

Police Management

Third Edition

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Chapter One

Introduction to Police Management

CHAPTER OUTLINE

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This text on the management of police organizations in a democratic society presents general theories of management and organization and their application to police departments while attempting to assess police management practices and problems. The book also attempts to provide a balance between theoretical and applied research and between conceptual and practical perspectives on police management. The authors hope that this text will enhance the student's understanding of the police and the way "good" management can make a difference in employee attitudes and behavior and in accomplishing organizational goals and objectives.



Managerial Role and Organizational Environment

Police managers must try to formulate goals and design organizations to meet the expectations and needs of employees, clients (i.e., members of the community), and various other groups and individuals that may be affected by police activities, such as private police, court and correctional agencies, business and industry, other governmental agencies, and political leaders. Individual employees, as well as the organization (i.e., supervisors and managers), have certain expectations of one another. For instance, on the one hand, the organization expects employees to adequately perform their assigned tasks and uphold their responsibilities, abide by the rules, learn new skills, take the initiative, and (when appropriate) be able to work independently. On the other hand, employees expect the organization to treat them fairly and in a dignified manner and to provide adequate pay, benefits, and working conditions. Some employees may expect even more, depending on their desire for security, social interaction, status, power, and the opportunity to reach their full potential. For many individuals, their self-esteem is closely related to their success at work.

An **organization** may be defined as social groupings of two or more persons who are interdependent and work in a coordinated manner to achieve common goals. The purpose of management is to work toward the attainment of these goals by responding to the changing needs of employees, customers, and other influential individuals and organizations. One of management's primary responsibilities is to work toward the integration of individual and organizational needs, so that the organization can accomplish its goals. Full and complete integration for all parties in an organization is rarely, if ever, achieved. However, the ongoing attempt at integration creates an environment in which maximum productivity is possible.

Managerial and behavioral science research (see Macy and Mirvis, 1976) suggests that employees are more likely to come to work and stay with an organization if they are satisfied in their jobs, and they are more likely to be productive in terms of quality and quantity if they receive rewards, such as interesting and challenging tasks and recognition for good work. Satisfaction and rewards are influenced by the work environment, which includes the nature of the work itself, relations in the work group, organizational structure, managerial style, and the actual provision of valued rewards. Managers have a significant influence on the type of work environment.

To illustrate, assume that the typical police officer is working at about 60 to 70 percent of capacity, in terms of both the quality and quantity of work done. If by changing the work environment, this figure could be increased to 80 or 90 percent, the police department would actually have about 20 percent more resources, without necessarily requiring an additional investment of funds. The authors believe that many police departments in the United States could substantially increase both the quality and quantity of work performed if they were more effectively managed.

Although the work environment in an organization is critically important, it must be stressed that it does not mean that everything in the organization is perfect for all employees. It is important for both managers and workers to realize that each must exercise some give and take in achieving a mutually beneficial relationship. Employees need to come to work ready to

do their best, and managers must strive to create a work environment in which employees can thrive.



Organizational successes should be shared and appreciated; organizational failures, unless they are deliberate, must be viewed as problems to be corrected rather than as the fault of people to be identified, blamed and punished. Neither managers nor workers can legitimately fix the blame or take the credit for life inside the organization. In general, however, a fix-the-problem managerial philosophy may be difficult for police departments to adopt, because they have a long history of blame-and-punishment management. Such an approach does not always result from a lack of education and training for managers; rather, it is a product of a political environment in which only punishment for a perceived police abuse will satisfy the public. Blame-and-punishment management is an abuse of managerial authority and is a major cause of inadequate employee performance and the development of a code of silence in most police departments. Employees who are criticized and punished for nondeliberate mistakes may treat citizens in a similar fashion, try to avoid difficult situations and people, and band together to protect one another from what they consider to be arbitrary and unfair treatment.

Major Themes

The purpose of this book is to provide the reader with an understanding of how police organizations work, how people in them behave, and how individuals and groups can be effectively managed. To this end, ***police management*** may be defined as police organizational practices, including individual, group, organizational, and environmental processes, undertaken for the purpose of producing knowledge that can be used continuously to improve employee satisfaction and organizational performance.

This book's approach to understanding police organizations and management incorporates seven major themes. These themes are identified as follows in Table 1.1.

The first theme is ***humanitarian orientation***, which recognizes the importance of human resources in police organizations. A concern for the employee (and the customer, or citizen) is a critical part of any successful managerial process. Compassion and concern for others are essential to effective police work. Managers must treat their employees the way they expect their employees to treat the customers of the organization.

The second theme is awareness of the ***environment*** in which police organizations must function. Just as managers must integrate the expectations of the employee with those of the organization, the expectations of the organization (including those of the employee) must be integrated with those of the environment (that is, the community). The community environment of police organizations is made up not only of individual citizens, interest groups, and neighborhoods but also of other governmental agencies, political and administrative leaders, businesses, other criminal-justice agencies, and private police organizations.

The third theme is understanding the ***interdisciplinary nature*** of the study of police management. Relevant organizational and management theories, along with important research from policing and other well-established disciplines, will be discussed. Because most of the rigorous empirical



research and development of theory in organizational behavior and management have taken place in the behavioral sciences (especially psychology and sociology) and in the management field, this book attempts to blend these findings with current policing research.

Figure 1.1 Major Themes of Police Management	
Theme	Characteristics
Humanitarian Orientation	The importance of the humane treatment of employees and citizens is emphasized.
Environment	The expectations of the organization must be integrated with those of the community.
Interdisciplinary Nature	Relevant principles, models, and theories from the social sciences are utilized.
Scientific Method	Research studies using the scientific method are incorporated. A clinical scientist-perspective is used to create a learning organization.
Four Levels of Analysis	Individuals, groups, the organization, and the organizational environment are analyzed.
Systems Theory and Contingency Theory	The interrelated and interdependent parts of a system are related to the whole and to the environment. Management practices vary as circumstances and problems change.
Integrity	An organizational climate that fosters integrity for all employees is established.

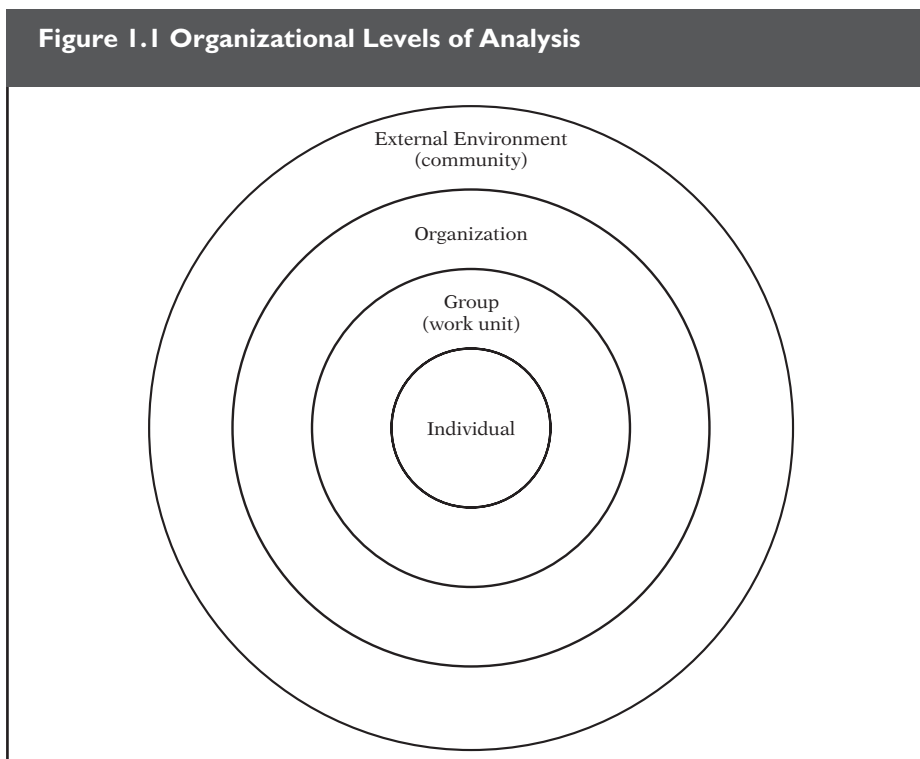
The fourth theme is the importance of **research and the scientific method** for effective management. Empirical research helps managers to identify and understand important variables and relationships in the study of police organizations. In using the scientific method, managers become, in part, *clinical scientists*, a term that has been used in social work for several decades (Brian, 1979: 132–133). To be clinical scientists, police managers should be trained to:

1. Use the police strategies, methods, programs, policies, and so on that are empirically known to be the most effective, that is, based on well-designed research that has been replicated.
2. Evaluate continuously the results associated with using strategies, methods, programs, and policies.
3. Participate in the discovery, testing, and reporting on the effectiveness of various innovative approaches to solving problems and addressing different situations.
4. Use untested approaches with great caution and only with adequate control and concern for their impact on citizens and organizational employees.
5. Communicate the results of research and evaluation to others.

Police departments in which managers adopt a clinical scientific perspective become *learning organizations* in which a continuous process of experimen-

tation and evaluation provides the basis for a climate of innovation. When an organization has an innovative climate, it is easier for it to adapt to changing circumstances and new ideas.

The fifth theme is to use *four levels of analysis* to promote better understanding of the complex nature of organizational behavior (see Figure 1.1). The first level or basic building block of any organization is the *individual*. The next level of analysis is the *work group* (i.e., unit, team, shift, or program), a collection of individuals who work together to accomplish various tasks and objectives. The third level is the *organization*, made up of a collection of groups attempting to accomplish organizational goals. The final level of analysis is the *environment*, which was discussed above.



The sixth theme is to apply *systems theory and contingency theory* to the study of police organizations. Using the four levels of analysis just described, one is in effect utilizing *general systems theory*, which views a system as a whole composed of interrelated and interdependent parts or subsystems. Police organizations can be thought of as *open systems*, which are a subsystem of a community, of its government, and of the criminal-justice system (including the police, courts and correctional institutions). By itself, a police organization can also be conceptualized as a system that has patrol, investigation, and communication subsystems, as well as other subsystems, such as day, evening, and midnight shifts. General systems theory provides a useful way to conceptualize police organizations and how they relate to their environment.

A more pragmatic approach to the study of organizations than general systems theory is contingency theory, which is specific in applying appropri-



ate management concepts and methods to organizational circumstances. Contingency management studies the variables that influence the organization and employees. In other words, as circumstances and problems change, it may be necessary to change police management practices and employee responses in order to maintain or improve effectiveness.

The seventh theme in this book is ***promoting integrity*** throughout the organization. Although employee integrity is important in all organizations, it is crucial to police departments because of their role in a democratic society. In the authors' opinion, integrity is the single most important factor in policing. Without candor and sincerity, there is a lack of trust between manager and employee or between the police and citizens. An organizational climate that fosters integrity begins with leaders. Unfortunately, the police in the United States have had a long history of unethical and illegal behavior. Police managers must work hard to become role models of integrity for their officers and for the community, and officers must become role models for citizens.

Management

Managers differ from other organizational members in the work that they do. ***Management*** may be defined as the process of working with people in a humane way to achieve organizational goals and objectives as efficiently and effectively as possible. First, the idea of working with people rather than through them connotes a mutual participation between managers and employees, thus emphasizing a positive attitude toward employee involvement in the organization.

Second, the idea of humaneness is an integral part of the definition. The Funk and Wagnalls dictionary (1953, p. 575) defines humane as "having or showing kindness and tenderness; compassionate." It lists several synonyms—benevolent, charitable, gracious, merciful, and sympathetic—and several antonyms—barbarous, cruel, fierce, inhuman, merciless, and selfish. By promoting a humane approach to management, the authors believe that human dignity will be increased in the organization, the quality of the work environment will be improved, and employees will become more humane when dealing with community members.

Third, the definition also incorporates the importance of accomplishing goals and objectives. ***Goals*** are general statements of purpose that tend to be long range. Goals may be, and often are, used to identify the role or mission of the police (e.g., to reduce crime or the fear of crime or to improve citizen attitudes toward the organization and officers). However, goals may also be more specific. For example, a police department may have as a goal the reduction of property crimes for the next calendar year.

Objectives are usually more specific than goals and tend to be time-bounded and quantifiable. They should be consistent with the organization's goals. For example, an objective might be to reduce residential burglaries by 5 percent in the next six months. Thus, the objective is specific (refers to a specific type of crime), time-bounded (six months), and quantifiable (5 percent). It is also possible to develop other related objectives concerning the personnel, resources, training, and specific tactics associated with efforts to reduce residential burglaries. For example, all patrol officers assigned to des-

ignated high-crime areas will receive four hours of burglary-prevention training within the next 30 days, and all homes in designated high-crime areas will undergo security checks within the next 90 days. These objectives are also consistent with a more general organization goal of preventing or reducing crime, or a more specific goal of reducing the number of property crimes in the next year.



Two other important terms in the definition of management are efficiency and effectiveness. However, before discussing them, it is first necessary to distinguish between outputs and outcomes in policing. **Outputs** are what the police department does, for example, patrolling, making arrests, writing tickets, helping citizens with problems, exercising discretion, behaving in a certain manner. **Outcomes** are what happens, at least in part, as a consequence of police activities and behavior (e.g., changes in the crime rate, citizen fearfulness, and degree of satisfaction with police service). Both outputs and outcomes are often discussed as the results or products of policing, but it is important to remember that there is a difference between police activities and behavior (outputs) and the impact or consequence of that activity and behavior (outcomes).

Police goals and objectives can be developed for both outputs and outcomes. For example, a general output goal might be to improve the quality of police investigations (a police activity). A specific objective related to this goal might be to increase the number of criminal cases accepted for prosecution by 20 percent during the next year. An outcome goal might be to reduce the crime rate in the community. An objective related to this goal might be to decrease the number of robberies by 10 percent during the next year.

Efficiency is concerned with the relationship between resources and outputs. How much time and money were invested in the effort required to accomplish a specific output goal or objective? To become more efficient, an organization must accomplish output goals and objectives at a reduced cost in time or money (which is usually the same thing in police work) or obtain greater outputs or effectiveness at the same cost. **Effectiveness** is the degree to which goals or objectives are accomplished. To become more effective, an organization must have an increase in the number of goals and objectives accomplished or come closer to realizing them. It is important to remember that an organization can become more efficient without becoming more effective, and vice versa.

In policing, the concept of **productivity** is often used instead of either efficiency or effectiveness. However, productivity may also be used to characterize the relationship between police resources and outcomes. As noted previously, possible police outcome measures include the crime rate, citizen fear levels, and citizen attitudes. When productivity is determined based on outcomes, an improvement in any of these areas would mean that the organization is more productive, unless the resources invested were disproportionate given the outcomes achieved (e.g., a substantial increase in resources results in only marginal improvements).

The concepts of quantity and quality are also related to efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity. **Quantity** simply means the amount of something (e.g., arrests, traffic citations) expressed in numbers, percentages, rates, and so forth. **Quality** is more ambiguous and therefore more difficult to define. It is used here to mean an improvement over that which existed. For example, if citizen satisfaction increased as a result of a new approach to conducting



traffic stops, this would be an improvement in quality. Or quality would be improved if a new report form for certain types of criminal investigation resulted in the gathering of more useful information, or if officers could complete investigations more quickly without a decline in citizen satisfaction.

The **process** that determines police outputs includes selection and training of officers, organization design, managerial practices, leadership, and community expectations. Police managers have more influence over outputs than outcomes. Basically, all police outcomes are related to **attitudes** (e.g., citizens' fear levels and opinions of the police) and **behavior** (e.g., active citizen cooperation and crimes attempted and committed). Many variables outside police control influence both attitudes and behavior. When outcome goals and objectives are established without a substantial understanding of the relationship between a particular police activity (output) and results (outcome) obtained, any changes that occur may be misleading. And any outcome goals and objectives achieved may or may not be the result of police activities and the behavior of officers.

As more is learned about the output-outcome relationship, the police will become more effective in setting and achieving outcome goals and objectives. Managers, however, can make substantial changes in police outputs, particularly in relation to the activities and behavior of officers. Even if the police in a democracy, regardless of what they lawfully do, may not always be able to have a significant and sustained impact on crime, police employees can still be honest, competent, and responsible.

The Managerial Process

Managers in every organization perform four essential functions: organizing, leading, planning, and controlling. Although managers perform each function, the time involved in each one varies according to the manager's level in the organization. For instance, people at higher levels, such as an assistant chief, spend a greater proportion of their time in organizing and planning, while those at lower levels, such as sergeants, spend more time supervising, which is one aspect of leading and controlling. The time spent in various functions is also influenced by the size of the organization. In a small police department, a sergeant may function both as an assistant chief and as a supervisor. Each managerial function is briefly described in the following paragraphs, and the remainder of the book explores these functions in more detail.

Planning is often considered the first function of managers, because ideally all other functions must be planned. The authors believe, however, that organizing (i.e., making decisions about purpose, structure, job design, and allocation of resources) is the first step in managing any organized endeavor; whereas leading (motivating and guiding employees) is the second. Therefore, organizing has been placed first, leading second, and planning third. Nevertheless, the order in which functions are listed is not critical in understanding the processes involved.

Organizing is the process of arranging personnel and physical resources to carry out plans and accomplish goals and objectives. Organizational structure, job design, group working arrangements, and individual work assignments are subject to the organizing process. Although all managers are

involved in organizing, once again, the degree and scope differ, depending on their level within the organization. The patrol supervisor is more concerned with work assignments; the chief is more concerned with the structure of the organization and the overall distribution of personnel and physical resources.



Leading is motivating others to perform various tasks that will contribute to the accomplishment of goals and objectives. Motivating others is a difficult and complex process, especially in civil-service organizations where managers have less control over fiscal resources, such as base salaries and pay incentives, than in the private sector. How well a manager motivates employees to perform depends on the use of both extrinsic rewards, such as pay, promotion, and praise, and intrinsic rewards, such as job satisfaction and feelings of accomplishment. Intrinsic rewards are related to the nature and structure of the work performed, group processes, and managerial style.

Leading and **managing** are often used to mean the same thing, but they can be defined differently. Police leaders, particularly at the higher levels, are concerned with managing the relationship between the police and the community and other important organizations, such as government agencies. In this regard, leadership can mean more than engaging in the various managerial functions; it can also mean taking positions on important public issues, such as gun control, the drug problem, or the role of the police in a democratic society.

Planning is the process of preparing for the future by setting goals and objectives and developing courses of action for accomplishing them. The courses of action involve such activities as conducting research, identifying strategies and methods, developing policies and procedures, and formulating budgets. All managers engage in planning, but again the scope and nature of the activity differ considerably, depending on the managerial level within an organization. For instance, while a patrol supervisor may develop work schedules and operating activities for the upcoming week, a police chief may plan activities and changes for the upcoming year. In general, the higher the managerial level, the broader the scope of planning and the longer the time frame for the plans.

Controlling is the process by which managers determine how the quality of organizational systems and services can be improved, if goals and objectives are being accomplished, whether or not operations are consistent with plans, and if officers follow the policies and procedures of the organization. Efficiency, effectiveness, productivity, and both the concepts of quantity and quality are important in this phase of management. A manager's approach to controlling is strongly influenced by his or her perspective on dealing with individuals and performance problems. Does controlling mean to fix blame and punish, or is it to work with employees to analyze and solve problems?

If goals or objectives are not realized, or plans, policies, and procedures are not being followed, or there seems to be a qualitative problem with an organization's system or service, managers must determine why and take action. Controlling may be the most troublesome managerial function because it may be difficult to determine why a system, subsystem, or service is inadequate, why performance failures occur, and what to do to change and improve them. For example, police corruption and brutality continue to be serious performance problems, despite frequent attempts to determine their causes and correct them.



Public, Private, and Police Management

It is not uncommon for public organizations and their managers to be criticized for being inefficient and ineffective when compared with many private organizations. Although such criticism may be valid in some circumstances, the authors suggest that managing an organization that is responsible for such things as crime and justice, education, and social welfare is more difficult, complex, and controversial than managing an organization that makes cars or computers. In addition, many public organizations differ from private organizations in terms of their time perspective, performance measurement, personnel constraints, equity, and openness (Allison, 1983).

Because of the political nature of their jobs, many public managers tend to have a shorter time perspective; therefore, they may do less long-term planning than do managers in the private sector. Because there is generally greater diversity in the community's or client's expectations of public organizations, performance measures may be vague, that is, more qualitative (or intangible) than quantitative, in the absence of a clearly identified bottom line in terms of profits or market share. For instance, it is easier to measure the quality of an assembled car than the quality of justly administered laws.

Because in democratic societies public scrutiny of the behavior of government officials is part of the political process, public managers tend to operate with more constraints on personnel and policy. As a result of merit-based selection processes, affirmative action, civil-service rules, and the political interest in the welfare of public employees, these managers have less flexibility in terms of who is employed and how those employees are treated. Accordingly, there tends to be a greater concern for equity in the public sector, even beyond the ways in which employees are selected and treated. For example, does a public agency have a diverse work force that is representative of the community? Are resources distributed appropriately? Do policies and procedures result in disparate results; for example, are more blacks than whites injured by police?

Police organizations are not only different from private organizations but also from other public organizations in regard to conflicts inherent in the role of the police in a democratic society. Ideally, democratic governments exist to represent and serve citizens. Yet, the police provide services that many in the society do not want, such as a traffic ticket or an arrest, but cannot always avoid. Although citizens, in the abstract, may agree to be governed, in practice, they often resist government intervention. To be successful, a democratic government must be based on a consensus among the inhabitants of a society; but when that consensus fails, the police are often the initial representatives of government that respond.

Democracy is also associated with some degree of freedom. Although complete freedom is not allowed in any society, at least a democracy permits participation in deciding how and when individual freedom will be restricted; however, the policies of police organizations and the decisions of individual police officers do not always consider citizen input. Consequently, the exercise of police authority tends to reflect an authoritarian orientation in an otherwise "free" society. Police are a constant reminder that freedom is limited.

Another important consideration in a democracy is equality, yet the citizen and the police officer are not equals. The police officer has the power to compel the citizen to observe laws and ordinances. He or she may even use coercion, including deadly force in some situations, if necessary to secure citizen compliance (Berkeley, 1969: 1–5).



All these factors indicate why the opposite of a democratic state is often called a police state. Democracy represents consensus, freedom, participation, and equality, whereas the police represent restriction and the imposition of the authority of government on the individual. That is why the police in a democracy are often confronted with hostility, opposition, and criticism, no matter how efficient, effective, or equitable they may be.

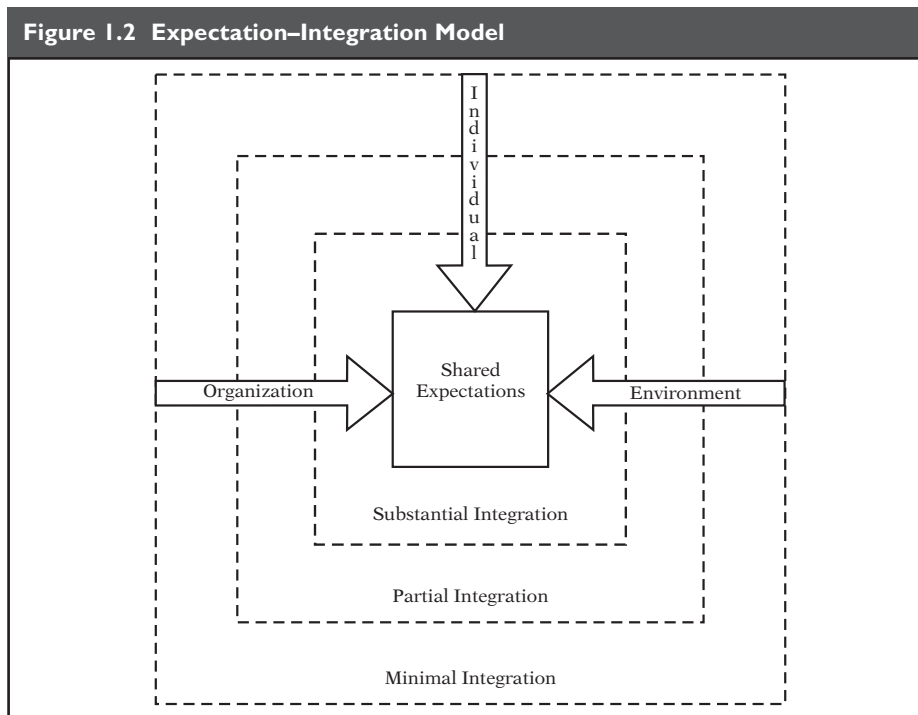
The tension between the police and a democratic society has resulted in an ongoing debate about the role of the police in the United States. This tension has resulted in a cycle of failure and reform that is probably inevitable. The police have periodically been perceived, by both the public and political leaders, to have failed in some significant way. Study of these failures results in recommendations for changes, some of which lead to other problems that eventually spawn yet another spate of reform. Community policing represents the latest solution for the appropriate place of police in democratic society. Eventually, a new approach or model will emerge, in part as a result of criticisms of community policing.

Attempts to manage the police-democratic conflict has resulted in the development of several police models (discussed in Chapter 3). Not only are these models concerned with the police-democratic conflict, they also include differing perspectives on how police organizations should be managed. In the abstract, managing is a generic process common to all organizations. In practice, managing is unique relative to environmental context, organizational culture, and the recurring problems addressed. In the next section, an Expectation-Integration Model is used to provide a framework to understand police management.

The Expectation-Integration Model

What should the police do and how should they do it? The answer to this question varies by time and place as expectations change concerning the police role in a democracy. Expectations are derived from the community, the police organization, and the individual employee. These are used in Figure 1.2 to depict an expectation-integration model, which indicates the degree to which expectations are shared and integrated. The greater the degree of integration, the fewer the managerial problems. However, even with a substantial degree of integration of expectations, there will be numerous organizational problems that require management's attention. Recurring types of problems, such as scheduling work, obtaining and allocating resources, evaluating personnel, and so on, are intrinsic to all organizational endeavors. As the degree of integration of expectations declines, these problems become more difficult for managers to cope with, because dissatisfaction among employees or a substantial segment of the community results in reduced cooperation, which leads to greater expenditure of the manager's time and energy. The resulting problems may become so time-consuming that more basic managerial endeavors, such as long-term planning or organizational change, may be

- ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ignored to the detriment of the vitality and productivity of the organization. Organizations that seem to be plagued by crisis management have given insufficient attention to the management of expectations.



Community Expectations

Community expectations of the police result from changing societal trends and problems (e.g., rapid growth in population, economic recession, drug or gang problems) and the legal framework in which police function. The term **community** also has different meanings—not only the legally incorporated area of a city or county but also individuals who live in the same area or neighborhood, work for the same organization, or share common concerns (e.g., members of an ethnic group or a particular religion). Each community is also made up of individual citizens, who can interact with a police officer in at least five ways: as a suspect (including recipients of a traffic ticket), a victim, a witness, a bystander, or a citizen interested in influencing police policies and practices. In each of these five roles, the individual's expectations of the police may differ; for example, a victim's expectations differ somewhat from those of a suspect.

Legal expectations of the police are derived from substantive and procedural criminal laws and legal requirements that have resulted from civil suits. These laws provide the basic framework within which the police are supposed to function. Laws are intended to be rational rules that structure the relationship between individuals and between the individual and government. The rule of law is crucial to effective policing in a democratic society. The significance of the rule of law to democracy and the police is described in a Royal Commission Report on the British police:

. . . Liberty does not depend, and never has depended, upon any particular form of police organization. It depends upon the supremacy of . . . the rule of law. The proper criterion (to determine if a police state exists) is whether the police are answerable to the law and ultimately, to a democratically elected [government]. (1962: 45)



Organizational Expectations

Organizational expectations come from both the formal and informal organization. **Formal expectations** are derived from leaders, supervisors, training programs, and organizational goals, objectives, policies, procedures, and regulations. The legal framework that is part of community expectations is incorporated into the expectations of individual officers. Organizational goals and objectives and policies and procedures are often influenced by community concerns. **Informal expectations** are derived from officers' peers and work groups. Officers are strongly influenced by their work experiences and the way they adjust to the emotional, psychological, intellectual, and physical demands of police work. Officers must attempt to do their job in a manner that is acceptable to both the police department and their peers; they must try not to be injured or killed or allow other officers or citizens to be injured or killed; and their conduct must not promote citizen complaints.

Individual Expectations

Police employees' **individual expectations** refer to their perspectives concerning the degree to which their needs are met by the organization and their working environment. All employees expect to be treated fairly and adequately rewarded. They usually develop strong opinions about how police work should be done; that is, what laws should be enforced, how they should be enforced, how to exercise their discretion, and so on. Each individual, with his or her needs and opinions, and the expectations of both the formal and informal organization combine to create an organizational culture in which basic values and attitudes about the police role, effective police strategies and methods, and appropriate behavior are determined.

Expectation Integration

Managers are concerned primarily with two expectation-integration issues: community and organization, and organization and individual. Both areas are discussed, including several of the more important expectation-integration problems.

Community-Organizational Expectations

Community expectations of police departments are usually concerned with one or more of the following: (1) how police officers behave toward individuals, (2) how officers exercise their discretion, (3) how police departments utilize their resources, (4) specific policies and procedures in sensitive areas like recruitment, promotion, use of force, and so on, and (5) the performance of the police in dramatic (often well-publicized) incidents (e.g., the Rodney

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ King beating). Unfortunately, many citizens are not aware of what the police actually do, and they often expect them to do things they cannot or should not do. In this regard, sharing their expectations with citizens is often an educational process for the citizens.

Where integration of expectations tends to break down is when the police view the sharing of expectations as limited to this educational process. Sharing should work both ways. Some individuals and communities have good ideas and real concerns about police activity and behavior. In police departments across the United States, some officers do things daily that they should not do, such as waste valuable time and engage in inappropriate activities. Often, community expectations or concerns, if listened to, can result in improved police performance. And the community may also have valuable information about how to solve problems and may be willing to get involved in the problem-solving process. Two of the most important problems in community-organization expectation integration are related to the output-outcome relationship and police behavior.

Output-Outcome Relationship

The *outcome goals* of policing include both attitudes and behavior, that is, to reduce crime and disorder while maintaining or improving citizen trust and support. Essentially, the output-outcome relationship is one of cause and effect. What causes individuals to commit crime and to have either positive or negative attitudes about the police?

Conceptually, there are at least four distinct police strategies based on one or more crime causation assumptions (or theories). The *law enforcement strategy* invokes the formal sanctions of government (i.e., stopping suspicious persons, enforcing truancy and curfew laws, issuing citations, conducting investigations and making arrests). The *presence strategy* involves the police being visible, or identifiable, in the community; that is, wearing uniforms, patrolling in marked vehicles, and so on. Both strategies are based on the assumption that offenders calculate the risk of being caught by the police before they act. The higher the perceived risk, the less likely that a crime will be committed. The resource allocation plan of a police department determines the “normal” level of presence, and both the organization and the officer determine the extent to which laws are enforced (i.e., discretion). Higher levels, or the intensification (also called an increase in dosage), of presence and law enforcement are periodically used by the police in high-crime areas (e.g., saturation tactics, crackdowns, aggressive policing, crime control policing); however, this combination of strategies may also have a negative affect on citizen attitudes toward the police because there is an increase in the frequency of police-citizen conflict.

For actual and potential victims of crime, the *education strategy* involves providing knowledge and skills that, if utilized, may reduce the likelihood that individuals will be victimized. Again, this strategy is based on the assumption that offenders compare the risk of being caught with the possible rewards of a successful crime. The more difficult the target (location or person), the greater the perceived risk.

Police departments may also engage in educational activities for prospective and actual offenders (e.g., drug and gang prevention programs). While part of this education process may include a discussion of morality, it almost always includes information about the possible consequences of

criminal behavior for both the offender and those they victimize. These consequences include not only those associated with the criminal justice system but also the shame and guilt offenders may feel if family members and friends learn of their behavior. Often, but not always, education programs for offenders come after involvement in the criminal justice system, and they may or may not involve the police.



When police engage in the fourth strategy, **community building**, they are attempting, along with members of the community, to enhance the informal social controls of that community. The police do this by attempting to involve residents in various activities (e.g., develop a community association, neighborhood cleanup projects) and recreational and social events (e.g., block parties, sporting activities). As community members become more active, they may become more concerned about area problems. If a sense of community develops, it may have a significant influence on the socialization process and the behavior of residents, who may become more watchful and concerned about their neighbors, whom they are less likely to betray or victimize. In addition, the increased interest of citizens enhances both the presence and law enforcement strategies. Citizens who observe and report crime and disorder are an important part of the policing process.

The community building strategy requires that both police officers and managers assume a leadership role in the community. Police officers become managers as they engage in planning, organizing, and controlling activities with citizens, and, at times, with other public and private organizations.

There are problems associated with each strategy, but perhaps most problematic is the “proactive, prediction, pretext, policing process” that may be part of the law enforcement strategy. Reactive police work is the result of a citizen request for police assistance. Being proactive refers to police-initiated citizen encounters (e.g., traffic stop). When using the law enforcement strategy, proactive police work requires that the police have either “probable cause” (to arrest or cite) or “reasonable suspicion” (to temporarily detain for investigation) that a crime or infraction has been committed. An officer may observe (e.g., officer observes the illegal act) or be provided information (e.g., a description of a suspect) that establishes the legal basis for the police intervention.

When police officers engage in proactive law enforcement, they do so because they believe they have evidence that a crime has been committed. Or, they use the law as a pretext to stop individuals they predict are most likely to be involved in criminal activity. In general, the purpose of the stop is to ask the “suspect” questions, run a records check, look inside the automobile (if one is involved) for possible contraband, and obtain consent to search the vehicle.

An officer’s decision to stop a “suspicious” person is based on a combination of variables that may include area (level of crime and disorder), time (of year, day, shift), appearance, number of persons, type of automobile (if one is involved), socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, age, gender, prior knowledge (what the officer may know about the person or persons), public concern about a particular problem, organizational and supervisory expectations, whether the police officer is in a specialized unit designed to respond to certain types of problems (e.g., a gang unit), peer group expectations (i.e., the police culture), and officer variables (e.g., age, education, race/ethnicity, experience).



This use of a legal pretext is a long-standing practice in policing that is sometimes referred to as “getting pc” (probable cause). More recently, the term **profiling** has been associated with this practice. A profile is a combination of variables (e.g., age, appearance, gender, race/ethnicity, area, police experience, and so on) that predict individuals who police target with respect to crime-related incidents. Some of the variables used by the police to predict who to stop are more controversial than others. For example, if profiling by the police is perceived to be based primarily, or substantially, on the race or ethnicity, or age or gender, or socioeconomic status of the person stopped, some members of the community become concerned. It is often difficult to determine the extent to which race/ethnicity, or any other democratically sensitive variable, is significant in police decision making and if its use is a result of organizational or personal bias.

This “aggressive” or “crime control” or “crackdown” or “saturation” type of policing, if done frequently enough, may be effective in obtaining substantial but not necessarily permanent, declines in the crime rate; however, it is also likely to result in more citizen resentment and an increase in complaints. This may be the most sensitive issue in managing the democratic-police conflict and in integrating organizational-community expectations. The chapters on police behavior and resource utilization discuss this area in more detail.

Police Behavior

What is a democratic policing style? That is, how should police officers behave when interacting with community members? And how and when should that behavior (or style) change? In police-citizen encounters with suspects, victims, and witnesses, the goal of the officer is to secure information and cooperation without, if possible, using coercive techniques (e.g., implicit and explicit threats, use of some type of nonlethal or lethal force). Based on the initial assessment (potential for difficulty or danger), the officer selects a style and changes, or escalates or deescalates, as the situation changes, that is, as the degree to which cooperation and information are secured.

Which persons and situations are potentially difficult or dangerous? What assumptions are made concerning the risk to officers based on the initial, and subsequent, assessment? If the police stop a “suspicious” person, at night, in a location with minimal visibility, and this person reaches into his or her pocket, retrieves an object and raises his/her hand toward the officer(s), what is the probability that the object is a gun? Is it reasonable for the police to assume that the object might be a gun and respond with deadly force? Or is it more reasonable for the police to assume it is not a gun, and select another alternative (e.g., possibly retreat until the situation is more clearly determined)?

What should the basic democratic policing style be? Friendly? Business-like? Forceful? If cooperation/information is not secured, what style should the officer adopt? And how quickly should the new style be adopted? In general, the range of possible police responses include explanations for police action, asking questions, persuading (reasoning, humor), issuing commands or orders, making verbal threats, some type of hands-on response, use of nonlethal weapons, and use of deadly force. Only a small percentage of police-citizen encounters move beyond the explanation and “asking questions” stage. But if they do, the most critical decision is related to the use of

some type of coercion (e.g., threats, force). While essential in some situations, the frequency of the use of coercion by the police is related to citizen attitudes toward the police. The more the police rely on coercive methods to secure information and cooperation, the more likely that citizens will question the legitimacy of the police and their activities. The selection and training of individuals who are both willing and capable relative to the use of coercion (including deadly force), yet are reluctant to do so, is a significant managerial challenge.



To what degree should police managers attempt to control basic style and escalation patterns? To what degree should it be left to the discretion of each officer? The organization attempts to influence style and escalation through training, policy, procedures, and supervision. The police culture is also important in this regard. Deciding when to rely on coercion to achieve goals and how to respond to difficult and dangerous persons is a critical management problem.

Another important subject is police discretion. Police officers exercise discretion when they have the ability to choose from courses of action or inaction (Davis, 1969). More narrowly, it refers to the variables that influence the decisions that police officers make (e.g., arrest, citation, use of force). The comments above about “profiling” suggest that there are a number of possible variables involved in the police decision-making process. The exercise of discretion is critical to managing the police-democratic conflict because it is closely related to the public perception of the extent to which the police engage in preferential treatment or discrimination. Ideally, in a democracy, only one’s actual behavior should be the basis for police action, but in reality there are many other variables that are influential (see profiling comments above). Both *preferential treatment* (e.g., officers not issuing traffic citations to other officers) and *discrimination* (e.g., the poor are more likely to be arrested than the rich) have been, and continue to be, serious problems in policing.

Limited resources and public expectations complicate the effective management of this problem. The police do not have the resources to enforce all laws, nor does the community want all laws enforced. And while citizens usually do not mind receiving preferential treatment, they often do not want it given to others. And no citizen wants to be discriminated against. In this regard, discrimination not only refers to the potential influence on discretion of sensitive variables like race and gender, it also refers to being selectively stopped, cited, or arrested. For example, when the police decide to enforce a law that is rarely enforced (e.g., “jaywalking”), those cited may believe that they are being discriminated against.

Organizational-Individual Expectations

As suggested earlier, in order to establish a high-quality work environment, the individual employee and the organization must strive to cooperate with and complement each other. In other words, what does each party expect from the other? Are their needs and goals similar? Do they feel comfortable with each other? What about the future? An initial sharing of expectations can greatly enhance this discovery process.



If an honest and trustworthy association between individual and organization can be fostered from the beginning, life within the organization is more likely to be rewarding and fulfilling. When the individual and the manager both strive toward the integration of expectations, relationships will improve as sources of discontent decrease because each knows what is expected of the other. Each party is then aware of the adjustments, the give and take, that are necessary for a mutually satisfying association. Simultaneously, many of the dysfunctions that can develop within organizations due to irresponsible or indifferent behavior by either party are diminished.

It may not be feasible to always obtain substantial integration of expectations, but each party should strive to reach this goal. In addition, it is crucial to understand that both conformity and deviance are found within organizations. A certain degree of conflict and deviancy is necessary and desirable for improvement to occur. Lengthy periods of quiet operation could be a sign of organizational stagnation or internal repression of legitimate concerns, which may lead to employee discontent. Continuous improvement in an organization is often the result of conflicting views about how things are currently done. In order to achieve integration of expectations, channels of communication must be opened, allowing for constructive input of deviant or contrary viewpoints. Managers may need to listen carefully to deviant individuals, because they may represent the cutting edge of organizational change.

Three of the most important issues in managing individual-organizational expectations are integrity, competence, and productivity. Each issue is introduced below and also addressed in other chapters.

Integrity

Integrity, or ***honesty***, in policing is determined by the various types of standards or guidelines that define appropriate and inappropriate behavior. These include a code of ethics; criminal law and procedure; organizational policies, procedures, rules, goals, and objectives; the values and norms of the police culture, and expectations of the community. Behavior not in accordance with these standards may be considered deviant or inappropriate. Of course, some types of deviant behavior (e.g., accepting payoffs) is more serious than others (e.g., using profanity). But the manager's responsibility is essentially the same if the manager believes a response is necessary. Who is involved? How often does it happen? When does it happen? What are the causes? How can the behavior be changed?

At times, standards are in conflict. The community may have unreasonable expectations concerning how the police should respond, or should have responded, to a person or problem (e.g., shoot to wound rather than to kill). There is also a recurring tension between ***ends versus means*** in policing. In some instances the police may decide that the ends or goal is so desirable (e.g., obtain a confession), they may utilize illegal means (e.g., psychological or physical coercion) to do so. At times both the community and the police culture value ends more than means.

Even the ethical code of conduct in policing may provide conflicting guidelines for the organization and the officer. Ethical frames of reference can be ***formalistic***; that is, demanding strict interpretation of the standards. Or a standard may be ***utilitarian***; that is, if the ends are "just," the means used are acceptable. Finally, what is and is not ethical can be considered from

a *relativistic* perspective; that is, right and wrong must be judged relative to the cultural context in which the behavior occurs.



Competency

Police competency includes task proficiency, problem-solving ability, and officer style. The competency of police officers can be determined generally (e.g., what all officers should know and be able to do) and specifically (e.g., what individuals in specialized positions (bomb expert, homicide investigator) should know and be able to do. Competency expectations of officers vary by law enforcement agency. Often there is a significant gap between the highly and minimally competent (and incompetent) officers. And the number of officers at each level also varies by agency. In some instances, a police organization may have so many officers who are incompetent, or minimally competent, that police performance is pervasively inept. Officers with significant competence problems are a waste of public resources and a threat to public safety. If a reliable and valid body of knowledge (and skills) is available that will reduce the amount of crime in a community, and a police department, or its officers, is unaware of that knowledge or is incapable of utilizing it, public officials, police organizations, and officers are professionally, if not civilly and criminally, negligent.

Productivity

Another persistent problem in police management is *productivity*; that is, the quality and quantity of the work performed. Like competency, there is often a wide range of acceptable productivity levels in police organizations. Many police departments have serious productivity problems because officers are not competent, not motivated, not effectively managed, and/or not engaged in activities that have the greatest potential to accomplish organizational goals and objectives.

The difference between a police department in which a substantial majority of officers are highly competent and productive, and one that has few, if any, of these types of officers, is substantial in terms of organizational effectiveness. As the level of competency and productivity declines in police organizations, the higher the victimization rate and the greater the degree of citizen dissatisfaction. And as noted above, just as incompetent officers are a waste of public resources and a threat to public safety, so are officers who are not as productive as they could be.

The Art and Science of Management

Is management an art or science or both? *Science* involves the systematic study of a subject leading to a general body of knowledge about the subject. There are different types of science. For instance, if we mean the exact sciences, such as chemistry and physics, then management cannot be considered a science. The research controls characteristic of the natural and physical sciences, in which experiments often take place in a laboratory setting, cannot be applied to the study of management and organizational behavior. This does not mean, however, that managers and researchers cannot conduct valuable research on organizational behavior. It does mean that when dealing with the complexity of organizational life, conducting research is more difficult, and therefore the results are not as exact. The inexact sciences, such



as psychology and sociology, have been used to systematically study organizational behavior and to develop general concepts and methods.

Art, as it relates to management, involves the systematic application of knowledge and skill in order to achieve an objective. The key word in this definition is application. Accordingly, managers must apply their knowledge and skills to the attainment of goals and objectives. In management, art and science complement each other. Although management has a well-developed scientific basis derived from the inexact sciences, the integrity, experience, intuition, wisdom, and judgment of each individual are also important. It is the wisdom and intuition of the experienced manager that determine how and when scientific data and analysis should be utilized.

Good police management is the blending of art and science in a continuous effort to arrive at a consensus, which may be temporary, among as many interested parties as possible concerning the activities and behavior of police, without alienating those who are not part of the consensus. In making this effort, managers should emphasize the importance of the rule of law, improve their understanding of how the police can become both more effective and more efficient, and strive to improve the quality of the services provided to employees and members of the community. No one said it was an easy job.

Summary

This text on police management is concerned with the scientific study of police organizations in order to improve performance quality and enhance employee satisfaction. Throughout the book, seven major themes provide a foundation for the study of police organizations and management.

Management is the process of working with people in a humane manner in order to achieve objectives and goals. The process of management—organizing, leading, planning, and controlling—provides a framework for the study of management. Such a study must also recognize the differences between private and public organizations. This distinction is particularly important for the study of police organizations, because they are not only substantially different from private businesses but somewhat different from other public organizations. A discussion of integration of expectations is used to explain some of the unique aspects of managing police departments. Two of the most important issues in integrating community and organizational expectations are the output-outcome relationship and police behavior. Three of the most important issues in integrating organizational and individual (employee) expectations are integrity, competency, and productivity.

Discussion Questions

1. Define the concepts of organization and management. How would you define them differently?
2. Discuss the seven major themes of the book.
3. Do you agree or disagree with the authors that integrity is the single most important factor in policing? Why or why not?

4. Discuss the concept of a clinical scientist and how that applies to police management.
5. Do you think police departments can become learning organizations? What do you think this would involve?
6. Discuss the managerial process, or functions, and what happens at each stage.
7. Explain the differences between outputs and outcomes and between efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity.
8. Do you think police managers should focus more on output or on outcome in policing? Which do you believe is more important? Explain your answer.
9. Define the four basic police strategies. Explain how you would use strategies to accomplish organizational goals.
10. When should the police rely on coercion to accomplish their goals?



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