diverse community and their ability to appreciate the need for organizational change. Another important contextual factor is the support Quality Policing received from the City; during the planning and implementation phases for the Experimental Police District, the City of Madison was strongly supporting the Quality movement throughout City government.

Although Madison as a City is beginning to cope with an increasing number of social problems (poverty, homelessness, drug use) and associated crime, the City and the police are not yet overwhelmed by problems. There is not the sense of "where do you begin?" that one might find in some larger, older cities or the sense of "how can you begin?" that haunts financially depleted cities. When this project began, Madison had not yet experienced cut-back budgeting and citizens reported a willingness to pay the projected costs of decentralization.

Many police executives may sigh wistfully at this point and assume there is little reason to read further. But regardless whether physical decentralization is possible for them, they will want to consider the benefits of a management style based on Quality Leadership principles. In Madison decentralization has almost certainly facilitated the implementation of Quality Leadership and has enhanced its effects, but Quality Leadership is being practiced with positive consequences for employees in the five-sixths of the organization that remain physically centralized. If the theory that more satisfied employees become more productive is correct, then Madison officers may work either harder or more efficiently as the quality of their work lives improves.

Whether centralized officers will be as likely as decentralized officers to work more closely with the community remains to be seen. Until such time as further

physical decentralization is approved for Madison, the Department is implementing an approach that has been termed "centralized decentralization" in which each quadrant of the City is the responsibility of a patrol captain. While all personnel (except those assigned to the EPD) remain based in the central facility, those assigned to an area are encouraged to assume a sense of responsibility for that area; to become familiar with its people, problems and resources; and to use this knowledge for problem-solving. This approach has developed since the termination of the current study and is not documented in this report. However, future reports from the Madison Department may provide information about a model that could be applicable for Departments that wish to implement community policing but cannot expect to achieve physical decentralization under current budgetary constraints.

II. COMMUNITY POLICING IN MADISON

Improved police service is the constant goal of what is expressly intended to be an evolving process of learning and change in the Madison Police Department. At this point, Madison personnel believe improvement should take the form of community policing, a general concept that stresses a closer working relationship between police and the citizens they serve. In Madison, the umbrella of community policing is used to cover a variety of means of learning about and responding to the needs of the Department's citizen "customers." The commitment to constant improvement suggests that one day the Department may work to implement other approaches to police service, but the assumption is that those will evolve out of current efforts to develop a community orientation to police service.

Madison's interest in community policing currently is shared by large numbers of police organizations. Operational definitions may differ, but the underlying theme is a closer, two-way relationship between police and their communities. This community orientation is emerging from the police practice and literature of the past twenty-five years. In 1967 the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice advocated more frequent, informal contact between police and the public. Commission recommendations were reflected in team policing projects conducted in the 1970s (Sherman, Milton and Kelly, 1973; Schwartz and Clarren, 1976) and in the San Diego Community Profiling Project¹ (Boydston and Sherry, 1975). In England, Cain (1973) and Alderson (1977) were calling attention to the value of close contact between police and citizens—an idea that was losing currency as the British police "modernized." In the States, Chief Frank Dyson (1971), Lee Brown (1985), Ray Davis (1985), Neil Behan (1986) and Bill Hegarty, among others, became articulate spokesmen for the idea that police should be knowledgeable of, and responsive to, the needs of all persons in the community.

While crime prevention and community relations were considered functions important enough to merit special units in many departments, research in the 1960s and 1970s (summarized in Wycoff, 1982) demonstrated that the vast majority of service requests received from the public—calls that were handled by non-specialist patrol officers—had nothing to do with "crime fighting." Rather, 19 to 55 percent of all calls concerned order maintenance and service needs. Yet, in the 1970s, the function of crime fighting was practically synonymous with concepts of policing. In 1982, Wilson and Kelling made the argument that order maintenance policing is critical to the survival of threatened urban areas, and the Fear Reduction studies (Pate, Wycoff, Skogan and Sherman, 1986) funded by the National Institute of Justice demonstrated that police could use a number of different approaches to break into

¹ This Police Foundation report contains one of the earliest references to community oriented policing, including what may be the first commitment of a police organization to implement community policing on a city-wide basis.

the fear cycle about which Wilson and Kelling had written. In addition to the fear reduction strategies tested in Houston and Newark, other research suggested that foot patrol could also be an effective means of increasing police-citizen contact and improving citizen attitudes (Police Foundation, 1981; Trojanowicz, 1982; Hornick, et. al, 1989).

By 1986 Skolnick and Bayley were noting the growing popularity of such strategies in a number of departments around the country and Goldstein (1987) had begun to conceptualize the issues that fall under the broad umbrella of "community-oriented policing." These works are part of the rapidly growing body of literature that emphasizes the importance of knowing needs and preferences of "customers" (citizens) and the need to involve these customers in decisions about which services are to be delivered and how they are to be delivered. (See, for example, Alderson, 1977; Brown, 1985; Davis, 1985; Weatheritt, 1986; Braiden, 1987; Goldstein, 1987 and 1990; Bayley, 1988; Green and Taylor, 1988; Kelling and Moore, 1988; Mastrofski, 1988; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Wycoff, 1988; Alpert and Dunham, 1989; McElroy, Cosgrove and Sadd, 1989; Skogan, 1990; Sparrow, Moore and Kennedy, 1990; Trojanowicz, 1990; Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990; Wadman and Olson, 1990 and many others.)

In Madison, community policing concepts are inextricably bound with the Department's philosophy of "Quality Policing" which emphasizes quality of service delivery; quality of life in the community; quality of life in the workplace; the Quality Productivity/Quality Leadership processes advocated by Edwards Deming; and "Quality Improvement," the organization's commitment to continual improvement.

Since 1987 the Madison Department has believed three conditions to be necessary for the development of "Quality Policing." The first is the implementation of a new management approach that supports employee participation in organizational decisions. The management philosophy is known as "Quality Leadership," an approach that emphasizes the role of managers as facilitators whose job it is to improve systems, involve employees in decision-making, employ data-based problem-solving approaches, promote team work, encourage risk-taking and creativity, and give and receive feedback from employees.

The second necessary condition is a healthy work environment for employees. In Madison, this means treating employees as "internal customers" whose problems should be identified and resolved. Quality Leadership is the means to creation of the healthy workplace.

Physical decentralization is believed to be the third necessary condition. A small workgroup (the consequence of decentralization) is considered essential for improving conditions in the workplace. Closer physical proximity to citizens is crucial to knowing citizens and being aware of their problems.

The relationship of these three conditions to the goal of Quality Policing is reflected in the motto of the Madison Department:

CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE:
QUALITY FROM THE INSIDE, OUT

It is expanded in the Department's mission statement:

MISSION STATEMENT

We believe in the DIGNITY and WORTH of ALL PEOPLE.

We are committed to:

- PROVIDING HIGH-QUALITY, COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICE SERVICES WITH SENSITIVITY;
- PROTECTING CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS;
- PROBLEM SOLVING;
- TEAMWORK;
- OPENNESS;
- PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE;
- PROVIDING LEADERSHIP TO THE POLICE PROFESSION.

We are proud of the DIVERSITY of our work force which permits us to GROW and which RESPECTS each of us as individuals, and we strive for a HEALTHFUL work place.

In 1987 the Madison Police Department believed it had to first change itself before it could change the quality of its service delivery.

The relationship between the internal changes and the goal of better service to the community is outlined in Exhibit 2-1, and is discussed below.

A. The Change Process

The process of change referred to in the model (Exhibit 2-1) is identified for the purposes of this research project as the one that began to take shape in the Madison

Department in the 1980s with the deliberate and increasing involvement of employees in the organization's decision processes. In 1984 Chief David Couper established the Committee on the Future of the Department, the members of which were broadly representative of the organization. In 1985 the Committee released a report that made three major recommendations for the future of the organization:

- (1) Get closer to the people we serve.
- (2) Make better use of available technology.
- (3) Develop and improve health and wellness in the workplace.

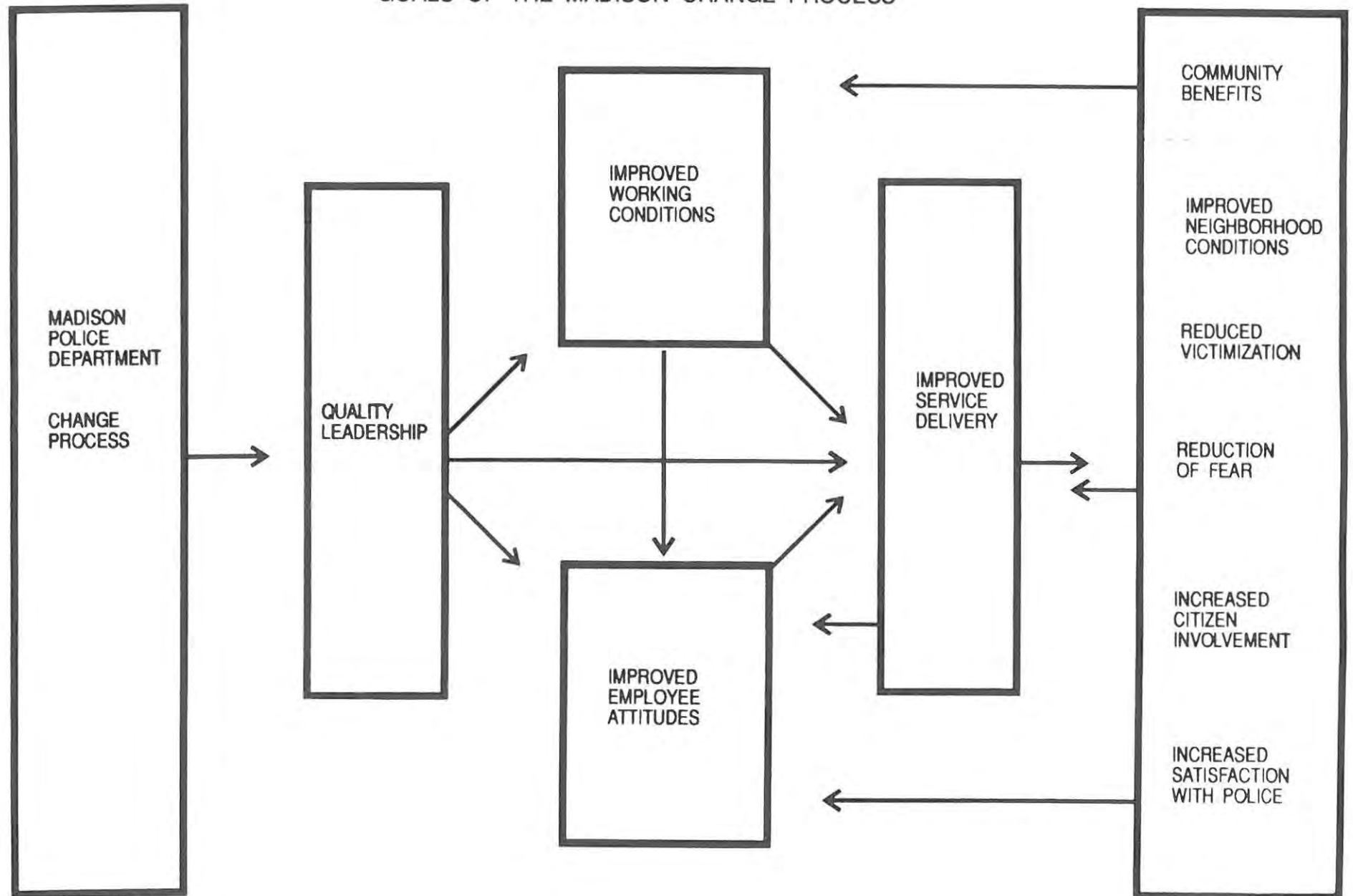
With a great deal of employee input since that time, the Department has been refining and reshaping those basic goals and working toward their implementation. This process became more sharply focused with the introduction in 1985 of the concepts of Quality/Productivity to the City by then-Mayor Joseph Sensenbrenner. A four day workshop conducted by Edwards Deming, the leader of the Quality movement in this country, was followed by two weeks of training in Quality/Productivity principles and procedures for selected City employees.

B. Quality Leadership

Following participation in the Quality/Productivity training, the Department articulated the management philosophy of Quality Leadership, the twelve basic principles of which are drawn from the works of Deming (1986), Peters and Waterman (1982), Peters and Austin (1985), Naisbitt and Aberdene (1985) and others. These principles, listed in Chapter IV, emphasize teamwork for planning, goal setting and operations, data-based problem-solving, a customer orientation, employee input in decisions, respect and trust among employees, improvement of systems and processes, organizational policies developed to support productive employees, encouragement for creativity and risk taking, tolerance for mistakes, and the manager as coach and facilitator rather than commander. Quality Leadership became the managerial linchpin for a number of ideas that had been evolving and coalescing in the department for several years. With its emphasis on employee input it became, in part, both the end and the means to the organizational goal of a healthier workplace. It is both the means of giving employees "ownership of the house" (Braiden, 1991) and a means of making the best use of all available ideas and information in the organization. The emphasis on managers seeking input from employees parallels the emphasis, in community policing, on officers seeking input from citizens. As stated at the start of this report, Madison Police Department managers believe Quality

EXHIBIT 2-1

GOALS OF THE MADISON CHANGE PROCESS



Leadership is a necessary antecedent of community policing; if managers do not use input from employees for decision-making, officers can never be expected to think in terms of using input from citizens for making decisions about the work to be done.

C. The Healthy Workplace

In the model the "healthy workplace" is represented in Exhibit 2-1 by the boxes for "Improved Working Conditions" and "Improved Employee Attitudes." Better conditions and better attitudes are hypothesized to be causally linked and together produce the healthier environment. Improved working conditions could include anything that employees felt needed to be changed in the workplace. This is where Quality Leadership becomes both a means and an end. In Madison, with its high percentage of college graduate employees, input into decision-making was one of the top concerns (just after improvement of the promotional process) of MPD employees in 1986. Letting bright, educated people exercise their brains is one way of improving their work environment (Lawler, 1984; Braiden, 1991). But it was the practice of Quality Leadership with its emphasis on listening to employees that makes it possible to know the concerns of employees.

"Employee attitudes" of interest include job satisfaction, attitudes toward the role, toward the self in relationship to the role, and attitudes toward the community. Job satisfaction, for example, was expected to be increased by Quality Leadership. Job satisfaction is a multifaceted concept consisting of both intrinsic and extrinsic components (Kunin, 1955; Dunnette, Campbell, and Hakel, 1966; Weiss, Davis, England and Lofquist, 1967; Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969; Dunham and Herman, 1976, Smith, 1976). It was expected that Quality Leadership would affect primarily the intrinsic elements of job satisfaction—those associated with the doing of the work (liking for the work, satisfaction with supervisors, satisfaction with co-workers, etc.) rather than those associated with social and material rewards resulting from work (e.g., salary, status pension, job security). It is the intrinsic elements that should be affected by participative management. The Quality Leadership approach is intended to encourage creativity and risk-taking and should challenge officers to develop and experiment with their own ideas about policing. This should increase their belief that their MPD job is one in which they can experience personal growth. It was anticipated that Quality Leadership would give employees a sense of ownership of their work with subsequent satisfaction and increased commitment to the job. It also was expected that employee participation in the planning process would increase tolerance for, or receptivity to, change (Coch and French, 1948; Watson, 1966; Hersey and Blanchard, 1972; Kanter, 1983; Dunham, 1987).

D. Improved Service Delivery

"Improved Service Delivery" is the umbrella label for the implementation of three approaches to service delivery:

- (1) Quality/Productivity as propounded by Deming(1986),
- (2) Community policing, and
- (3) Problem-oriented policing as first proposed by Goldstein (1979, 1990) and discussed in Eck and Spelman (1987).

The Quality/Productivity management philosophy emphasizes the importance of knowing the needs and preferences of the customer, the analysis of systems to improve processes and products, the involvement of employees in decisions about how to improve systems, and the use of quantitative data for organizational decision-making.

Community policing, the second major component of improved service delivery, has been discussed above.

At the same time the idea of a close working relationship between the police and the community was gaining popularity and being tested, so was the concept of problem-oriented policing, first advocated by Herman Goldstein in 1979 and tested by him and the Madison Police Department (Goldstein and Susmilch, 1982). The idea was further developed and tested in Newport News, Virginia (Eck and Spelman, 1987) and Oakland (Toch and Grant, 1991). The central idea of problem-oriented policing is that underlying many of the individual calls (incidents) to which police respond are more general problems which, in order to be resolved, require a different type of response than do the incidents which are indicative of the problems. Problem solution requires analysis of the incidents by persons knowledgeable of the context in which they are occurring, followed by creative brain-storming about and experimentation with possible responses. While problem-oriented policing theoretically can be conducted in the absence of community-oriented policing (although its proponents do not suggest that it should be), it is one excellent method of achieving the goals of community-oriented policing. It can be argued that a patrol officer closely familiar with his or her neighborhood can make an essential contribution to the analysis of the nature of the incidents/problems occurring there.

Improved service delivery was expected to result from better working conditions (e.g., better technology and information systems, ability to adjust schedules for problem-solving, freedom to try new approaches to problems). It was also expected to result from the anticipated improvement in employee attitudes. The belief was that more satisfied, more involved officers would do more effective work. There is evidence (Davis and Cherns, 1975; Hackman and Suttle, 1977; Lawler, 1984) that organizations that encourage participation of employees tend to experience lower

turnover, tardiness and absenteeism; lower material and labor costs; and higher quality work performance. It was anticipated that Quality Leadership would have a direct, as well as indirect, effect on the quality of service delivery through its emphasis on listening to the customer and seeking to satisfy customer needs. Managers as well as other employees would more directly seek information from the citizen customers about problems of concern to them and, therefore, should be better able to direct organizational resources to those problems.

It was expected that improved service delivery would have a reciprocal effect on employee attitudes; the ability to see a job more effectively done through problem-solving policing would increase job satisfaction and the sense of efficacy in the role.

E. Community Benefits

Benefits to the community or the external customers are the ultimate goal (both causally and temporally) in the model. It was expected that improved service delivery would lead directly to improved neighborhood or community conditions, reduced crime victimization, reduced fear and worry, increased involvement of citizens in problem-solving, and increased satisfaction with police. It was also expected that the community benefits would work in a feedback relationship with employee attitudes; as citizens became more appreciative of better service, officers would develop more positive attitudes toward citizens and the job. The more involved officers became in community policing and problem-solving, the more likely they would be to have information about the satisfaction levels of citizens.

F. The Model in Context

This kind of model, with its implied causality, suggests an almost automatic effect of one element of the model on another. However, even if a more satisfied employee working in a better environment is inclined to work harder or better, the model gives no assurance about the substance or direction of those improved service delivery efforts. When an organization is attempting to adopt a new approach to service delivery, as Madison was in moving toward community-oriented and problem-oriented policing, what is the guarantee that the more highly satisfied employee will become enthusiastically committed to the new approach rather than re-energized toward the familiar one?

Unspecified in Exhibit 2-1 is the context in which the model was developed. The employees for whom the model was expected to be most immediately relevant were those who would work in the new Experimental Police District where the chances for fostering Quality Leadership, improved working conditions and improved employee attitudes were expected to be very good. The model evolved from the work of the EPD planning team which also designed the orientation and training that would prepare the new EPD officers for their assignment. Training included discussions of

ways of getting closer to the community, instruction in the use of data for decision-making and instruction in the problem-solving approach. Additionally, it was anticipated that the management team at the EPD would reinforce the community and problem orientations through group discussion, planning, goal setting, facilitation of problem-solving activities and additional training. The arrow from the "Improved Employee Attitudes" box to the "Improved Service Delivery" box was not left unguided; the path was to be influenced by management and a new service delivery philosophy. These, of course, would be in competition with old work habits.

III. EVALUATION DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research design and methods are discussed separately for each research objective.

A. Objective One: Document the Process of Developing the Experimental Police District

Beginning in mid-1987 and continuing through 1990, the Evaluation Project Director monitored the implementation process through review of documents produced during the EPD planning process, through on-going review of memos and other documents produced by the Department and the EPD, direct observation of the EPD through site visits, regular review of newspaper articles, frequent telephone contact with EPD managers, occasional rides and interviews with EPD and Non-EPD officers, and frequent conversations with two University of Wisconsin faculty members who are regular observers of the relationship between the Department and the community.

Annual administration of the police personnel survey provided opportunity for numerous informal conversations with personnel throughout the organization concerning their perceptions of the change process.

During the summer of 1988 and again in the summer of 1990, the Project Director, assisted by Dr. George Kelling, conducted lengthy interviews with all members of the Department's management team. Additionally, in August of 1990 they conducted interviews with fourteen lieutenants and eight detectives.

B. Objective Two: Measure the Internal Effects of Change

It was expected that successful implementation of Quality Leadership and the orientation of the Department to community- and problem-oriented policing would have an impact on personnel that would be reflected in their attitudes toward:

- the organization, management and supervision;
- the nature of the police role;
- the role of the community in policing.

It was further expected that change in employee attitudes during the evaluation period would occur primarily in the Experimental Police District. The design for

testing this assumption was a quasi-experimental one in which changes in attitudes of EPD employees would be compared over time with attitude changes of employees in the rest of the Department. Exposure to the impacts of the changes in the EPD was to be controlled by analyzing changes for employees who had been in the EPD for the entire evaluation period of two years in comparison to those of employees who were never in the EPD during this period.

The conditions of a true experiment did not exist since the program site (the service area of the Experimental Police District) was not randomly selected but was selected by the Department, based on a number of indicators of need. Officers were not randomly assigned to work in the EPD but were allowed to bid for assignment there in the same way they annually bid for other assignments. The low seniority of some officers meant that they had no choice but to accept assignment to the EPD. Low seniority further meant that younger officers were assigned to the night shift. The employee union agreed to the condition that there be no changes in personnel during the originally planned one year of the evaluation period. When the time frame for the evaluation was later extended by several months, there was some movement in and out of the EPD with the result that the size of the analysis panel was reduced.

B.1. Personnel Survey

Employee attitudes were measured by the administration of a written survey to all commissioned personnel at three points in time during the evaluation period:

- (1) December, 1987, prior to the opening of the Experimental Police District;
- (2) one year later in December, 1988; and
- (3) the third time in December, 1989.

Surveys were administered by the Project Director to small groups of personnel during normal working hours. During each administration period, the Department developed an around-the-clock schedule for the survey that accommodated each shift. This schedule was used by managers and supervisors to assign personnel to survey periods.

At each administration session the Project Director explained the purpose of the survey, explained the confidential nature of the data and the system by which the identity of respondents would be protected, and told respondents that participation was voluntary.

An average of forty-five minutes was required to complete the survey. Since analysis was to be based on a panel (i.e., the same respondents across all survey periods), it was essential that the identity of respondents be recorded. Each survey booklet was stamped with a number printed with a numbering machine. The first

digit of the four digit number represented the survey administration period (i.e., 1, 2 or 3); the following three digits identified the survey booklet. Each booklet contained a loose page stamped with the same number. This page contained survey instructions and space for the respondent to provide his or her name and employee identification number. This sheet was separated from the questionnaire by the respondent and placed in a box separate from the completed surveys.

Following administration of the first survey, the Project Director developed a log that linked the employee's identification number with the booklet number for the first survey. During subsequent surveys, the respondents would have booklet numbers that were different from those of the first survey, but the Identification Sheet containing the employee identification number was used with the log to determine the booklet number from the respondent's first survey. Following survey administration, booklet numbers for the second and third surveys were changed to match the booklet number from the first survey. Thus, the identity of the panel respondents was maintained.

Despite the fact that most of the analysis was to be based on the panel, an effort was made to survey all commissioned personnel during each survey administration period. It was anticipated that the full survey would have additional research value for the Department as well as other research organizations. Although the immediate interest is in comparing attitudes of EPD officers in the panel with Non-EPD officers in the panel, the full survey of all commissioned personnel allows for developing a picture of the entire organization over time. Since the ultimate goal of the Department is change across the entire organization, the ability to monitor changes for the organization as a whole, as well as within organizational groups, will be important.

The Time 1 and Time 3 personnel questionnaires are reproduced as Appendix A of this report.

B.2. Survey Participation Rates²

Table 3-1 reports the number of commissioned personnel in the Department at each survey period and the number and percentage who participated in the survey at each period.

TABLE 3-1
PARTICIPATION IN PERSONNEL SURVEY
BY SURVEY YEAR

Year	Total Commissioned Personnel	Number Who Were Survey Participants	Percent Who Were Survey Participants
1987	278*	270	97
1988	276*	268	97
1989	277*	239	86

- * The actual number of commissioned personnel in 1987 was 293, including 15 recruits who did not participate in the survey process; therefore, the percentage of participants in the survey is based on 278, the number that excludes the recruits. There were a total of 294 personnel in 1988, including 18 recruits. In 1989 there were 301, including 24 recruits.

During each survey administration period, there were people who did not report to the survey site for a number of reasons: they were away from the Department on leave or vacation; they could not leave an incident or case they were working on and could not schedule a later appointment; or, in a very small number of cases, they deliberately chose not to participate. All these people were contacted by

² This section discusses participation rates rather than response rates because the latter suggests the actual completion of a survey. At each survey period there were a very few individuals who came to the survey site and completed a survey identification form but did not actually complete the survey.

mail and sent questionnaires that they were asked to mail to the survey administrator. Two written contacts were made if necessary. Several people responded to these requests. The general willingness to participate in the third survey, even on the part of personnel who were unsupportive of the changes in progress, was impressive.

B.3. Panel Participation Rate

Of the 270 respondents to the Time 1 survey, 14 had left the Department by the time of the third survey. Two hundred and two persons participated in all three survey waves; thus the participation rate for the panel is $202/256 = 79$ percent.

The panel was further defined by assignment; to be part of the panel for the purpose of analysis, the respondent had to have been in the EPD for all of the two years that constituted the evaluation period or not in the EPD for that entire period. Persons who moved into or out of the EPD after the first survey administration were not included in the analysis panel. The result is an analysis panel of 169 respondents, 25 of whom were in the EPD for the entire evaluation period and 144 of whom were never in the EPD during that same period.

The panel is equivalent to 61 percent of the total sworn personnel at any one of the three survey times. The tables in Chapter V include data for the EPD and the Non-EPD panels and also for cross-sections of the EPD and Non-EPD parts of the organization. Presentation of the cross-sectional data provides both an overview of the organization across time and a means of determining the extent to which the panels are representative of the parts of the organization from which they are drawn. In almost every analysis, the panel data are highly similar to the corresponding cross-sectional data.

B.4. Analysis of Personnel Survey Data

Originally it was anticipated that measurement of change would rely almost entirely on regression analysis that would test for significant changes between EPD and Non-EPD officers, controlling for a number of background characteristics. It became clear—first from observations of the Department and later from data analysis—that change was occurring throughout the Department. Regression analysis often resulted in statistically insignificant differences between the EPD and the rest of the Department while masking magnitudes and patterns of change occurring across the organization. Subsequently, it was decided to conduct and present within-group analyses so that it would be apparent whether statistically significant change occurred among EPD officers and among Non-EPD officers. These data give the reader a feel for the magnitude, direction, and pattern of changes that were occurring. Additionally, regression analyses were conducted in which group assignment (EPD or Non-EPD) is the independent variable and the Time 3

value for an outcome measure is the dependent variable. Area of assignment (Non-EPD or EPD) and the Time 1 survey score were the control variables. Preliminary analysis determined that other control variables (education, rank, gender and time in the organization) were unrelated to outcomes. These regression analyses provide the most stringent measures of program effect.

The "b" reported is the unstandardized regression coefficient associated with assignment to the EPD. This value represents the distance between the regression line for Non-EPD respondents and that for EPD respondents measured in units of the post-test measure. In this report, a significance level $\leq .05$ is used to indicate that a finding probably can be attributed to EPD membership.

To facilitate both analysis and the presentation of data, comparisons are made for only two survey periods—usually Time 1 (1987) and Time 3 (1989)—unless the analysis is of items that were added to the second survey, in which case the comparison is of Time 2 and Time 3 data. The decision to simplify data analysis and presentation by using only two waves of data was made after multivariate analysis determined there was a linear relationship across the three waves. The Madison project was not one in which measurable change occurred in the first year, only to be eroded during the second. Change was steady and continuing.

C. Objective Three: Measuring the Effects of Change on the Community.

C.1. Citizen Survey

It was expected that residents of Madison who were served by EPD officers would, over time, interact more frequently with police, perceive that they were receiving better service and believe that police were addressing problems of concern to the community. These assumptions were tested using a quasi-experimental design that compared attitudes and perceptions of residents in the EPD service area with those of residents in the rest of the City. There were two reasons for using the rest of the City as a control group: (1) it would have been difficult to find another area of the City that was a close match for the program area; and (2) reliance on one or two "matched" areas as controls leaves the evaluation highly vulnerable to the possibility that something (e.g., a dramatic crime or significant demographic change) will occur in the control areas during the course of the project that will cause the control area to become much less comparable to the program area. When the remainder of the City is the control area, regression analyses can be used to control for the pre-test as well as for a wide range of demographic characteristics that might account for measured differences between experimental and control subjects. The same respondents were surveyed twice, the first survey was conducted in person in February and March of

1988 just prior to the opening of the EPD station; the second was conducted by telephone in February and March of 1990.

The goal was to interview 1200 Madison residents, 600 in the EPD service area of South Madison and 600 from throughout the rest of the City. Because the research team predicted a 75 percent completion rate, 1676 households were included in the initial sample. The selection of households was based on 1980 Census block statistics. The decision was made to exclude City blocks that were essentially business areas or that consisted primarily of student housing.

The analysis plan was based on the use of a panel; the same people were to be surveyed at Time 2 as were surveyed at Time 1. A panel analysis significantly strengthens the ability to determine that observed changes in the research area are due to the strategies being studied rather than to factors associated with changes in the composition of the population. To reduce the magnitude of panel attrition between the first and second surveys, an effort was made to eliminate areas of University student housing from the sample since students would be the segment of the Madison population with the highest rate of residential instability.

Letters from the Office of the Mayor were sent to the selected addresses a few days ahead of the scheduled contact. Interviewers carried a copy of that letter and presented photo identification cards at each residence.

The selection of respondents was made by the interviewers at the selected household addresses, using a Kish selection table included in each questionnaire. Individuals under the age of 18 were not included in the household listing.

Interviewers made a total of six attempts to interview the selected respondent in each household. All refusals in which the respondent was not hostile were reassigned to different interviewers. Twenty-five (25) percent of all completed interviews were validated, i.e., the respondent was recontacted to verify that the interview took place, that it required an appropriate amount of the respondent's time, and that a few key questions were answered the same way during the validation call as in the original contact.

The total number of completed interviews at Time 1 was 1,170. The response rate in the EPD area was 77.8 percent; it was 75.1 percent in the rest of the City. Table 3-2 presents response rates and describes the conditions of non-response for the EPD (Experimental Police District) and Non-EPD (city-wide) samples.

TABLE 3-2

**MADISON POLICE EXPERIMENT DISTRICT PROJECT
WAVE 1 SURVEY STATISTICS**

(Numbers in Parentheses are Percentages of Sample Size)

Project Area	Total Dwelling Units	Sample Size	Complete	Refused	Not Home	Vacant	Moving	Language	Outside Area	Ineligible	Commercial	Bad Address	Other*	Response Rate**
Experimental District	12,186	862	607 (70.4)	62 (7.2)	30 (3.4)	31 (3.6)	74 (8.6)	6 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	9 (1.0)	21 (2.4)	8 (0.9)	14 (1.6)	77.8
City-Wide (Madison)	56,810	814	563 (69.2)	75 (9.2)	46 (5.7)	13 (1.6)	59 (7.2)	4 (0.5)	3 (0.4)	2 (0.2)	15 (1.8)	12 (1.5)	22 (2.7)	75.1
Total	68,996	1,676	1,170 (69.8)	137 (8.2)	76 (4.5)	44 (2.6)	133 (7.9)	10 (0.6)	3 (0.2)	11 (0.7)	36 (2.1)	20 (1.2)	36 (2.1)	76.5

* Other - Includes the number of respondents who were in hospital, ill or on vacation, plus completed interviews which were invalidated during quality control checks.

** Response Rate = Total Surveys Completed ÷ (the Total Surveys Attempted—Vacancies—Out of Area—Ineligibles)

The Time 1 and Time 2 citizen survey questionnaires are reproduced as Appendix B of this report.

C.2. Survey Administration

The Time 1 survey was administered in early 1988 by interviewers who were recruited, trained and supervised by Police Foundation personnel. Interviews were conducted in-person at the residence of the respondent. At the end of the interview, the respondent was asked for his or her telephone number. A review of the Time 1 data showed that 97.6 percent of the respondents gave their telephone number. This was an important factor in the decision to conduct the Time 2 survey by telephone. The Time 2 telephone interviews were conducted in early 1990 by the Wisconsin Survey Research Lab at the University of Wisconsin. In-person interviews were attempted with about 70 percent of the Time 1 respondents who did not provide telephone numbers.

For the post-test (1990) survey, 772 interviews were completed for a panel completion rate of 66.2 percent. Table 3-3 identifies the responses to the Time 2 survey.

TABLE 3-3
RESPONSES TO TIME 2 CITIZEN SURVEY

Types of Response	Number	Percent
Completed interviews	772	66.2
Refusal/breakoff	89	7.6
R deceased	37	3.2
R moved outside City	17	1.5
Wrong number; no new listing	178	15.3
Bad number; no contact	51	4.4
R unavailable during survey period	22	1.9
TOTAL	1,166	100.0

Among the 772 successfully completed interviews were 45 for which there were substantial mismatches between information provided in 1988 and 1990. The differences might have involved "change" of race or sex, decrease in age, increase in age by more than two years, decrease in years of education, or increase in years of education by more than two years. These 45 respondents were removed from the

panel, leaving an analysis panel of 727 respondents of whom 388 were from the Non-EPD areas of the City and 339 were from the EPD area.

C.3. Panel Attrition

Because of the lengthy period between the two administrations of the residents' survey, it is not unusual that 44 percent of Time 1 respondents could not be found for a reinterview. The attrition rate differed between the program and comparison areas of Madison. In the EPD area 56 percent of the original respondents were reinterviewed, as contrasted to 69 percent of those living elsewhere in Madison.

Panel attrition of this magnitude and distribution raises questions concerning the validity of inferences that can be made about the impact of the program upon the residents of Madison. To address these issues, analyses were done to examine correlates of attrition and the relationship between these factors and key outcome variables in this project. Attrition was strongly related in expected ways to indicators of family organization, affluence, community ties and work-force status of respondents. It was related also to prior burglary and vandalism victimization.

The main outcome measures used in the evaluation were unrelated to attrition, either in general or within the program and comparison areas. Also, there were no consistent differences between the areas in how rates of attrition were related to social and demographic factors. Estimates of the impact of naturally occurring variation in the kinds of factors being manipulated during the program period were the same among the initial panel sample and the reinterviewed subset. All of these factors suggest that neither overall sample attrition nor differential sample attrition threaten to bias the quantitative findings of the evaluation, either by masking or falsely suggesting program effects.

C.4. Analysis of Citizen Survey Data

As with the officer survey, the original analysis plan called for using regression analysis to determine whether an effect was occurring in the area served by the Experimental Police Station that differed from effects in the rest of the City. Two factors influenced a decision also to present a within-group analysis.

- (1) The first was the recognition that change was occurring throughout the Madison Police Department that could result in improved service throughout the City.
- (2) The second was the recognition that the major focus of the change process, even into the second year, continued to be on internal reorientation with the result that fewer new policing initiatives or approaches were tested in the community than had been anticipated during the planning period. Through observations and discussions, the research staff came to believe that the community-oriented activities of

EPD officers during the first two years were more likely to have an effect on individuals, on particular groups of people, or on certain businesses than on the general population in the survey area. With time, enough of these focused efforts would produce broader community awareness of the new orientation. Recognition would spread gradually; there would be no dramatic fanfare.

These two conditions increased the probability that regression analyses could mask change that might demonstrate a pattern across indicators while not producing significant coefficients on many of them. Because this seems to have been the case, we have elected to present within-group analyses as well as regression analyses, allowing for the detection of patterns as well as the test of the significance of differences between experimental and control subjects.

Whenever appropriate, multiple items have been used to measure a given construct. Factor analysis was used to confirm that the items selected to represent each potential outcome (fear of crime, etc.) were tightly interrelated. Then they were combined in additive fashion to produce summary scale scores. Such summary scores are more reliable measures of the outcomes than their components taken individually, and have a range and distribution which are more appropriate for statistical techniques like multiple regression.

In the regression analysis, the Time 2 survey scores were the dependent variable. Control variables included:

- area of residency (Non-EPD or EPD service area)
- Time 1 survey score on the variable
- number of adults 18 years and older in household
- whether respondent unemployed
- education of respondent, by category of education
- gender (female=1; male = 2)
- whether respondent is U.S. citizen
- length of time in Madison, by category of time
- months in place of residence
- number of children in household
- student status (full- or part-time, undergrad or grad)
- race of respondent
- work status (full- or part-time)
- home ownership
- income of respondent (less than or greater than \$20,000)
- marital status (single or as couple)
- number of adults 60 years and older in household
- age of respondent.

The "b" reported is the unstandardized regression coefficient associated with living in the EPD service area. This value represents the difference between EPD and Non-EPD residents on the second survey, taking into account their responses to the first survey and the list of factors presented above. Its value is expressed in units of the Wave 2 measure; the sign of the coefficient (plus or minus) indicates whether the Wave 2 scores for EPD residents were higher or lower than expected. This is our best estimate of the effect of living in the EPD area.

IV. THE EXPERIMENTAL POLICE DISTRICT

The Department decided to experiment with decentralization in one part of the organization before physically dividing the entire agency. The choice was made for a number of reasons:

- (1) Obtaining funding to construct one decentralized facility as a test site was more likely than getting it to construct four new facilities on the strength of an unproved idea.
- (2) Beginning with one test site would provide the opportunity to identify and resolve system problems that might cause minor problems with one decentralized facility but that could cause major, system-wide problems if the same conditions adversely affected four new decentralized facilities simultaneously. Additionally, officers working in the first facility would be better able to identify desirable physical arrangements that could be designed into later facilities than would architects at a drawing board.
- (3) A test site (or, prototype site) for decentralization fit with the Chief's interest in having one part of the organization serve as a laboratory for a whole variety of new ideas. The decentralization test site would be encouraged to question existing procedures and practices and to evaluate alternatives for the rest of the organization. It was hoped that in this setting, creativity would be less likely to be burdened by bureaucracy.

Thus, the Experimental Police District (EPD) was conceived. Once the idea of setting apart one-sixth of the department as a laboratory was adopted, it became possible to design an evaluation of the EPD's efforts to implement Quality Leadership and community policing. Officers working in the EPD could be the experimental "subjects" while officers working elsewhere in the organization could be the research "control" group. Similarly, citizens living in the area served by the EPD could be the program or experimental group while citizens in another area or areas of the City could serve as the "controls." Such an evaluation was consistent with the Department's commitment to use data as the basis for decisions in its newly adopted Quality Productivity approach to management.

This chapter describes in the first section (A) the Experimental Police District as it looked in the summer of 1989, fourteen months after it had opened and approximately six months before the end of the NIJ-funded evaluation period. This description is the work of Chris Koper, currently (1993) a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Maryland who worked for the Police Foundation as an intern during the summer of 1989. It is the product of a site visit during which he interviewed the EPD managers and several officers and conducted observations. He reviewed available

materials about the Department and the EPD and had numerous conversations with the Police Foundation evaluation project director.

Section B of this chapter describes the contexts—historical and organizational—in which the implementation of the EPD took place.

A. Description

A.1. The Setting

A.1.a. The City

The City of Madison, Wisconsin covers an area of approximately 55 square miles and has a population of about 180,000. The land area is distributed around four lakes. The downtown area is an isthmus only a few blocks wide between the two largest lakes. Madison is the capital of Wisconsin and, consequently, much of the City's business concerns the state government. The other major influence in the City is the University of Wisconsin's Madison campus which serves about 40,000 students. Otherwise, Madison is largely residential.

The population is primarily White with minorities constituting 11 or 12 percent. About half of the minority population is Black; a significant number of the rest are Asian.

The City's crime rate is low relative to that of other medium size cities. According to 1987 Department data, there were 418 violent crimes (murder, manslaughter, sexual assault, rape, robbery, aggravated assault), reported to the Department in that year. There were 16,254 property crimes. Total calls for service to the Department in 1987 numbered 100,431. In 1989, there were 482 violent crimes, 16,564 property crimes, and 101,195 total calls for service.

A.1.b. The Department

The Madison Police Department has 295 commissioned officers and 129 civilians (54 of whom are school crossing guards). The Department is led by Police Chief David C. Couper who has been in that position since 1973. Under Chief Couper, the Department has one deputy chief for operations who oversees the captains of the Experimental Patrol District (EPD), the Patrol Bureau, and the Detective Bureau. Besides the three operations captains, the Department has an executive captain, a captain for records and traffic, a captain for training, and an

inspector in charge of planning.³ Finally, the Department has a Neighborhood Services Bureau (a forerunner to the EPD) led by a sergeant.

The Department is centralized, providing nearly all its services from one downtown location. The Department's only decentralized facilities are the EPD and eight offices located in high-need neighborhoods around the City. These offices are staffed by officers of the Neighborhood Services Bureau who are responsible for problem solving, community organizing, and other proactive activities in their assigned neighborhoods. They are generally not responsible for answering calls for service. Their assignments last for three years.

A.2. Planning for the EPD

In 1986, Chief Couper proposed utilizing one of the City's existing patrol districts for the creation of the EPD, a decentralized station at which new ways of organizing the workplace and new methods of service delivery could be developed and tested. Planning for the EPD was handled by a team of persons representing all areas and ranks of the Department. The planning process began in July of 1986 with a meeting for all those interested in the project. Those attending the meeting decided how the EPD project team would be chosen and they designated a selection committee to choose the team. Application for membership on the project team was open to all interested personnel. The selection committee then chose 10 people to serve on the team. Chief Couper reserved the right to choose a team leader and name a team facilitator. Additionally, he established a project coordinating team to act as a steering committee and assist the project team. The coordinating team consisted of Chief Couper, four captains, and the president of the officers' union.

A.2.a. The Project Area

One of the project team's first major tasks was to choose the project area from among the Department's six existing districts. In doing so, they used criteria which included area demographics, calls for service, crime profile, and need for services. The district they chose constitutes 10 square miles, making it about one-sixth of the City. The district also contains approximately one-sixth of the City's population with 29,000 people living in an estimated 12,775 households. The district has 11 neighborhood associations and 3 business groups, and there are four alderpersons representing areas within the district.

The population of the area is diverse and includes Whites, Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, and Hispanics. Relative to other areas of the City, minorities are

³ By 1991, there were four patrol captains, each in charge of an area of the City, and there were no longer inspectors in the MPD.

overrepresented. Another significant feature is a large student population in one portion of the district.

Overall, the EPD accounts for 20 percent of the City's reported crimes. More specifically, the district experienced 17.7 percent of the City's property crimes, 16.9 percent of the personal crimes, and 16.7 percent of the general disturbances in 1986. Also in that year, the district had 15,761 calls for service which amounted to 16.3 percent of the Department's total. Nearly 40 percent of the district's calls involved assists, parking, accidents, or noise complaints.

A.2.b. Participation in the Planning Process

As a first step in the planning process, project team members identified organizational problems that they felt needed to be corrected, such as lack of meaningful involvement with the community, lack of teamwork and/or team identity among officers, inflexible management styles and resulting loss of creativity, and lack of communication and information exchange among ranks. Team members next met in small groups with all the Department's employees to find out what they felt needed to be corrected. In addition, an EPD newsletter was published to keep personnel informed about EPD developments, and employees were invited to attend weekly EPD planning meetings whenever they wished.

The project team also made efforts to get feedback from special groups within the Department. Sergeants, lieutenants, and captains were asked to identify what they thought should be the responsibilities of managers at the EPD. The Madison Professional Police Officers Association was consulted in the planning process as well.

To get citizens involved, the project team held a total of eight community meetings in the project area, two in each alderman's district. The first set of meetings in each district was for people whom the Department and aldermen designated as community leaders. The second set of meetings was open to all concerned citizens. At the meetings, citizens were questioned about their knowledge of and satisfaction with police services, neighborhood problems and concerns, and how they felt police could work with them in responding to problems. The group process used at the meeting resulted in listing of problems rated by priority.

A.2.c. Staffing the EPD

Interested officers and sergeants were able to choose the EPD assignment as well as their shifts on a seniority basis. The captain and lieutenant (initially the EPD had only one lieutenant) were chosen according to a two part process. First, a list of interested candidates was given to the project team and all personnel who would be working at the EPD. All of the project team members and

EPD personnel voted for their choice at each position. In the second phase of the selection process, the candidates answered essay questions developed by the project team. All project team members and EPD members then voted on the best essays. Identities of the essay respondents were kept anonymous. Scores from both phases were totalled and the selections made.

A.2.d. Training

In addition to the Quality/Productivity training which all members of the Department received, the EPD conducted its own four-day training session. Professor Herman Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin Law School spent one of these days discussing problem oriented policing with the group. Problem oriented policing is an operational philosophy that calls for officers to look beyond individual incidents (crimes, disturbances, etc.) to identify recurring problems and, most importantly, the underlying causes which contribute to those problems. Once these problems are better understood, officers should draw upon both police and community resources to address the problems, thereby preventing future incidents.

Much of the rest of the EPD training focused on decentralization issues and developing teamwork. Trainers also discussed the use of data for problem analysis and measurement of problem resolution.

The EPD continues to hold training sessions when necessary to address issues that arise. Patrol officers, neighborhood officers, and detectives who work the same area are brought together to identify area problems and work on solutions. Occasionally, the EPD invites personnel from the Department's central station to attend EPD training sessions to discuss problems between EPD and central personnel. Though the training function will remain formally at the central station, EPD managers feel that having their own training sessions has facilitated teamwork and the handling of area problems.

A.3. Station Personnel and Facilities

Opened in April 1988, the EPD currently has 41 sworn employees: 22 patrol officers (the station is authorized to have 23), 3 neighborhood officers, 6 detectives, 3 parking monitors, 4 sergeants, 1 lieutenant, and 1 captain. The captain has responsibility for all patrol and investigative operations at the station. The captain reports to the Department's deputy chief of operations but has substantial flexibility in running the EPD. Besides the sworn personnel, the EPD has a civilian stenographer, 2 volunteers, and, at times, one or more student interns.

The EPD station is a small building approximately 30' x 50'. There are two floors. The ground floor provides the operational space. The basement contains

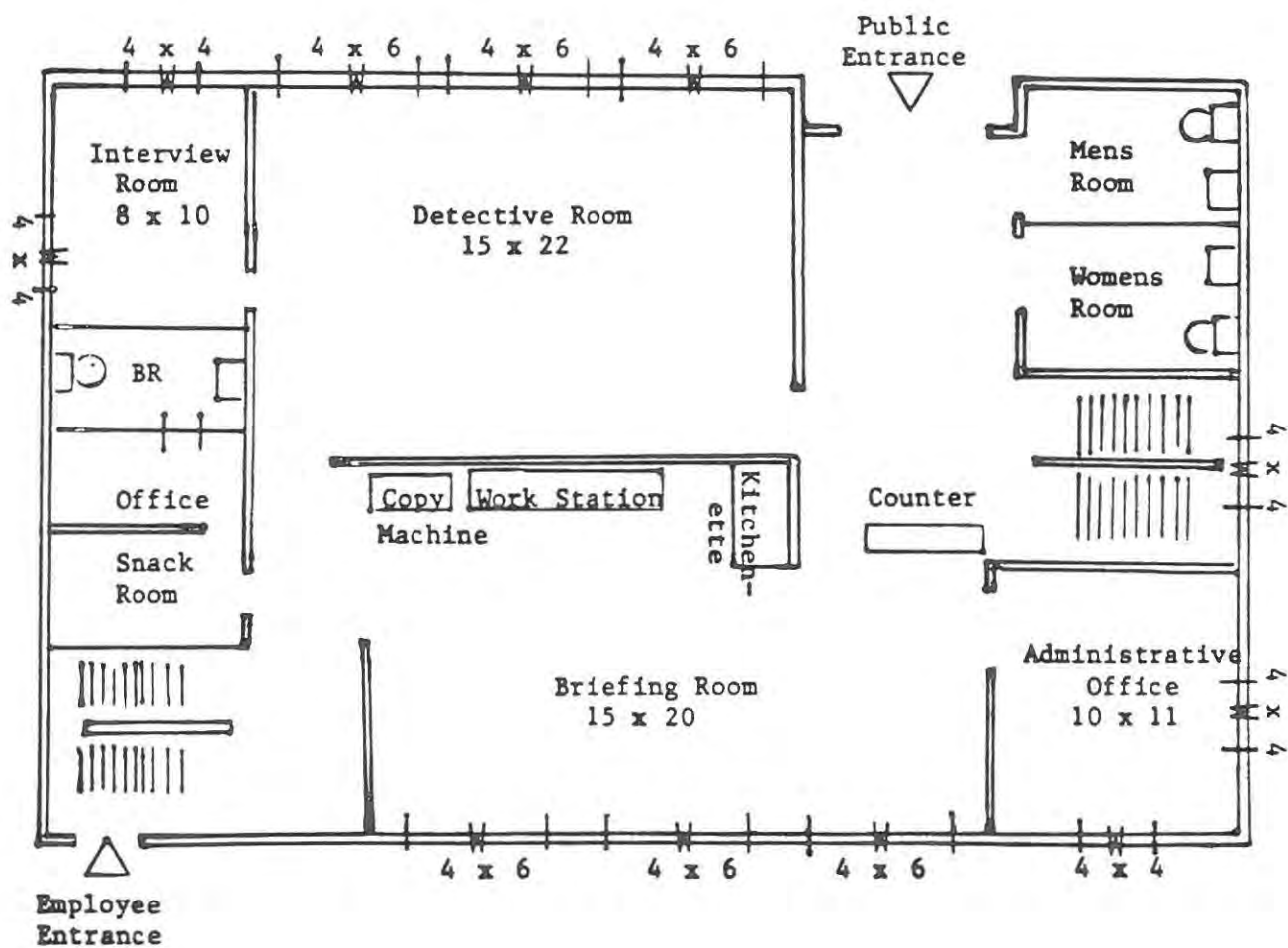
lockers for officers, an exercise area, and storage space. It has work areas for the officers and detectives, a room for equipment and temporary storage of evidence, and a reception area (see Floor Plan, Exhibit 4-1). There is a computer at the station that is linked to the Department's main computer and can be used for things such as address checks, license checks, and readouts on area crimes and calls for service. The station has a fax machine and a copy machine.

The computer is at a work station between the copy machine and a "kitchenette" area where a sink, small refrigerator, and coffee pot are located. These are on one wall of the briefing room which is dominated by a large table surrounded by comfortable chairs. The arrangement suggests a corporate conference room rather than a traditional roll call room. There is no podium and no special commander's chair. The service counter that citizens approach from the public entrance is open to the briefing room. The secretary's desk is situated at the end of the briefing room adjacent to the administrative office. To go anywhere else in the building, the captain or lieutenant, who are in the administrative office, pass through the briefing room. There is no separate lounge area in the building. If someone wants to sit down for a cup of coffee or to eat a meal they have bought with them, they do it at the briefing room table. This is also where officers do paperwork. If there are committee meetings, this is where they occur. Because of its location and the functions, the briefing room is critical to (and probably a major cause of) the close interactions among all EPD personnel. It even facilitates interaction across shifts. While it is the core of the workspace, it is also the EPD "family room"—a place where officers often gather to talk prior to the beginning of their shift and where they are likely to remain for a period afterward for conversation or coffee. It is not uncommon to find personnel from two different shifts talking together before briefing.

If additional decentralized stations are built, it is expected they will have more space and equipment than does the EPD. At that time, the EPD, too, may be moved to a larger facility. If they had the option, EPD personnel would vote for

FLOOR PLAN FOR EXPERIMENTAL POLICE DISTRICT BUILDING

BADGER ROAD



PEKRY SIKLEI

PARKING LOT

expanded space, but they very probably would remain sensitive to its configuration. When some new officers transferred into the EPD at the end of the evaluation period, they suggested at an early group meeting that the briefing room be moved into available basement space so there would be fewer disruptions during meetings and when doing paperwork. The long-term EPD members explained the multiple advantages of the upstairs location, and the arrangement remained unchanged. Clearly, space configuration can facilitate or hinder team-building.

A.4. Quality/Productivity Management

The concept of Quality Leadership is viewed as the foundation for the other changes being implemented at the EPD and the rest of the department. This management philosophy is based heavily on the work of management expert Edwards Deming (1986), who holds that managers should seek the input of their employees in making decisions and make efforts to better understand the needs and perceptions of the customers (for police, citizens) they serve. Deming calls this approach "Quality Productivity" (Q/P). Its ends are better service and a healthier and more rewarding workplace for employees. In practice, Q/P means interacting with customers to determine which services need improvement, using the expertise of line personnel to improve work processes, collecting data and using it to inform decision-making, and allowing employees to have greater control over their working conditions.

In Madison, these ideas are reflected in the Department's Twelve Principles of Quality Leadership. (Emphases are those of the Madison Police Department.)

1. Believe in, foster and support TEAMWORK.
2. Be committed to the PROBLEM-SOLVING process; use it and let DATA, not emotions, drive decisions.
3. Seek employees' INPUT before you make key decisions.
4. Believe that the best way to improve the quality of work or service is to ASK and LISTEN to employees who are doing the work:
5. Strive to develop mutual RESPECT and TRUST among employees.
6. Have a CUSTOMER orientation and focus toward employees and citizens.
7. Manage on the BEHAVIOR of 95 percent of employees and not on the 5 percent who cause problems.
8. IMPROVE SYSTEMS and examine processes before blaming people.
9. Avoid "top-down," POWER-ORIENTED decision-making whenever possible.
10. Encourage CREATIVITY through RISK-TAKING and be tolerant of honest MISTAKES.

11. Be a FACILITATOR and COACH. Develop an OPEN atmosphere that encourages providing and accepting FEEDBACK.
12. With teamwork, develop with employees agreed-upon GOALS and a PLAN to achieve them.

These principles are guiding the entire Department at this time but are given concerted attention in the EPD where the managers were selected, in part, because of their personal commitment to these ideas. The captain and lieutenant report seeing themselves as facilitators of officers' efforts to identify and solve problems. Their goals are to become coaches and teachers who allow and encourage creativity and risk-taking among officers. They have given officers substantial latitude to decide their own schedules, determine their work conditions, and decide how to address neighborhood problems. In other matters, the managers consider the input of employees before making decisions.

EPD managers try to encourage problem-solving by offering ideas, information, and scheduling alternatives. Yet they do not direct officers to do any particular neighborhood problem-solving activities. Initially, the EPD project team had planned for EPD personnel to develop specific community policing strategies for the station. However, it was decided after opening the station that EPD officers should individually, or in smaller teams, identify neighborhood problems and plan responses. Though things moved slowly at the beginning, the managers report that they are starting to see increased use of problem-solving as a tool.

When officers identify problems, they are free to consult other officers and their supervisors to make arrangements for the necessary time and resources to address the problems. (This means ensuring there will be enough people working, enough cars available, etc.). To date, the managers feel this practice has worked well. Officers have worked cooperatively, switching their days off or changing their schedules in other ways to accommodate their colleagues. Managers provide support by facilitating teamwork between shifts and coordinating the efforts of officers wishing to address the same problems.

To help make time for problem-solving and shift meetings, the sergeants, the lieutenant, and even the captain work the streets from time to time. This has the added benefit of giving the managers a better sense of the types of data their officers need in order to identify and address neighborhood problems and the type of resources needed. The EPD managers tend to think of this as management participation versus participatory management. By occasionally working the streets to allow officers time for other activities, the managers add to the sense of teamwork among the EPD employees. To illustrate, one evening a sergeant needed an officer to stake out a liquor store suspected of selling to minors. Because it was considered a boring assignment, no one volunteered. Rather than arbitrarily assign it, the sergeant said he would work it. During the course of the stakeout, however, he was

visited at one point or another by all of the shift officers, each of whom offered to relieve him.

Supervision and discipline are deliberately more informal at the EPD than in the rest of the Department. Managers consciously attempt to accept honest mistakes. As stated previously, officers are given wider latitude for carrying out problem-solving activities and are encouraged to seek innovative solutions and take risks. Accordingly, disciplinary actions are more likely to begin with an attempt at reconciliation between citizen and officer. When looking at incidents between officers and citizens or officers and other officers, EPD managers are not as quick to label incidents as complaints and to institute formal processes. Instead, incidents are examined to see whether they involved honest operational mistakes or blatant wrongdoing.

Further, by sharing decision-making with officers, the managers have fostered supervision by peers. Rather than depending on their sergeants to handle problems among officers, EPD officers are learning to handle these issues through group discussion at shift meetings and roll call meetings.

Thus, the environment created at the EPD is one in which compromise, teamwork, and creativity are stressed. Within the framework of Quality Leadership, the EPD managers encourage community policing by giving officers the flexibility to pursue their interests and address community needs.

A.5. Patrol Operations

A.5.a Patrol Deployment

The EPD uses three patrol shifts, a 7 am to 3 pm day shift, a 3 pm to 11 pm evening shift, and an 11 pm to 7 am night shift. When the station opened, the patrol officers felt each shift should decide how to deploy its personnel throughout the district. As a result, each shift devised a different deployment scheme. The day shift, to illustrate one arrangement, divides the district into two areas. On a given day, there is usually one permanently assigned officer in each of the two areas, who is responsible for the neighborhoods in the area, while two other officers act as "rovers" covering the whole district. Thus, not all of the patrol officers have responsibility for specific neighborhoods. The district is small enough, however, for all of the officers to be familiar with the various neighborhoods. Shifts may be rotated after one year and are chosen by seniority.

Officers communicate with their counterparts on other shifts through a shift overlap procedure. Officers finishing their shifts return to the station a few minutes early while officers on the next shift come in a few minutes early. Dispatchers facilitate this by placing the EPD's non-emergency calls on hold during the last half-

hour of each shift. The shift overlap procedure provides an opportunity for officers to discuss important events and general conditions of their areas. Officers also use phone calls and notes to communicate with personnel on different shifts.

Dispatch for the City of Madison is now handled by employees of the county government through the county's new 911 system. Dispatchers try to keep EPD officers in their district as much as possible and do not send them out of the district for low priority or routine calls. If a shift uses rover officers, they act as backups whenever possible to help the permanently assigned officers stay in their areas. Nevertheless, beat integrity is not always maintained, and officers are sometimes too busy handling calls to do problem-solving.

A.5.b. Patrol Strategies

EPD officers report they are beginning to interact to a greater extent with citizens. When answering service calls, officers make notes and ask citizens if there are problems, other than the subject of the call, about which the officers should know. Officers also make more efforts to talk informally with citizens, visit businesses and schools, and attend neighborhood meetings. This reflects an emphasis on what managers at the EPD and in the rest of the Department call "value added service." Basically, this means going the extra distance to do a good job: spending more time at calls for service; making follow-up visits or calls to problem addresses; analyzing calls for service to identify problems and proactively contacting those involved to seek a solution; and, in general, taking more time to understand the problems and concerns of citizens.

Officers from the EPD cooperated with a neighborhood association, for instance, to correct a speeding problem in one of the district's neighborhoods. In a community meeting with EPD officers, area residents had identified speeding on a particular street as a major concern. Three officers worked the problem street by setting up an electronic sign that displayed the speed of passing cars and pulling over speeding motorists. Instead of issuing tickets, though, the officers gave the speeders warnings. Neighborhood residents participated with the officers by delivering personal pleas to the speeders and giving them a flyer explaining the speeding problem and showing them what they would have been fined had the officers chosen to give them tickets. (See Chapter VI for an evaluation of this effort.)

Patrol officers at the EPD are allowed to develop their own, individualized patrol strategies if they wish; managers encourage problem solving but do not force it. Getting the officers involved in problem-solving has been a gradual process. Some of the officers who came to the EPD came for reasons other than the opportunity to do community-oriented policing. They may have been attracted by the EPD management style or by the chance to work a different shift, work closer to home, or enjoy more convenient parking. Nonetheless, active problem solving

officers have, in some cases, drawn these other officers into community-oriented work by asking for their help on different projects.

The flexibility EPD officers have to pursue interests and the teamwork orientation of the EPD employees are the major forces behind changes in service delivery. If, for example, a patrol officer wishes to work plainclothes on a burglary problem, he is free to set it up with his supervisor and any other officer, such as a detective or a neighborhood officer, with whom he would like to work on the problem. In another police setting, such a request from a patrol officer might be denied out of concern for the awkward, unmanageable precedent it would set. At the EPD, this is the desired precedent.

A.5.c. Patrol Management

Patrol sergeants at the EPD spend some of their time working with patrol officers on the streets. The sergeants meet with their officers at daily briefings to discuss the officers' area observations and activities. (The EPD has not yet developed an instrument for formal documentation of officers' neighborhood problem-solving activities).⁴ In an administrative capacity, sergeants are responsible for a number of tasks, most importantly setting work schedules that will maintain necessary staffing levels and accommodate officers' problem solving activities. Further, they hold regular meetings with their officers at which they discuss issues such as scheduling, problem-solving, training, personnel matters, and other topics of concern to the officers.

The lieutenant and the captain have patrol management responsibilities that are, to some degree, interchangeable. Besides their administrative tasks, they are leaders in problem solving. They do this, in part, by collecting and presenting crime statistics, accident statistics, information on repeat calls for service, results of surveys given to citizens and EPD personnel, and information they receive from neighborhood groups and alderpersons. The lieutenant and captain work evening and night shifts on occasion to make themselves available to officers working those shifts. They also work the streets when necessary to make time for shift meetings or other special activities. Finally, they act as the lead liaisons with neighborhood groups, district alderpersons, and the Department's central personnel.

A.5.d. Neighborhood Officers

The EPD has three neighborhood officers who work out of offices located in designated troubled neighborhoods. Technically, they are part of the central Neighborhood Services Bureau, but an EPD sergeant has been given

⁴ This remains true in 1993.

supervisory responsibility for the three located within the EPD in order to give them an advocate in the EPD management team. To integrate themselves with the EPD team, the neighborhood officers try to attend EPD briefings as often as possible.

The neighborhood officers play a leading role in community policing efforts in the district. Because they have fixed locations and are not generally responsible for answering service calls, they have more opportunities for contact with citizens. The citizens who live in their neighborhoods have come to know the officers and often visit them in the small, storefront (or apartment) offices to discuss neighborhood problems. Regular patrol officers do not usually experience this level of interaction because they are normally going to people rather than having people come to them. The neighborhood officers get copies of all police reports concerning their areas. They are, thus, in a position to act as leaders and resource persons in problem-solving in their areas.

In the past, there had been some aloofness between neighborhood officers and patrol officers. This was due, in part, to the fact that the neighborhood officer job was relatively new to the Department and not yet widely understood. It also resulted from the neighborhood officers' physical isolation, different responsibilities, irregular work hours, and organizational position. But this situation is beginning to change at the EPD. Two of the EPD's current neighborhood officers are former EPD patrol officers. Their previous experience as EPD patrol officers has suggested to them ways to work more effectively as team members. Moreover, the neighborhood officers were chosen by an EPD committee which defined selection criteria and outlined performance expectations for neighborhood officers.

The neighborhood officers are making efforts to be accessible to patrol officers and detectives on all shifts by working some nights and rotating their days off. Also, having recently been assigned cars, they are assisting more often with calls for service by backing up patrol officers and handling calls when their area patrol officers have been dispatched to other areas.

The neighborhood officers are taking advantage of the teamwork orientation at the EPD to get other officers involved in problem solving activities. When problems come to their attention, they contact the patrol officers and/or detectives who work the area and ask for assistance in developing and implementing strategies. The neighborhood officers now report that patrol officers and detectives also come to them with neighborhood problems.

The major difficulty in the neighborhood officers' job is handling the many and varied requests for service they receive. Because of their high visibility, they are contacted frequently and are sometimes asked for assistance more appropriately provided by other agencies. They have to learn when and where to refer various matters and how to balance a wide range of tasks and service requests. They must

also learn to guard against emotional burn-out which can result from heavy involvement with the people and problems in their neighborhood.

A.6. Investigative Operations

For investigative purposes, the EPD is divided into three geographic areas with two detectives working in each. The detectives are generalists responsible for all types of cases occurring in their areas. Exceptions are homicides, narcotics offenses, juvenile intake, court liaison, and arson, all of which are handled by central detectives. However, EPD detectives are involved in homicides and narcotics investigations occurring in the district, and one detective at the EPD is currently receiving training in arson investigations. For example, if a homicide occurs in the EPD, EPD detectives assist in the investigation but do not have primary responsibility for the case. In addition, the central investigator handling the homicide reports to the captain of the EPD as well as his or her own lieutenant.

The investigators assign cases among themselves and do their own case screening. By reading through all of the district's cases, they are familiar with happenings throughout the district. Initially, detectives at the EPD had crime-specific specialties as do the centralized detectives. After the EPD had been in operation for six months, the detectives decided to experiment with area-specialist, crime-generalist responsibilities, thus making a deliberate effort to integrate their activities with patrol officers' and neighborhood officers' neighborhood activities. When the experimental period ended, the detectives chose to maintain the area focus and operate as crime generalists. Detectives still use their colleagues' crime-specific expertise for consulting and brainstorming.

In some instances, there are cases with very few solvability factors to which no investigator is assigned. An EPD volunteer makes follow-up calls to the people involved in these cases to let them know detectives will not be assigned to the cases and to explain why. The volunteer then inquires as to whether there are other matters of which the police should be aware. (The EPD is now considering doing a survey to test the satisfaction levels of those who received such follow-up calls versus those who did not).

Though they primarily do follow-up investigations, the detectives are becoming more involved in proactive crime prevention strategies. Detectives now attend community meetings, and one detective is working on a program with the district's schools. Sometimes detectives use information from reports of cases considered unworkable to identify locations where problems seem to be recurring and situations may be "smoldering;" they then contact the people involved in an effort to prevent problem escalation. One detective went door-to-door in a neighborhood that was having a burglary problem. Besides giving residents information about the problem and the suspect(s), the detective received information from the people contacted.

Since the EPD's opening, interaction and cooperation between patrol officers and investigators have increased significantly. The small size of the EPD station results in a high level of informal interaction among all employees. Detectives routinely attend roll call with patrol officers. From survey data, it is apparent EPD detectives provide more assistance to patrol officers, share more information with patrol officers, and, in general, have a better working relationship with patrol officers than do their central counterparts. (See Chapter V.)

Cooperation between detectives and patrol officers at the EPD is evident in a number of ways. Officers and detectives often get together to discuss criminal activity and may pair up to search for suspects, and detectives have demonstrated a willingness to provide backup to patrol officers responding to service calls.

In addition, patrol officers are becoming more involved in criminal investigations. If detectives are overloaded, on vacation or days off, or attending training sessions, patrol officers may be assigned to do follow-up investigations. Officers also have the option of performing follow-up investigations on the calls for service they handle. A few of the patrol officers have exercised this option. When performing such investigations, officers are asked to give a copy of the report to the appropriate detective to avoid duplication of effort.

The emerging cooperation between patrol officers and detectives as well as between neighborhood officers and detectives has been aided by training sessions and meetings at which detectives are brought together with patrol officers, neighborhood officers, or both to work on area problems. Moreover, these meetings and training sessions provide opportunities for each group to discuss its expectations about how the other should perform.

A.7. Coordination/Implementation Issues

The coordination of centralized and decentralized operations is a challenge for the Department. Problems in this area concern dissemination of reports, exchange of information, and other "systems" issues. To some degree, there is the perception that two departments exist.

One group that attempts to identify and address these problems is the Department's management team. The team, which consists of the Department's deputy chief of operations, the captains of the Department's operational groups (EPD, patrol, and investigations), and the officers' union president, meets on a weekly basis to resolve management issues. For example, one issue the EPD captain brought to the group's attention concerned overtime. Because EPD officers are more flexible in changing their hours with other officers, they found they were losing out on overtime and overtime pay. Therefore, the Department made a list of all officers, EPD and central, working each shift. When an opportunity for overtime appears, the next

officer on the shift list is given the option of taking it, regardless of district assignments.

Further, the EPD has a designated sergeant working on systems issues. One problem he addressed involved court notifications. At the time, officers were not consistently informed when cases in which they were to testify were canceled in court. The sergeant developed a computer program for the district's and state's attorneys that automatically registers court cancellations with the EPD's computer. The system has since been adopted by the entire Department. The sergeant also resolved a records problem. To ensure EPD investigators received copies of offenses that occurred in the EPD but were reported to the central station, the sergeant devised an identification system for case reports that specifies in what area of the City the offenses occur. If further decentralization occurs, the system will be used to designate all cases by district.

Detectives and officers have dealt with coordination problems as well. Central detectives (particularly narcotics detectives) sometimes create confusion by operating in the EPD without notifying EPD detectives. To rectify this, EPD detectives and managers make contact with individuals who operate this way. Further, EPD personnel sometimes invite central detectives to attend EPD training sessions. This gives both sides an opportunity to exchange information and discuss procedural misunderstandings. Finally, all of the Department's night detectives meet at least once a month to share information.

Nevertheless, EPD detectives still have some difficulty getting access to central records, and there is no system in place for sharing criminal intelligence between central and EPD detectives. This constitutes one of the Department's major "systems" problems. In the future, this may be corrected, in part, by computerizing more information and establishing better computer facilities at the EPD and any other decentralized station(s). But rectifying this problem will also require that the Department deal effectively with the central detectives' resistance to decentralization.

Central and EPD patrol officers have had some disputes over territorial issues. To avoid being too call-driven, many EPD officers feel it is important for them to remain in their district as much as possible and for non-EPD officers to stay out of the district. This contributes to the perception that there are two departments operating at the same time. Nonetheless, there has been some progress in resolving territorial issues. There used to be disagreements between EPD and central patrol officers as to who should handle calls in borderline areas. Better cooperation between EPD officers, central officers, and dispatchers has apparently ended this. Time, too, has served as a salve.

Personnel at the EPD have established good working relationships with several other government agencies, both in the City of Madison and in neighboring

jurisdictions. The EPD serves as the Department's main liaison to the City's detoxification center and also works well with the City's probation and parole agencies, hospitals, and other government and social service agencies. Officers make contact with these agencies as needed to address neighborhood crime and non-crime problems, and they refer citizens to them when appropriate. If problems arise between EPD personnel and any of these agencies, a supervisor or manager will call and, if necessary, set up a meeting to resolve them.

By the same token, EPD personnel have greatly improved their own coordination with the neighboring Town of Madison. Traditionally, relations between police in the City and Town have not been particularly good. Yet relations between EPD officers and Town of Madison officers have improved to the point where they back one another up on calls and often cooperate in solving problems which affect both jurisdictions. To illustrate, EPD and Town of Madison officers recently implemented a project to crack down on juveniles stealing cars. With the help of the town's officers, EPD officers strictly enforced the City's curfew law on a series of weekends. Town of Madison officers kept an eye out for juveniles trying to avoid the curfew law by crossing into the town.

A.8. Evaluation

A.8.a. Individual Performance

The Madison Police Department stopped conducting individual performance evaluations a number of years ago. Consequently, a formal mechanism for receiving feedback on one's performance does not exist. The EPD is now surveying its personnel about whether they favor development of a new instrument or system to replace the Department's old personnel evaluations. For the present, though, personnel must rely on more informal mechanisms.

EPD personnel receive feedback on their individual performance from a variety of sources. They get feedback from their peer groups and superiors in the course of everyday work and during meetings and training sessions. Managers also give out "quality cards."⁵ These cards, originated by Chief Couper, are basically thank-you notes that commend a person for a job well done. The quality cards are signed by the captain, the appropriate lieutenant, and, if the recipient is a patrol officer, the officer's sergeant.

⁵ By 1991 there were instances of officers issuing quality cards to managers. The chief, who rides patrol at night one month each summer, received a card from an officer who commended the Chief's back-up assistance at an incident.

Managers at the EPD use the "four-way check" to get an idea of how they're performing with respect to quality leadership. The four-way check is an instrument the Department developed to test whether managers are practicing the twelve principles of quality leadership adopted by the Department. Managers give the form to their superiors, other officers of the same rank and their subordinates. Based on the information they receive, they then use the form for a self-evaluation, thereby completing the fourth check. After this, they discuss the results with their superiors. The purpose of the whole exercise is to identify strengths, areas that need improvement, and ways of making needed improvements.

Though supervisors and managers are not required to complete the four-way check, those at the EPD do so. Initially, the EPD officers were uncomfortable doing the check; they didn't think it was their job to evaluate superiors. They now routinely accept this function. The quality of feedback depends, of course, on the individual doing the evaluation, but the managers feel the overall effect of the four-way check has been positive.

Citizens are also given the opportunity to provide feedback on individual officers' performance. The Department developed a "customer survey" which it sends to all persons (even those arrested) involved in randomly selected cases. Among other questions, the survey asks the respondent to rank the quality of the responding officer's service on the following eight dimensions: concern, helpfulness, knowledge, fairness, solving the problem, putting you at ease, professional conduct, and response time. In the EPD the form is sent with a return envelope that has the responding officer's IBM number on the mailing label. This way, the form is sent directly to the officer. This differs from the way the citizen surveys are used in the rest of the Department where they are unidentified by officer and are returned to the Chief's office to be analyzed and summarized, with no feedback provided to individual officers. Although the EPD officers receive responses about calls they made, the questionnaires are sufficiently general in nature that the officer cannot identify the responding citizen. Nevertheless, they are very attentive to the comments.

The feedback from these forms is for the officers' personal development and is not used for evaluation by superiors. At this point, it is too early to tell whether these surveys are actually affecting officers' behavior. One vignette, however, suggests that they have the potential to do so. One day an officer who had received a critical review chose to read it, as is commonly done, to colleagues in the briefing room. He read it in a manner that communicated the assumption he would be joined by peers in dismissing both the criticism and the citizen as inappropriate. His colleagues remained silent. The reader fell silent.

A.8.b. Evaluating Overall EPD Performance

One way EPD managers evaluate the aggregate performance of their officers is by analyzing data from the customer surveys just discussed. Though the survey information is confidential, the managers asked their officers to share it anonymously, so that the overall results could be tabulated.

An analysis of the survey results from October and November of 1988 suggests EPD citizens rate the service of their police more highly than do citizens in other parts of the City. When compared with results from surveys Chief Couper sent out in other districts, EPD officers received higher average scores on the service dimensions. Differences in the mean scores for EPD and central personnel ranged from 6 percent on "professional conduct" to 10.5 percent on "concern."

Further, in December 1988, the EPD conducted a survey of its members that questioned them about their experiences at the decentralized station. The survey revealed EPD members were experiencing greater job satisfaction than they had in the past. Thirty out of thirty-five respondents rated their overall job satisfaction as somewhat higher (17) or very much higher (13) than their satisfaction in previous assignments. Another significant finding was that when personnel were asked to rank the factors influencing their decision to work at the EPD, the six factors they ranked highest concerned the management style and team orientation practiced at the EPD.

Managers at the EPD also evaluate the station's performance by collecting information on things such as calls for service, individual crimes, and traffic accidents. They examine the data to see if there are differences in pre-EPD figures and current figures and, if there are differences, try to figure out why the differences exist. In this manner, they attempt to build on successes and correct weaknesses. Finally, managers receive feedback from neighborhood groups and district alderpersons that helps them to know when problems are being addressed and solved.

As a final word on internal evaluation, it is noteworthy that internal evaluation efforts at the EPD focus on feedback from citizens and employees. This is a reflection of the quality leadership principles which stress understanding the needs and perceptions of customers, creating a healthy environment for employees, and utilizing the expertise of those who carry out the organization's line work.

A.9. Final Observations

The Madison Police Department has made much progress, particularly at the EPD, in establishing quality leadership practices and creating positive change in its internal environment. Starting at the top with Chief Couper, there is a clear commitment to quality leadership and innovation. Moreover, managers at the EPD

have demonstrated the effectiveness of these practices in a decentralized setting that promotes creativity, teamwork, and employee participation in decision-making.

As stated previously, the major problems the Department and the EPD face concern decentralization "systems" issues. Noted problem areas include access to records and exchange of information between EPD and central detectives. These problems are gradually being resolved as EPD and central personnel identify and address them on an ongoing basis.

Progress has also been made in implementing community-oriented policing. Though not all personnel at the EPD use problem solving as a tool, officers and detectives seem to feel more ownership of their neighborhoods and are more responsive to citizens' concerns. Further, neighborhood officers and other community-oriented patrol officers and detectives are acting as catalysts, using teamwork to get their peers involved in problem solving efforts. As time has passed, more of the officers and detectives have come to see community-oriented methods as an effective way of dealing with crime and disorder. At this point, the most important development at the EPD is the creation of an environment that encourages and facilitates proactive efforts to understand and resolve neighborhood problems.

B. The Context of the Experimental Police District Implementation

The implementation of the Experimental Police District did not, of course, occur in a vacuum. The phenomenon of the EPD and the process that produced it are part of a larger context with at least three levels: the Madison Police Department; the City of Madison; and the profession of policing.

B.1. The Madison Police Department

The context of the Department can be divided into the current context and the historical context.

The current context within which the EPD opened its doors was that of an organization with a highly educated and socially diverse workforce. In 1988 approximately one-half of the MPD employees had a college education or higher degree. Nineteen percent of the employees were women. While the preponderance of employees (and the entire command staff) were White, there were several Hispanics and Blacks in supervisory ranks and the detective bureau. There was a high ranking female on the management team.

Even prior to the evolution of Quality Leadership, managers did not appear to be heavily traditional in their management style. The command staff was relatively

young, not overtly concerned with rank and power, and they appeared "approachable." Managers and supervisors collectively gave the impression of being committed to the job, the organization, and the community.

Organizational life was relaxed but orderly and respectful. In 1987 the odor of popcorn might have been a visitor's first hint of the organizational culture. There was little apparent apprehension about the physical security of the building or individual offices; there was no sense of a "fortress mentality" even after a fatal shooting that occurred in the hallway of the City/County Building where the Department is housed. Dress codes did not appear to be rigid but Madison officers, almost without exception, appeared neat and professional. The same was true of work spaces. There were no potentially offensive calendars, posters, or cartoons on the wall. Observers overheard no crude jokes, no racial or ethnic slurs. Cultural diversity within the workforce was a value that was strongly stated in the Department's mission statement, and was reinforced by the atmosphere of the organization.⁶

A sense of respectfulness was noted in the daily work of officers. Observers saw citizens virtually always well treated, regardless whether the citizen was a college professor in a community meeting or a rumpled drunk in a holding cell. Officers were courteous and competent. During the project, an issue of considerable concern to the management team was the appropriate response to an officer who had reported his own mistreatment of a citizen. A person lying under a bush would not move when the officer requested that he do so; after repeated requests, the officer rapped the soles of the person's shoes with a night stick. The officer reported his actions, and the management team took under review.

While officers seemed directed by a clear sense of professional propriety, they did not appear bound by a narrow set of rules or expectations about the way in which work would be done. There seemed to be considerable latitude for individual styles. This tolerance for individuality meant there was no single line of thought about what the job should be or how it should be done; differences in approach resulted in discussion and analysis rather than conflict and hostility.

⁶ As with any of the other organizational goals, respect for cultural diversity did not occur as an automatic function of the Department adopting diversity as one of its values. In 1987 one researcher observed a few examples of graffiti in police locker rooms that indicated tension among officers of differing sexual orientations. In 1992, when officers were asked whether such graffiti still could be found, even officers in the targeted group responded negatively and had trouble recalling that there had once been some slurs scrawled on locker doors. The explanation offered was that as officers of various backgrounds, interests or orientations worked together and became acquainted, interpersonal tensions decreased.

With respect to organizational change, there is also an important historical context within which to consider the Department's efforts. The Madison Police Department has been experiencing planned change since at least 1973 when David Couper became Chief. A review of fifteen years of history at the time the project began (1987) revealed an organization that had been moving, if sometimes taking turns that were later abandoned, in the general direction in which the Department was focusing its efforts in 1987. In fact, Chief Couper gave an address to a local business group to which he had spoken shortly after taking office in 1973. In comparing his notes for the 1989 speech with those from the original speech, he was himself surprised to find the general outline of the current change effort in that early presentation. There has been, for many years in the Madison Department, a ongoing commitment to seek better, more effective ways of delivering police service.

That context was humorously, if somewhat sardonically, recorded on a tee shirt MPD officers designed in 1987. The shirt was blue with the gold logo of the Department printed over the left breast; it was proper and decorous. The back was covered with the following:

MADISON POLICE OFFICERS We've Survived	
ACADEMY TRAINING ADMINISTRATORS BAIL SCHEDULE REVISIONS BIKE PATROL BLUE TENT BOTTOM-UP MANAGEMENT BRAINSTORMING BUDGETARY PROCESS CALL DIVERSION CAREER DEVELOPMENT CHOIR PRACTICE COMMITTEES TO SELECT COMMITTEES COMPUTERIZED NEWSLETTERS CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS DEMING DISPATCHERS DOLLARS FOR DAVID ENGLISH PATROL METHOD EXPERIMENTAL POLICE DISTRICT EXTERNAL CUSTOMERS FACILITATOR FIELD TRAINING IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS INPUT-FEEDBACK IN-SERVICE INTERNAL AFFAIRS DIVISION _____ _____ _____ _____	LACK OF PRIORITIES LOW MORALE MANAGEMENT TEAM MEMOS MISSION STATEMENTS NEIGHBORHOOD BUREAU O.I.C. P & BB PINK PAPER "POLICE IN A FREE SOCIETY" POLICY MANUAL PORTABLE RADIO SELECTION POSTERIOR OSCULATION PRIMA DONNAS QUALITY LEADERSHIP QUALITY PRODUCTIVITY RECRUITMENT PROCESS RECTAL CRANIAL INVERSION ATTITUDE RESIDENCY RIOTS SEMI-AUTO TRANSITION S.O.S./N.R.U./S.P.T. SUBCOMPACT SQUADS TEDDY BEARS UNDERSTAFFING TO BE COMPLETED WITH FUTURE PROGRAMS
In spite of all this, we still get the job done!	

The list includes the usual police jokes and complaints; it also alludes to considerable experience with change and employee involvement in planning. Designing the Experimental Police District was far from the Department's first exposure to the change process.

A similar point is made more academically and with close attention to the change process in a publication by Chief Couper and Sabine Lobitz (1991) in which they describe the Madison experience with change in preparation for Quality Policing. They discuss the way in which the Officer's Advisory Committee, the Committee on the Future of the Department, participation in the City's Quality and Productivity efforts, development of a mission statement, experimentation with the Neighborhood Service Bureau, and a number of other steps all led incrementally to Quality Leadership and the planning of the Experimental Police District. The volume describes a continuing process of moving an organization and preparing it for additional change. It is valuable reading for any manager who seeks ways of improving an organization.

Apart from the specifics of Madison's experiences and the lessons they may hold, the critical point of either the tee shirt or the Couper and Lobitz volume is that the Department did not suddenly begin, in 1985 or 1986, to develop a management philosophy and a program and move off in new directions; there is a long history of organizational preparedness for the specific change process portrayed in this report. The Department's stated commitment to constant, steady improvement argues that the change process is and should be continuous.

B.2. The City of Madison

Couper and Lobitz describe in their monograph the involvement of the City of Madison in the Quality/Productivity (Q/P) movement, beginning in 1985 when the ideas were introduced by then-Mayor Joseph Sensenbrenner. (See also Sensenbrenner, 1991.) The City sponsored workshops and training in the Deming approach and the Mayor's office committed staff that helped train facilitators in various City departments. The Mayor established a competition among City departments to develop QP projects, one result of which was the plan for the Experimental Police District. It is apparent, and fully acknowledged by Chief Couper, that the commitment by the City to Deming's ideas was a major source of support and stimulation for the efforts in the Police Department. When Mayor Sensenbrenner lost re-election, there was concern about whether that support would continue under Mayor Paul Soglin who, after review of the ideas and their application in the City, has endorsed them.

The context of the City includes the University of Wisconsin where MPD employees are frequently enrolled in classes and the Chief, other managers, and employees may be invited to lecture. There are faculty members, including Herman Goldstein, the leading advocate of problem-oriented policing, who maintain a close relationship with the Department. Every semester law students or sociology students conduct observations or other research in the Department. These contacts and

access to the campus library facilitate the flow of professional literature and ideas through the Department.

Beyond this, the City of Madison and the State of Wisconsin are heirs of the "progressive tradition," a political philosophy and movement begun in the State during the last century. Its tenets of government involvement to improve quality of life continue to provide a socio-political underpinning for institutional change even in conservative political eras.

B.3. The Policing Profession

During the past twenty years, paralleling Chief Couper's tenure in Madison, the policing profession has developed a literature and a growing commitment to research as one important means of determining policies, procedures and organizational orientations. Many of the current Madison ideas (i.e., teamwork, participatory management, decentralization, closer contact with the community) were ideas being voiced in the just emerging body of police literature in the early 1970s. There were progressive chiefs who attempted to implement some of these same ideas then, only to find, in many cases, that they either did not know how to manage organizational change or that their organizations simply were not prepared to accept it. A literature and a body of research based on these ideas have developed over the past two decades. During this same period there has been ever increasing commitment to higher education for police and ever greater numbers of personnel have been enrolled in courses where the literature and these ideas were part of the curriculum. Twenty years ago police managers were confronted with some radically new notions about policing and police management. Police managers today take many of the same ideas for granted; they have grown up with them and they are now in positions to begin implementing them.

As they have become more highly educated, police managers have been more likely to absorb the management literature of other professions. The ideas behind Quality Leadership and employee participation are not the products of police literature and research; they come from the literature of business schools. Because police managers and employees of the 1990s are exposed to and seeking broader bases of knowledge, efforts to change police organizations may no longer be synonymous with trying to "bend granite" (Guyot, 1979).

V. INTERNAL EFFECTS: CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHANGE PROCESS FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

As discussed in Chapter III, the effects of the change process on the personnel of the Madison Police Department were assessed through a series of written surveys administered to all commissioned personnel at three times during the research period: (1) December, 1987 prior to the opening of the Experimental Police District; (2) one year later in December, 1988 and (3) again in December, 1989. Information about the process of survey administration and response rates is in Chapter III.

In most of the tables in this chapter, data are presented for four groups of respondents:

- I. Department (Non-EPD) Cross-Section: All respondents except those who completed a survey at either Time 1 or Time 3.
- II. EPD Cross-Section: All respondents who were in the EPD when they completed either a Time 1 or Time 3 survey. Note: Not all respondents in this group were in the EPD at both times.
- III. Department Panel: All respondents who completed surveys at all three survey periods and were never in the EPD during the study period.
- IV. EPD Panel: All respondents who completed a survey at all three times and were in the EPD at each survey period.

Data for the first two groups provide a snapshot view of the EPD and the rest of the Department at both survey periods and permit examination of changes over time for organizational groups.

The two panels are tightly defined so that members must have been in one organizational group or the other during the entire period of the study and must have completed a survey each of the three times it was administered. The definition limits the size of the groups (and thus makes statistical significance difficult to achieve for the EPD panel) but assures that change is measured for people whose organizational identity was consistent over the two year span of the study.

For clarity of presentation, data are presented from only the first and third survey periods (or, when items were not added until the second survey, for the second and third surveys). Analysis determined that the relationships across all three survey periods were linear; there were no effects that developed by the time of the second survey, only to disappear by the third one.

A. Quality Leadership

The first goal of the change process was the establishment of Quality Leadership. Was this accomplished? There is evidence that the significant strides have been made toward this objective, especially in the Experimental Police District (EPD). In the final personnel survey (1989) respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they felt that the twelve principles of Quality Leadership had been implemented. For each principle, respondents circled codes ranging from:

- 1 = strongly disagree, to
- 5 = strongly agree.

A neutral attitude is represented by a score of 3.

Table 5-1 reports the mean response for each of the principles and the level of significance of difference between the responses for Non-EPD and EPD panel respondents. In these tables "Prob." is an abbreviation for "probability," or the likelihood that the reported finding could have occurred by chance. In this report, the probability level that is considered statistically "significant" is .05 or less, meaning that the chances are 5 (or fewer) in 100 that the finding could have occurred by chance.

Non-EPD panel respondents are those individuals who completed all three surveys and were never in the EPD during the study period. EPD panel respondents completed all three surveys and were always in the EPD during the course of the study.

TABLE 5-1
EXTENT TO WHICH QUALITY LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED
Item Means and Probabilities
EPD (N=25) and Non-EPD (N=144) Panel Respondents
Time 3 Only

Non-EPD	EPD	Prob.
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"My team supervisors and/or leaders..."

improve systems and examine processes before blaming people.	3.0	4.0	.00*
have a customer orientation and focus toward employees and citizens.	3.2	4.2	.00*
believe the best way to improve the quality of work or service is to ask and listen to employees who do the work.	3.1	4.1	.00*
are committed to the problem-solving process using data, not emotions, to drive decisions.	3.1	3.9	.00*
are facilitator and coaches who develop an open atmosphere that encourages providing and accepting feedback.	3.1	4.1	.00*
encourage creativity through risk-taking and are tolerant of honest mistakes.	3.2	4.2	.00*
avoid top-down, power oriented decision-making whenever possible.	2.8	4.3	.00*
manage on the behavior of 95 percent of employees and not on the 5 percent who cause problems, dealing with the 5 percent promptly and fairly.	3.0	4.1	.00*
believe in, foster, and support teamwork.	3.3	4.2	.00*
through teamwork, develop agreed upon goals with employees and a plan to achieve them.	3.0	3.8	.00*
seek employees' input before making key decisions.	3.0	4.1	.00*
strive to develop mutual respect and trust among employees.	3.2	4.0	.00*

*Significance $\leq .05$. Two-tailed T-test.

For each Quality Leadership principle, the respondents in the EPD panel were significantly more likely than the respondents in the Non-EPD panel to say their supervisors or leaders have successfully implemented the principles. The responses of Non-EPD personnel hovered around the neutral midpoint (=3) while the average EPD response was slightly higher than "agree" (=4).

As suggested by the principles listed in Table 5-1, involvement of personnel in organizational decision-making was an important goal of the change process.

Table 5-2 reports responses to four survey items that form a scale used to measure the extent to which respondents saw themselves as participating in organizational decision-making.⁷ The scale items are:

In general, I have much say and influence over what goes on in regard to my job.

If I have a suggestion for improving my job in some way, it is easy for me to communicate my ideas to management.

I feel MPD employees can influence the decisions of management regarding those issues of concern to employees.

My supervisor frequently seeks my opinion when a problem comes up involving my job environment.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 5 = strongly agree.

Scales scores can range from 4 to 20. For this scale, a neutral attitude (neither agree nor disagree) is represented by a score of 12.

⁷ Scale is from Vroom, 1959.

TABLE 5-2
PERCEPTIONS OF PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	11.6 (N=217)	12.5 (N=189)	.00*	2.24 (.004)*
EPD Cross-Section	11.5 (N=37)	14.7 (N=38)	.00*	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 140)	11.9	12.7	.00*	2.38 (.001)*
EPD Panel (N=25)	11.5	14.9	.00*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

All four groups showed a significant increase in the extent to which they believed participatory management was a reality in the Madison Police Department. The entire Department was immediately beneath the neutral point (=12) at Time 1; the Non-EPD part of the Department moved just past the neutral point while the EPD moved almost 3 points beyond it. With 20 as the highest possible scale score, there remains room for development of participatory management in both the EPD and the rest of the Department. In both the cross-sectional and the panel data, the belief that participatory management existed in the organization was significantly related with EPD membership at Time 3.

The evidence in Tables 5-2 and 5-3 of the move toward Quality Leadership and participatory management is reinforced by repeated interviews the research team conducted with the Department's executive staff (captains and above plus the Chief's executive assistant and the head of the union). The initial interviews, conducted in the summer of 1988, indicated that the executive staff tended to feel that principles of Quality Leadership were desirable in theory. Several respondents expressed concern, however, about the lack of shared understanding of what the principles meant operationally. Some worried that organizational enthusiasm for quality leadership could lead managers to compete for acceptance as "Quality Leaders"

among employees. In 1988 some employees were talking openly about whether their managers were or were not—in their opinions—"quality leaders." By the summer of 1990, members of the executive staff clearly felt they were moving toward Quality Leadership. They no longer articulated concerns about who was doing it and whether it was being done correctly.

Interviews indicated that increased comfort with Quality Leadership resulted from a combination of three factors:

- (1) with time managers learned the behavioral expectations of the concept and how to lead in a less commanding way;
- (2) some managers who were not comfortable with the new style retired; and
- (3) with time officers and managers learned appropriate expectations of the process, i.e, how much participation there should be, on what kinds of issues.

One of the most striking assessments of the change in management style came from the President of Madison's police union. The union President has been in office as long as the Chief, and in July of 1991 he congratulated the MPD management team on the fact that, for the first time in his memory, he had no issues or complaints to put before them. He later said that the number of employee complaints had been steadily declining over the previous several months. Officers definitely appreciated the new management style which resulted in fewer complaints. If, in 1991, an officer had a concern, question, or complaint, it was easy to approach a supervisor or manager to discuss the issue. Twenty years before, it was unusual for an officer to speak to a lieutenant unless spoken to first.

Summary: Across several indicators, there is evidence that Quality Policing is being implemented in the Madison Police Department and that this is occurring in a more pronounced way in the EPD than in the rest of the Department.

B. Employee Input

The previous section reports that employees felt their ideas and opinions were increasingly taken into account in decision-making. Did their input, in fact, increase? In the EPD, discussions at roll call (briefing) about work issues were commonplace. When two positions for neighborhood officers came open in the EPD area, a task force of EPD employees was created to formulate a job description for the position, to develop guidelines for interaction between patrol and neighborhood officers, and to review the applications for the positions. The result, as reported by several

officers, was greater rapport between patrol and neighborhood officers and a greater respect for the job of the neighborhood officer.

Perhaps the most significant example of employee input during the period of this research was the use of a department-wide team of employees to redesign the promotional process. A departmental survey of personnel had indicated that promotions were one of the largest sources of employee discontent. The redesign process sought input from employees throughout the Department with the result that satisfaction with the promotional process rose dramatically after the new system was implemented.

C. Working Conditions

There are a number of different ways to conceptualize "working conditions," only some of which will have been addressed in the survey. One of particular interest is the extent to which decentralization made it possible for employees to work more closely together.

C.1. Employee Interaction

A three-item scale measures how closely officers work with other people.⁸ The items represented in Table 5-3 are:

To what extent does your assignment require you to work closely with other people?

Response codes range from: 1 = very little, to
 5 = very large.

My job assignment requires a lot of cooperative work with other people.

My job could be done adequately by working alone without talking or checking with other people. (Reverse scored)

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 15. A neutral response is represented by a score of 9.

Because the nature of work varies by assignment, data are presented for patrol officers only.

⁸ Scale from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

TABLE 5-3

EMPLOYEE INTERACTION

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Patrol Officers Only
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	11.7 (N=218)	12.0 (N=190)	.23	2.06 (.001)*
EPD Cross-Section	10.3 (N=35)	12.6 (N=37)	.00*	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 141)	11.8	12.0	.25	.55 (.26)
EPD Panel (N=22)	10.1	12.1	.02*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

There was significant change in the EPD on this job aspect and no significant change in the Non-EPD areas of the Department. Even so, the EPD officers were no more likely to report working closely with others at Wave 3 than were officers in the rest of the Department. The change in the EPD occurs in the context of the fact that at Time 1, EPD officers reported less interaction with other employees than did respondents elsewhere in the Department. This is one way in which the officers who elected to work in the EPD may have differed from their colleagues. However, by Time 3, they were interacting with colleagues as much as officers elsewhere in the organization. It may be especially useful to notice the EPD cross-section in this analysis. The high Time 3 score suggests either that more team-oriented officers were transferring to the EPD and/or that they were finding that the EPD facilitated interaction. At Time 3, the perception of interaction was positively and significantly related to EPD membership in the cross-sectional data but not the panel data.

A second measure of interaction is provided by a three-item scale that measures the extent to which respondents feel that supervisors or co-workers provide feedback about how well the respondent does the job.⁹

To what extent do supervisors or co-workers let you know how well you are doing on the job?

Response codes range from: 1 = very little, to
 5 = very large.

My supervisor often lets me know how well I am performing.

My supervisors and co-workers almost never give me feedback as to how well I am doing in my work. (Reverse scored)

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 15 and are summarized in Table 5-4. A neutral position is represented by a score of 9.

⁹ Scale from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

TABLE 5-4
EXTENT OF PERFORMANCE FEEDBACK

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
I. Non-EPD Cross-Section	8.8 (N=215)	8.7 (N=192)	.93	2.36 (.002)*
II. EPD Cross-Section	8.3 (N=35)	10.6 (N=37)	.00*	
III. Non-EPD Panel (N= 141)	8.9	8.7	.46	2.18 (.001)*
IV. EPD Panel (N=22)	8.0	10.5	.01*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

There was no change over time in the extent to which members of the Non-EPD segments of the Department felt they received feedback about their job performance. In the EPD, for both cross-section and panel respondents, there was a statistically significant increase in the extent to which employees felt they received feedback from supervisors and peers. Here again, at Time 1 EPD members had a lower sense of interaction (feedback) than did other respondents; by Time 3 their perception of feedback greatly exceeded that of other employees. In both the cross-sectional and panel data sets, the perception of feedback from colleagues was positively and significantly related at Time 3 to EPD membership.

Summary: The nature of employee interaction changed significantly for EPD officers; over time they came to feel a greater sense of cooperation and interdependence with colleagues. They received more performance feedback from supervisors and other colleagues. Employees in the rest-of-the Department experienced no increased sense of teamwork.

C.2. Patrol Officer and Detective Interaction

The relationship between patrol officers and detectives is another work condition of interest. Patrol officers and detectives were asked:

Approximately how many times during an average week do you have occasion to exchange information with a detective (officer)?

The responses, which were open-ended, are summarized in Table 5-5.

Over time Non-EPD patrol personnel in both the cross-section and panel reported a decrease in the number of times they exchanged information with detectives. The numbers of contacts for Non-EPD detectives remained roughly the same. Patrol officers in both the EPD cross-section and panel reported dramatic and statistically significant increases in the number of contacts with detectives. By Time 3, EPD patrol personnel reported more than twice the number of contacts with detectives as did their Non-EPD counterparts. EPD detectives in both cross-section and panel reported large increases in the number of contacts; the change could not achieve statistical significance due to the very small number (3) of EPD detectives in the panel. In both the cross-sectional and panel data, for both patrol officers and detectives, the report of interaction between officers and detectives at Time 3 was positively and significantly related to EPD membership.

TABLE 5-5

NUMBER OF INFORMATION EXCHANGES PER WEEK
BETWEEN DETECTIVES AND PATROL OFFICERS

Item Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Detectives and Patrol Officers
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob., (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Patrol Officers *				
Non-EPD Cross-Section	2.9 (N=117)	2.2 (N=110)	.18	6.88 (.001)*
EPD Cross-Section	1.8 (N=20)	7.9 (N=23)	.001*	
Detectives				
Non-EPD Cross-Section	6.0 (N=21)	5.3 (N=26)	9.4	7.29 (.008*)
EPD Cross-Section	9.2 (N=4)	12.6 (N=5)	.49	
Patrol Officers				
Non-EPD Panel (N=73)	3.4	2.5	.14	7.97 (.001)*
EPD Panel (N=11)	1.4	9.7	.001*	
Detectives				
Non-EPD Panel (N=21)	4.1	4.6	.64	14.5 (.001)*
EPD Panel (N=3)	9.0	20.0	.19	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

These data are supported by researchers' observations and by anecdotal reports from EPD officers and detectives. There simply is a great deal of interaction among everyone working in the EPD. Given the nature of the space, interaction is unavoidable. Detectives and officers come and go through the same doors, use the same support facilities (copy machine, computer, fax), the same secretary, the same coffee pot. Because the detectives' work space is adjacent to the briefing room, it is as convenient as not for them to attend briefings, and one or more of them often does. It is common to overhear a detective who is looking for a suspect ask a patrol officer if he or she knows where to find the person.

The increased interaction is probably due also to a factor in addition to space configuration. A few months after they decentralized, EPD detectives decided to experiment for six months with a change from crime-type-specific responsibility to geographic area responsibility. They became generalists instead of specialists and shared with patrol officers a sense of responsibility for the well-being of a particular area. This area commitment, researchers feel, increased the incentives and opportunities for patrol officers and detectives to work together. It should be noted that at the end of the six month "experiment" the EPD detectives voted to remain crime generalists and area specialists.

The closer bond between officers and detectives manifested itself in several interesting ways:

- Patrol officers and detectives began to answer each other's telephones when no one else was available to do it.
- An EPD detective, while driving through the area, came upon patrol colleagues handling an accident. She donned a fluorescent vest and helped control traffic at the scene.
- Another detective heard a call go out about a bar fight in the area. She went to the scene where very actively engaged officers were grateful for her backup. A thank you note she received from them a few days later is one of this detective's career souvenirs.
- A seasoned detective was disappointed when two patrol officers failed to adequately document something at an incident scene. Rather than sending them a written complaint or reporting the failure to their sergeant, the detective met with the two officers and explained why the case was going to be more difficult for him than it needed to be. He arranged to have them accompany him to the District Attorney's office when the case was to be presented so they could see for themselves how that particular type of case was handled and why their part in it was important. Everyone involved appeared to view the situation as a training opportunity.

In the second and third surveys, all respondents were asked:

How often do patrol officers you work with conduct followup investigative work on cases?

Responses are: 1 = almost never
 2 = seldom
 3 = often
 4 = almost always

These are summarized in Table 5-6.

TABLE 5-6
FREQUENCY WITH WHICH PATROL OFFICERS
CONDUCT FOLLOWUP INVESTIGATIONS

Item Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Panel Members
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob.	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD (N=136)	2.0	2.0	.66	.45 (.01)*
EPD (N=24)	2.2	2.5	.07	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

At Time 3, the frequency with which patrol officers were reported to be involved in follow-up investigations was significantly related to EPD membership.

What do these findings mean? The meaning will depend, in part, on your beliefs about the investigative process. Decentralization of detectives was the most hotly contested aspect of physical decentralization. Those who oppose decentralization believe that more is lost when detectives can less readily share information than is gained by detectives and officers being able to interact easily. They argue that criminals do not respond to area boundaries of decentralized operations and that centralized detectives are better able to spot area-wide or city-

wide crime patterns and to share information that could lead to identification and apprehension of the suspect. They also make the argument that if detectives are confined to a small geographic area, it may take them a long time to experience enough crimes of a specific type within that area to allow them to develop skill in working such cases. In other words, area specialists will be less skilled crime-specific detectives. Furthermore, some individuals may have special aptitudes for working certain types of cases and this aptitude will be wasted on area specialization.

The counter argument is that citizens possess most of the information needed to solve crimes and that the best way for a detective to encourage the offering of that information is by knowing residents and business people and their neighborhood or by having a close working relationship with the officers who know the people and the territory.

There is also the point made by some EPD detectives that identification with an area makes it possible for a detective to begin to do proactive work as a result of spotting trends of problems within a geographic area. Perhaps a family is involved in a series of incidents, no one of which may constitute an "assignable" or "workable" case for detectives but which, taken together, point to a crisis in the making. A detective who spots such a trend while reviewing area cases may be able to arrange for intervention that could prevent a serious incident.

The findings of greater interaction between patrol officers and detectives and increased involvement of patrol officers in followup investigations is consistent with research on investigations conducted in Rochester (Block and Bell, 1976). The authors concluded:

...a police department can improve its arrest and clearance rates by assigning detectives to work as part of police teams. (P.11)

This study did not attempt to compare the effectiveness of centralized and decentralized investigations in Madison. The project was not budgeted for that type of analysis; furthermore, such a test probably would not have been appropriate at this point in the development of decentralization in Madison. Some of the EPD detectives were assigned initially against their wishes. Some of them were substantially less experienced than their centralized counterparts, their lack of seniority accounting for their assignment. In addition to experiencing decentralization as inexperienced investigators, they were doing so without benefit of a detective supervisor. This research project was complete before a supervisor with investigative supervisory experience was assigned to the EPD. Even then his primary responsibility was not for detectives, but for the entire EPD. Further, systems were not in place to support decentralized investigative work. There was no computer with which to access county records, and it was necessary to travel downtown to use photo records. There was no good system for moving paperwork back and forth between the EPD

and the main station or between the EPD and the District Attorneys' office. (In the summer of 1991 centralized and decentralized investigators continued to stress the need for systems of information retrieval, communication, and paper flow to support decentralization, and some of them were involved in a Department task force to plan these systems.)

During the first two months of operation, EPD personnel functioned without a secretary, and it was necessary to send case reports downtown for typing. When Assistant District Attorneys complained, as they sometimes did, ~~about not having paperwork~~ when it was time for them to process an EPD case, the case might be found still untyped on a typist's desk or typed but not returned to the EPD. No one anywhere in the Department had the designated responsibility for the timely movement of paper. (In general, there was no assigned responsibility for the coordination of EPD operations with those of the rest of the organization.)

Perhaps most significantly, initially there was no spirit of cooperation between the centralized and decentralized detectives. To be effective, decentralization depends on considerable cooperation and coordination among physically separate organizational entities. Because a number of people "downtown" viewed the EPD experience as a test of the idea of decentralization and were themselves opposed to that idea, they had no incentive to aid the experiment. Many centralized detectives were so strongly opposed to decentralization that they viewed as "turncoats" the colleagues who either elected to work as detectives in the EPD or who, once assigned to the EPD, came to appreciate the arrangement.

These were not the conditions under which to test the effectiveness, as measured by case outcomes, of decentralized investigations. The following, however, can be reported from the experience:

- decentralization of EPD detectives was accomplished without any apparent serious consequences to cases or crime rates (in fact, burglary rates decreased in the EPD, as reported in Chapter VI);
- decentralized detectives voted to experiment with and then retain geographic specialization;
- some experienced detectives who later moved from downtown to the EPD are convinced of the benefits of decentralization;
- EPD detectives and patrol officers report greater ease and frequency of contact with each other;
- EPD detectives report willingness and ability to spend time discussing with patrol officers errors or omissions in case reports;

- EPD officers report having a better understanding of what detectives need in case reports;
- some experienced EPD detectives report gaining more information and assistance from increased interaction with patrol officers than they lost through decreased interaction with centralized detectives. Some experienced EPD detectives believe the reverse to be true; and
- at least one EPD detective reported enjoying the opportunity to keep "street skills" honed.

Summary: Across time, EPD patrol officers experienced significantly more interactions with detectives and were perceived as being significantly more involved in the conduct of followup investigations.

C.3. The Nature of Work

Problem-solving was one of the approaches emphasized during the EPD training program and one that was frequently referred to in group discussions. It was an approach that also was discussed elsewhere in the Department. In the Time 3 survey officers were asked about their experiences with problem-solving.

Table 5-7 reports responses to the question:

For those problems you have tried to address, how would you describe the successfulness of your efforts?

Responses are:

- 1 = unsuccessful most of the time
- 2 = unsuccessful some of the time
- 3 = neither successful nor unsuccessful
- 4 = successful some of the time
- 5 = successful most of the time

TABLE 5-7

PERCEIVED SUCCESS AT PROBLEM-SOLVING

Item Means and Probabilities
 Non-EPD and EPD Cross Sections and
 Non-EPD and EPD Panels
 Time 3 Only

Group	Time 3 (1989)	Prob.
Non-EPD Cross-Section (N=102)	3.7	.001*
EPD Cross-Section (N=30)	4.2	
Non-EPD Panel (N=76)	3.8	.11
EPD Panel (N=20)	4.2	

* Significance $\leq .05$

Respondents in all groups tended to report feeling successful some of the time. EPD officers reported greater feelings of success than did Non-EPD officers. In the cross-sectional data, these Time 3 differences were significant.

Table 5-8 summarizes responses to:

How would you describe the degree of organizational support you received in your problem-solving efforts (i.e., scheduling flexibility, supervisor approval, recognition, needed resources or personnel, etc.)?

Response codes range from: 1 = unsupportive most of the time, to
 5 = supportive most of the time.

TABLE 5-8

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT FOR PROBLEM-SOLVING

Item Means and Probabilities
 Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections and
 Non-EPD and EPD Panels
 Time 3 Only

Group	Time 3 (1989)	Prob.
Non-EPD Cross-Section (N=105)	3.4	.001*
EPD Cross-Section (N=30)	4.9	
Non-EPD Panel (N=78)	3.6	.001*
EPD Panel (N=20)	4.9	

* Significance $\leq .05$.

In both the cross-sectional and panel data at Time 3, EPD officers were significantly more likely than Non-EPD officers to feel they received organizational support for their problem solving efforts.

Summary: These two questions indicate that EPD officers feel more successful and, and better supported in their problem-solving efforts than do Non-EPD officers.

C.4. Ability To Do Proactive Work

A general concern for any organization considering community policing is whether officers have time available to do proactive work they might plan as part of problem-solving or community contact efforts. At survey Times 2 and 3, officers and detectives were asked:

Given your daily caseload, how easy or difficult is it for you to do proactive work (i.e., traffic enforcement, followup investigations, or community contacts)?

Response codes range from: 1 = very difficult, to
 4 = very easy.

Table 5-9 summarizes these responses.

TABLE 5-9

FEASIBILITY OF PROACTIVE WORK

Item Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections and
Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Officers and Detectives
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	2.5 (N=175)	2.3 (N=146)	.05*	1.30 (.33)
EPD Cross-Section	2.4 (N=34)	2.7 (N=33)	.34	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 102)	2.5	2.4	.15	.32 (.10)
EPD Panel (N=22)	2.6	2.6	.80	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

All respondents took essentially a neutral position on this question, suggesting that it was not especially difficult to do proactive work but also indicating it is not noticeably easier to do this in the EPD as compared to elsewhere in the department.

As noted elsewhere in this report, the efforts of EPD managers during the research period were focused primarily on the internal changes. The similarity between Non-EPD and EPD officers in Tables 5-7, 5-8 and 5-9 may largely be a reflection that EPD officers had, as yet, given relatively little attention to problem-solving.

C.5. Ability To Do No Work

One of the concerns some Madison officers expressed in the initial stages of the EPD study was that decentralization and the use of flex time would reduce the number of officers available to work when someone else wanted to take vacation or other leave. Officers were asked at Time 2 and Time 3:

During this past year, how easy or difficult have you found it to take time off (either comp time or vacation)?

Response codes range from: 1 = very difficult, to
4 = very easy.

Responses are summarized in Table 5-10.

TABLE 5-10
EASE OF TAKING TIME OFF

Item Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob.	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	2.6 (N=221)	2.6 (N=3.7)	.85	.15 (.56)
EPD Cross-Section	3.5 (N=38)	3.7 (N=36)	.28	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 143)	2.6	2.7	.22	.44 (.02)*
EPD Panel (N=24)	3.6	3.8	.21	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

There were no statistically significant changes from Time 2 to Time 3, but, by Time 2, when this question was first asked, EPD respondents already found it considerably easier to take time off than did Non-EPD respondents and this

difference between the two groups increased. The sense that it was easier to arrange time off was significantly related to service in the EPD.

This corresponds with what researchers were told during interviews about the ease of making arrangements for time off in the EPD. Officers would discuss their needs, work out trades of days or hours among themselves, and then present the proposal to the sergeant for approval. This appears to have made the job of the sergeant easier.

The flexibility worked for other purposes, too. When special training was available, the EPD could arrange to enroll an unusually large number of personnel (see Table 5-11) because others were willing to rearrange schedules to make it possible.

TABLE 5-11
AVERAGE TRAINING HOURS PER OFFICER

Non-EPD and EPD Patrol Officers
1987 and 1988

Group	1987	1988
Non-EPD Patrol	55	50
EPD Patrol	45	85

The ability of officers to attend training was increased also by the willingness of EPD sergeants, the lieutenant and the captain to work in place of the officers who were in class. This special coverage also made it possible for officers to attend a shift meeting, a sector meeting or other special event. In this same way, it probably was (or could be) easier in the EPD to rearrange schedules in order to conduct problem-solving activities.

The flexible schedule seems to be largely a matter of numbers of personnel and interpersonal relations. It may not be impossible to do in a centralized setting with larger numbers of people to juggle; it is just more difficult. When the group is small enough to allow people to know one another well, informal negotiations are more easily conducted.

That flexible scheduling could occur at all in the EPD was a function of the union contract being waived for the purpose of the EPD project in the EPD area only;

the contract prohibited flex time in the rest of the organization. By fall, 1991, experimentation with scheduling was beginning to occur in other parts of the Department and with smaller work groups.

C.6. Safety of Working Conditions

Another early concern was whether decentralization and the use of flex time might leave too small a pool of uncommitted officers available for backup in emergency situations. At survey Times 2 and 3, officers and detectives were asked:

When an officer or detective needs "back up," how often is it readily available?

Response codes range from: 1 = almost never, to
4 = almost always.

TABLE 5-12

AVAILABILITY OF BACKUP
Item Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	3.4 (N=209)	3.3 (N=164)	.01*	.17 (.26)
EPD Cross-Section	3.6 (N=38)	3.6 (N=36)	.97	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 119)	3.4	3.2	.00*	.33 (.01)*
EPD Panel (N=23)	3.7	3.6	.74	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

In the EPD and the rest of the Department backup was perceived as "often" to "almost always" available when needed. Between Time 2 and Time 3, however, Non-EPD officers became slightly, but significantly, less likely to believe backup was available. By 1989, EPD officers were significantly more likely to believe backup was readily available than were Non-EPD officers.

D. Officer Attitudes

A central expectation of the Madison change effort was that as management practices and conditions of work changed, officers would develop more positive attitudes toward several aspects of the job, the organization, and the community.

D.1. Satisfaction With Working Conditions

A six-item scale asked respondents to rate their satisfaction with their physical working conditions.¹⁰

I take quite a bit of pride in the appearance of my work area (i.e., office, desk, squad car).

I am satisfied with the physical working conditions of my job.

My physical working conditions have a favorable influence on my overall attitude toward my job.

The physical work conditions of my job make working for MPD pleasant.

For the work I do, my physical working conditions are good.

My physical working conditions make it difficult for me to do my job. (Reverse scored)

Responses range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 6 to 30 and are summarized in Table 5-13. A neutral position is represented by a score of 18.

¹⁰ Scale from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

TABLE 5-13

SATISFACTION WITH PHYSICAL WORKING CONDITIONS

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	18.6 (N=218)	19.6 (N=189)	.01*	1.16 (.24)
EPD Cross-Section	19.3 (N=37)	21.4 (N=37)	.02*	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 141)	18.3	19.5	.00*	1.68 (.03)*
EPD Panel (N=25)	19.3	21.6	.04*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

Given that a perfect scale score is 30, these data indicate that everyone in the organization reported being moderately satisfied with physical working conditions, and all groups in the Department indicated increased satisfaction with working conditions. Officers working in the EPD were clearly pleased with their space, even though they wished it were larger. The improvement in the rest of the Department may have resulted from the renovation of the central station briefing room where new paint and furniture created a marked difference in atmosphere during the course of the project. By 1989, EPD panel respondents were significantly more likely than Non-EPD panel members to report satisfaction with physical working conditions.

D.2. Satisfaction With Kind of Work

Another six-item scale asked about satisfaction with the kind of work the job entails.¹¹

Almost none of the work I do creates any real enthusiasm on my part.
(Reverse scored)

I enjoy nearly all the things I do in my job assignment.

I like the kind of work I do very much.

The kind of work I do has a favorable influence on my overall attitude toward my job.

Most of the time when I complete a day's work, I feel as if I have accomplished something really worthwhile.

Work like mine tends to discourage me from doing my best.
(Reverse scored)

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 6 to 30 and are summarized in Table 5-14. For this scale a neutral attitude is represented by a score of 18.

¹¹ Scale from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

TABLE 5-14

SATISFACTION WITH KIND OF WORK

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	17.9 (N=219)	18.4 (N=191)	.10	1.15 (.18)
EPD Cross-Section	17.1 (N=37)	18.8 (N=36)	.03*	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 144)	18.1	18.4	.18	.69 (.22)
EPD Panel (N=24)	17.2	18.7	.04*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

For both EPD groups there was a significant increase in satisfaction with the kind of work the job entails. The increase for Non-EPD groups was not significant. EPD personnel were less satisfied than Non-EPD personnel at Time 1, but by Time 3 were more satisfied than their colleagues. Time 3 satisfaction scores were not related significantly to EPD assignment.

D.3. Satisfaction With the Organization

Six questions were asked about satisfaction with the organization as a place to work.¹²

I feel fairly secure in my job assignment.

¹² Scale from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

I feel MPD management considers employee welfare less important than service provided to the community. (Reverse scored)

MPD is a good organization to work for.

Working for the MPD has a favorable influence on my overall attitude toward my job.

From my experience, I feel management treats MPD employees quite well.

Working for the MPD encourages me to do my best.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 6 to 30 and are summarized in Table 5-15 where a neutral attitude is represented by a score of 18.

TABLE 5-15
SATISFACTION WITH THE ORGANIZATION

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	17.7 (N=218)	18.4 (N=189)	.12	1.24 (.24)
EPD Cross-Section	18.8 (N=37)	20.7 (N=37)	.05*	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 142)	17.8	18.1	.33	1.99 (.01)*
EPD Panel (N=24)	19.4	21.1	.05*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

At Time 1, EPD employees already were more satisfied with the organization as a place in which to work than were Non-EPD personnel, and EPD employees became significantly more satisfied over time. Insignificant increases occurred for the Non-EPD groups. In the panel data at Time 3, satisfaction with the organization was related significantly with EPD membership.

D.4. Satisfaction With Supervision

Six questions were used to examine employee satisfaction with supervision.¹³

My supervisor has more good traits than bad ones.

The supervision I receive is the kind that tends to discourage me from giving extra effort. (Reverse scored)

The way that I am treated by my supervisor has a favorable influence on my overall attitude toward my job.

The efforts of my supervisor add quite a bit to the success of my work unit/platoon.

I am satisfied with the supervision and/or leadership I receive.

I frequently feel that I would be better off working under a different supervisor. (Reverse scored)

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 6 to 30 and are summarized in Table 5-16. A neutral attitude is represented by a score of 18.

¹³ Scale from Dunham and Smith, 1977.

TABLE 5-16

SATISFACTION WITH SUPERVISION

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	16.8 (N=218)	17.8 (N=190)	.01*	.36 (.75)
EPD Cross-Section	17.1 (N=37)	18.5 (N=37)	.20	
Non-EPD Panel (N= 144)	16.9	17.7	.09	1.64 (.04)*
EPD Panel (N=25)	17.6	19.4	.04*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

EPD employees were more satisfied with supervision at Time 1 than were Non-EPD peers. There was movement in all groups toward greater satisfaction, although the average level is still only at the midpoint of 18. The Non-EPD cross-section and EPD panel both registered changes that were statistically significant. Satisfaction scores at Time 3 were associated significantly with assignment to the EPD.

Summary: In general, job satisfaction increased throughout the Department during the course of this study, but increased more dramatically in the EPD than in the remainder of the organization.

D.5. Commitment to the Department and EPD

One measure of commitment to the organization is the frequency with which personnel contemplate leaving the job (Table 5-17). Officers were asked:

How often do you give serious consideration to leaving the Department?

Response codes range from: 1 = never, to
4 = very often.

TABLE 5-17
CONSIDER LEAVING DEPARTMENT

Item Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Patrol Officers
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	2.1 (N=131)	2.1 (N=113)	.96	-.11 (.70)
EPD Cross-Section	1.7 (N=23)	1.8 (N=25)	.67	
Non-EPD Panel (N=110)	1.8	2.0	.01*	-.17 (.37)
EPD Panel (N=24)	1.8	1.8	.43	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

Between the first and third surveys, patrol officers in the Non-EPD panel came to think more frequently about leaving the organization. The change is small but statistically significant. There was a slight but insignificant increase in this tendency among EPD panel members. In any case, Madison officers in general did not think about leaving any more frequently than "occasionally," and their tendency to do so was not related significantly to EPD membership.

Personnel also were asked how likely they would be to choose to work in the EPD if they were making the choice at the time of the survey was taken. (Table 5-18)

Response codes range from: 1 = very unlikely, to
 4 = very likely.

TABLE 5-18

LIKELIHOOD OF CHOOSING EPD ASSIGNMENT

Item Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	1.7 (N=213)	1.7 (N=183)	.37	.07 (.78)
EPD Cross-Section	3.4 (N=38)	3.4 (N=37)	.95	
Non-EPD Panel (N=135)	1.8	1.6	.01*	1.56 (.001)*
EPD Panel (N=25)	3.6	3.7	.43	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

This question was not asked until the second survey period. By then EPD respondents were much more likely than Non-EPD respondents to say they would choose assignment to the EPD. They retained this attitude while Non-EPD panel respondents became significantly less likely to choose assignment to the EPD by 1989. The Time 3 scores were associated positively and significantly with assignment to the EPD.

It is not entirely clear what this item captures. Certainly it reflects commitment on the part of EPD officers to the EPD. Whether the responses of Non-EPD officers reflect antipathy for an EPD assignment is less certain (although that was the first assumption). The question was asked shortly after officers had moved into an assignment they had only recently chosen; responses by all groups may reflect satisfaction with being where they had elected to be.

The use of sick time may be another measure of commitment to the job. Table 5-19 summarizes the use of sick time by all EPD and Non-EPD personnel who were in the panel throughout the three year evaluation period.

TABLE 5-19
AVERAGE HOURS OF SICK LEAVE
EPD and Non-EPD Panel Members
1987-1989

Group	1987	1988	1989
Non-EPD (N=150)	31.6	26.4	25.8
EPD (N=25)	37.3	14.8	21.3

While both groups experienced a decrease in the use of sick time, the decrease for EPD officers was by far the more dramatic, especially between 1987 and 1988. A clerk in the City's Personnel Records Office stated that "...whatever they were doing out at the EPD ought to be bottled and given to the rest of the City."

Summary: These measures taken together suggest that working in the EPD is related to higher commitment to the Department and the job.

D.6. Psychological Relationship to Work

The scales in this section are designed to capture the relationship between the employee and the job in terms of the effect the job may have on the employee's feelings about the value of the work and the potential for freedom and growth in the job.

A three-item scale was used to determine the extent to which patrol officers view the work they do as "significant," that is, the extent to which the job is viewed as having an impact on the lives and well-being of other people.¹⁴

¹⁴ Scale from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

To what extent are the results/outputs from your job likely to significantly affect the well being of others?

Response codes range from: 1 = very little, to
5 = very large.

My job is one where other people could be affected by how well the work was done.

My present job itself is not very significant or important in the broader scheme of things. (Reverse scored)

Responses codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 15 and are summarized in Table 5-20. A neutral attitude is represented by a score of 9.

TABLE 5-20

PERCEIVED SIGNIFICANCE OF WORK

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	11.6 (N=218)	12.1 (N=191)	.02*	.05* (.92)
EPD Cross-Section	11.6 (N=35)	12.2 (N=38)	.16	
Non-EPD Panel (N=142)	11.8	12.2	.04*	.13 (.75)
EPD Panel (N=23)	11.2	12.0	.08	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

All groups of Madison officers shared a similar view that the work they do is significant for others. Non-EPD officers showed a statistically significant increase over time in their tendency to think of their work as significant. Although the increase for EPD officers is not significant (perhaps because of the small N), the magnitude of change for the EPD panel is the largest, primarily because their initial value is the lowest—another indication that the officers who selected themselves into the EPD may not have been entirely typical of their peers.

Another three item scale assessed the extent to which officers have a sense of "task identity"—that is, they can see both the beginning and the end of an effort, see their work as a whole.¹⁵ It was assumed that officers actively involved in problem-solving would have a greater sense of task identity.

To what extent does your assignment involve doing a "whole" and identifiable piece of work? In other words, to what extent does your job possess tasks with an obvious beginning and end?

Response codes range from: 1 = very little, to
5 = very large.

My job is arranged so that I do not have the chance to do an entire piece of work from beginning to end (e.g., clearing a case). (Reverse scored)

My job provides me the chance to completely finish the pieces of work I begin.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
5 = strongly agree.

¹⁵ Scale from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 15 and are summarized in Table 5-21.

TABLE 5-21
STRENGTH OF TASK IDENTITY¹⁶
Scale Score Means and Probabilities
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	9.3 (N=218)	9.6 (N=191)	.38	1.32 (.09)
EPD Cross-Section	8.9 (N=36)	10.5 (N=38)	.02*	
Non-EPD Panel (N=142)	9.5	9.7	.26	1.21 (.04)*
EPD Panel (N=24)	8.6	10.6	.01*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

By Time 3, both Non-EPD and EPD patrol officers saw their work as being somewhat integrated. EPD officers experienced a significant increase in this feeling. Although they began the study with a much weaker sense of task identity than did Non-EPD officers, EPD officers not only paralleled their colleagues by 1989 but, in fact, indicated a much stronger feeling of task identity than did Non-EPD peers. At time 3, the difference was significant among panel members.

A third scale gauged the extent to which patrol officers felt their work allowed them to exercise initiative and autonomy.¹⁷ It was believed that the problem-solving efforts of the EPD officers would increase their sense of initiative and autonomy, that, an increased sense of initiative and autonomy would be necessary for effective problem-solving. The items are:

¹⁶ "Task Identity" is the scale name used by the researchers who created this measure and we use it here for consistency. However, another way to think of the concept is as "task integrity" which suggests the wholeness of the work.

¹⁷ Scale from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

To what extent does your job assignment permit you to decide on your own how to go about doing the job?

Response codes range from: 1 = very little, to
5 = very large.

My job assignment denies me any chance to use my personal initiative or judgment in carrying out the work.
(Reverse scored)

My job gives me considerable opportunity for independence and freedom in how I choose to do the work.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 15 and are summarized in Table 5-22. A neutral attitude is represented by a score of 9.

TABLE 5-22

PERCEIVED INITIATIVE/AUTONOMY

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	12.0 (N=218)	12.2 (N=191)	.34	.51 (.36)
EPD Cross-Section	12.3 (N=36)	13.0 (N=38)	.13	
Non-EPD Panel (N=143)	12.1	12.3	.26	.75 (.05)*
EPD Panel (N=24)	12.2	13.1	.18	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

All groups reported an initial level of autonomy and initiative that was moderately high. The level did increase for EPD personnel rather substantially, although not to a degree that was statistically significant for the within-group analysis. Time 3 scores, however, were associated positively and significantly with assignment to the EPD.

Another scale measured the extent to which employees feel a job offers the potential for personal growth.¹⁸ The implementation of Quality Leadership and the enactment of problem-solving should both provide officers with greater opportunities for professional development. The items for this scale are:

I am satisfied with the amount of personal growth and development I obtain performing my job.

I am satisfied with the feeling of worthwhile accomplishment I get from performing my present job.

I am dissatisfied with the amount of independent thought and action I can exercise in my job. (Reverse scored)

I am satisfied with the amount of challenge in my present job.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 5 = strongly agree.

¹⁸ Scale from Hackman and Oldham, 1974.

Scale scores can range from 4 to 20 and are summarized in Table 5-23. A neutral attitude on this scale equals 12.

TABLE 5-23
SATISFACTION WITH JOB GROWTH POTENTIAL

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	13.8 (N=219)	14.2 (N=192)	.23	1.06 (.16)
EPD Cross-Section	12.9 (N=36)	14.3 (N=38)	.03*	
Non-EPD Panel (N=144)	14.0	14.3	.39	.34 (.14)
EPD Panel (N=24)	12.7	14.5	.01*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

Given that 12 is the scale neutral point, Madison officers began the project period with neutral to moderately positive levels of job growth satisfaction. However, EPD officers were noticeably less satisfied at Time 1 than Non-EPD officers. This is consistent with the observation that some of the employees who went to the EPD did so initially with the somewhat cynical sense that they "had seen it all," so why not give this a try? The statistically significant increase in satisfaction they registered over the course of this study brought them to the same level as their Non-EPD colleagues; Time 3 scores, therefore, were not related significantly to EPD membership.

Summary: Both EPD and Non-EPD officers appear, based on several indicators, to have developed a more positive psychological relationship to their work over the course of this study. The changes were larger and more likely to be statistically significant for the EPD respondents than for the Non-EPD respondents. The EPD officers began the project period more disaffected than their Non-EPD peers; their

experience in the Experimental Police District seems to have promoted professional "revival" for them.

D.7. Attitudes Related to Community Policing and Problem-solving

A number of indicators were used to gauge officers' attitudes toward their role and the role of the community in policing.

Three items formed a scale used to determine officers' belief in being familiar with the neighborhood they police and in working to solve its problems.¹⁹

Police officers should not become personally familiar with the residents of the area they patrol.

Police officers should be sincerely concerned about the well-being of the citizens in the neighborhood they patrol. (Reverse scored)

Problem-solving should not be part of an officer's responsibility.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 4 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 12. The lower the score, the stronger the belief in community policing and problem-solving. A neutral scale score is 7.5. The scores are summarized in Table 5-24.

¹⁹ Scale from Police Foundation, 1987.

TABLE 5-24

BELIEF IN COMMUNITY AND PROBLEM-SOLVING POLICING

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	7.1 (N=219)	5.2 (N=186)	.00*	- .33 (.22)
EPD Cross-Section	7.1 (N=36)	4.9 (N=37)	.00*	
Non-EPD Panel (N=140)	7.1	5.2	.00*	- .31 (.25)
EPD Panel (N=24)	7.0	4.9	.00*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

At the time of the first survey, all groups were close to neutral on this scale, tending only very slightly toward a belief in getting close to the community and solving problems. Two years later all groups had moved significantly toward this set of beliefs, and the Time 3 scores were not related significantly to EPD membership.

By the time of the second survey (1988), it was apparent that the instrument lacked a sufficient range of items that captured attitudes toward the community policing and problem-solving roles. Several items were added at that point that are reflected in the following tables; only Time 2 - Time 3 comparisons are possible. These analyses cannot indicate the extent to which EPD officers may already have differed from Non-EPD officers at the time they began working in the EPD.

A scale of five items is used to measure officers' beliefs that citizens should play a role in the policing of their neighborhoods.²⁰

Police should make frequent informal contact with the people on their beat.

²⁰ Scale from Police Foundation, 1988.

Police should work with citizens to try and solve problems on their beat.

Police officers should make a major effort to learn about the things that concern the people on their beat.

Citizens can be a vital source of information about the problems in their neighborhood.

A good police officer will spend a lot of time to find out what people think the local problems are on the beat.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
4 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 5 to 20 and are summarized in Table 5-25. A neutral attitude is represented by a score of 11.5.

TABLE 5-25

BELIEF IN CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN POLICING
Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	15.2 (N=216)	15.4 (N=186)	.32	-.32 (.42)
EPD Cross-Section	15.9 (N=38)	15.7 (N=36)	.70	
Non-EPD Panel (N=139)	15.3	15.3	.80	.25 (.35)
EPD Panel (N=23)	15.7	15.8	.73	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

By 1988 all groups agreed that citizens should be involved with police in identifying and solving problems. We greatly regret not having these measures in the 1987 survey. Examination of three waves of data for Table 5-24 indicates that

essentially all of the change toward belief in community and problem-solving policing had occurred by the time of the second survey. (Only the first and third surveys are reported in Table 5-24.) It is not unlikely that the same is true for the concept measured for Table 5-25; the change may have occurred before we tried to capture it.

Four items constituted a scale designed to measure whether officers believe in problem-solving when it is directed toward problems that are not crime-specific.²¹

Police should try to solve non-crime problems on their beat.

Police should try to solve the problems identified by citizens on their beat.

Police should respond to the concerns of citizens even if they have nothing to do with crime.

Assisting citizens can be as important as enforcing the law.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 4 = strongly agree.

Scales scores can range from 4 to 16 and are summarized in Table 5-26. A neutral attitude on this scale is represented by a score of 10.

²¹ Scale from Police Foundation, 1988.

TABLE 5-26

BELIEF IN SOLVING NON-CRIME PROBLEMS

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	11.8 (N=213)	11.9 (N=181)	.47	.29 (.38)
EPD Cross-Section	12.0 (N=36)	12.4 (N=36)	.23	
Non-EPD Panel (N=138)	11.8	11.9	.65	.33 (.15)
EPD Panel (N=23)	12.0	12.3	.07	

By 1988 all groups of respondents essentially agreed that non-crime problem-solving was important. EPD groups held this belief more strongly than did Non-EPD groups. However, Time 3 scores were not associated significantly with assignment to the EPD.

To tap a related perspective on the role, three items formed a scale that measured officers' belief in strict enforcement of the law.²² A problem-oriented approach to policing emphasizes that law enforcement is only one tool and not always the most effective one. This belief would seem counter to a commitment to strict enforcement.

All laws should be enforced at all times, otherwise people lose respect for the law.

Police officers should remember that enforcing the law is by far their most important responsibility.

As long as a law is on the books, the police must enforce it.

²² Scale from Police Foundation 1988.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
4 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 12 and are summarized in Table 5-27. A neutral score on this scale is 7.5.

TABLE 5-27
BELIEF IN STRICT ENFORCEMENT

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	6.1 (N=215)	6.0 (N=182)	.40	- .07 (.82)
EPD Cross-Section	5.7 (N=37)	5.7 (N=38)	.90	
Non-EPD Panel (N=139)	6.1	6.0	.80	- .21 (.32)
EPD Panel (N=23)	5.9	5.7	.42	

By 1988 all groups tend to disagree with strict enforcement. EPD groups are slightly less likely to disagree with it than are Non-EPD groups, but Time 3 scores are not associated significantly with membership in the EPD.

D.8. Police Perception Of Relationship With Community

To determine how good a job Madison officers felt they were doing in relating to the community, they were asked:²³

How would you rate the patrol function with respect to the areas listed below?

Reducing citizen fear of crime in the community.

²³ Scale from Police Foundation, 1987.

Promoting good police-community relations.

Obtaining citizen support.

Obtaining support from business people.

Creating a sense of security among people.

Response codes range from: 1 = very negative, to
6 = very positive.

Scale scores can range from 5 to 30 and are summarized in Table 5-28. A neutral score on this scale is 21.

TABLE 5-28

OFFICER RATING OF PATROL ABILITY TO DEVELOP COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	20.0 (N=214)	19.8 (N=187)	.69	2.84 (.006)*
EPD Cross-Section	20.4 (N=37)	23.1 (N=23.1)	.00*	
Non-EPD Panel (N=137)	19.9	19.5	.28	3.84 (.001)*
EPD Panel (N=24)	20.7	23.7	.01*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

At Time 1, EPD officers were similar to Non-EPD peers in their tendency to give the patrol function only a "slightly positive" rating with respect to its ability to promote community support. Looking at the data, one is tempted to suggest that "seeing is believing" since, by Time 3, EPD officers had significantly increased their rating of the patrol function in this regard while Non-EPD officers had dropped their

rating very slightly. Time 3 scores were associated positively significantly with membership in the EPD.

Another scale was used to determine the level of regard police feel that citizens have for them.²⁴ The three items are:

The relationship between the police and the people of Madison is very good.

Most people do not respect the police. (Reverse scored.)

People in this city generally look up to the police.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
4 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 12 and are summarized in Table 5-29. A neutral score is 7.5.

²⁴ Scale from Police Foundation, 1987.

TABLE 5-29

POLICE ESTIMATE OF CITIZEN REGARD FOR THEM

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	8.6 (N=219)	8.5 (N=188)	.49	.57 (.08)
EPD Cross-Section	8.5 (N=37)	9.0 (N=36)	.15	
Non-EPD Panel (N=142)	8.5	8.5	.10	.47 (.06)
EPD Panel (N=23)	8.5	9.0	.15	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

At Time 1 all groups of Madison officers had essentially the same sense of the public's regard for them; all tended to agree that they were well regarded by the community. Two years later EPD officers had a slightly more positive view of the public's opinion of them; the differences at Time 3 approach but do not achieve statistical significance.

Taken together, these last two tables suggest that EPD personnel believe that patrol does foster good relations with the public and that they have a slightly better feeling about their relationship with the public than do their Non-EPD peers.

D.9. Police Views of Human Nature

Getting closer to the public might lead police to view citizens differently. For the Time 2 survey, measures of belief in the altruism of people and the trustworthiness of people were added.

Items in the altruism scale²⁵ are:

The average person is sincerely concerned about problems of others.

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" is a motto most citizens follow.

Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.

It's only a rare person who would risk his/her own life to help another.
(Reverse scored.)

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
4 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 4 to 16 and are summarized in Table 5-30. A neutral attitude is represented by a score of 10.0.

TABLE 5-30

BELIEF IN ALTRUISM

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Patrol Officers Only
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	9.9 (N=130)	10.0 (N=106)	.64	.07 (.87)
EPD Cross-Section	10.0 (N=25)	10.1 (N=24)	.68	
Non-EPD Panel (N=79)	9.7	9.8	.36	.005 (.99)
EPD Panel (N=22)	9.9	9.9	.81	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

²⁵ Scale from Wrightsman, 1964.

The tendency of all analysis groups by the time of the second survey was to neither agree nor disagree with the statements. All groups showed some slight tendency to increase their belief in the general altruism of people. There was no relationship between Time 3 scores and membership in the EPD. However, analysis indicated that this scale was not highly reliable when used for this population.

The trustworthiness scale²⁶ included three items:

If you act in good faith with citizens, almost all of them will reciprocate with fairness towards you.

Most citizens are basically honest.

Most people would tell a lie if they could benefit from it. (Reverse scored.)

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
4 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 12 and are summarized in Table 5-31. A neutral score is 7.5.

²⁶ Scale from Wrightsman, 1964.

TABLE 5-31

BELIEF IN TRUSTWORTHINESS OF PEOPLE

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Patrol Officers Only
Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 2 (1988)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Cross-Section	8.2 (N=134)	8.1 (N=111)	.72	.07 (.87)
EPD Cross-Section	8.2 (N=26)	7.8 (N=23)	.35	
Non-EPD Panel (N=82)	8.2	8.1	.25	.15 (.50)
EPD Panel (N=14)	7.8	8.0	.38	

By 1988 all analysis groups were inclined to agree that people are trustworthy. In 1988 the EPD panel respondents were the least likely to agree and by 1989 were as likely as other groups to agree, but the differences among groups are small and the movement within the EPD group is not statistically significant, and the Time 3 scores are unrelated to EPD membership. Again, our ability to discuss change is limited by our failure to measure these attitudes in the pre-test (1987) questionnaire.

Summary: EPD officers are significantly more likely than Non-EPD officers to believe patrol work can improve relationships with the police. Officers' attitudes toward the public are generally positive and are unaffected by assignment to the EPD.

E. Reactions to Change

Attitudes toward the organization and the job and attitudes toward working with the community were the outcomes of central interest to this evaluation. However, there was also interest in attitudes toward the change process itself, both for their own sake and for the impact they might have on other types of attitude changes. Although Quality Policing and problem-solving were priority goals for the organization, these often seemed to be overshadowed psychologically by concern

about change and the processes of change. Decentralization was the most threatening and unpopular aspect of the change process—at least for those persons who did not experience decentralization during the study period. Two types of concerns were voiced most frequently throughout the organization: (1) going into decentralization, the internal systems did not exist for coordination and communication across decentralized parts of the organization and (2) the sense of "family" would be lost. The first issue was discussed in a preceding section. The second is easy to understand psychologically. Detectives, who seemed to be the staunchest (or most vocal) opponents of decentralization shared these two beliefs and also felt strongly that the performance of detectives would be seriously eroded if they groups of detectives were separated from one another. (As reported above, the EPD detectives came to feel very differently from their other colleagues about the costs and benefits of decentralization.)

A number of indicators were used to assess the way in which respondents felt about change in general and about decentralization in particular. These decentralization items were added to the Time 2 survey; therefore, only Time 2 - Time 3 comparisons are possible.

E.1. Officer Attitudes Toward Change

An instrument measuring "receptivity to change"²⁷ was included in the survey. It assesses three components of employee response to change in the work environment:

- (1) the affective component which determines how employees feel about change or how they react emotionally (i.e., whether they like change);
- (2) the cognitive component which gauges what they think about change (i.e., whether it is beneficial); and
- (3) the behavioral component which assesses how the employee expects to act with regard to change (i.e., whether they will support it behaviorally).

The items for the affective component are:

I look forward to changes at work.
I don't like change. (Reverse scored)
Change frustrates me. (Reverse scored)
Most changes are irritating. (Reverse scored)
I find most changes to be pleasing.

²⁷ Dunham, 1987.

Items for the cognitive component are:

Changes usually benefit the MPD as an organization.
Most of my co-workers benefit from change.
Change often helps me perform better.
Other people think that I support change.
Change usually helps improve unsatisfactory situations at work.
I usually benefit from change in the MPD.

The behavioral items are:

I usually resist new ideas. (Reverse scored)
I am inclined to try new ideas.
I usually support new ideas.
I often suggest new approaches for doing things.
I intend to do whatever possible to support change.
I usually hesitate to try new ideas. (Reverse scored)

For each of these scales the response codes range from:

1 = strongly disagree to
5 = strongly agree.

Tables 5-32 through 5-34 report scores for each of these scales for Non-EPD and EPD panel members.

TABLE 5-32

RECEPTIVITY TO CHANGE: AFFECTIVE COMPONENT

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Panel (N=140)	17.3	16.8	.01*	.21 (.65)
EPD Panel (N=25)	18.3	17.7	.24	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

Scale scores can range from 5 to 25, with the higher score representing higher affective receptivity to change.

Both groups scored above the neutral point (15) at Time 1; this is not a Department that went into the EPD experiment with a negative feeling about change. EPD officers felt more positive about change at Time 1 than did Non-EPD officers and the same was still true at Time 2, although both groups felt slightly less enthusiastic about change at Time 2 than Time 1. The decreased receptivity was statistically significant for the Non-EPD group but not for the EPD group. Time 3 scores were not associated significantly with EPD assignment.

TABLE 5-33

RECEPTIVITY TO CHANGE: COGNITIVE COMPONENT

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Panel (N=140)	18.4	18.6	.52	1.35 (.01)*
EPD Panel (N=25)	20.1	20.9	.08	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

Scale scores can range from 6 to 30, with the higher score representing higher cognitive receptivity to change.

In Table 5-33 the scale neutral point is 18, so again the Department is not opposed to the ideas but neither is there strong support for the value of change. EPD officers are more likely than Non-EPD officers to believe in the value of change at Time 1. Both groups make slight but statistically insignificant moves toward a more positive view of change at Time 3. The Time 3 scores, however, are related significantly to EPD membership.

TABLE 5-34

RECEPTIVITY TO CHANGE: BEHAVIORAL COMPONENT

Scale Score Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Panels
Time 1 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD Panel (N=142)	20.7	20.7	.97	.45 (.38)
EPD Panel (N=25)	21.1	21.4	.56	

Scale scores can range from 6 to 30, with the higher score representing higher behavioral receptivity to change.

All groups were slightly inclined to support change. EPD officers were a bit more behaviorally supportive of change at Time 1 than were Non-EPD officers at Time 1 and neither group experienced significant change over time.

This is an interesting set of scales, the scores of which suggest three things:

- (1) This was a Department that did not oppose change from any of the three perspectives, either before or after the implementation of the EPD .
- (2) Both groups registered the emotional strain of change (affective element) over time, the EPD somewhat less so than the rest of the Department.
- (3) Although the changes were not statistically significant, both groups indicated a slight increase over time in their belief in the value of change (cognitive component).

While there may be a fair amount of discussion about particular aspects of change at any one time in the Madison Department, the general impression—suggested by these data and reinforced by several years of observations—is that this is an organization that handles change with considerable grace. Issues are debated and then the organization moves on. As pointed out in Chapter IV, this is an organization that has been experiencing ("surviving," some would say) change for twenty years.

E.2. Officer Attitudes Toward Decentralization

The same cannot be said for physical decentralization. When this study began, it was a new experience for the Madison Department. It was a stressful issue. To many officers, it represented the first splintering of the Madison police "family." People anticipated losing touch with colleagues. They dreaded the prospect of becoming separate, even competing, police departments. To some the change portended the collapse of a system of information exchange that, even under conditions of centralization, was not adequately supported by either organizational structures or technology. They predicted a decline in quality of service to the public and perhaps some tragedies resulting from things "falling through the cracks." Some members of interest groups within the police family (women, blacks, hispanics, gays) were concerned about the prospect of losing the protection of strong central leadership and the possibility of having a less sympathetic manager in a decentralized setting. Others in these groups simply did not want to lose the "strength in numbers" they enjoyed from their association in the centralized setting. Some, who could imagine long range benefits of decentralization—both for the organization and the community— simply felt the Department was not yet ready for this step, either because the information systems were not yet developed or (also) because there were not enough managers prepared to handle decentralized responsibilities. And then there were employees who thought decentralization would be healthy and that the time had come to do it. The diversity and strength of opinions about decentralization probably affected all the other changes that were being attempted in the organization at the end of the Eighties.

A three item scale captures officers' attitudes toward decentralization from a personal perspective, from that of the effect they think it has on colleagues, and from that they think it has on the organization.²⁸ Scale items are:

I would look forward to further decentralization of the MPD.

Decentralization would benefit MPD.

Most of my co-workers would benefit from decentralization.

Response codes range from: 1 = strongly disagree, to
 5 = strongly agree.

Scale scores can range from 3 to 15 and are summarized in Table 5-35.

²⁸ Scale from Madison Police Department, 1989.

TABLE 5-35

BELIEF THAT DECENTRALIZATION IS BENEFICIAL

Item Means and Probabilities
 Non-EPD and EPD Cross-Sections
 and Non-EPD and EPD Panels
 Detectives and Patrol Officers
 Time 2 and Time 3

Group	Time 1 (1987)	Time 3 (1989)	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (Signif.)
Patrol Officers				
Non-EPD Cross-Section	9.2 (N=136)	8.6 (N=115)	.09	.48 (.60)
EPD Cross-Section	11.6 (N=26)	11.4 (N=25)	.83	
Detectives				
Non-EPD Cross-Section	5.8 (N=29)	6.3 (N=26)	.38	1.39 (.40)
EPD Cross-Section	11.0 (N=6)	10.2 (N=5)	.63	
Patrol Officers				
Non-EPD Panel (N=87)	9.1	8.4	.14	2.22 (.001)*
EPD Panel (N=16)	11.3	12.3	.001*	
Detectives				
Non-EPD Panel (25)	5.8	6.3	.17	-1.40 (.27)
EPD Panel (5)	11.8	10.2	.04*	

*Significance $\leq .05$.

As with change, those experiencing decentralization directly were inclined to be more positive about it than are those who were involved only indirectly. Non-EPD

patrol officers in both analysis groups (cross-section and panel) tended toward a neutral position (= 9). EPD patrol officer respondents clustered around the "agree" value. Patrol officers in the panel became significantly more positive about decentralization between 1988 and 1989 while patrol officers in the Non-EPD panel became significantly less supportive of decentralization during the same period. Detectives are another matter. EPD detectives shared with EPD patrol officers positive attitudes toward decentralization. Non-EPD detectives did not even approach neutrality on the issue. Although warming slightly to the idea between 1988 and 1989, they continued to disagree that decentralization could be beneficial. Among patrol officers in the panel, Time 3 attitudes toward decentralization are associated positively and significantly with EPD membership.

F. Conclusions and Discussion

We have presented data about changes in attitudes and reported behaviors of personnel in two ways: (1) we have looked at within-group changes to get a sense of magnitude and patterns of change; and (2) we have used regression analysis to test the strength of the proposition that the observed changes are the result of the approaches to management and operations used in the Experimental Police District.

The following table summarizes all of these findings within the two analytic frameworks. Under the heading of "Within Group Analyses," we indicate in the first column whether both the Non-EPD and EPD groups experienced the same direction of change, thus indicating whether a change characterized the entire organization. These data are useful for developing a general sense about what was occurring in the department. The next two columns report the direction of change (+, -, or 0) experienced within the Non-EPD panel and the EPD panel and indicate whether the within-group change was statistically significant (yes or no). The fourth column summarizes the findings from the regression analysis, indicating whether the measure of association ("b") was significant. A significant "b" is evidence that the observed changes probably can be attributed to the efforts made in the Experimental Police District during the test period.

TABLE 5-36

SUMMARY OF INTERNAL CHANGES

	Within-Group Analysis			Regression Analysis
Outcome	Did both groups change ?	Non-EPD Direct. and signif.	EPD Direct. and signif.	b Significant ?
Increased sense of participation in decision making	yes	+ yes	+ yes	yes
Increased sense of cooperation	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Increased feedback from other officers	no	- no	+ yes	yes
Increased contacts between officers and detectives	no	- no	+ yes	yes
Increased officer participation in investigations	no	0 no	+ no	yes
More time available for proactive work	no	- no	0 no	no
Increased ease of time off	yes	no	no	yes
Increased training time	no	-	+	inap
Perceived availability of back-up support	yes	- yes	- no	yes
Satisfaction with physical working conditions	yes	+ yes	+ yes	yes
Satisfaction with kind of work on job	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Satisfaction with Department as place to work	yes	+ no	+ yes	yes
Satisfaction with supervision	yes	+ no	+ yes	yes
More frequently consider leaving organization	yes	+ yes	+ no	no
Increased sense that job is significant	yes	+ yes	+ no	no
Increased sense of "wholeness" of task	yes	+ no	+ yes	yes

Increased sense of autonomy in job	yes	+ no	+ no	yes
Increased satisfaction with potential for personal growth	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Increased belief in working on neighborhood problems	yes	+ yes	+ yes	no
Increased belief in citizen involvement in problem solving	no	0 no	+ no	no
Increased belief in non-crime problem solving	yes	+ no	+ no	no
Decreased belief in strict enforcement	yes	+ no	+ no	no
Increased belief that patrol function develops community support	no	- no	+ yes	yes
Increased sense that citizens have high regard for police	no	0 no	+ no	no
Increased belief that people are altruistic	no	+ no	0 no	no
Increased belief that people are trustworthy	no	- no	+ no	no
Increased "liking" for change	yes	- no	- no	no
Increased belief in benefits of change	yes	+ no	+ no	yes
Increased willingness to support change	no	0 no	+ no	no
Increased belief in decentralization	no	- no	+ no	yes

The overall picture suggested by the first column in the table is of the entire department moving generally toward goals of the change program. The remainder of the table indicates that the efforts made in the Experimental Police District are moving that part of the organization toward the desired outcomes to a greater extent or, perhaps, at a faster rate.

Among the thirty outcome measures, fourteen are significantly and positively related to being in the Experimental Police District (see Column 4). These include officers':

- Sense of participation in organizational decision-making

- Belief that feedback about performance is provided by peers and supervisors
- Reports of contacts between officers and detectives
- Reported participation of officers in investigative process
- Perceived ease of arranging for "comp" or vacation time
- Perceived availability of backup support
- Satisfaction with physical working conditions
- Satisfaction with the Department as a place to work
- Satisfaction with supervision
- Sense of doing a "whole" task
- Sense of autonomy in doing the job
- Belief that the patrol function can increase support from the community for the police
- Belief in the benefits of change
- Belief in organizational decentralization.

There is another outcome for which there is significant change within both the EPD and Non-EPD groups, which may explain the lack of significance for the measured program impact (Column 4). This variable is the belief in working on neighborhood problems.

For another three measures, there is significant change within the EPD and statistically insignificant change in the same direction for the Non-EPD group, which, again may have prevented the measure of program impact from reaching significance. These include officers':

- Sense of cooperation among organizational members
- Satisfaction with the kind of work the job entails
- Satisfaction with the potential for personal growth on the job.

In addition to the outcomes summarized in the table, there were three other variables that were measured in only the third wave of the survey. One consisted of twelve separate questions about the extent to which officers felt the twelve principles of Quality Leadership had been implemented. On each of these, EPD officers were significantly more likely ($p \leq .00$) to believe that the principles had been implemented.

At Time 3 officers were asked how successful they felt in their problem-solving attempts. There was no difference between EPD and Non-EPD officers, both groups of whom said they felt successful "some of the time."

When asked at Time 3 how much organizational support they believed they received for problem-solving, EPD officers felt they received more support than did Non-EPD officers but the difference was not significant.

Insofar as it can be determined from attitudinal questionnaires, the data reviewed in this chapter strongly suggest that substantial progress has been made in the Madison Police Department, and especially in the Experimental Police District, toward the implementation of Quality Leadership.

The attitudes toward management and working conditions (the internal aspects of the job) changed more dramatically than did attitudes toward community involvement and the nature of the role. Nevertheless, there was a pattern of change within the EPD toward greater belief in community policing and problem oriented policing. The apparently greater strength of the internal changes suggests support for the two-stage model of change in Madison which calls for creating greater quality on the inside of the organization before it is manifested on the outside .

There is no way of knowing to what extent these attitudinal changes are dependent on the personal management styles of the two managers of the EPD; it is possible that had they worked elsewhere in the Department without making a conscious effort to develop the principles of Quality Leadership, the personnel who worked with them would have exhibited similar attitudinal changes. The fact that their contributions to the change process cannot be teased out is simply one of the limitations of a study of one management team in one site. While the EPD captain and lieutenant may have been "natural" choices for the EPD management positions, there is anecdotal evidence as well as evidence from attitude change elsewhere in the Department to suggest that other MPD managers are developing a style of management similar to that implemented in the EPD; change, therefore, is not dependent on only the personal approaches of the EPD managers.

Although the EPD managers were clearly instrumental in bringing about changes in the EPD, another factor appears also to have played a major role; that is

the size and configuration of the EPD workplace. Although everyone working in the EPD would have preferred slightly more spacious surroundings, the small space made interaction among officers, between officers and detectives, and between officers and managers unavoidable. So did the layout of the space which made it nearly impossible for any work unit to become isolated from another. Detectives passed through the briefing room to get from the parking lot to their offices and came into the briefing room whenever they wanted coffee or to use the computer or the fax machine. The sergeants' office and the captain's and lieutenant's office opened into the briefing room and were on either side of it; they all crossed the briefing room in order to interact. The briefing room was both the social area and the space in which reports were completed, citizens were contacted by phone, computer work was done. The multiple purposes of the room and its central location in the space made it easier than not for everyone to know what anyone else was doing. Even if miraculously large amounts of funding were available to build decentralized stations, careful consideration should be given to the design of the buildings so that the flow of traffic, the integration of functions and space, and the shared use of mechanical facilities would contribute to the development of a sense of close interaction and "teamness" that appear to characterize the EPD.

VI. EXTERNAL EFFECTS: CONSEQUENCE OF THE CHANGE PROCESS FOR CITIZENS

A Madison Police Department motto summarizes the vision of the organization:

CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE:
QUALITY FROM THE INSIDE, OUT

In 1987, the external goals of the Department were (and remain in 1992):

- to have a better understanding of the kind of service citizens want,
- to know the problems of an area of the City, and
- to work with the community to reduce those problems.

As was discussed in Chapter IV, the means by which these objectives would be accomplished were not spelled out in operational detail during the planning phase of the EPD. Physical decentralization, orientation and training for problem-solving, and a more flexible and supportive management style would give officers the opportunity and capacity to become more familiar with an area and more closely involved with the residents and business people there. How they would use this capacity and opportunity was left largely to the discretion of individual officers. The Madison Police Department's approach to change was one of "permitted and supported change" rather than one of "directed change."

The research team believes the Department and the EPD did enhance these capacities and opportunities. What we lack are data or information that could demonstrate the full extent to which, and the manner in which, they were taken advantage of by officers to affect delivery of service to the community.

There are, however, measures of the impact of the organizational changes on citizens' perceptions of service. The data were collected with two surveys, one conducted in February and March of 1988 prior to the opening of the Experimental Police District and the second one, two years later. A random sample of 600 households was drawn from the area served by the EPD; a second sample of 600 households was drawn from the rest of the City. The second sample served as the "control" group for the EPD residents. In 1988, 1170 surveys were completed by interviewers who contacted respondents in their homes. In 1990, 772 of these same respondents were reinterviewed by telephone. These 772 respondents constitute a panel. The analysis compares responses for the Non-EPD panel with those for the EPD panel at the two survey times. Chapter III describes the survey methodology

and the analysis plan in greater detail. This chapter provides an analysis of the data and a discussion of the assessed impacts.

A. Perceived Police Presence

At the community meetings held during the planning phase of the EPD, greater police presence was one of the desires most frequently expressed by residents and business people.

In the surveys, respondents were asked a variety of questions about their perceptions of police presence in their neighborhood.

Have you seen a police officer in this neighborhood within the last 24 hours?

During the past week, have you seen...

...a police car driving through your neighborhood?

...a police officer walking around or standing on patrol in the neighborhood?

...a police officer pull someone over for a traffic ticket?

During the past week, have you seen...

...police officers patrolling in the alley, or checking garages or in the back of buildings?

...a police officer chatting/having a friendly conversation with people in the neighborhood?

Table 6-1 summarizes perceptions of police presence in 1988 and 1990²⁹ in the Non-EPD and EPD areas of the City.

²⁹ Surveys were conducted January through March, not the best months for conducting or observing foot patrol in Madison.

TABLE 6-1

CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE PRESENCE
 Percentage of Residents Who Report Seeing Police in Various Activities
 Probabilities and Estimated Mean Differences
 Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
 1988 and 1990

	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
Activity and Time Period	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#	
During past 24 hours: Being in area	18	21	.09	17	26	.01*	.02 (.62)
During the past week:							
Driving through	45	51	.04*	54	61	.02*	.05 (.12)
Walking patrol	1	1	.71	5	5	.72	.03 (.01)*
Giving a traffic ticket	22	30	.01*	20	22	.41	-.09 (.01)*
Checking an alley	4	3	.84	8	6	.42	.08 (.02)*
Having a friendly chat with neighborhood people	4	8	.02*	6	10	.01*	.02 (.36)
During past year:							
Walking patrol in shopping area	24	30	.02*	27	35	.01*	.02 (.48)
Average number of respondents	387			333			

* Significance = $\leq .05$

Paired-sample T-test

In both the EPD area and the rest of the City, respondents reported greater visibility of the police in 1990 than 1988. In 1990, reports of seeing an officer walking patrol and of seeing an officer checking an alley were positively and significantly related to living in the EPD area. Reports of seeing an officer issue a traffic ticket were negatively and significantly related to living in the EPD area.

B. Police-Citizen Contacts

Citizens and business people also said they wanted more contact with officers. In 1988 thirty percent of Non-EPD respondents and thirty-three percent of EPD area respondents said that the lack of police contact with citizens was "somewhat a problem" or a "big problem."

In 1988 and 1990 survey respondents were asked about a variety of contacts or potential contacts with police:

Other than times when you might have called the police, in the past year have the police come to your door to ask about problems in the neighborhood or to give you information?

During the past year, has any Madison police officer had an occasion to give you a personal business card with the officer's name and telephone number on it?

During the past year, have you heard about people trying to get community meetings started up in this neighborhood?

During the past year, have there been any community meetings held here in this neighborhood to try to deal with local problems?

Were you able to attend any of these meetings?

Was anyone from the police department at any of these meetings?

During the past year, have there been any social get-togethers, like block parties, or other large social events in this neighborhood?

Have you attended any of these events?

Was anyone from the police department at any of these events?

Table 6-2 describes the types and numbers of informal contacts citizens had with police in 1987 and 1989.

TABLE 6-2
CITIZEN REPORTS OF INFORMAL POLICE-CITIZEN CONTACTS
Percentage of Residents Who Report Contacts with Police,
by Type of Contact, During Previous Year
Probabilities and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
Type of Contact	1988	1990	Prob. #	1988	1990	Prob. #	
Police came to door to ask about neighborhood problems or provide information	4	3	.39	7	4	.27	.01 (.67)
Officer gave citizen a business card	5	6	.47	10	7	.31	.004 (.98)
Knew of community meeting to discuss area problems ³⁰	40	44	.10	48	57	.01*	.11 (.002)*
Attended meeting at which officer was present	2	2	.76	6 ³¹	7	.73	.04 (.02)*
Attended area social event with officer present	5	7	.08	5	8	.11	.005 (.78)
Average number of respondents	387			333			

*Significance = $\leq .05$.

#Paired-sample T-test.

³⁰ Not an actual contact, this is more appropriately a measure of a respondent's awareness of an opportunity to have a contact.

³¹ This percentage may be the result of the problem definition meetings that were held in this area during the EPD planning phase.

Respondents in the EPD area were significantly more likely, in 1990, to report knowing of community meetings arranged for the purpose of discussing area problems than they were in 1988. Otherwise, reports of informal contacts or opportunities for such contacts between police and residence changed very little in either the program or the control areas of the City. The likelihood of knowing about a meeting and attending a meeting at which an officer was present were, in 1990, positively and significantly related to EPD membership.

Perceptions of contacts between citizens and police were measured also by asking officers how frequently they had informal contacts with citizens. They were asked:

During a typical 8-hour tour of duty how frequently do you interact with citizens other than on calls for service? (Table 6-3)

TABLE 6-3

POLICE REPORTS OF INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH CITIZENS

Average Number of Contacts Per Week
Probabilities and Estimated Mean Differences
EPD and Non-EPD Patrol Officers
Panel Members
1987 and 1989

Group	1987	1988	Prob. (2-tailed)	b (signif.)
Non-EPD (N=98)	6.0	5.8	.52	1.97 (.01)*
EPD (N=15)	6.8	7.8	.43	

* Significance $\leq .05$.

In 1989 EPD officers believed they were interacting more frequently with citizens than they did in 1987, although the increase was not statistically significant.

In 1989 officers were asked how frequently during a typical work week they met, either formally or informally, with a number of different groups or individuals. See Table 6-4.

TABLE 6-4

POLICE REPORTS OF CONTACTS WITH CITIZENS

Average Number of Reported Contacts Per Week Per Group
Non-EPD and EPD Patrol Officers
Panel Members
1989 Only

Contact Group	Non-EPD Officers (N=85)	EPD Officers (N=16)	Prob. (2-tailed)
Business person	3.2	3.6	.21
Business group	1.3	1.5	.44
Community leaders	1.4	1.7	.24
Elected officials	1.4	1.9	.00*
Informants	1.9	2.3	.16
Other agencies or institutions	2.4	3.2	.01*
Citizens	4.2	4.5	.15
Citizen groups	1.6	1.9	.23

* Significance $\leq .05$.

In 1989 EPD officers perceived themselves as having more contacts with each listed community group than did Non-EPD officers. Their reports of contacts with elected officials and other agencies or institutions were significantly more numerous than those by Non-EPD officers.

Of course, Madison residents experienced the more formal kinds of contacts that occur when citizens call for assistance or when they seek or offer information (citizen initiated contacts) or that result from police stopping citizens for some reason (police initiated contacts). The interviewer said:

Now, I would like to ask you about any contacts you may have had with the Madison police in the past year, since January 1st. of 1987 (1989). In the past year, have you...

Reported a crime to the police?

Reported a traffic accident or a medical emergency to the police?

Reported a suspicious person who you thought might be connected with a crime?

Reported suspicious noises to the police?

Reported any other event that you thought might lead to a crime?

Contacted the police about any other neighborhood concerns or problems?

Contacted the police to ask for advice or information?

Reported any other sort of problem or difficulty to the police?

The frequency of those contacts is summarized in Table 6-5.

It should be noted that formal contacts are less a result of police efforts to "get out and meet the public" than are the informal contacts. Formal contacts, whether citizen initiated or police initiated, tend to occur in response to specific problems. If an area becomes more troubled, the number of calls or stops is more likely to increase, independent of police goals to become more involved with the community.

In 1990, as compared to 1988, Non-EPD respondents are significantly more likely to have reported a traffic or medical problem to the police and significantly less likely to have received a parking citation. Over the same period, EPD respondents were significantly less likely to ask police for information.

In 1990, reports of calling the police about a traffic or medical problem were negatively and significantly associated with EPD area residency. At the same time, reporting a suspicious noise and reporting some event that might lead to a crime were positively and significantly associated with EPD residency.

Citizens can have another type of "contact" with police in Madison that is less direct than any of the ones above but which is contingent on having had a formal contact. This is the "customer satisfaction survey" which the Department has been regularly sending, since 1986, to a sample of people who have received

TABLE 6-5
FORMAL POLICE-CITIZEN CONTACTS
 Percentage of Residents Who Report Having Contact with Police
 During Previous Year, by Type of Contact
 Probabilities and Estimated Mean Differences
 Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
 1988 and 1990

TYPE OF CONTACT	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#	
Citizen Initiated Contacts							
Reported crime to police	15	17	.40	20	20	.92	.02 (.51)
Reported traffic or medical problem	15	20	.04*	14	15	.52	-.06 (.04)*
Reported suspicious person	8	8	.99	8	11	.22	.02 (.28)
Reported suspicious noise	4	3	.42	6	6	.99	.03 (.03)*
Reported other event that might lead to crime	6	5	.33	7	8	.33	.04 (.05)*
Reported neighborhood problems or concerns	11	9	.38	15	13	.43	.03 (.27)
Reported other problem	9	9	.89	14	12	.36	-.01 (.91)
Asked police for other information	20	19	.59	24	18	.03*	-.03 (.30)
Gave information to police	12	13	.54	16	18	.51	.03 (.29)

TABLE 6-5 continued

TYPE OF CONTACT	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#	
Police Initiated Contacts							
Received parking ticket	27	21	.02*	32	28	.16	.05 (.10)
In vehicle stopped by police	12	11	.59	11	13	.38	.01 (.61)
Stopped while walking	1	1	.32	1	1	.56	.01 (.20)
Average number of respondents	387			337			

* Significance $\leq .05$

police service, including those who have been arrested. The survey asks about the service/treatment received during the contact with the Department and provides space for the respondent to make suggestions about service improvements. Since its inception in 1986, the survey has reported a steady increase in customer satisfaction.

In 1988 and 1990 our respondents were asked:

During the past year, have you received a postcard or other questionnaire in the mail to complete and send back to the Madison police?

Table 6-6 contains their responses.

TABLE 6-6

CITIZEN RECEIPT OF CUSTOMER SATISFACTION SURVEYS

Percentage of Residents Stating They Had Received
Correspondence to be Returned to the Department
Probabilities and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Group	1988	1990	Prob.#	b (signif.)
Non-EPD (N=368)	1.6	2.2	.56	.004
EPD (N=318)	3.1	3.4	.83	(.98)

Paired-sample T-test.

Respondents in all parts of the City were slightly more likely, in 1990 as compared to 1988, to report having received a customer survey. Time 2 reports of this activity were unassociated with residency in the EPD area.

These surveys are used somewhat differently by the EPD than by the rest of the Department. In the rest of the City, surveys are returned to the office of the Chief and are not seen by the officers who served the responding citizens. In the EPD, surveys are returned to the EPD office and are reviewed by the officers involved in the contact about which the survey inquires. The EPD managers plan to revise the survey to make it possible for officers to know the nature of the incident to which the survey is a response, thus providing more information about the kinds of situations in which their behaviors provoke more and less positive responses.

As indicated by data in Tables 6-5 and 6-6, Madison citizens did not perceive themselves as having significantly more contacts, either informal or formal, with police between 1988 and 1990, either in the EPD area or the rest of the City. This fact is reflected in their feeling, as reported in Table 6-7 below, that lack of police contact with citizens remained a problem in 1990. The interviewer had said:

Now, I am going to read a list of things that you may think are problems in this neighborhood. After I read each one, please tell me whether you think it is a big problem, some problem, or no problem here in this neighborhood.

The first one is, police not making enough contact with residents....

Do you think this is a big problem (code = 3),
some problem (code = 2) or,
no problem (code = 1) in this neighborhood?

TABLE 6-7

CITIZENS' EVALUATION OF FREQUENCY OF POLICE CONTACT

Percentage of Citizens Stating that Lack of Police Contact
With Residents was a "Somewhat Big" or "Big" Problem
Probabilities and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Group	1988	1990	Prob.#	b (signif.)
Non-EPD (N=376)	30	40	.02*	- .06 (.16)
EPD (N=322)	33	32	.94	

* Significance = $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

Between 1988 and 1990 there was a significant increase in the percentage of Non-EPD respondents who reported lack of contact to be a problem. There was no change in the EPD area. In the face of rising numbers of calls for service, officers in the EPD, as compared to those in the rest of the Department, may have been doing a better job of "holding their own" in terms of satisfying citizens with the number of contacts, but they have not yet been able to make as many of these contacts as

citizens apparently would like to experience. In any case, the values at Time 2 were unassociated with residency in the EPD area.

C. Quality of Police-Citizen Contacts

C.1. Knowing An Officer's Name

One indicator of the quality of police-citizens contacts is the awareness, on the part of the citizen, of the name of an officer or officers who work in the neighborhood. Madison officers wear name tags and EPD officers had available to them business cards that they could leave with citizens they contacted. Respondents were asked:

Do you know the names of any of the police officers who work in this neighborhood?

Table 6-8 reports the percentages, by area, who said they did.

TABLE 6-8

CITIZENS' KNOWLEDGE OF OFFICERS' NAMES

Percentage of Residents Who Report Knowing the Name
of an Officer Who Works in Their Area
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Group	1988	1990	Prob. #	b (signif.)
Non-EPD (N=387)	12	12	1.00	.001 (.94)
EPD (N=337)	10	12	.30	

Paired-sample T-test.

Whether as a result of the quality or quantity of contacts, the probability that EPD residents knew the name of an officer increased slightly, but not significantly, over time. Time 2 scores were unassociated with residency in the EPD area.

C.2. Satisfaction With Contacts

"Value added policing," one of the objectives of the EPD, is based on the idea that you can give extra service—either in what is done or in the manner in which it is done—to citizens in the course of a routine, call-based contact. Respondents were asked a series of questions to gauge their satisfaction with police response to citizen initiated contacts.

Next, I have a few questions about the last time you contacted the police. That is when you....(reference the type of contact respondent reported in previous question).

(When/The last time) you talked to the police, did the police pay careful attention to what you had to say?

Did the police clearly explain what action they would take in response to your contact?

Did you find the police very helpful (code = 4), somewhat helpful, not very helpful, or not at all helpful (code = 1)?

When you talked to the police, were they very polite (code = 4), somewhat polite, somewhat impolite, or very impolite (code = 1)?

Their responses are reported in Table 6-9.

TABLE 6-9

CITIZEN DESCRIPTIONS OF POLICE RESPONSES
TO CITIZEN-INITIATED CONTACTS

Percentages and Probabilities
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Respondents report that during their most recent contact, the police...	Non-EPD			EPD		
	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#
...paid careful attention to what respondent had to say	92	92	.95	96	90	.06
...explained whatever action they would take	80	83	.52	80	80	.63
...were very helpful	61	55	.72	54	48	.39
...were very polite	72	74	.91	68	68	.93
Average number of respondents	177	180		165	155	

Simple Chi-square test.³²

The only change that approaches significance is in the EPD area where respondents in 1990 are less likely than they were in 1988 to report that officers paid careful attention to what the respondent had to say. It should be noted, however, that these figures were already so high that there was little room for improvement. This table reports the percentage of respondents who believed officers were very polite or very helpful; when the response categories "somewhat" and "very" are combined, the affirmative responses range from 87 percent to 97 percent indicating a generally high level of satisfaction with the quality of contacts in Madison.

³² A simple Chi-square test is used because these questions were answered only if the respondent had a contact with the police prior to either survey. Some respondents may have had contacts prior to each survey; but most had a contact before the first survey, or before the second survey, but not before both. As a result, the 1988 and 1990 groups of respondents may overlap but are different.

In a summary question, respondents were asked:

Overall, how satisfied were you with the way the police responded? Were you very satisfied (code = 4), somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied (code = 1)?

Table 6-10 reports their mean levels of satisfaction.

TABLE 6-10
CITIZEN SATISFACTION WITH SELF-INITIATED CONTACTS

Mean Level of Satisfaction
with Most Recent Self-Initiated Contact with Police
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Group	1988	1990	Prob.#
Non-EPD	3.4 (179)	3.4 (182)	.76
EPD	3.4 (166)	3.2 (157)	.19

Simple Chi-square test.

When these various indicators of satisfaction are combined into a scale and the means of the scale scores are compared over time, EPD respondents show a slight, statistically insignificant, decrease in their level of satisfaction. There is no change for Non-EPD respondents.

Any police department can be justifiably proud of its relationship with the people it serves when 91 percent (non-EPD) and 83 percent (EPD) of respondents report that they are "somewhat" or "very" satisfied with their last contact with the police. As indicated previously, these "ceiling effects" make it unlikely that much improvement can be measured. This condition is not merely a methodological issue; the generally high levels of satisfaction are a real feature of the relationship between the Madison Police Department and Madison citizens.

At the same time, the downward shifts, although slight, from the EPD's 1988 levels of satisfaction bear close watching. The service area of the EPD is experiencing a rapid influx of poor, minority residents from larger cities. Some of

them are bringing to Madison the problems they are trying to escape, as reflected in Table 6-12 by the increasing concern about drug sales in the EPD area. Given these pressures on the community and their police, the satisfaction levels recorded in 1990 may be difficult to sustain.

The previous table dealt with contacts initiated by citizens. Respondents who had, for some reason, been stopped by the police during the year prior to the survey were asked similar questions about the nature of the contact. In both the EPD area and the rest of the City, 11 percent of respondents reported having been in a car that was stopped by police and 2 percent reported having been stopped by police while on foot. Table 6-11 reports their descriptions of police response.

TABLE 6-11
CITIZEN DESCRIPTIONS OF POLICE RESPONSES
TO OFFICER-INITIATED CONTACTS

Percentages and Probabilities
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Respondents report that during their most recent contact, the police...	Non-EPD			EPD		
	1988	1990	Prob. #	1988	1990	Prob
...paid careful attention to what respondent had to say	82	69	.17	77	85	.41
...explained whatever action they would take	88	80	.41	74	85	.29
...were very helpful	61	43	.16	42	67	.01*
...were very polite	61	55	.85	57	62	.18
Average number of respondents	61	46		55	48	

* Significance = $\leq .05$.

Simple Chi-square.

There is considerable movement in this table. While only one change (perception of politeness by officers in the EPD) reaches statistical significance, the patterns are distinct. Respondents in the Non-EPD areas tend to report less

satisfaction over time, while EPD respondents who were stopped by the police are more satisfied with police response in 1990 than they were in 1988.

The difference between reported satisfaction with citizen-initiated contacts and with police-initiated contacts could perhaps result from different police personnel having differential responsibility for the two types of contacts. It was the sense of the research staff that some of the officers most enthusiastic about community policing and problem-solving were the younger officers who, because of their low seniority, were more likely to work the late shift. The older officers, including the small group of slightly cynical officers who went to the EPD to see whether management really could change, were more likely to work the day shift. The night officers who wanted to do community policing were, at times, seeking opportunities to interact with citizens and may have been initiating more stops than were day officers. Citizens requesting police service may have been receiving it from officers who, as a group, were slightly "crustier" than the group who had served the same area the year prior to the opening of the EPD.

One could hypothesize other possible explanations for the differences but none are testable; the speculation serves only to underline the complexities of trying to tease apart effects in this type of research.

D. Problem-Solving

D.1. Citizens' Perceptions of Their Problems

One of the major objectives of problem oriented policing is to know and address the problems that are of concern to citizens in different parts of a city. In 1988 and again in 1990 citizens were queried about their perceptions of problems in their neighborhoods. The interviewer said:

Now, I am going to read a list of things that you may think are problems in this neighborhood. After I read each one, please tell me whether you think it is a "big problem" (code = 3), "some problem" (code = 2) or "no problem" (code = 1).

Table 6-12 contains the list of problems and the percentage of respondents who considered each problem to be either "somewhat a problem" or "a big problem."

The problems are listed in Table 6-12 in order of increasing magnitude, as perceived by most people in Madison (the Non-EPD areas). The fact that in both Non-EPD and EPD areas, more respondents say that speeding and careless driving and pot holes are problems than say robberies are problems is not evidence that respondents feel speeding is a bigger or more serious problem than robbery. In the survey problems were not rated in magnitude relative to each other. Each item was asked separately and crime problems were assessed in a portion of the interview that was distanced from questions about disorder problems. The reported percentages represent the people who considered each condition a problem. It is simply the case that more people are likely to be affected by speeding, pot holes, and snow on the streets than are affected by robberies or other crimes.

In the Non-EPD area, between 1988 and 1990, citizens perceived four conditions (i.e., robbery/attack, disturbance around schools, drinking and gambling in parks, and residential burglary) as becoming significantly greater problems. Speeding and careless driving were significantly less likely to be seen as a problem in 1990 than 1988.

During the same period EPD respondents perceived significant improvement in three problem areas (i.e., robbery/attack, snow removal, and residential burglary). They perceived one problem—speeding and careless driving—as becoming significantly worse.

With the exception of snow removal, the largest improvements in the EPD area were in serious crime conditions. (And it should be noted that Midwestern mayors have lost re-election as a result of the serious offense of dealing inadequately with large snow falls; it is more difficult to think of an incumbent whose defeat was attributed to the crime rate).

TABLE 6-12

CITIZEN VIEWS OF PROBLEMS

Percentage of Residents Who View Problem as "Somewhat Big" or "Big"
 Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
 1988 and 1990

Problem	Non-EPD			EPD		
	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#
Auto theft	5	8	.08	11	10	.51
Robbery/attack	18	25	.01*	33	24	.01*
Park maintenance	19	25	.15	22	23	.63
Drug use/sale (adults)	20	20	.68	29	35	.22
Loud parties	23	20	.44	37	34	.25
Disturbance around schools	24	30	.02*	23	26	.19
Drug use/sales (juveniles)	26	24	.35	31	37	.08
Drinking/gambling in parks	26	34	.01*	34	39	.32
Drunk driving	30	34	.13	34	36	.33
Thefts from outside house	34	30	.38	44	39	.25
Ignoring parking rules	37	33	.06	50	51	.67
Snow removal	43	44	.79	52	43	.01*
Residential burglary	49	54	.01*	66	59	.01*
Pot holes/street repairs	59	61	.40	61	59	.43
Speeding/careless driving	69	69	.04*	59	67	.01*
Average number of respondents	387			337		

* Significance $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

At the same time that robbery and burglary were less frequently named as problems in the EPD, they were increasingly named as problems in the rest of the City. This suggests that the constellation of approaches represented by the EPD (decentralization/community contact/problem-solving) is not simply a means to better police-community relations but is an approach that may have a very real impact on the tendency of citizens to believe crime is a problem in their neighborhoods. These data are only suggestive, however. The magnitude of the changes in citizens' perceptions of their crime problems is not statistically significant when regression analysis is used to control for a large number of other variables that could be affecting the score on this variable. As will be discussed below, there are other indicators that an impact on crime problems was occurring in the EPD area, including Departmental data on crime figures. However, the changes in the citizen survey data are not large enough to overcome the argument that they could have been caused by conditions other than the impact of EPD efforts.

Regrettably, we do not know what EPD personnel may have done to affect crime problems in their area. Paperwork was one of the work-related irritants that EPD managers sought to reduce; partly for this reason, there was no systematic recording of problems identified and methods used to address them. Because the Department had eliminated personnel evaluations, there was no effort to incorporate instances of problem-solving attempts into officers' records. Officer surveys did not contain questions about what types of problem-solving activities officers engaged in, or how frequently. The personnel survey should have been designed (as future surveys should be) to elicit this information.

So, why did snow removal come to be less frequently named as a problem in the EPD? Probably because the EPD personnel did address it directly as a problem. As a result of their initial community meetings, they knew it was one of the issues that concerned citizens and they worked with the Public Works Department to improve snow removal in key problem areas. Problem-solving appears to have paid off in terms of public perceptions.

Or did it? Perhaps not always. One of the issues EPD personnel addressed in a highly visible way was that of speeding and careless driving. Having heard from citizens that it was a problem in certain neighborhoods, they designed a campaign that involved joint police-citizen action to alert motorists in the area that residents were concerned about the safety of their streets. On one day, police set up radar on a main street and stopped speeders during rush hours. Any motorist who was stopped was greeted by both an officer and a resident of the area; the resident gave the speeder a letter explaining the concerns of local citizens and told the violator that those living in the area would appreciate the motorist's future consideration. No citations were issued on the day of the campaign.

The police and the local alderperson believed the speeding problem in the area had been reduced. And the effort was clearly a publicity success; local newspapers and television stations provided excellent coverage of the operation.

This was not the only effort to address area traffic problems. One officer identified a corner plagued by illegal left turns. During one month he issued 94 citations at the intersection and when he worked there he propped a large sign against his rear bumper that read, "THIS PERSON BEING TICKETED FOR MAKING LEFT TURN."

The EPD officers made visible, publicized responses to their community's expressed worries about speeding and careless driving.

And then, about 18 months later, 9 percent more of the EPD respondents said that speeding and careless driving were problems than had said so prior to these efforts. One can only speculate (and cannot resist doing so) that the publicity of the stops alerted citizens to the fact that there was a problem. Residents who previously might not have thought they had traffic problems in their neighborhood may have been convinced once they saw police (who tend to avoid addressing traffic problems when they can find anything more pressing to do) giving traffic so much attention. One can speculate (and probably should) about the need to arrange post-operation publicity of any reduction in the level of the problem. Otherwise, if the only publicity is about the existence of the problem and efforts to address it, it is conceivable that the real magnitude of a problem might decrease while the public perception of that problem's magnitude increased.

With the exception of the highly publicized action against drivers, efforts in the EPD to reduce problems appear to be reflected in citizens' perceptions that the police are trying to work on problems. (Table 6-13) Respondents were asked:

Do you think the police are spending enough time on the problems that are important in this neighborhood?

Are they spending enough time on these problems (code = 3)...

Should they be spending more time on these problems (code = 2)... or

Have they been neglecting these problems almost entirely (code = 1)?

TABLE 6-13

CITIZENS' BELIEF THAT POLICE SPEND ENOUGH TIME
ON IMPORTANT PROBLEMS

Item Means and Probabilities
EPD and Non-EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Group	1988	1990	Prob.	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD (N=330)	2.6	2.6	.10	.09 (.04)*
EPD (N=271)	2.5	2.7	.00*	

* Significance = $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

EPD area respondents were substantially and significantly more likely to say in 1990, as compared to 1988, that police were spending time on the important problems. Responses in the Non-EPD areas remained essentially the same over time.

At Time 3, the belief that police address important problems was positively and significantly related to residency in the EPD.

D.2. Citizen Evaluation of Problem-solving Efforts

Four survey items scaled together to form a measure of citizens' evaluations of police efforts. These questions were:

How responsive are the police in this neighborhood to community concerns?

How good a job are police doing in working together with residents of this neighborhood to solve local problems?

How good a job are police doing in dealing with the problems that really concern people in this neighborhood?

Do you think the police are spending enough time on the problems that are important in this neighborhood?³³

For the first three questions, response codes range from:

- 1 = very poor job, to
- 4 = very good job.

For the last question, responses are:

- 1 = neglecting problems almost entirely
- 2 = should be spending more time on them
- 3 = spending enough time on these problems.

Table 6-14 summarizes the scale scores.

³³ This item was analyzed separately in Table 6-13; it also formed a part of the scale presented in Table 6-14.

TABLE 6-14

CITIZENS' RATINGS OF POLICE RESPONSIVENESS
 Scale Score and Item Means and Probabilities
 and Estimated Mean Differences
 Non-EPD and EPD Residents
 1988 and 1990

Scale Scores	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#	
	11.8	11.6	.03*	11.6	11.8	.24	
<u>Items and Means:</u>							
How responsive are police to community concerns?	3.4	3.4	.11	3.4	3.4	.58	.02 (.63)
How good a job are police doing...							
working with residents to solve local problems?	2.9	2.8	.14	2.8	2.9	.13	.18 (.007)*
dealing with problems of concern in neighborhood?	2.9	2.8	.23	2.8	2.9	.13	.07 (.22)
Are police spending enough time on important problems?	2.6	2.6	.10	2.5	2.7	.00*	.09 (.04)*
Average number of respondents	316			259			

* Significance $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

Although the EPD respondents register an increase in the scale score over time, the change is not statistically significant in a regression analysis that controls for a number of other variables. For two items within the scale, the EPD group does register significant change (improvement) in a regression analysis. One was discussed in Table 6-13 above. The other is the first item in the scale which concerns the responsiveness of neighborhood police to community concerns.

At the same time, the Non-EPD respondents report a small but statistically significant decrease in the belief that police are responsive to community concerns and are working with citizens on problems important to the neighborhood.

The maximum scale score for "police responsiveness" is 15.0, so even in 1988 police in either the EPD area or the rest of the City already were receiving an a 77 percent approval rating. On the two items having to do with responsiveness to community concerns and working on the right problems, the lowest approval rating in 1988 was 83 percent. While there is room for improvement, Madison police do not start from a base of citizen discontent with police attention to their problems.

In another series of questions, citizens were asked to focus on police performance with respect to five general problems. They were asked:

Now, let's talk about the police in this neighborhood. How good a job do you think they are doing...

- ...to prevent crime?
- ...in keeping order on the streets and sidewalks?
- ...in enforcing rules about parking?
- ...in controlling speeding or careless driving?
- ...in controlling drunk driving?

Each question was asked separately and for each the response codes ranged from:

- 1 = poor job, to
- 4 = very good job.

Table 6-15 reports the 1988 and 1990 scale scores.

In general, there is a slight downward shift in approval of police performance among Non-EPD respondents and a slight upward shift among EPD respondents.

TABLE 6-15

CITIZENS' RATINGS OF POLICE HANDLING OF PROBLEMS
 Percentage of Residents Who Say Police
 Are Doing a "Good" or "Very Good Job"
 Probabilities and Estimated Mean Differences
 Non-EPD and EPD Residents
 1988 and 1990

Problem	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob.	1988	1990	Prob.#	
Preventing Crime	75	70	.61	68	73	.03*	.06 (.30)
Keeping order	82	83	.32	83	83	.14	.05 (.44)
Enforcing parking rules	76	75	.46	73	75	.09	.12 (.07)
Controlling speeding and careless driving	46	49	.31	56	55	.46	.06 (.39)
Controlling drunk driving	73	68	.50	79	75	.07	.02 (.77)
Helping victims	73	70	.53	68	73	.36	.05 (.50)
Average number of respondents	349			295			

* Significance $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

The only statistically significant change, by item, reported in this table is in the EPD area where respondents feel the police are improving with respect to crime prevention. This finding corresponds with those in Table 6-12 in which respondents reported that the problems of robbery and burglary were not as great in 1990 as in 1988. There is also perceived improvement in the EPD with respect to the treatment of victims, but this change is not statistically significant.

While there is room for improvement in any of these areas, it is very clear that Madison citizens are least satisfied with police attention to problems of speeding and careless driving.

E. Citizen Evaluation of Police "Style"

The Madison Department's concept of "value added policing" emphasizes the way in which people are treated by police. In a previous section we reported on how citizens feel they are treated by police when they are being dealt with directly, either when the police respond to a citizen's call or when the police stop a citizen for some reason. Regardless whether they had interacted directly with the police during the study period, all citizens were asked:

In general, how polite (concerned, helpful, fair) are the police when dealing with people in this neighborhood?"

Response codes range from:

- 1 = very impolite (unfair) or not at all concerned (helpful), to
- 4 = very polite (concerned, helpful, fair),

Table 6-16 reports these responses.

If EPD officers were attempting to deliver "value added" service during the study period, panel respondents were unaffected by the effort. Satisfaction with police "style" actually declined slightly between 1988 and 1990.

TABLE 6-16

CITIZENS' RATINGS OF POLICE STYLE
Item Percentages and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Respondents say neighborhood police are "very." ..	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#	
Polite	67	63	.18	67	62	.06	-.01 (.84)
Concerned	37	41	.11	40	37	.71	-.06 (.17)
Helpful	49	43	.32	49	45	.11	-.01 (.90)
Fair	61	53	.06	56	55	.99	.04 (.38)
Average number of respondents	334			274			

Paired-sample T-test.

In fact, the general pattern of movement in this table, whether for EPD or Non-EPD area respondents, is toward a lower approval rating on style when only the scores for the highest rating are reported. If the "somewhat" and "very" responses were combined, there would be no change over time and the ratings would range from 95 percent to 99 percent approval. Again, while there is nothing of statistical significance in this table and the overall ratings are quite high, this would be an indicator worth watching over a longer period of time.

F. Perceptions of Neighborhood Conditions

One of the long range goals of community policing is to make residents feel more positive about the area in which they live. The Department was interested, too, in learning whether the presence of the EPD would have an effect on the way in which Madison residents from outside the EPD area might view South Madison. In 1988 and 1990 all respondents were asked several questions designed to measure their perceptions of South Madison with respect to the safety and general quality of life there. After asking a series of questions about possible problems in the respondent's own neighborhood, the interviewer read:

Now, I have a few questions concerning a larger area of Madison, the area known as "South Madison." This is roughly the area along the South Park Street corridor. We are interested in your general impressions of this area.

In general, would you say that in the past year South Madison has become a better place to live (code = 3), gotten worse (code = 1) or stayed about the same (code = 2)?

How big a problem do you think public drinking or disorderly conduct is in South Madison? Do you think that it is...

- ...a big problem (code = 3)
- ...some problem (code = 2), or
- ...no problem (code = 1).

What about crime? Do think that crime in South Madison is...(same categories as for preceding question).

Is there any place in South Madison where you would be afraid to go alone either during the day or after dark? (yes = 1; no = 0; don't go there = 2)

How safe would you feel being out alone in South Madison at night? Would you feel... (codes range from 1 = very unsafe to 4 = very safe).

For each of these questions there were separate codes for "don't know area" and "don't know."

Table 6-17 reports the mean values of responses for each of these questions for Non-EPD and EPD respondents.

The only statistically significant change occurs for Non-EPD respondents who report a small but significant increase in the perception that crime in a big problem in South Madison. Otherwise, perceptions are essentially unchanged over time. At both survey times, EPD respondents have a slightly more positive view of the area in which they live than do Non-EPD respondents. This finding is consistent with a large body of literature on perceptions of problems in the area in which one lives relative to other places. Generally, people feel more positive toward the area with which they are familiar.

The stable perception of South Madison is not, however, a particularly flattering one. While respondents see the area generally as becoming neither a better nor a worse place in which to live, the magnitude of the disorder problem in the area is seen at either survey time as ranging between "some problem" (value = 2) and "big problem" (value = 3). Crime is even more likely to be seen as a "big problem" (value = 3). Most respondents say there is someplace in the area where they would fear to go alone ("yes" = 1); most tend to feel that being alone in the area at night would be "somewhat unsafe."

TABLE 6-17
CITIZENS' ASSESSMENTS OF SOUTH MADISON

Item Mean Scores and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1991

Item	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob.	1988	1990	Prob.#	
Area as a place to live	1.9	1.9	.94	2.1	2.0	.27	.07 (.19)
Disorder as a problem	2.3	2.3	.27	2.0	2.1	.23	-.10 (.04)*
Crime as a problem	2.5	2.6	.03*	2.4	2.4	.86	-.15 (.001)*
Area includes place where I would fear to go alone	0.9	0.9	.21	0.8	0.8	.88	-.05 (.07)
Sense of safety alone in area at night	1.6	1.6	.92	2.1	2.1	.76	.11 (.14)
Average number of respondents	334			274			

* Significance = $\leq .05$
Paired sample T-test.

G. Levels of Fear and Worry

G.1 Fear of Personal Victimization

Respondents in the EPD area and in the rest of the City were asked five questions designed to gauge their levels of fear about personal victimization in their neighborhoods.

How safe would you feel being alone outside in this neighborhood at night?
Would you feel...(codes range from 1 = very unsafe to 4 = very safe).

Is there any particular place in this neighborhood where you would be afraid to go alone either during the day or after dark? (yes = 1; no = 0)

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about things that might worry you in this neighborhood. How worried are you that...

Someone will try to rob you or steal something from you while you are outside in this neighborhood...

Someone will try to attack you or beat you up while you are outside in this neighborhood...

Are you very worried (code = 3), somewhat worried (code = 2) or not worried at all (code = 1)?

How often does worry about crime prevent you from doing things you would like to do in your neighborhood? Would you say...(codes range from 1 = very often to 4 = never at all).

Table 6-18 reports the percentage of respondents in each group who respond in a "fearful" way to each of these questions.

In the EPD area and the rest of the City there is a similar move toward a slightly greater sense of personal security over time.

TABLE 6-18
CITIZENS' FEAR OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION

Percentages and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Respondents say:	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob.#	1988	1990	Prob.#	
...they are somewhat or very unsafe outside at night	21	18	.42	23	20	.05*	-.004 (.94)
...there is a place where are afraid to be alone at night	41	38	.24	45	45	.83	.06 (.09)
...they are somewhat worried about being robbed	36	35	.77	38	36	.53	-.02 (.68)
...they are somewhat or very worried about attack	24	24	.92	28	26	.60	-.00 (.91)
...worry about crime somewhat or very often prevents desired activity	14	12	.70	14	13	.50	-.02 (.63)
Average number of respondents	387			336			

* Significance $\leq .05$.
Paired-sample T-test.

G.2. Worry About Property Crime

Another group of items explored respondents' levels of worry about personal crime. The interviewer read:

How worried are you that...

Some will try to break into your home while no one is here...

Someone will try to steal things that you might leave outside your home overnight...

Someone will try to vandalize your house...

Are you very worried (code = 3), somewhat worried (code = 2) or not worried at all (code = 1)?

Table 6-19 reports the percentage of respondents in each group who say they are "somewhat" or "very worried."

TABLE 6-19

CITIZENS' WORRY ABOUT PROPERTY CRIME
Item Percentages and Probabilities
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Respondents say they are somewhat or very worried about...	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob. #	1988	1990	Prob.#	
...burglary when no one is home	71	73	.06	70	72	.93	-.03 (.52)
...theft outside at night	64	67	.15	78	72	.02*	-.01 (.88)
...vandalism of house	44	46	.30	39	40	.98	-.06 (.18)
Average number of respondents	388			337			

* Significance $\leq .05$.

Paired sample T-test.

These three items formed a scale and Table 6-20 presents these same data as scale scores that can range from 3 to 9.

TABLE 6-20

CITIZENS' WORRY ABOUT PROPERTY CRIME
Mean Scale Scores and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Group	1988	1990	Prob.#	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD (N=384)	5.1	5.2	.05*	.04 (.27)
EPD (N=329)	5.3	5.2	.29	

* Significance = $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

At both times respondents in either group are less than "somewhat worried" about property crime. Respondents in the Non-EPD areas became slightly but significantly more worried over time; EPD respondents became slightly but insignificantly less worried.

Regression analysis that used the 1990 scale score as a dependent variable and controlled for the 1988 score and sixteen other variables, found no significant difference between the two areas in terms of the 1990 scores. When "theft outside at night" (the individual item for which there was a significant decrease in fear in the EPD area) was treated as a separate outcome in the regression analysis, using the 1990-1988 change score as the dependent variable and controlling for sixteen other variables, respondents in the EPD area were significantly less likely ($b = -.16$ and significance = .01) than other respondents to worry about things being stolen from outside their homes at night.

H. Actual Victimization

H.1. Personal Experience of Victimization

Respondents were asked whether during the previous year they had experienced a robbery in their neighborhood, burglary or vandalism to their home. Table 6-21 compares the responses of Non-EPD and EPD respondents.

TABLE 6-21
VICTIMIZATION DURING PREVIOUS YEAR

Percentage of Residents Who Report Victimization
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Type of Victimization	Non-EPD			EPD			b (Signif.)
	1988	1990	Prob. #	1988	1990	Prob.#	
Robbery in area	0.3	0.3	.99	1.2	0.6	.42	.004 (.38)
Burglary	6.7	9.5	10	14.2	14.2	.99	.05 (.04)*
Vandalism	7.0	6.4	.76	10.3	8.6	.37	.004 (.85)
Average number of respondents	388			339			

* Significance $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

EPD respondents report a decrease in the experience of robberies in their neighborhood and a decrease in vandalism. They report no increase in burglaries. Non-EPD residents report no increase in robberies, a decrease in vandalism, but an increase in their experience of burglaries. The changes within groups over time are not statistically significant.

When the change score (1990-1988) for burglary victimization is the dependent variable in a regression that controls for area of residence and seventeen other demographic variables, the difference between the EPD area and the rest of the City with respect to experiencing burglary is statistically insignificant ($b=.00$; significance = .93). This suggests that if exactly the same types of people lived in the EPD area as in the rest of the City, their experiences of burglary would be statistically the same; in other words, living in the EPD is not related to a decrease in burglaries. However, when the 1990 value for burglary victimization is the dependent variable in the same regression, there is a significant improvement (or advantage relative to Non-EPD areas) in the EPD area. The nature of the outcome variable may cause it to be vulnerable to different interpretations depending on the way in which the dependent variable is defined. Pending a clearer resolution of this issue in the methodology literature (see Allison, 1990 and Campbell, 1991, for example), one can only say that the relative improvement in the burglary victimization in the EPD area is not unambiguous. There is a suggestion of improvement, but this is a variable that should be measured over a longer period of time.

While the two approaches to regression analysis may leave room for debate about which is correct, the significant findings from the change score analysis is corroborated by Madison Police Department data for number of reported robberies in the years about which survey respondents were questioned. Table 6-22 compares the EPD and the rest of the City for burglary calls in 1987 and 1989.

TABLE 6-22

BURGLARY CALLS TO THE MADISON POLICE DEPARTMENT
Number of Calls³⁴
Non-EPD and EPD Areas
1987 and 1989

Group	1987	1989	% Change
Non-EPD	1871	2149	+15
EPD	538	438	-19

In the EPD area there was a 19 percent decrease in reported burglaries between 1987 and 1989 while, at the same time, there was a 15 percent increase in the Non-EPD areas.

H.2. Knowledge of Victimization of Other

A respondent who has not been a victim of a crime may, nevertheless, personally know someone in the neighborhood who has been. Respondents were asked two questions:

Do you personally know anyone anywhere in the City of Madison whose home or apartment has been broken into, or had an attempted break-in since January 1, 1987 (1989)?

³⁴ These data are taken from calls-for-service records rather than from officer case reports of burglary. It is at least conceivable that officers who wish to produce an improved burglary record in an area could interpret a crime scene so as to reduce on paper the apparent incidence of burglaries. There was no reason at any time in this research project to believe or suspect that EPD officers ever considered distorting case reports or any other data.

Respondents who answered "yes" to this question were asked:

Did the break-in(s) or attempted break-in happen in this neighborhood?
(yes = 1; no = 0)

Data in Table 6-23 are for respondents who answered "yes" to both questions.

TABLE 6-23
KNOWLEDGE OF BURGLARY VICTIM
Means and Probabilities
and Estimated Mean Differences
Non-EPD and EPD Respondents
1988 and 1990

Group	1988	1990	Prob. #	b (Signif.)
Non-EPD (N=388)	0.12	0.13	.56	-.02 (.35)
EPD (N=339)	0.21	0.13	.00*	

* Significance = $\leq .05$.

Paired-sample T-test.

Reports of knowing a burglary victim decreased significantly in the EPD area and increased insignificantly in the Non-EPD area.

When the change score (1990-1988) is the dependent variable in a regression that controls for area and seventeen other demographic variables, the difference between the EPD area and the rest of the City is statistically significant ($b = -.10$; significance = .01). The decrease in reported awareness of burglary victims is associated with living in the EPD area, independent of other measured factors. However, when the 1990 value is used as the dependent variable and the 1988 value is one of the control variables, the difference between the changes in the two areas (EPD and the rest of the City) is not significant. This is the same methodological problem discussed above, except that in this case the consequences are reversed.

The overall effects on outcomes related to burglary and theft of living in the EPD area during the test period, as determined by regression analyses, can be summarized as shown in Table 6-24.

TABLE 6-24

**STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CRIME-RELATED OUTCOMES
AS DETERMINED BY METHOD OF CALCULATING DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

Crime-related outcome is:	Dependent Variable Calculated As:	
	1990 value with 1988 control	1990-1988 change score
...belief that burglary is big problem decreases significantly	No	Yes
...worry about things being stolen from outside house at night decreases significantly	No	Yes
...reports of having been a burglary victim decrease significantly	Yes	No
...reports of knowing neighborhood burglary victim decrease significantly	No	Yes

There is evidence, blurred though it is by methodological debate, that being in the area served by the EPD during the study period was related to a decrease in problems and concerns associated with burglary and theft. These outcomes are supported by the Departmental data that show fewer burglary calls in the EPD area during the test period.

I. Summary and Discussion of Citizen Attitudes

As with the officer data, the citizen data have been presented so that it is possible to examine within-group changes for the purpose of detecting magnitudes and patterns of change while also being able to see whether observed changes are related significantly to the EPD experience.

Table 6-25 summarizes the findings about the external effects of the EPD approach. Under the heading of "Within-Group Analyses," we indicate in the first column whether respondents in both the Non-EPD and EPD areas experienced the same direction of change, thus indicating whether a change characterized the entire community. The next two columns report the direction of change (+, -, or 0) experienced within the panels of Non-EPD and EPD respondents and indicate whether the within-group change was statistically significant (yes or no). The fourth column summarizes the findings from the regression analysis, indicating whether the

measure of association ("b") was significant. A significant "b" is evidence that the observed changes probably can be attributed to living within the area served by Experimental Police District officers during the test period.

Because it is the intent of this section to provide a summary, we will not attempt to recap each of the 75 separate outcome variables reviewed in the preceding section of the report. Instead, we have selected those outcomes which we feel are the most telling indicators of improved community relations and the implementation of community oriented and problem oriented policing.

TABLE 6-25

SUMMARY OF EXTERNAL CHANGES

	Within-Group Analysis			Regression Analysis
Outcome	Did both groups change ?	Non-EPD Direct. and signif.	EPD Direct and signif.	b Significant ?
Seeing officer in area, past 24 hours	yes	+ no	+ yes	no
Seeing officer walking patrol, past week	no	0 no	0 no	yes
Seeing officer in friendly chat with neighborhood people, past week	yes	+ yes	+ yes	no
Police came to door to ask about problems	yes	- no	- no	no
Citizen attended meeting at which officer was present	no	0 no	+ no	yes
Lack of police contact a problem	no	+ yes	- no	no
Know name of officer	no	0 no	+ no	no
Satisfaction with most recent self-initiated contact	no	0 no	- no	inap
Officer attentive in proactive contact	no	- no	+ no	inap
Officer helpful in proactive contact	no	- no	+ yes	inap
Police work with citizens to solve problems	no	- no	+ no	yes

Police spend enough time on right problems	no	0 no	+ yes	yes
Police are good at preventing crime	no	- no	+ yes	no
Police are good at keeping order	no	+ no	0 no	no
Police are good at controlling speeding and careless driving	no	+ no	- no	no
Police are good at helping victims	no	- no	+ no	no
Robbery/attack a problem	no	+ yes	- yes	yes
Adult drug use/sales a problem	no	0 no	+ no	yes
Residential burglary a problem	no	+ yes	- yes	no
Speeding and careless driving a problem	no	0 yes	+ yes	no
Belief that police are polite	yes	- no	- no	no
South Madison is good place to live	no	0 no	- no	no
Crime is a problem in South Madison	no	+ yes	0 no	yes
Feel unsafe in neighborhood at night	yes	- no	- yes	no
Worry about being robbed	yes	- no	- no	no
Worry about burglary	yes	+ no	+ no	no
Worry about theft outside at night	no	+ no	- yes	no
Have experienced robbery	no	0 no	- no	no
Have experienced burglary	no	+ no	0 no	yes
Know burglary victim	no	+ no	- yes	no

There is evidence from several variables treated in this chapter as "external outcomes" that the EPD is having a positive impact on the part of the City that it serves. Among the thirty outcomes summarized in the preceding table, there are

seven for which a significant regression coefficient (Column 4) suggests that improved attitudes or conditions may be attributable to the EPD efforts. These include:

- the perception of increased police presence (officer walking in neighborhood)
- attendance at meetings at which police are present
- the belief that police are working with citizens to solve neighborhood problems
- belief that police are spending the right amount of time on problems of concern to area residents
- decreased belief that robbery is a big problem
- feeling that crime in South Madison is less of problem than other citizens consider it to be

Undesirable outcomes associated significantly with residing in the EPD service area are:

- increased belief that drug use and sales are big problems in the area, and
- increased belief that the violation of parking rules is a big problem.

There were other changes within the EPD area which did not result in statistically significant differences between EPD and Non-EPD respondents in 1990. These changes might, therefore, be due to causes other than residency in the EPD area. They include:

- increased likelihood of seeing an officer having a friendly conversation with a resident
- increased belief that police are helpful during proactive contacts
- increased feeling that police are doing a good job preventing crime
- decreased belief that burglary in the area is a big problem
- decreased sense of being unsafe in the neighborhood at night

- decreased concern about theft occurring outside the house, and
- decreased likelihood of knowing a burglary victim residing in the area.

Whether one considers only the outcomes for which there was a significant regression coefficient or also considers the ones for which there was significant within-group change over time, there is evidence in the citizen survey data that the effects of Quality Leadership are extending beyond the police organization into the community it serves. Quality Leadership, with its inherent support for community policing, can have positive and important benefits for the community.

It is the case, however that the external benefits are not as numerous as the internal benefits that were measured (Chapter V), and there are not as many that are as clearly attributable to community policing as the Department had hoped. This section discusses a number of conditions that may limit our ability to find more evidence of the benefits of the EPD experiment for the community.

These conditions or constraints include:

- the inability of the researchers to develop adequate measures of impact;
- the fact that community policing began to emerge late in the test period. The two-stage process of change in which the EPD was involved required more time and energy for the first stage (internal change) than had been anticipated; the second stage (improved external service) was not sufficiently developed at the time of measurement to show as much impact as had been expected when the evaluation was designed;
- too many changes were occurring at once. Ironically, the process of developing Quality Leadership, a goal of which is better service for the customer, may have interfered initially with efforts to create a new external orientation;
- attitudes of the EPD managers;
- the workloads of the EPD managers;
- characteristics of the personnel who were the first members of the EPD;
- citizen satisfaction levels already so high that efforts to raise them will have to be dramatic before changes will register as statistically significant; and
- the EPD was not changing in isolation of the rest of the Department.

Each of these factors may have affected the evaluation, and each will be discussed in turn.

I.1. Adequacy of Indicators and Measures

Little concentrated effort has been given yet to the development and testing of outcome measures specifically designed for community-oriented policing and problem-solving policing. It is not clear whether the indicators used here are inadequate to the purpose; there still is too little experience using them in community-oriented settings to be able to say. Within the research community, there is question about the efficacy of broad based community surveys. It may be too difficult (and prohibitively expensive) to fine tune them enough to be able to capture the outcomes of interest. Perhaps the focus needs to be on particular groups experiencing special problems. However, it is very hard, given the developing, emerging nature of an approach like that being created in Madison, to know in advance of the program to be developed—to know in time to conduct a pretest—what the target groups (if any) should be. This general issue could consume a chapter by itself and would be of no practical use here. It simply needs to be acknowledged that measurement remains a critical issue in the field.

I.2. The Two-Stage Process of Change

The Madison Department clearly articulated a two-stage process of change in preparation for community policing. The first stage was to involve improvement of conditions for the employee, the internal customer. Depending on who discussed the process, the model took one of two forms: it was either (1) a sequential model in which the inside had to be fixed before it would do any good to try to fix the outside or (2) a causal model in which once you fixed the inside, external improvement naturally would follow. The latter is based on the belief that a more satisfied employee is a more productive employee. The first model might be thought of as one of sequential, directed (even, mandated) change. The second is a model of permitted and facilitated change. The inclination of a manager toward one model or the other may have a large influence on the manager's behavior as a change agent.

Regardless of which model is used, the argument can be made (has been made) that the internal improvements required a much greater portion of the allotted evaluation period than had been anticipated. Change is hard work and it takes time. To accommodate this fact, the period of the research grant was extended and the post test citizen survey was delayed a year from the original date.

For some of the measured changes that did not reach statistical significance, there is a pattern of a direction of change that suggests there is an impact that is

growing but may simply not yet be large enough for statistical purposes. The pattern argues for continuing the efforts that seem to be creating it and also argues for conducting another survey sometime in the future.

1.3. Too Many Simultaneous Changes

In one narrow time frame, members of the EPD were involved in the implementation of decentralization, the learning of problem-oriented policing, a commitment to experimentation with Departmental policies and procedures, the development and adjustment to Quality Leadership, and a move to value-added or community-oriented policing. From a practitioner's perspective, this is not necessarily a bad thing. If you believe, as the Madison managers and many employees do, that all of these changes represent essential components of a package that will improve service delivery, then it makes a great deal of sense to muddle through all the changes simultaneously.

For a researcher, this poses a substantial challenge. It was recognized from the beginning that we were evaluating an interwoven set of concepts and new practices and that, to a large degree, it would be difficult to distinguish the impact of one from the impact of another. That was acceptable so long as it was possible to describe the contents of the change package.

What we did not anticipate was that some of the changes might interfere with others, at least in the short run, thus making it unreasonable to look for a substantial positive outcome within any relatively short time frame. This may have happened with the goal of Quality Leadership and the goal of greater involvement with the community.

The EPD managers, like all the other MPD managers, spent the first several months of this test period learning how to practice Quality Leadership. The first step was to demonstrate commitment to the concept, and one way to do that was to make sure you did not behave as a traditional manager by giving unnecessary orders or by being otherwise overly directive. Consequently, few if any directives were given about how and when to make community contacts, how to identify problems and solve them; certainly there were no expectations about the numbers of these kinds of activities that should occur. There was the belief that Quality Leaders should make available the opportunities for officers to be involved in these activities and should function as facilitators to make personnel, time, and other resources available as officers sought to be involved in these activities. There was the expectation that the initiative to become involved would be exercised by the officers themselves—would well up from the bottom of the organization. The EPD managers appeared to support the model of "permitted" change.

The EPD managers and some of the employees did believe that the initiative would come from the officers. They may have expected this, in part, because they themselves had just spent several months on the EPD Planning Team, steeping themselves in the concepts of community-oriented and problem-oriented policing. They were believers and they understood how to go about putting the concepts into practice. They may not have understood the extent to which this knowledge and commitment were not yet part of the thinking of EPD colleagues. (One of the hardest things to know is what or how much others do not know.) A three-day orientation for EPD members could not have equalled the orientation the managers had experienced as part of the planning team.

During the first several months the EPD existed, there did not appear to be a strong movement toward community outreach and problem-solving on the part of many officers. It appeared that the officers most eager to try new approaches to their job were more likely to work the night shift when there was relatively little opportunity for community contact. Some of the older, more experienced officers who were likely to work the day and evening shifts (given the effect of seniority on shift selection) were more likely to be comfortable with the personal approaches they had developed over several years. Some of these people were highly independent thinkers in an organization that respects independent thought, and they were not easily influenced by someone else's new ideas. As a manager, you were not going to win them to the practices of Quality Leadership by pushing them in a particular direction.

And the EPD managers did not push them. They did work at creating an environment in which people who wanted to do problem-solving and wanted to get more closely involved with the community could do so. Had Quality Leadership already been an established management style before the EPD opened for business, it might have been easier to influence officers to become involved in more innovative approaches to police. At the least, efforts to do so would not have risked damaging the still fragile Quality approach to management.

A year after the EPD opened, in conversations with EPD employees, we often asked them if they had found the first year to be in any way significantly different from what they had anticipated. They frequently responded with the comment that they had expected to be involved in a more problem-solving and to have had more interaction with the community. When asked how they thought these efforts should have been initiated, they said they thought the managers would get things started. These were experienced officers whose organizational history led them to expect direction from the top; implementing their own problem-solving efforts was simply not part of their background. They were not opposed to doing these things, but it was not their place to initiate the activity. That always had been the job of managers.

So, while managers were waiting for employees to start things, employees were waiting for managers to call for the start.

1.4. Attitudes of EPD Managers Toward Research

The EPD managers knew how to insure positive evaluation results. They were well aware of the kinds of programmatic activities in the community that could be implemented with some ease in order to produce statistically significant improvements in community attitudes. They knew which activities had produced positive effects in other cities. They were also aware of the types of indicators that would be used in our surveys to measure these effects. These are people who know the research literature; some have conducted their own research projects. They discussed these with us. They knew that in the month prior to the post-test survey they probably could induce positive survey results. They could attend several community meetings and could instruct officers to knock on dozens of doors to chat with residents about problems. They could arrange publicity for the EPD station and efforts in the neighborhood to address problems. They knew what to do. They admitted they were slightly tempted to do it. They resisted the temptation on the grounds that it would not be real change and would only serve to make officers cynical about what they were trying to accomplish for the long run. They would wait. They would risk not showing large impact in order to have the change come from the officers themselves; otherwise, it would not last.

At the time of this writing, eighteen months since the post test survey in the community, EPD officers have asked their managers to arrange more training in problem identification and resolution. The managers probably were correct.

1.5. Characteristics of EPD Personnel

This was alluded to above. When officers were allowed to self select into the EPD, rather than being randomly assigned in a way that researchers might have preferred, members of the EPD planning team shared the concern that people who had unusually strong desires to be involved in community policing and problem-solving would swamp the application process. This did not occur. As it turned out, officers tended to select assignment to the EPD for much the same reasons non-EPD officers selected their assignments: they knew and liked the neighborhood; it was closer to home; they thought they would like to work with these managers and (a reason other MPD employees didn't have) they could park next to the station at no charge. Some may have been attracted by the prospects of community policing but at least some of these people were more likely to work the night shift than the shifts on which they might have produced greater community impact.

In fact, there was a group of EPD officers who might be viewed as the "old salts" of the organization or as incipient curmudgeons. While some people enjoy the social stimulation and challenge of curmudgeons, their vocal displays of traditional macho attitudes caused some officers to lament the very small social space of the EPD. The "salts" were not highly enthusiastic about any more new approaches to policing. Although apparently competent officers; they were not always gracious. Had you wanted to "stack the deck" in favor of community policing, you would not have chosen them.

And it is just as well the deck was not stacked, despite the fact that it is always more exciting to describe dramatically positive program impacts. The positive response of personnel (including the "salts") who had grown cynical about their organization's management approach was a good measure of the effects of the internal change efforts. They worked as team members; they participated in decision-making; they came to work early; they reduced their use of sick time and compensation time. If it worked for them, it probably works.

If the differences detected in community experiences and perceptions were a function of the types of officers who gravitated toward the Experimental Police District, three points should be made:

- 1) The officers who made a difference chose to make that difference in the context of a particular management style. If the management style did not "cause" that difference, the officers at least perceived it as compatible with the kind of work they were inclined to do.
- 2) The panel data for officers indicate that their attitudes did change over the course of their EPD experience, either because of the management style, decentralization, or the effects of working with their colleagues. These factors cannot be disentangled; all three are integral to the EPD environment.
- 3) Whatever these officers were doing appears to have had positive consequences for citizens in terms of their experience of crime and their perceptions of crime as a problem. To Madison officers, being community-oriented and problem-oriented is not associated with being "soft on crime." Rather, as they are viewed in Madison, these approaches are more effective means of addressing crime problems—as well as other community problems.

I.6. Citizen Satisfaction Levels

Citizen satisfaction levels are relatively high in Madison and, in some cases, may constitute a ceiling effect. This is more true for general satisfaction levels than for satisfaction with specific police responses to calls for service. There is room for improvement, but people do not feel so poorly treated that a slightly friendlier style or a less hurried response to a call are likely to result in measurable (statistically significant) impact. The community efforts probably have to be more visible, more consistent, and closely geared to the problems that are of concern to residents. Residents of the EPD area do think that their officers are doing a better job of attending to the things that matter, but they also think they could do an even better job. There were not enough minority respondents in our randomly selected sample to support separate analyses of the views of Asian or African American citizens. As the numbers in these groups increase in Madison, the relationship between them and their police will be increasingly important. The data base that has been created with

the citizen surveys we conducted in 1988 and 1990 could be expanded to target these special populations and the surveys repeated again at regular intervals in years to come.

I.7. Change Not Confined to the EPD

The EPD was not the only part of the Madison Police Department that was caught up in the process of change. The entire organization was being affected by the transition to Quality Leadership and was exposed to the ideas of community policing and problem-oriented policing. While it was believed that the decentralized conditions and the team building efforts at the EPD would significantly enhance officers' capacities to conduct community-oriented and problem-oriented policing, there certainly were managers and officers in the rest of the Department who were convinced they could work just as effectively with the community as the EPD officers. They may have set out to prove it.

The evaluation was designed initially to determine whether the impact of what occurred in the EPD was significantly greater than efforts in the rest of the Department; this is a less valid design if the rest of the Department is trying to match the efforts of the EPD. (Again, this is a very happy "problem" for a change agent chief; it is a headache for only the researchers). Finally, rather than just compare the magnitude of changes within the EPD area with those outside the EPD area, we added analysis that examined the magnitude of change within the comparison and control areas. This is a weaker measure of change since it gives up the statistical power of a control group, but it does provide some indication of the extent to which change may have been occurring in both areas, thus reducing the ability to test the special effect of the EPD.

As was stated earlier, the impact of these various conditions cannot be measured and they certainly cannot be teased apart. They simply have to be noted as possible alternative explanations for findings or the lack of significant findings.

VII. RELATED ISSUES

This chapter summarizes a number of observations on issues of philosophy, management, and implementation that have evolved either through analysis of survey data, observation, or interviews with Department personnel.

A. Decentralization of Facilities and Functions

Physical decentralization was not an intended focus of this evaluation but, because it was inextricably linked with the Experimental Police District and absorbed much of the MPD's attention and emotional energy during the period of this study, it became an unavoidable, undeniable issue for the researchers as well as for the Department.

And this is appropriate since many community policing theorists see the goal of greater police community interaction as dependent on the decentralization of facilities and functions as well as on the decentralization of decision-making.

Physical decentralization was a long range organizational objective, existing before the EPD was conceived. The EPD experience was viewed by management as an opportunity to learn how best to plan decentralization for the rest of the organization. Had the EPD efforts to implement decentralization clearly failed, the idea probably would have been abandoned. However, the experience was largely positive, and by the time this study was completed (Summer 1990), a Departmental decentralization steering committee, responsible for designing decentralization for the entire organization, was using the lessons from the EPD experience to guide their planning.

The pros and cons of physical decentralization are well known in the profession as is the debate about whether to accomplish it gradually or in one grand department-wide change. Nevertheless, the issues seem worth reviewing in light of Madison's experience.

A.1. Attitudinal Support for the Change

In Madison, support for physical decentralization depended, to a large degree, on whether an individual had experienced the arrangement. Personnel in the EPD were more strongly in favor of decentralization than were individuals in the rest of the Department. As discussed previously, the strongest feelings about decentralization concerned decentralization of detectives. Apart from those issues (see Chapter V), the most frequently expressed arguments against decentralization were:

- it will be more expensive;
- personnel will not know each other and the Department's sense of "one big family" will be lost;
- crime patterns that cross the boundaries of different districts will be less likely to be detected;
- different parts of the City (even different sides of the street) will receive different kinds of police service; and
- the small group effect resulting from decentralization will serve to subvert the Department's values, allowing conflicting "value camps" to develop.

Other arguments have to do with what was considered the premature move to decentralization:

- more attention needs to be given to developing managers before the implementation of decentralization occurs which will require at least four strong district managers;
- systems do not exist to support communication among different physical units;
- inadequate planning has been done to develop the coordination function that will be needed to integrate the separate divisions or districts.

Finally, some supporters (and some "acceptors") of decentralization argued that the change should not be made one district at a time, but should be made simultaneously in all proposed districts.

Some of these issues can be explored from the perspective of Madison's experience.

A.2. Decentralization Issues

A.2.a. Cost

Logic and limited data indicate that decentralization is more expensive than centralization. How much more? The figure may depend, in part, on who is doing the calculations and how they feel about decentralization. You can conceptualize a lean program or an elaborate program, depending on how many

physical facilities are involved, how large and extensively appointed they are, whether any of the facilities or furnishings are donated, and whether the costs are spread among other city or county services that might share the space.

The EPD planning team appears to have opted for a lean program so that cost would not automatically become an argument against their efforts. The absence of a computer with which to access county records may be the most important item omitted from the budget; initially it was included but later was removed to reduce cost. Some will argue that the space that was designed was the minimum desirable and that a building designed to suit functions rather than minimize cost would be larger and more expensive. As with many other issues, there is no clear resolution to this one. As discussed earlier (Chapter IV and V), the evaluators are convinced that many of the benefits of the EPD derive directly from the small, compact nature of the building that makes it easier for people to interact than to avoid each other.

The Madison Police Department currently is involved in a study of the costs of decentralization. The factors that have been discussed, including the fact that the Department already is in need of additional space, variable price of space, willingness of some merchants to donate space, etc. make it difficult to estimate how much decentralization will increase the Department's budget.

There are, however, some predictable increases in costs. Independent of the cost of the building, each decentralized part of the organization will bear the costs of separate telephone installations. The cost of other equipment (e.g., copy machines, fax machines) will be greater; one copy machine services the entire patrol function in the central facility while one serves 40 people in the EPD. On the other hand, four or five copiers the size currently used in the EPD might cost less than the one expensive machine used by the entire department.

Although data are not available with which to assess reliably the actual cost of the Experimental Police District, there is some evidence of the willingness of Madison residents to pay increased costs of decentralization.

In 1989, John Elliott, a student in the La Follett Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Wisconsin-Madison conducted, with the cooperation of the City of Madison, a study of the willingness of Madison residents to pay for decentralized policing. He used the Department's estimate of \$156,565 a year (the high end estimate) in operating costs for each of five decentralized stations, plus the one time costs for land acquisition, construction and fixed assets to determine what residents would have to pay each month for decentralized police services. He used a mailed questionnaire with a response rate of 39 percent to ask a random sample of Madison households whether they would be willing to bear the extra costs. Not only would the respondents be willing to pay for five proposed district stations, they would be willing to pay for twenty-two, the number estimated to provide each household a

station within a 1/2 mile radius of the residence. This willingness to pay characterized all population groups. The author concluded:

The benefit cost results indicate that decentralization of police services in the City of Madison would most likely be an efficient public investment. The measured benefits exceed the costs from the perspective of society as a whole for 46 of our 48 calculations.

...the population as a whole are willing to pay for decentralization....
(Elliott, p. 31).

A.2.b. Small Group Effect

The Madison Department, as an organization, cites the diversity of its work force as one of its principles—part of its mission. The organization has greatly increased in diversity over the past twenty years to the point that an organization that once consisted almost exclusively of white males was, by 1988, 19 percent female, 5 percent African-American and slightly more than 1 percent Hispanic with 1.6 percent of "Other" ethnicities. The workforce represents a range of sexual and political orientations. It is varied in terms of educational experience with 27 percent having less than a college education and 73 percent having at least some college education. Twenty-seven percent are college graduates and 7 percent hold a graduate degree.

Diversity is increasing and, in our experience, appears generally to be respected in the Madison Department. Women and ethnic minorities still are underrepresented in the rank structure. These groups take comfort in being able to associate at times among themselves and tend to feel that their group unity is important for helping keep the respect of the rest of the organization. For this reason, some women and other minority members were reportedly unwilling to volunteer to work in the EPD during the first years. They did not want their numbers to be diluted. Perhaps as a result, there were three female detectives but only two female patrol officers among the first persons assigned to the EPD.

During the first year in the EPD, women as well as others were obviously exposed to some offensive attitudes of a small number of their colleagues. Because of the small size of the group, the irritation was felt by everyone and was discussed in the entire MPD. By the time the study ended, the problem appeared to have been resolved and the number of women in the EPD had increased.

This small group effect was a problem for not only personnel who were in minorities. There were white males in the EPD who commented on the fact that the close quarters and team style of work relationships left no place to "find shelter" from co-workers whom one might prefer to avoid and perhaps could and would avoid in a larger work unit. This experience sensitized a number of people in the MPD to the

fact that small groups can be susceptible to the impact of a few individuals who can excessively influence the group culture if they are not counterbalanced by alternate views. One EPD detective (a white male) concluded:

...there can be no tolerance for playing around with people's feelings. When the line gets crossed, you (managers) have to come down on it—hard.

Whether EPD managers erred on the side of too much tolerance for expression of offensive opinion is difficult to determine for someone who was only an occasional observer. The fact that the issue surfaced and was discussed by a number of employees may ultimately have done more to bring about change in the group culture than if the managers had begun by taking a hard, prohibitive approach. Their response, or visible lack thereof did not, however, increase the confidence of vulnerable minority groups in their managers.

In the early months of implementation of Quality Leadership (in the entire Department as well as in the EPD), "coming down hard" tended to be avoided whenever possible by managers who were feeling their way through the changes in management philosophy. The initial tendency was to allow maximum expression of individual opinions and to rely on the group to reinforce organizational values. Managers sought to lead by example rather than through orders and sanctions. Quality Leadership depends on the participation of all officers and they won't participate unless they feel comfortable in doing so--unless they believe that managers actually want to hear their opinions. The desire to create the atmosphere in which everyone feels welcome to participate may mean listening to opinions that are popular with only the speaker. Learning where to draw the line against what is intolerably offensive is part of learning Quality Leadership.

Learning where the lines are is a general issue in the first several months of transition to Quality Leadership. One of the biggest challenges to the Quality organization is to determine which decisions are to be made democratically and which are to be reserved for management. By the summer of 1990 the Madison Department seemed to have settled into a largely shared understanding of which decisions were to be made by employees, which were to be made by managers with employee input, and which are to be made by managers alone. During the early stages of the change, diversity of opinion about the location of decision-making boundaries can be as substantial among managers as between managers and other employees.

While there are some risks inherent in small group culture (as in large group culture), employees who noted the social hazards of the small group also commented on its potential virtues. The ability to make strong, supportive friendships was lauded. One respondent said that knowing people personally made it possible

to know when a circumstance in an individual's personal life might be adversely affecting his or her work life and therefore possible for colleagues to compensate, counsel, or console when necessary. Another EPD employee noted that although there had been the opportunity when working downtown to work with colleagues of different ethnicity, sexual persuasion, political or religious views, there was seldom the occasion to feel truly close to someone whose views or lifestyle were notably different. People from different cultures might tolerate each other graciously enough, but that didn't mean you ever openly exchanged views. The EPD facilitated such exchange. This respondent now felt comfortable, for the first time in several years in the organization, asking an African-American colleague or a lesbian colleague, "How do you feel about that?" in reference to an issue or incident affecting the other person's identity group. This respondent believed that closer contact among diverse groups within the Department greatly increased her understanding of those groups in the larger society. In short, she felt it made her a better officer.

Some EPD members talked about feeling like the group was "family" (a not uncommon feeling among police in any organizational structure) and of actually missing the place or people over a long weekend or vacation. EPD employees have, from the beginning, tended to arrive well before shift and to linger afterwards, with the result that more contact across shifts appears (and is reported by EPD members) to occur at the EPD than is the case downtown.

A.2.c. Development of Managers

The issue of lack of preparation of managers might not be raised in 1991 with the frequency that it was voiced in 1988 and in 1989. Since the first years of the project, significant change has occurred in the identities of management personnel, their assignments, their organization as a management team, and the amount of preparation they have been given as Quality Leaders. In 1988 the concern was appropriate. Some upper level managers were viewed as "blockers" of the efforts to develop Quality Leadership, but some observers suggested that resistance stemmed, in part, from lack of understanding of and preparation for new role definitions. It is our experience that this is a common occurrence in organizational change efforts. The leader (CEO or chief) has a vision of what the organization should be and expects top managers to be able to convert the vision to practice. Appropriately enough, the organizational head should not be expected to have all the "nuts and bolts" answers about how to implement change, but there may need to be strong guidance, support for, and tolerance for managers who first must have a sufficiently clear understanding of the vision to be able to develop its defining practices. The people who must interpret the vision operationally must walk a fine line; operational details have to be discussed and hammered out, but the discussion has to occur in such a way that the process of asking questions does not appear obstructionist.

A vision of a better organization is easy for the creator of the vision to grasp and it is easily supported by the employees who foresee themselves benefiting from the change but who are not responsible for the every day decisions about how to implement it. The challenge is greater for those who shoulder not only the responsibility for managing implementation of the change but who continue, at the same time, to bear the responsibility for the day-in-day-out smooth performance of the organization. They experience a kind of bind that does not affect the highest or the lowest levels of the organization. Change oriented executives need to be sensitive to the bind and to develop training and support for managers that will help them analyze and cope with their special burden. It is not enough to provide the vision and then give the traditional "go, do" command to managers and expect that they will be both comfortable with, and capable of, implementation.

This is not to argue that a chief may not ultimately have to move or remove managers who cannot or will not promote the change program. To leave true resistors in place is to do disservice to the vision and the people who are working to support it. But this is a step that should come only after managers have been given the orientation and training that would enable them to handle the change process.

Madison is a department in which the need to support managers came to be understood. Support has increased in a number of ways—through training, the structuring of a management team, and the conduct of three or four "check in" sessions each year in which people at the same rank come together for a day to discuss how their progress and any problems they are having. But these support structures and processes were created only after considerable frustration at all levels with what was perceived to be the reluctance of managers to promote change.

Decentralization of facilities and command, as planned for Madison, requires several district-level managers who are clear about the organizational vision, are committed to it, and are capable of implementing it (as distinct from simply expressing their belief in it). There were a number of employees who voiced their concern that all the potential benefits of decentralization could be lost if department-wide decentralization occurred in advance of the development of managers with these qualities. Rather than opposing decentralization (although there may have been some who did), they opposed the ordering of the process of change that put decentralization ahead of management development.

A.2.d. Development of Support Systems

Communication between the decentralized stations and their critical sources of information (e.g., county records, mug shot files, case files) is essential. In 1991 the EPD still does not have a computer that will let officers and detectives check county records. Only recently has a system been developed to insure the

orderly flow of case materials between the EPD, the downtown station, and the District Attorney's office. The lack of an on-line reporting system may have been the single largest obstacle to smooth decentralization. The Department has now planned and budgeted for, but does not yet have, an on-line reporting system. Had the opening of the EPD awaited the on-line system, there still would not be an EPD. It was a change that was conceptually developed long before the on-line system was planned; the EPD experience may have increased the understanding of the need for the reporting system.

The Department is now in the process of extensive planning for the identification and development of support systems necessary for department-wide decentralization, but the fact that the EPD opened and struggled without such systems probably has increased the number of skeptics who fear that decentralization will continue to progress in advance of systems development. And had further physical decentralization proceeded according to the original timetable, these systems would not have been in place. Concerns about critical systems/processes become fodder for opponents of decentralization, and persons who worry about the systems issue may actually attempt to block immediate decentralization as a way of buying time for systems development. In either case, obstacles are created that could be avoided with a clear commitment to identifying, developing and funding essential systems.

There are those proponents of change who believe you can plan a change to death and that protracted concerns about systems and processes provide cover for underlying resistance to the vision. No doubt they are correct. Kelling (George Kelling, personal communication) has dubbed such opposition as "resistance masquerading as morality." Obviously, however, insufficient planning will sink the project. The trick is to be able to distinguish between genuine concern for planning and the moral masquerade—no easy matter for an organizational leader. Just as difficult, and just as important, is the ability to spot those managers who give strong lip service to the vision but who lack commitment or ability (or both) to implement it. A manager who is seemingly enthusiastic about the vision but who asks no difficult questions about nuts and bolts implementation issues and the planning process can be as much of a change blocker as the moral masquerader.

A.2.e. Planning

The previous issue leads to a more general issue of planning in a democratic organization. The planning process for the EPD was surely one of the most democratic that has ever occurred in a police organization. It is, in many respects, a very powerful model that may, nevertheless, leave room for improvement that insures a greater level of expertise in the planning process. As recounted earlier (Chapter V), a group of 30 organizational volunteers established, through a nominal group technique, criteria for selecting members of the EPD planning team against

which applicants were assessed. The criteria included "time on" and "representation of all organizational units" with a goal of including people with a wide range of organizational experience, both in terms of substance and time. It should not be surprising, however, that younger department members were the most enthusiastic about the proposed process with the result that the planning team was relatively young. This, combined with the small size of the group (twelve members) made it impossible to represent each Department function with a range of experience within that function. For example, the single detective on the planning team had very little experience as a detective, was not yet fully familiar with the established investigative systems and therefore (by this detective's own account) not in an especially strong position to identify the systems that would need to be developed in order for decentralized detectives to interact effectively with centralized detectives or the rest of the system. Additionally, not all functions were represented on the team. Clerical workers have since identified system problems that might have been avoided had they been included in the planning process.

Perhaps experience was traded consciously for idealism and enthusiasm and the sense of making a long-term investment. But the collective inexperience of the planning team did constitute a weakness that might be overcome with supplemental processes, e.g., operational critique of the nearly finished plan by lieutenants and captains in charge of various functions.

While it may not have had a strong operational orientation, the planning team was very effective at developing goals and defining working relationships and processes for the EPD, developing the criteria and data for selecting the experimental area, designing the building and its furnishings. And it was an excellent vehicle for linking the planning process with the rest of the organization. This probably encouraged organizational buy-in of the plan. It should be noted, too, that some operational issues were deliberately not dealt with by the planning team; there was a strong commitment to the idea that the people working in the EPD should have the latitude to make a number of decisions as a work group.

The planning that has been done for Department-wide decentralization, most of which has occurred since the termination of this project, has involved at least fifty people working on numerous committees, and all the Department's managers have been heavily involved in the process.

B. The Process of Change

B.1. One Piece At A Time Or The Whole Organization At Once?

There are those who will argue that one of the primary purposes of the EPD was to work out, through its own experience, the operational details that would be necessary for department-wide decentralization. Therefore, it was more important to get the laboratory open and operating than to spend more time planning it. The EPD

was intended to be a "learn-by-doing" setting. Such an experimental approach to change is consistent with the "plan-do-check-act" philosophy of the Department.

The EPD represents an approach to organizational change—that of working the bugs out in one area before expanding to other areas—that is familiar in policing. This is the model used in Dallas in the 1970s, Los Angeles in the 1970s, Houston in the 1980s, Aurora, Colorado in the 1980s, New York in the 1980s and many other departments. Like everything else that can be discussed about organizational management, this model entails both costs and benefits.

The major, obvious benefit is that it allows for the identification and resolution of problems in one segment of the organization where the magnitude of the problems may make them less damaging and more amenable to resolution than if they were affecting the entire organization. This advantage may be so large that it outweighs any of the costs of a special district. Still, costs should not be unanticipated.

One potential cost is the confusion and conflict that can occur in an organization if the purpose of the test district is misunderstood. The special district can be either a site for working out the details of a program or approach that already has been established as an organizational goal; or, it can be a site for testing the concept itself with the understanding that if the idea does not succeed in the test district, it will be abandoned for the rest of the organization. Understandably, the rational manager would like to have it both ways—to say that this is the desired direction and that the test site is a place for working out the glitches while at the same time offering the reassurance that if the idea appears unworkable at the test site, it will be abandoned. Unfortunately, this stance establishes additional obstacles for the test because all those who believe the idea will be abandoned if it fails will do whatever they can during the test period to assure failure. This might not be a serious problem for certain programs or strategies that can be tried in relative isolation. But the success of decentralization depends on a cooperative effort on the part of the entire organization; full cooperation will be impossible to achieve so long as opponents of the concept think the test period provides them an opportunity to kill it.

Cooperation is hard to achieve, too, whenever one part of the organization is set up as "special," with dispensation to bend the bureaucratic rules and with working conditions that are perceived by other members of the organization to be inequitably appealing. Add to this the sense of competition that can develop as managers of the special area attempt to demonstrate the worth of their "specialness" in contrast to the rest of the organization. The reaction of the rest of the department that feels it has been set up to be shown up probably is predictable: "If they think they are so hot, let them do it (whatever) themselves." The potential positive side of this is that managers in the rest of the department may feel challenged to demonstrate that their parts of the organization can perform just as well or better than the special district. Even if this challenge promotes better performance and rapid adoption by the rest of the Department of ideas being tested in the special district, this is done with the potential risk of internal divisiveness and bitterness. If the divisiveness of this kind of

competition is to be avoided, it is perhaps only with intense and continuing monitoring of the organizational climate by the chief with constant reinforcement of a "one-for-all" sentiment. This sounds like a simple enough solution; in reality, attention to moods and nuances is hard to sustain.

There is also a residual negative effect resulting from confusion about the true purpose of the EPD. Was it to test the idea of decentralization (as well as a lot of other new ideas), or was it to work out the operational kinks for decentralization? Those who believed (were led to believe? allowed themselves to believe?) that the purpose was to test the idea were vocally angry when the chief began to develop the plans and the budget for department-wide decentralization in advance of data about the costs and the benefits of the EPD. The existence of this study contributed to the confusion; those who believed that it was intended to provide data for decision-making about decentralization in the MPD were distressed when it became clear, perhaps midway through the research, that Department-wide decentralization definitely was in the organizational plans. (Despite their sense that this study would make no difference for the Department's decision, many of these people continued to complete lengthy surveys and share their views with the researchers. As an aside, we take this opportunity to express our gratitude to them.)

Finally, there is another potential cost of the special test site. This is the assumption that a "success" at the test site will readily translate into success in later efforts to replicate the program or approach throughout the department. The odds are that this will not be the case. Following a model without taking into account all the conditions and contexts that made it special (e.g., the sense of "ownership" of some of the planning team members who then chose assignment in the EPD, the style and personalities of the managers chosen to lead the EPD, the characteristics of the personnel who worked there, the characteristics of the part of town in which it was located, etc.) is likely to lead to frustration and failure. Even if managers are cognizant of all the special conditions, there is no guarantee that they would or even could begin to replicate them. Variations on the model are not necessarily undesirable and may lead to significant improvements; rigid replication of the first model should not be required and is not recommended.

Apart from the issue of the special conditions of the first model, there is the risk in following a model in such a way that its form but not its substance will be replicated. We have seen this happen in another city in which a very successful storefront operation was developed that became the model for several others in the city. Several of the second generation storefronts bear superficial resemblance to the prototype but lack the heart and soul of the first one where the process of "becoming" was the key to "being." When the developmental process is not replicated (as it often is not when there is a model to be quickly and conveniently copied), the end product can look the same, be named the same, but be disappointingly different in substance and spirit. Models have their uses, but they should not be over-used.

Around the midpoint of this research project, several MPD members expressed to the research team their belief that the organizational costs of the EPD were too

great, that bloodletting wounds and rifts had occurred that would take a long time to heal. They felt that an all-at-once, department-wide approach to change would be much healthier, and observers visiting the MPD from other Departments at that time might have been persuaded of this argument. Even then, others believed that the test was worthwhile, that healing had begun and would be speeded up as other managers attempted to implement decentralization of their own areas. There is no question that we observed friction, competition, and unwillingness to cooperate, especially during the first year of the EPD's existence. As outsiders, we cannot know how deeply damaging these tensions were. It seems important, however, to point out that they existed, that they made organizational life temporarily less pleasant for a lot of employees, and that the damage will need to be repaired.

These issues were discussed when the project director met with the Madison Police Department management team in October, 1991 to discuss a draft of this report containing the several preceding paragraphs. At that time the management team expressed consensus about the value of beginning with an experiment and learning lessons that could make the larger transition more productive and less disruptive. There was no denial of the tensions that this approach had produced for the MPD, but there was general agreement that the organization was moving beyond these and that the benefits of experimentation had been worth the costs.

In that discussion the management team likened the process they had experienced over the previous five years to remodeling an old house while continuing to live in it. For a number of years, they had been replacing the foundation (i.e., the management style and philosophy) while holding the existing structure in place. When the time came to test the durability of the new foundation and to test its compatibility with new designs and materials (policing philosophies and organizational structures), the least disruptive and potentially least dangerous approach was to let most of the family continue to occupy the remainder of the house while using one room of it, with a few family members as guinea pigs, as the design and test lab. Had they not done that, had they proceeded rapidly to dismantle the whole house one summer and try to throw up a new building before winter, they could have risked a collapse that threatened the survival of the entire organization. They have learned from the EPD that the foundation supports the new style structure; now that they feel the one new room is secure, they can plan to restructure the rest of the house and can think about spending more time concentrating on the external environment (community) than the building.

In light of the experience in the EPD and the willingness of the organization to examine and integrate lessons from that experience into the next steps of organizational development, the argument of these managers is persuasive. It is probably the case, however, that the value of an internal test site depends on the ability and willingness of the organization to be introspective, to collect data about itself, and to openly discuss mistakes. The Madison Police Department has these characteristics. In an organization that does not, step-wise implementation might not be worth the cost. And immediate department-wide implementation might not be possible.

B.2. The Applicability of Madison's Change Efforts to Other Police Agencies

The Madison Police Department's efforts to change the organizational culture and the orientation of the organization to the community are producing positive results for both employees and citizens. The processes and structures used to increase:

- democracy in the workplace;
- the ability of officers to know neighborhoods, residents, and problems;
- the ability of officers to solve problems; and
- the ability of police personnel to work collaboratively across ranks and assignments

should be of interest to any police department seeking ways of improve both internal working conditions and external service delivery.

This report is not a study of the change process that is producing these effects. This study is a window into only one relatively small piece of time in that process. The research did not begin at The Beginning, and we have no idea when to expect the full impact of the changes that are sought. The changes that are documented in this report have occurred and are occurring in a context of organizational history and community culture that may determine, to some unmeasured degree, the ability to implement the changes and the magnitude of the impact of the changes. The Department began the change discussed in this report after nearly fifteen years of ongoing experimentation with new ideas and a commitment to seeking better ways to conduct policing. Although the move to Quality Policing is the largest change to be undertaken to date, change is not a stranger in this organization. Also, during this same period, continual efforts have been made to recruit educated officers whose backgrounds, life experiences and attitudes should increase their ability to relate to a diverse community and their ability to assess the need for organizational change.

Although Madison as a City is beginning to cope with an increasing number of social problems (poverty, homelessness, drug use) and associated crime, the City and the police are not yet overwhelmed by problems. There is not the sense of "where do you begin?" that one might find in some larger, older cities or the sense of "how can you begin?" that haunts financially depleted cities. Madison has not yet experienced cut-back budgeting and citizens are reportedly willing to pay the projected costs of decentralization.

Many police executives may sigh wistfully at this point and assume Madison is too good to be true—too atypical to yield general lessons. But, as researchers, we believe that too much is made of the uniqueness of Madison. It is a lovely city. It

certainly is not one of the hardship cases among American cities (just as most cities its size are not). It is a community in which there is a long-standing concern for quality of life. But Madison is not unique. Austin, Texas and Portland, Oregon come immediately to mind as having much in common with Madison, and there are many cities that share qualities of relative stability, low industrialization, the presence of a college or university. Add the elements of being midwestern and a state capital and having a relatively homogeneous population with growing minority communities, and you will still find a large number of similar cities. The exaggerated liberal reputation of the town may be based more on highly publicized activities on campus in the 1960s and 1970s than on the broader orientation of the citizenry. There are 125 cities in this country that are between 100,000 and 249,000 in population, and there are many more police departments the size of the MPD than the size of the departments in New York or Los Angeles, cities to which we pay considerable attention but which may not be the best models for the "average" police department.

We have a concern with the replicability of the Madison experience that has much more to do with whether other Departments are willing (and are able) to make a similar commitment to long-term (twenty years or more) change. The community culture in which the change is made will, of course, play a part, but it is much less a determinant factor in our opinion than is the commitment to a lengthy process that is guided by a vision and by strong leadership. To be fair, we should acknowledge again one way in which the Madison Department is different from most others. Chief Couper has tenure. There is no question that this factor—and all that it entails—greatly contributes to his ability to develop, guide and otherwise sustain a vision. While "tenure" may not be a politically viable option in most communities, a contract for the police chief is; almost unheard of a few years ago, it is increasingly likely that a police executive can negotiate for a contract or some form of supported longevity. The city administration that is serious about attempting to undertake this type of reorientation of policing has to be serious about supporting the police chief who will lead the effort. Such change requires a long term commitment, and both the city administrators and the police administrator must be committed. They must make this commitment clear to the police organization and to the broader community.

The Madison process of change should not be misunderstood as an employee movement that did not require a strong leader. Although the goal of the change is participatory management and information flow that moves from the bottom to the top of the organization, that is not how the change in Madison occurred. It was not a response to a demand from the bottom. It was a response to the vision of a strong leader—a strong leader who had employment security.

While tenure gives Chief Couper an enviable advantage, he is not alone among present day police leaders in his ability to create and promote a vision that directs an organization. It is happening in a number of departments. If change and improvement depended only on the endurance of the person who initiated a new direction, change would be a hopeless undertaking. In fact, we have seen a tremendous amount of change in American policing during the past twenty years, and for the most part it has been initiated by leaders who had to prepare others in

the organization to accept and carry the torch when it had to be passed. The result has been progress by fits and starts in some agencies with the torch sometimes being passed more successfully from one agency to another than from one generation to the next within an organization. The ideas and the processes of change continue to develop and be shared and to enrich both the profession generally and individual organizations. So, while Madison may have some special advantages, change in modern American policing has not been dependent on such advantages.

Even though many police executives may agree with this general premise, they still will have trouble foreseeing a day when their city budget will include physical decentralization. To them it is suggested that regardless whether physical decentralization is possible now or later, they will want to consider the benefits of a management style based on Quality Leadership principles. In Madison decentralization has almost certainly facilitated the implementation of Quality Leadership and has enhanced its effects, but Quality Leadership is being practiced with positive consequences for employees in the five-sixths of the Department that remain physically centralized. If the theory that more satisfied employees become more productive is correct, (which the data presented suggest) then Madison officers may work either harder or more efficiently as the quality of their work lives improves.

Whether centralized officers will be as likely to work differently (i.e., in closer consort with the community) remains to be seen. Until such time as further physical decentralization is approved for Madison, the Department is implementing an approach that has been termed "centralized decentralization" in which patrol captains have responsibility for parts of the City (essentially quadrants). While all personnel (except those assigned to the EPD) remain based in the central facility, those assigned to an area are encouraged to assume a sense of responsibility for that area; to become familiar with its people, problems and resources; and to apply this knowledge to problem-solving. This approach has developed since the termination of the current study and is not documented in this report. However, future reports from the Madison Department may provide information about a model that could be applicable for Departments that wish to implement community policing but cannot expect to achieve physical decentralization under current budgetary conditions.

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APPENDIX A

Officer Surveys, Time 1 and Time 3

(Intentionally Omitted)

APPENDIX B

Citizen Surveys, Time 1 and Time 2

ADDRESS LABEL

AREA	HOUSEHOLD #				TRACT #				BLOCK #				WAVE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
													1

MADISON POLICE EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT PROJECT
CITIZENS' ATTITUDE AND VICTIMIZATION SURVEY
WAVE 1 VERSION

RESPONDENT SELECTION TABLES	
A—1	D—5
B ₁ —2	E ₁ —6
B ₂ —3	E ₂ —7
C—4	F—8

(14)

RESPONDENT SELECTION TABLES

SELECTION TABLE A		SELECTION TABLE B ₁	
If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:	If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:
1	1	1	1
2	1	2	1
3	1	3	1
4	1	4	1
5	1	5	2
6 or more	1	6 or more	2
SELECTION TABLE B ₂		SELECTION TABLE C	
If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:	If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:
1	1	1	1
2	1	2	1
3	1	3	2
4	2	4	2
5	2	5	3
6 or more	2	6 or more	3
SELECTION TABLE D		SELECTION TABLE E ₁	
If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:	If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:
1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2
3	2	3	3
4	3	4	3
5	4	5	3
6 or more	4	6 or more	5
SELECTION TABLE E ₂		SELECTION TABLE F	
If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:	If the number of eligible persons is	Interview the person you assigned the number:
1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5
6 or more	5	6 or more	6

Hello, my name is _____ and I work for a national research organization in Washington, D.C. [SHOW I.D. CARD]

We recently mailed a letter to this household about a survey we are doing to find out the problems people are having in this neighborhood and what they think can be done to improve the quality of life around here. The information you give us will help develop programs to address these problems. Everything you tell us will be kept strictly confidential and it will be used only to prepare a report in which no one's answers will ever be identified. Your participation is voluntary but your cooperation will be very helpful.

To be sure that we have a good idea of the opinions of everyone in this neighborhood, I have been given a very strict method of selecting the person I talk with in any household. First, how many people 18 years or older live in this household?

_____ # OF ADULTS 18 YEARS OR OLDER (15)

Okay, starting with the oldest male, please tell me the first name and age of all the males who are 18 years or older. [NOW LIST ALL MALES] Then, please do the same for females, starting with the oldest one.

[LIST THE FIRST NAME, SEX AND AGE OF ALL PERSONS 18 YEARS OLD AND OLDER WHO LIVE IN THIS HOUSEHOLD IN THE TABLE BELOW. ASK THE RESPONDENT IF ANY OF THE PERSONS LISTED IN THE TABLE IS LIKELY TO MOVE OUT DURING THE NEXT 12 MONTHS. IF YES, DRAW A LINE THROUGH THAT NAME. THEN FOR THE REST, ASSIGN THE NUMBER "1" TO THE OLDEST MALE, "2" TO THE SECOND OLDEST MALE, ETC. THEN ASSIGN CONTINUOUS NUMBERS TO THE FEMALES. LOOK AT THE SELECTION TABLE TO FIND OUT WHO IS TO BE INTERVIEWED. IF THE RESPONDENT SAYS THE ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD WOULD MOVE DURING THE NEXT 12 MONTHS, DROP THAT HOUSEHOLD.]

LINE #	NAMES OF PERSONS 18 YEARS OR OLDER	SEX	AGE	NUMBER	CHECK RESPONDENT
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ (16) (17-18) (19)
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ (20) (21-22) (23)
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ (24) (25-26) (27)
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ (28) (29-30) (31)
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ (32) (33-34) (35)
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ (36) (37-38) (39)
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ (40) (41-42) (43)

Okay, according to my instructions, I am supposed to talk with
(READ R NAME). Is he/she here now?

[IF SELECTED RESPONDENT IS OTHER THAN THE FIRST PERSON CONTACTED, MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO INTERVIEW THE PERSON SELECTED.]

RESPONDENT ~~LINE #~~ _____
(44)

TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN: _____ A.M. (45-48)
P.M.

Q1. First, I have a few questions about this neighborhood. How long have you lived at this address?

YEARS _____ (49-50)
MONTHS _____ (51-52)
DON'T KNOW..... 9999

Q2. Before you moved here, did you live somewhere else in this neighborhood, somewhere else in Madison, somewhere outside of the city of Madison, or have you always lived here?

(53)

SOMEWHERE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD 1
SOMEWHERE IN THIS CITY..... 2
OUTSIDE OF THIS CITY..... 3 [SKIP TO Q4]
ALWAYS LIVED HERE..... 4 [SKIP TO Q4]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q4]

Q3. How long did you live at that address?

YEARS _____ (54-55)
MONTHS _____ (56-57)
DON'T KNOW..... 9999

Q4. What about last summer? Did you stay in Madison last summer, or were you gone most of the summer?

(58)

STAYED IN MADISON..... 1
GONE MOST OF THE SUMMER..... 2
50-50 (VOLUNTARY)..... 3
REFUSED..... 8
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q5. Do you own or rent your home?

(59)

OWN (INCLUDES STILL PAYING).. 1
RENT..... 2
REFUSED..... 8
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q6. In general, in the past year would you say this neighborhood has become a better place to live, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

BETTER..... 3 (60)
WORSE..... 1
ABOUT THE SAME..... 2
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q7. All things considered, what do you think this neighborhood will be like a year from now? Will it be a better place to live, have gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

(61)

BETTER.....	3
WORSE.....	1
ABOUT THE SAME.....	2
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q8. Do you really feel a part of your neighborhood, or do you think of it more as just a place to live?

(62)

FEEL A PART OF NEIGHBORHOOD..	1
JUST A PLACE TO LIVE.....	0
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q9. In some neighborhoods people do things together and help each other. In other neighborhoods people mostly go their own way. In general, what kind of neighborhood would you say this is? Is it mostly one where people help each other or one where people go their own way?

(63)

HELP EACH OTHER.....	1
GO THEIR OWN WAY.....	0
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q10. On the whole, how do you feel about this neighborhood as a place to live? Are you...

(64)

Very satisfied,.....	4
Somewhat satisfied,.....	3
Somewhat dissatisfied, or....	2
Very dissatisfied?.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q11. How likely is it that you will still be living in this neighborhood a year from now? Is it...

(65)

Very likely,.....	5
Somewhat likely,.....	4
Somewhat unlikely, or.....	2
Very unlikely?.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	9
50-50 (VOL).....	3

Now, I am going to ask you about some situations that might happen in your neighborhood. In each situation tell me whether you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely that your neighbors would call the police.

	<u>VERY LIKELY</u>	<u>SOMEWHAT LIKELY</u>	<u>SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY</u>	<u>VERY UNLIKELY</u>	
--	------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------------	--------------------------	--

Q12. The first one is, if they heard a scream or the sound of glass breaking.....	4	3	2	1	(66)
---	---	---	---	---	------

[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely that they would call the police.]

Q13. A suspicious stranger was looking around the front of your building.....	4	3	2	1	(67)
---	---	---	---	---	------

Q14. Someone they didn't know was in (your back yard/the alley behind your house).....	4	3	2	1	(68)
--	---	---	---	---	------

Now, I am going to read a list of things that you may think are problems in this neighborhood. After I read each one, please tell me whether you think it is a big problem, some problem, or no problem here in this neighborhood.

	<u>BIG PROBLEM</u>	<u>SOME PROBLEM</u>	<u>NO PROBLEM</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
--	------------------------	-------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	--

Q15. The first one is, police not making enough contact with residents.....	3	2	1	9	(69)
---	---	---	---	---	------

[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Do you think that is a big problem, some problem, or no problem in this neighborhood?]

Q16. Police stopping too many people on the streets without good reason in this neighborhood...	3	2	1	9	(70)
---	---	---	---	---	------

Q17. Police being too tough on people they stop.....	3	2	1	9	(71)
--	---	---	---	---	------

Q18. Litter and trash on the streets and sidewalks in this neighborhood.....	3	2	1	9	(72)
--	---	---	---	---	------

	<u>BIG PROBLEM</u>	<u>SOME PROBLEM</u>	<u>NO PROBLEM</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
Q19. Public drinking or gambling in local parks.....	3	2	1	9	(73)
[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Do you think that is a big problem, some problem, or no problem in this neighborhood?]					
Q20. Disruption around schools; that is, youths hanging around making noise, vandalizing, or starting fights.....	3	2	1	9	(74)
Q21. Pot holes and other street repair problems.....	3	2	1	9	(75)
Q22. Snow removal in the winter....	3	2	1	9	(76)
Q23. Repairs and cleaning up needed in the parks.....	3	2	1	9	(77)
Q24. During the past year, have you heard about people trying to get community meetings started up in this neighborhood?					(78)
ALREADY HAVE A GROUP.....	2				
YES.....	1				
NO.....	0				[SKIP TO Q28]
DON'T KNOW.....	9				[SKIP TO Q28]
Q25. During the past year, have there been any community meetings held here in this neighborhood to try to deal with local problems?					(79)
YES.....	1				
NO.....	0				[SKIP TO Q28]
DON'T KNOW.....	9				[SKIP TO Q28]
Q26. Were you able to attend any of these meetings?					(80)
YES.....	1				
NO.....	0				[SKIP TO Q28]
Q27. Was anyone from the police department at any of these meetings?					(81)
YES.....	1				
NO.....	0				
DON'T KNOW.....	9				
Q28. During the past year, have there been any social get-togethers, like block parties, or other large social events in this neighborhood?					(82)
YES.....	1				
NO.....	0				[SKIP TO Q31]
DON'T KNOW.....	9				[SKIP TO Q31]

Q29. Have you attended any of those events? (83)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q31]

Q30. Was anyone from the police department at any of these events? (84)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q31. How safe would you feel being alone outside in this neighborhood at night? Would you feel... (85)

Very safe,..... 4
Somewhat safe,..... 3
Somewhat unsafe, or..... 2
Very unsafe?..... 1
DON'T GO OUT AT NIGHT..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q32. Is there any particular place in this neighborhood where you would be afraid to go alone either during the day or after dark? (86)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q33. In the past year, have you seen any brochures, pamphlets or newsletters which describe what you can do to protect yourself and your home from crime? (87)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q34. Have you heard about a newsletter published by the police specifically for residents in this neighborhood? (88)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about things that might worry you in this neighborhood. How worried are you that...

	<u>VERY WORRIED</u>	<u>SOMEWHAT WORRIED</u>	<u>NOT WORRIED AT ALL</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
Q35. Someone will try to rob you or steal something from you while you are outside in this neighborhood.....	3	2	1	9	(89)
[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?]					
Q36. Someone will try to attack you or beat you up while you are outside in this neighborhood.....	3	2	1	9	(90)
Q37. Someone will try to break into your home while no one is here.....	3	2	1	9	(91)
Q38. Someone will try to steal things that you might leave outside your home overnight..	3	2	1	9	(92)
Q39. Someone will try to vandalize your house.....	3	2	1	9	(93)
Q40. How often does worry about crime prevent you from doing things you would like to do in your neighborhood? Would you say...					(94)
very often,.....	1				
somewhat often,.....	2				
rarely, or.....	3				
never at all?.....	4				
REFUSED.....	7				
DON'T KNOW.....	9				
Q41. When it comes to preventing crime in your neighborhood, do you feel that it is more the responsibility of residents or more the responsibility of the police?					(95)
RESIDENTS.....	3				
POLICE.....	1				
BOTH (VOLUNTARY).....	2				
DON'T KNOW.....	9				

Q42. Now, let's talk about the police in this neighborhood. How responsive are the police in this neighborhood to community concerns? Are they...

(96)

very responsive,.....	4
somewhat responsive,.....	3
somewhat unresponsive, or....	2
very unresponsive?.....	1
REFUSED.....	7
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q43. How good a job do you think the police in this neighborhood are doing in helping people out after they have been victims of crime? Would you say they are doing a...

(97)

very good job,.....	4
good job,.....	3
fair job, or.....	2
poor job?.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q44. THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN INTENTIONALLY OMITTED.

Q45. How good a job are the police doing in working together with residents of this neighborhood to solve local problems? Would you say they are doing a...

(98)

very good job,.....	4
good job,.....	3
fair job, or.....	2
poor job?.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q46. How good a job do you think they are doing to prevent crime? Would you say they are doing a...

(99)

very good job,.....	4
good job,.....	3
fair job, or.....	2
poor job?.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q47. How good a job are the police doing in dealing with the problems that really concern people in this neighborhood? Would you say they are doing a...

(100)

very good job,.....	4
good job,.....	3
fair job, or.....	2
poor job?.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q48. Do you think the police are spending enough time on the problems that are important in this neighborhood?

(101)

Are they spending enough time
on these problems,..... 3
Should they be spending more
time on these problems, or. 2
Have they been neglecting
these problems almost
entirely?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q49. How good a job are the police in this neighborhood doing in keeping order on the streets and sidewalks? Would you say they are doing a...

(102)

very good job,..... 4
good job,..... 3
fair job, or..... 2
poor job?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q50. How good a job are the police in this neighborhood doing in enforcing rules about parking? Would you say they are doing a...

(103)

very good job,..... 4
good job,..... 3
fair job, or..... 2
poor job?..... 1
NOT APPLICABLE..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q51. How good a job are the police in this neighborhood doing in controlling speeding or careless driving? Would you say they are doing a...

(104)

very good job,..... 4
good job,..... 3
fair job, or..... 2
poor job?..... 1
NOT APPLICABLE..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q52. How good a job are the police doing in controlling drunk driving? Would you say they are doing a...

(105)

very good job,..... 4
good job,..... 3
fair job, or..... 2
poor job?..... 1
NOT APPLICABLE..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q53. In general, how polite are the police when dealing with people in this neighborhood? Are they...

(106)

very polite,..... 4
somewhat polite,..... 3
somewhat impolite, or..... 2
very impolite?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q54. When dealing with people's problems in this neighborhood, are the police generally...

(107)

very concerned,..... 4
somewhat concerned,..... 3
not very concerned, or..... 2
not concerned at all about
their problems?..... 1
REFUSED..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q55. In general, how helpful are the police when dealing with people in this neighborhood? Are they...

(108)

very helpful,..... 4
somewhat helpful,..... 3
not very helpful, or..... 2
not helpful at all?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q56. In general, how fair are the police when dealing with people in this neighborhood? Are they...

(109)

very fair,..... 4
somewhat fair,..... 3
somewhatunfair, or..... 2
very unfair?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q57. Have you seen a police officer in this neighborhood within the last 24 hours?

(110)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q58. THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN INTENTIONALLY OMITTED.

Here are a few specific situations in which you might have seen the police in the past week. During the past week, have you seen...

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
Q59. A police car driving through your neighborhood?.....	1	0	9	(111)
Q60. A police officer walking around or standing on patrol in the neighborhood?.....	1	0	9	(112)
Q61. A police officer pull someone over for a traffic ticket?.....	1	0	9	(113)

During the past week, have you seen...

Q62. Police officers patrolling in the alley, or checking garages or in the back of buildings?.....	1	0	9	(114)
Q63. A police officer chatting/having a friendly conversation with people in the neighborhood?.....	1	0	9	(115)

Q64. Do you know the names of any of the police officers who work in this neighborhood?
(116)

YES.....	1
NO.....	0
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q65. Other than times when you might have called the police, in the past year, have the police come to your door to ask about problems in the neighborhood or to give you information?
(117)

YES.....	1
NO.....	0
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q66. During the past year, have you received a postcard or other questionnaire in the mail to complete and send back to the Madison police?
(118)

YES.....	1
NO.....	0
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q67. Have you seen or heard about the police station which is located in South Madison?
(119)

YES.....	1	
NO.....	0	[SKIP TO Q70]
DON'T KNOW.....	9	[SKIP TO Q70]

~~Q68. During the past year, have you directly telephoned the police station in South Madison for any reason?~~

(120)

YES..... 1
 NO..... 0
~~DON'T KNOW..... 9~~

~~Q69. During the past year, have you visited the police station in South Madison for any reason?~~

(121)

YES..... 1
 NO..... 0
~~DON'T KNOW..... 9~~

Now, I am going to read you another list of some things that you may think are problems in this neighborhood. After I read each one, please tell me whether you think it is a big problem, some problem, or no problem here in this neighborhood.

	<u>BIG PROBLEM</u>	<u>SOME PROBLEM</u>	<u>NO PROBLEM</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
Q70. People breaking in or sneaking into homes to steal things.....	3	2	1	9	(122)
[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Do you think that is a big problem, some problem or no problem here in this neighborhood?]					
Q71. Disputes between landlords and tenants.....	3	2	1	9	(123)
Q72. Abandoned cars in the streets and alleys.....	3	2	1	9	(124)
Q73. Cars being vandalized--things like windows or radio aerials being broken.....	3	2	1	9	(125)
Q74. Cars being stolen.....	3	2	1	9	(126)

The next few questions are about things that some people might do for protection from crime.

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
Q75. Has there been a crime prevention inspection of your home by a police officer or some specially trained person?.....	1	0	9	(127)
Q76. Does this home have any special security gates or locks on the doors?.....	1	0	9	(128)
Q77. Are there any timers for turning your lights on and off at night?.....	1	0	9	(129)
Q78. Have any valuables here been marked with your name or some number?.....	1	0	9	(130)
Q78a. Does this home have any special anti-burglary window bars or window locks?.....	1	0	9	(131)
Q79. Are there any anti-burglary or warning decals on the windows or doors of your home?.....	1	0	9	(132)
Q80. Do you usually leave the lights, radio, or TV on when you go out to make people think someone is home?.....	1	0	9	(133)
Q81. Thinking of all the things that you can do to protect your home, that is, installing special locks, lights, timers, bars, etc., how much safer do you think they can make your home? Would you say these things can make your home...				(134)
a lot safer,.....	3			
somewhat safer, or.....	2			
not much safer?.....	1			
DON'T KNOW.....	9			
Q82. Think about the last time when no one was home for at least a day or two. Did you ask a neighbor to watch your home?				(135)
YES.....	1			
NO.....	0			
SOMEONE IS ALWAYS HOME.....	2			
DON'T KNOW.....	9			
Q83. In the past year, have any of your neighbors asked you to watch their home?				(136)
YES.....	1			
NO.....	0			
DON'T KNOW.....	9			

Now, I would like to ask you about any contacts you may have had with the Madison police in the past year, since January 1st of 1987. In the past year, have you...

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
Q84. Reported a crime to the police?.....	1	0	9	(137)
Q85. Reported a traffic accident or a medical emergency to the police?.....	1	0	9	(138)
Q86. Reported a suspicious person who you thought might be connected to a crime?.....	1	0	9	(139)
Q87. Reported suspicious noises to the police?..	1	0	9	(140)
Q88. Reported any other event that you thought might lead to a crime?.....	1	0	9	(141)
Q89. Contacted the police about any other neighborhood concerns or problems?.....	1	0	9	(142)
Q90. Contacted the police to ask for advice or information?.....	1	0	9	(143)
Q91. Contacted the police to give them any information?.....	1	0	9	(144)
Q92. Reported any other sort of problem or difficulty to the police?.....	1	0	9	(145)

INTERVIEWER BOX A

CHECK Q84 THROUGH 92. CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE CODE
BELOW AND FOLLOW SKIP INSTRUCTIONS.

"YES TO MORE THAN ONE ITEM.....2 [ASK Q93]
 "YES TO ONLY ONE ITEM.....3 [SKIP TO Q94]
 "NO" TO Q84 THROUGH Q92.....1 [SKIP TO Q99]

(146)

Q93. Which one of these contacts with the police was the most recent? Was it when you... (READ CATEGORIES CIRCLED "YES" IN Q84-Q92 AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE BELOW).

(147)

reported a crime to police (Q84).....	0
reported a traffic accident or a	
medical emergency (Q85).....	1
reported suspicious persons (Q86).....	2
reported suspicious noises (Q87).....	3
reported any other event that you	
thought might lead to a crime (Q88).	4
contacted the police about any	
neighborhood concerns or	
problems (Q89).....	5
contacted the police to ask for	
advice or information (Q90).....	6
contacted the police to give them	
any information (Q91).....	7
reported any other sort of problem	
or difficulty (Q92).....	8
DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER.....	9

Next, I have a few questions about the last time you contacted the police. That is when you _____. (READ RESPONSE FROM Q93).

Q94. (When/The last time) you talked to the police, did the police pay careful attention to what you had to say?

(148)

YES.....	1
NO.....	0
REFUSED.....	8
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q95. Did the police clearly explain what action they would take in response to your contact?

(149)

YES.....	1
NO.....	0
NO ACTION NECESSARY.....	2
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q96. Did you find the police...

(150)

very helpful,.....	4
somewhat helpful,.....	3
not very helpful, or.....	2
not at all helpful?.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q97. When you talked to the police, were they...

(151)

very polite,..... 4
somewhat polite,..... 3
somewhat impolite, or..... 2
very impolite?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q98. Overall, how satisfied were you with the way the police responded?
Were you...

(152)

very satisfied,..... 4
somewhat satisfied,..... 3
somewhat dissatisfied, or... 2
very dissatisfied?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Now, I have a few more questions about the Madison Police. Think about the past year, that is, since January 1987.

Q99. In the past year, have you seen any police officers walking on patrol here in this neighborhood?

(153)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q100. What about in the nearest shopping area? Have you seen any officers walking on patrol in the nearest shopping area during the past year?

(154)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q101. In the past year, have you been in a car or on a bicycle or motorcycle which was stopped by the police?

(155)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q103]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q103]

Q102. Did this happen in this neighborhood?

(156)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q103. In the past year, have you been stopped and questioned by the police when you were out walking?

(157)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q105]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q105]

Q104. Did this happen in this neighborhood?

(158)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q105. In the past year, have you been approached on the street or in a shopping area by police officers who were filling out a questionnaire or trying to find out about neighborhood problems?

(159)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q107]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q107]

Q106. Did this happen in this neighborhood?

(160)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q107. In the past year, have police come here to your door to ask about neighborhood problems or to provide information?

(161)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

INTERVIEWER BOX B

CHECK Q101, Q103, Q105, & Q107. CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE CODE BELOW AND FOLLOW SKIP INSTRUCTIONS.

(162)

"YES TO MORE THAN ONE ITEM.....1 [ASK Q108]
"YES TO ONLY ONE ITEM.....2 [SKIP TO Q109]
"NO" TO Q101 THROUGH Q107.....3 [SKIP TO Q114]

Q108. Which of these times when the police approached you was the most recent? Was it when you were... [READ CATEGORIES RESPONDENT ANSWERED YES TO IN Q101, 103, 105 AND 107.]

(163)

stopped in a vehicle (Q101)..... 1
stopped and questioned on foot (Q103). 2
approached for a questionnaire or
to find out problems (Q105)..... 3
police came to door to ask about
problem (Q107)..... 4
DON'T KNOW..... 9

- Q109. (When/The last time) the police approached you, did they clearly explain why they wanted to talk to you? (164)
- YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9
- Q110. When they talked with you, did the police pay careful attention to what you had to say? (165)
- YES..... 1
NO..... 0
NOT APPLICABLE..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9
- Q111. Did the police clearly explain what action they would take? (166)
- YES..... 1
NO..... 0
NO ACTION NECESSARY..... 2
DON'T KNOW..... 9
- Q112. Did you find the police... (167)
- Very polite..... 4
Somewhat polite,..... 3
Somewhat impolite, or..... 2
Very impolite?..... 1
DON'T KNOW..... 9
- Q113. How fair were they? Were they... (168)
- Very fair,..... 4
Somewhat fair,..... 3
Somewhat unfair, or..... 2
Very unfair?..... 1
NOT APPLICABLE..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9
- Q114. Have you gotten a parking ticket here in Madison in the past year? (169)
- YES..... 1
NO..... 0
REFUSED..... 8
DON'T KNOW..... 9
- Q115. During the past year, have you had any other contact with the police in which you had a conversation with them? (170)
- YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q117]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q117]

Q116. Who made the contact? Was it made by...

(171)

You (THE RESPONDENT), or.... 1
A police officer?..... 2
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q117. During the past year, has any Madison police officer had an occasion to give you a personal business card with the officer's name and telephone number on it?

(172)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Now, I am going to read you another list of some things that might be problems in this neighborhood. After I read each one, please tell me whether you think it is a big problem, some problem, or no problem in this neighborhood.

	<u>BIG PROBLEM</u>	<u>SOME PROBLEM</u>	<u>NO PROBLEM</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	
Q118. Loud parties?.....	3	2	1	9	(173)
[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Do you think that is a big problem, some problem, or no problem in this neighborhood?]					
Q119. People ignoring rules about parking?.....	3	2	1	9	(174)
Q120. Speeding or careless driving?	3	2	1	9	(175)
Q121. Drunk driving?.....	3	2	1	9	(176)
[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Do you think that is a big problem, some problem, or no problem in this neighborhood?]					
Q122. People being attacked or robbed?.....	3	2	1	9	(177)
Q123. Thefts from outside of your building?.....	3	2	1	9	(178)
[PROMPT AS NECESSARY: Do you think that is a big problem, some problem, or no problem in this neighborhood?]					
Q124. Sale or use of drugs by juveniles?.....	3	2	1	9	(179)

	<u>BIG PROBLEM</u>	<u>SOME PROBLEM</u>	<u>NO PROBLEM</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>
Q125. Sale or use of drugs by adults?.....	3	2	1	9 (180)
Q126. Rape or other sexual attacks?	3	2	1	9 (181)

Now, I have a few questions concerning a larger area of Madison, the area known as "South Madison." This is roughly the area along the South Park Street Corridor. We are interested in your general impressions of this area.

INTERVIEWER BOX C

RECALL THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SOUTH MADISON AREA.
CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE CODE BELOW AND FOLLOW
SKIP INSTRUCTIONS.

RESPONDENT LIVES IN SOUTH MADISON.... 1 [SKIP TO Q129]
RESPONDENT LIVES OUTSIDE OF SOUTH
MADISON.....2 [ASK Q127]

(182)

Q127. First, how frequently do you visit or travel through that area? Would
you say you usually are in South Madison...

(183)

every day or so,..... 5
every week or so,..... 4
every month or so,..... 3
less often than that, or.... 2
never?..... 1 [SKIP TO Q129]
DON'T KNOW AREA AT ALL..... 7 [SKIP TO Q129]
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q128. When you are in South Madison, do you visit or shop there or do you
just drive through?

(184)

VISIT OR SHOP..... 1
DRIVE THROUGH..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q129. In general, would you say that in the past year South Madison has
become a better place to live, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

(185)

BECOME A BETTER PLACE..... 3
STAYED ABOUT THE SAME..... 2
GOTTEN WORSE..... 1
DON'T KNOW AREA..... 7
DON'T KNOW..... 9

- Q130. How big a problem do you think public drinking or disorderly conduct is in South Madison? Do you think that it is a... (186)
- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| big problem,..... | 3 |
| some problem, or..... | 2 |
| no problem?..... | 1 |
| DON'T KNOW AREA..... | 7 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |
- Q131. What about crime? Do you think that crime in South Madison is a... (187)
- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| big problem,..... | 3 |
| some problem, or..... | 2 |
| no problem?..... | 1 |
| DON'T KNOW AREA..... | 7 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |
- Q132. Is there any place in South Madison where you would be afraid to go alone either during the day or after dark? (188)
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| YES..... | 1 |
| NO..... | 0 |
| NEVER GO THERE..... | 2 |
| DON'T KNOW AREA..... | 7 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |
- Q133. How safe would you feel being out alone in South Madison at night? Would you feel... (189)
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| very safe,..... | 4 |
| somewhat safe,..... | 3 |
| somewhat unsafe, or..... | 2 |
| very unsafe?..... | 1 |
| DON'T KNOW AREA..... | 7 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |
| NEVER GO THERE..... | 5 |

Next, I would like to ask you about some things which may have happened to you or your family in the past year, since January 1, 1987. As I read each one, please think carefully and tell me if it happened since the January, 1987.

- Q134. Since January 1, 1987, has anyone broken into your home, garage, or another building on your property to steal something? (190)
- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| YES..... | 1 |
| NO..... | 0 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |
- Q135. (Other than that have/Have) you found any sign that someone tried to break into your home, garage, or another building on your property to steal something? (191)
- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| YES..... | 1 |
| NO..... | 0 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |

Q136. Since January 1, 1987, has anyone damaged or defaced your home or the building you live in, for example, by writing on the walls, breaking windows?

(192)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q137. In the past year, has anyone stolen something from you by force or tried to take something from you after threatening you with harm?

(193)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q139]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q139]

Q138. Did this happen in this neighborhood?

(194)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about people you know in the city of Madison.

Q139. Do you personally know anyone anywhere in the city of Madison whose home or apartment has been broken into, or had an attempted break-in since January 1, 1987?

(195)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q141]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q141]

Q140. Did the break-in(s) or attempted break-in happen in this neighborhood?

(196)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q141. Do you personally know anyone anywhere in the city of Madison who has been attacked or robbed or had their purse or wallet taken during the last year?

(197)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0 [SKIP TO Q143]
DON'T KNOW..... 9 [SKIP TO Q143]

Q142. Did the attack or robbery happen in this neighborhood?

(198)

YES..... 1
NO..... 0
DON'T KNOW..... 9

Q143. Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.
In what year were you born?

(199-202)

YEAR _____
REFUSED..... 8888

Q144. Are you presently employed full-time, part-time, a student, a homemaker, or unemployed? [IF OTHER PROBE: What was that?]
[CIRCLE ONE OR TWO CATEGORIES AS NEEDED.]

WORKING FULL-TIME.....	00	(203-204)
WORKING PART-TIME.....	01	(205-206)
HOMEMAKER.....	02	
UNEMPLOYED.....	03	
RETIRED.....	04	
DISABLED.....	05	
UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT FULL-TIME.....	06	
UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT PART-TIME.....	07	
GRADUATE STUDENT FULL-TIME....	08	
GRADUATE STUDENT PART-TIME....	09	
OTHER	10	
REFUSED.....	98	
DON'T KNOW.....	99	

Q145. Are you currently...

(207)

Married,.....	1
Living with someone as a couple,.....	2
Widowed,.....	3
Divorced,.....	4
Separated, or.....	5
Never married?.....	6
REFUSED.....	8

Q146. How many people under 18 years old live here?

(208-209)

OF CHILDREN _____
REFUSED..... 88
DON'T KNOW..... 99

Q147. Are you a U.S. citizen?

(210)

YES.....	1
NO.....	0
REFUSED.....	8
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q148. THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN INTENTIONALLY OMITTED.

(211)

[ANSWER Q149 AND Q150 BY OBSERVATION ONLY IF OBVIOUS]

Q149. What is your racial or ethnic background? Are you...

(212)

Black..... 1
White..... 2
Hispanic..... 3
Asian/Pacific Islander..... 4
American Indian, or..... 5
Something else? 6
(SPECIFY)
REFUSED/DON'T KNOW..... 8

Q150. RESPONDENT SEX:

(213)

MALE..... 1
FEMALE..... 2

Q151. What is the highest grade or year of school that you have completed?
(DON'T READ CATEGORIES, CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE)

(214-215)

0-4 YEARS..... 01
5-8 YEARS..... 02
SOME HIGH SCHOOL..... 03
COMPLETED TECHNICAL SCHOOL
INSTEAD OF HIGH SCHOOL..... 04
COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL (12 YRS) 05
POST-HIGH SCHOOL, BUSINESS OR
TRADE SCHOOL..... 06
1-3 YEARS OF COLLEGE..... 07
COMPLETED COLLEGE..... 08
COMPLETED ADVANCED DEGREE..... 09
REFUSED/DON'T KNOW..... 98

Q152. We also would like to have an idea about the total income of all of
the people living here for 1987. Here is a card (GIVE INCOME CARD TO
RESPONDENT) with some general categories on it. Please tell me which
category includes your total household income--what everyone here made
together last year? You don't have to give me the actual total--just
tell me the correct letter.

(216-217)

A (UNDER \$2,000)..... 01
B (\$2,000-\$3,999)..... 02
C (\$4,000-\$4,999)..... 03
D (\$5,000-\$5,999)..... 04
E (\$6,000-\$7,999)..... 05
F (\$8,000-\$9,999)..... 06
G (\$10,000-\$14,999)..... 07
H (\$15,000-\$19,999)..... 08
I (\$20,000-\$29,000)..... 09
J (\$30,000-\$39,999)..... 10
K (\$40,000-\$59,000)..... 11
L (\$60,000 AND OVER)..... 12
DON'T KNOW HOUSEHOLD INCOME.. 97
REFUSED..... 98
DON'T KNOW..... 99

} [SKIP TO Q155]
[ASK Q153]
[SKIP TO Q154]
[SKIP TO Q154]

Q153. What about just your own personal income? What was your total personal income last year?

(218-219)

A (UNDER \$2,000).....	01	}	[SKIP TO Q155]
B (\$2,000-\$3,999).....	02		
C (\$4,000-\$4,999).....	03		
D (\$5,000-\$5,999).....	04		
E (\$6,000-\$7,999).....	05		
F (\$8,000-\$9,999).....	06		
G (\$10,000-\$14,999).....	07		
H (\$15,000-\$19,999).....	08		
I (\$20,000-\$29,000).....	09		
J (\$30,000-\$39,999).....	10		
K (\$40,000-\$59,000).....	11		
L (\$60,000 AND OVER).....	12		
DON'T KNOW PERSONAL INCOME...	97		[ASK Q154]
REFUSED.....	98		[ASK Q154]

Q154. [IF REFUSED OR DON'T KNOW] Would you just indicate if it was under \$20,000 in 1987 or over \$20,000?

(220)

UNDER \$20,000.....	0
OVER \$20,000.....	1
REFUSED.....	8
DON'T KNOW.....	9

Q155. Now, in case my supervisor wants to call and verify this interview could I please have your telephone number?

NUMBER _____		
REFUSED.....	888-8888	(221-227)
NO PHONE.....	999-9999	

"THANK YOU VERY MUCH. THAT COMPLETES THE SURVEY. YOU HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL."

TIME INTERVIEW ENDED _____	A.M.	(228-231)
	P.M.	

INTERVIEWER: I certify that I followed the procedures and rules in conducting this interview.

Signed: _____ Interviewer # _____ (232)

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS AND REMARKS: FILL OUT THIS SECTION AS SOON AS YOU LEAVE THE HOUSEHOLD.

- I1. RESPONDENT'S FACILITY WITH ENGLISH (233)
- | | |
|-----------|---|
| GOOD..... | 1 |
| FAIR..... | 2 |
| POOR..... | 3 |
- I2. RESPONDENT'S COOPERATIVENESS (234)
- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| VERY COOPERATIVE..... | 1 |
| FAIRLY COOPERATIVE..... | 2 |
| NOT VERY COOPERATIVE..... | 3 |
- I3. RESPONDENT'S INTEREST IN THE INTERVIEW (235)
- | | |
|--|---|
| VERY INTERESTED..... | 1 |
| SOMEWHAT INTERESTED..... | 2 |
| NOT INTERESTED, HARD TO HOLD ATTENTION.. | 3 |
- I4. ACCURACY OF FACTUAL INFORMATION COLLECTED (236)
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| MOSTLY ACCURATE..... | 1 |
| SOMEWHAT ACCURATE..... | 2 |
| NOT TO BE TRUSTED..... | 3 |
- I5. HOW SUSPICIOUS WAS THE PERSON WHO LET YOU IN? (237)
- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| VERY SUSPICIOUS..... | 1 |
| SUSPICIOUS..... | 2 |
| NOT VERY SUSPICIOUS..... | 3 |
| NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS..... | 4 |
- I6. HOW EASY WOULD IT BE FOR SOMEONE TO GET INTO THE HOME THROUGH A DOOR OR A WINDOW? WOULD YOU SAY IT WOULD BE... (238)
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| VERY EASY,..... | 1 |
| EASY,..... | 2 |
| DIFFICULT, OR..... | 3 |
| VERY DIFFICULT?..... | 4 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |
- I7. TYPE OF DWELLING UNIT (239)
- | | |
|--|---|
| TRAILER/MOBILE HOME..... | 1 |
| SINGLE FAMILY HOME (DETACHED)..... | 2 |
| SINGLE FAMILY HOME (ROW HOUSE/TOWNHOUSE) | 3 |
| MULTI-FAMILY (LESS THAN 6 UNITS)..... | 4 |
| MULTI-FAMILY (6-14 UNITS)..... | 5 |
| MULTI-FAMILY (15 OR MORE UNITS)..... | 6 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 9 |

WHAT WAS THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE HOME? (CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE FROM EACH GROUP)

I18. In great need of repair..... 1 (240)
 In moderate need of repair..... 2
 No repair needed..... 3

I19. Generally neat and clean..... 1 (241)
 In need of cleaning..... 2
 Seriously unhygienic or unsafe..... 3

I10. Comfortably furnished..... 1 (242)
 Sparsely furnished..... 2

I11. WAS THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD ON A MAIN STREET OR A SIDE STREET?

Main street..... 1 (243)
 Side street..... 2

I12. WAS THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD ON THE GROUND FLOOR (OR A BASEMENT UNIT), OR WAS IT ABOVE THE GROUND FLOOR?

Ground floor/basement..... 1 (244)
 Above ground floor..... 2

WHAT KIND OF SECURITY MEASURES DID YOU SEE AT THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	
I13. Bars on the windows or doors.....	1	0	(245)
I14. Multiple locks on the front door.....	1	0	(246)
I15. Peephole, a window, or a side window in the front door.....	1	0	(247)
I16. Dog on premises.....	1	0	(248)
I17. Anti-crime, neighborhood watch or burglary prevention sign or sticker on door or in window.....	1	0	(249)

I18. ARE MOST OF THE STRUCTURES ON THE BLOCK FACE WHERE YOU DID THE INTERVIEW RESIDENTIAL OR NON-RESIDENTIAL?

All are residential..... 1 (250)
 Mostly residential, some
non-residential..... 2
 Mostly non-residential, some
residential..... 3
 DON'T KNOW..... 9

DID YOU SEE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING ON EITHER SIDE OF THE BLOCK FACE WHERE YOU DID THE INTERVIEW? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	
I19. Litter or trash on the street or sidewalk.....	1	0	(251)
I20. Graffiti or obvious vandalism damage....	1	0	(252)
I21. A boarded up or abandoned building.....	1	0	(253)
I22. Neat, well-kept lawns or front gardens..	1	0	(254)
I23. A vacant lot.....	1	0	(255)