

INNOVATION & SOCIAL CHANGE:
A REVIEW OF THE ALBANY POLICE DEPARTMENT
NEIGHBORHOOD POLICE CONCEPT

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to review the specific development of the concept of Neighborhood Policing by the Albany, New York, Department of Police and the process of change which led to the implementation of the concept. The concept of Neighborhood Policing and the process of change utilized by the Albany Police Department are discussed in relation to and closely aligned with the current sociological literature focusing on the police and social/organizational change.

Pervasive issues including the ambiguous role of the police, the tradition oriented and inflexible nature of the police organizational structure and the pernicious state of police-community relations are examined. The review of these factors within the context of social change clearly displays the need for change in the providing of police services within the urban environment.

In light of the resistance to change displayed by components of the Criminal Justice System, an analysis of the literature pertaining to planned change has been undertaken. This analysis identifies the key factors of the change process employed by the Albany Police Department and offers the reader a paradigm for change can be utilized by other urban law enforcement agencies if tailored to meet their specific social, environmental and organizational variables.

This paradigm for change led to the development and implementation of two Neighborhood Police Units by the Albany

Police Department. Designed to address the specific role and community relations problems experienced by the Albany Police embody the decentralization of the command structure and the adoption of a more generalized role. The less rigid teamlike organizational structure of the units permit the Neighborhood Officers to tailor their services to fit the specific needs of the area residents and have enabled them to foster improved police-community relations.

The results of three evaluative studies confirm the change in the role of the police and the fostering of improved police-community relations. Study results shows that the police and the citizenry hold more favorable attitudes toward each other and are more willing to cooperatively work together. In addition, the study results show that the police have become increasingly involved in an order maintenance/community service role within the neighborhood.

In conclusion, Neighborhood Policing is viewed as being a most important and innovative policing concept which has permitted the Albany Police Department to successfully address a number of social problems. The process for change which led to the implementation of the concept is viewed as being more important however, in that this process can lead to the development of additional innovative changes which will permit the department to continue to address the changing need, of a rapidly evolving urban environment.

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CHAPTER ONE

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted that the previous decade has produced a period of social change the degree of which has never before been witnessed in the United States (See *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, 1967). During this period of change, crime rates spiraled at an unparalleled rate drawing the police into situations which they had previously not encountered. The Commission stated that the components of the Criminal Justice System may have felt the influence of society's changing mood to a greater degree than any other governmental function.

THE NEED FOR CHANGE

The police, as the first component of the Criminal Justice System, has felt the effects of societal change. An increasingly diversified and transient society coupled with a more rapid pace of life have eroded the effectiveness of the police and publicly challenged the status, role and efficiency of the police (Cf., Whisenand and Ferguson, 1973: 413). Urban riots, campus disorders and the steadily increasing crime rate have shown the police to be less effective than previously perceived (Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968).

The social disorders of the 1960's exposed the need for change and police reform. The traditional police role

does not appear to fit the needs of a pluralistic and rapidly changing society. Compounding the issue are the organizational structure and operational policies of the police, which are viewed as being overly steeped in tradition, excessively rigid, and outmoded. The inability of the urban police department to effectively maintain order while engendering community support and cooperation during an era of social change clearly displayed the need for change in the law enforcement.

NEIGHBORHOOD POLICING

Addressing this issue, this report focuses on the process of change developed and utilized by the Albany, New York, Department of Police and the concept of Neighborhood Policing as a product of this change process. Neighborhood Policing is but one example, and perhaps an important one, of the changes which are occurring in the realm of law enforcement in the United States.

Several urban police departments, in addition to the Albany Police Department are experimenting with specific adaptations of the Neighborhood Team Police Concept. These vary widely in the nature of their organizational structure, operational policies and stated objectives (See Sherman, Hilton & Kelly, 1973). In view of the great degree of latitude contained within the concept of Neighborhood Team Policing and in view of the need to tailor the change process in accordance with the existing social, environmental and organizational factors which pervade and encompass the

police organization, the focus of this report has been limited to the development of the Albany Police Department, Neighborhood Police Units.

Neighborhood Team Policing is an important product of a change process in that it addresses many issues which presently confront the police. The process of change, however, which has led to the development of the Neighborhood Concept may have greater significance than an operational unit created to meet a manifest need in that the continued application and utilization of the process will better prepare the police to meet the demands dictated by future social change (See Whisenand and Ferguson, 1973: 413).

The concept of Neighborhood Police embodies the modification of the traditional approach utilized by the police in providing law enforcement services within the urban community. Encompassing a decentralization of the police organizational structure and adoption of the generalist approach (See Sherman, Hilton & Kelly, 1973: 3-7). Neighborhood Team Policing represents an attempt on the part of the police departments to provide an innovative and flexible law enforcement service which is more relevant to the salient social issues and changing needs of the community.

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Neighborhood Policing as a product of a social/organizational change process is based upon and addresses many of the current issues which are discussed in police-oriented sociological literature. These basic issues which include

organizational rigidity, police-community relations and the role of the police are identified and discussed in Chapter Two. They serve as a foundation on which the specific issues faced by the Albany Police Department are based.

The sociological literature pertaining to police alludes to the need for comprehensive change, however a specific process of change is not described in detail. The literature suggests that each organization must develop its own unique change process based upon the manipulation of a number of intervening social, organizational and environmental variables. Coupled with a review of the literature, pertaining to special and organizational change, the salient aspects of the change process and plan of implementation developed and utilized by the Albany Police Department are presented in Chapter Three. It is believed that this plan or approach to change can be utilized by other police agencies if adapted to meet the specific organizational and environmental factors which characterize the agency.

THE ALBANY NEIGHBORHOOD POLICE MODEL

The change process employed by the Department resulted in the implementation of two Neighborhood Police Units within the organizational structure of the Albany Police Department. This conceptual model of Neighborhood Policing implemented by the Department is presented in Chapter Four. Components contained in the model are designed to address the social issues discussed in the literature. More specifically,

however, the components address the specific social problems and issues encountered by the Albany Police Department. This paradigm, when compared to the traditional conceptual model of the police role and organizational structure, displays the potential utility of Neighborhood Policing for other urban departments.

In view of the fact that the Albany Program is less than four years old, limited evaluative research is presently available. However, the results of those evaluation studies which have been completed are presented in Chapter Five. They provide a picture of the current state of the program's development and serve as a basis for determining future direction.

SUMMARY

The Neighborhood Policing model developed by the Albany Police Department and the change process utilized in the implementation of the concept is the focus of this report. The conceptual model developed by the Department and the change process employed during the developmental phase of the Neighborhood Policing Program are based upon current sociological literature which focuses on policing and social or organizational change.

The foundation of the report rests on the application of sociological research in the restructuring of the Albany, New York, Police Department. Limited in scope to one unique experimental program, the report provides a basic paradigm which may be adapted to fit the needs of other law enforcement agencies.

CHAPTER TWO

Current sociological literature which focuses on social change, the urban environment and the police identifies several generalized issues which appear to impede the effective functioning of the police. The issues addressed by the literature include the ambiguous role of the police, the tradition oriented inflexible nature of the police organizational structure and the deteriorating state of police-community relations.

These broad and basic issues which currently pervade the police world, assume a greater significance when viewed within the context of a pluralistic and rapidly changing society currently plagued by numerous, complex social problems. Viewed collectively, these basic societal changes and social problems have created an environment which limits the effectiveness of the police.

The increased mobility of today's society exemplifies a social force and state of change which has effected the police. Innovations in transportation technology and an increased degree of occupational mobility have greatly enhanced the individual's opportunity to geographically relocate. Neighborhoods and communities in general appear to be in a state of flux. Such population migration patterns increase the diversified needs which the police are called upon to meet and impede the establishment of a deeply rooted rapport between citizenry and police.

Changing attitudes and life styles regarding the role and structure of the family have also affected the police. Today's familial unit appears to be more loosely structured and more tolerant of individual freedom and independence. In particular, this social evolution has greatly effected society's youth (See Task Force Report, Juvenile Delinquency, 1967). Child rearing practices formally viewed as being the responsibility of the family are now addressed and fulfilled by a myriad of institutions including the education and criminal justice system.

More specifically, social changes occurring within the urban environment have impinged on the police. The migration of minority groups to the central city and the intensifying of racial conflict have added additional responsibilities to the already complex function of the police.

The lack of employment opportunities for the undereducated, and poverty, have served to concentrate disgruntled population segments into decayed and blighted slums. Social problems including juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, and family disorganization characterize the life style of these urban ghettos.

Social action programs and social service agencies appear to be unable to cope with the problems of the urban environment. Urban renewal programs which have had a limited cosmetic effect on changing the physical structure of the inner city core have not affected the pervasive and degrading life style.

It is within the context of a social problem approach that many social scientists have attempted to study the police. The social forces and problems which have changed the character of the city require compensatory changes within the realm of the police. These basic changes center about the role of the police, the organizational structure and operational policies of the police and the nature of police-community relations.

I. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

Traditionally the mission of the police has narrowly focused on the:

- Prevention of criminality.
- Repression of crime.
- Apprehension of offenders.
- Recovery of property.
- Regulation of non criminal conduct.
- Performance of miscellaneous services (Cf., Eastman and Eastman, Ed. 1973: 3-4; Patrick, Ed. 1972: 4; American Bar Association, 1972: 36-42).

An analysis of the elements of the traditional role of the police shows that it primarily emphasizes and focuses on the law enforcement functions of the police (See Whisenand and Ferguson, 1973: 4). This limited approach is endorsed and supported by the method in which the police justify their effectiveness, the internal reward system of the police bureaucracy, the direction of police training

programs and the inability or unwillingness of society to more realistically define the responsibilities of the police.

CRIME STATISTICS AS A MEASURE OF POLICE PRODUCTIVITY

The restrictive nature and narrow focus of the police role on crime-related matters and the apprehension of criminals is viewed as a necessity by the police bureaucracy. It is one of the few activities engaged in by the police which provides clear statistics descriptive of police effectiveness (Reiss, 1971: 91; Neiderhoffer, 1968: 14). "Police departments have to produce visible results of their work. The most visible results are arrested persons who keep the courts busy" (Bittner, 1970: 55).

The pressure to produce visible results felt by the police bureaucracy also affects the individual police officer and the role he plays in the community. In view of the fact that the crime suppression statistics generated by the department are based upon arrests made by individual police officers, the effectiveness of the individual officer is measured by his arrest rate. The pressure to focus on crime-related matters is thus transferred from the bureaucratic structure of the police organization to the individual police officer (See Skolnick, 1967: 164-181).

POLICE TRAINING PROGRAMS

Police training programs introduce the individual police officer to the narrowly defined crime-related role of the

police at the beginning of his career. A review of the academy curriculums shows that they primarily focus on the application of the criminal law and departmental policies and procedures, producing crime oriented police bureaucrats (See McNamara in Bordua, Ed., 1967: 251).

INTERNAL REWARD SYSTEM

The internal reward system of the police also supports the limited crime control role of the police. After graduation from the basic academy, police personnel quickly realize that individual recognition and reward within the police bureaucracy are based upon their arrest records and their effectiveness in handling crime-related matters (See Task Force Report: Police, 1967: 20; Wilson, 1968: 16).

This narrowly based internal reward system is necessitated by a lack of guidelines and performance standards relating to other, more ambiguous, aspects of the police function. Police supervisors have no criteria with which they can measure the performance of an officer other than the officer's arrest rate and his conformity to internal organizational policy (See Bittner, 1970: 54-56).

THE PUBLIC SERVICE & ORDER MAINTENANCE ROLE OF THE POLICE

Realistically, however, the role of the police encompasses many additional duties extending far beyond those related to the control of crime. Typically, the police officer assigned to patrol duties in the urban environment deals with, at most, a few serious crimes during the course of his tour. He

tends to view these instances as constituting real police work, but spends considerably more time keeping order, settling disputes and performing public service functions.

These order maintenance and public service functions are generally viewed as being part of the prevention and protection role of the police. Examples of these functions include the initiation of programs designed to reduce racial tension, the handling of domestic disputes, the implementation of educational programs designed to promote crime prevention and the initiation of actions which will protect and remove from the streets the publicly intoxicated and the mentally ill (See Wilson, 1968: 412-415).

When coupled with the crime fighting responsibilities, the order maintenance and public service functions of the police serve to create an occupational environment characterized by conflicting roles and demands. Both the individual police officer and the police community as a whole find the inconsistent expectations and public reactions cause inner conflict both within the individual officer and the police organization. Organizational, manpower, financial and legal limitations prevent the police from affectively meeting all of the demands and expectations placed on them by the public.

Such inadequacies become particularly evident for the officer who is assigned to patrol the densely populated, highly diversified urban environment. His over identification with the crime control role, limited training and desire for personal recognition causes him to offer "peremptory

solutions for complex human problems" (Bittner, 1970: 12).

The rigid orientation to crime-related activities dictated by the police structure's interpretation of the traditional police role when coupled with the reality of the order-maintenance public service functions of the police has had a profound affect on the individual policeman. He appears to suffer from a symptom which Neiderhoffer has termed "reality shock" (Neiderhoffer, 1968: 239).

Reality shock sets in when the police officer realizes that he is ill prepared to meet the diverse needs of the community. This realization often results in the generation of a high degree of cynicism and anomie among policemen (See Neiderhoffer, 1968: 95-108).

II. AFFECTS OF THE CLASSICAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POLICE

The ambiguity and conflict which pervades the police role and which affects the individual officer is compounded by the semi-militaristic nature of the police organizational structure. Police Departments in the United States are organized as classical, hierarchial bureaucracies modeled after the military (Myren, 1972: 720). The role, organizational structure, and operational policies of the departments appear to reflect the philosophy of policing promulgated by Sir Robert Peel in the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 (See Lyman, 1964: 141-145; and Angell, 1971: 185).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASSICAL BUREAUCRACY

Reflecting the influence of classical organizational

theory, Police Departments appear to be characterized by a high degree of impersonalization and authoritarianism. Other characteristics of classical theory which are reflected in the organizational structure and operational policies of the police are: The proliferation of a centralized hierarchy of authority; a division of labor along lines of functional specialization; the promulgation of standardized operational procedures; the adoption of a monocratic system of routinized superior-subordinate relationships, and a general orientation toward the rational and efficient implementation of organizational goals (See Angell, 1971: 185-205; Eisestadt, 1969: 495-497; and Etzioni, 1964: 3).

SPECIALIZATION

Police departments have proceeded through transitional growth phases characterized by the increased specialization and formalization of role and organizational structure. Examples of this development include the formation of community relations units and narcotics enforcement units. Having narrowly defined duties they are specialized outgrowths of existing function areas which were previously the responsibility of the patrol function. Pursuant to the implementation of these units, roles and relationships of the units and the officers assigned to the units became routinized and formally defined.

The standardization and adoption of unwritten rules and procedures has increased the rigidity of the formal

structure. Often representing the informal, unrecorded norms, they assume and play a most important role in maintaining the rigid organizational structure characteristic of the classical theory (See Gardner, 1965: 44-45).

Police departments appear to have proceeded through a settling process based upon the principles of organizational promulgated by the classical theorists. The continued refinement of policies and procedures in an effort to make them more orderly, efficient, and systematic has also rendered them less flexible and innovative. The highly formalized, paramilitary organizational structure allows for little deviation from policy and procedure on either an external or internal basis.

EFFECTS OF CLASSICAL THEORY

The adoption of the classically oriented paramilitary structure by the police is viewed by many as being a key to the myriad of issues which currently surround and cloud the organizational structure and role of the police. Paul Whisenand notes that the rigid adoption of the principle of the classical theorists has led to a rise in the disruptive social forces which plague the police. He surmises that "the classical theorists inadvertently gave rise to the following conditions which remain with us today":

" 'One-best-way' to organizing.

Rigidity of structural arrangements.

Poor citizen representation.

Over centralization of responsibility.

Triumph of procedure over purpose, people, and process.

Goal displacement.

Role conflict.

Job non-enrichment.

Unity of authority.

Limited sphere of interest" (Whisenand, 1973: 7).

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice noted that many large police departments, in following the dictates of the classical theorists have become organizationally fragmented and overspecialized (See Task Force Report, *the Police*, 1967: 53). Donald Norris in his treatise on Police Community Relations states that the police have had to specialize "in order to cope with a society that has become increasingly complex" (See Norris, 1973: 4). This high degree of specialization has led to a factoring of organizational goals into numerous subgoals. This factoring process leads to the proliferation of subunits within the organization which increases the potential for misunderstanding and conflict within the organization, causes increased isolation within the organization, and imperils the development of a mutually cooperative rapport between the department and the community it serves (See Norris, 1973: 4-5; also Skolnick, 1966: 49-51). G. Douglas Gourley surmises that the specialized units tend to operate independently and lose sight of the objectives of the police task as a whole. He concludes "The majority of police agencies

continue to function according to the archaic patterns established generations ago" (Gourley, 1970: 7).

The classical organizational model also effects internal and external organizational relationships. The rigid, paramilitary police structure creates a sense of demoralization and powerlessness at the lower ranks. It also nourishes cynicism within the rank and file which results in the development of a we-they feeling between administrative and operational personnel. In addition the structure serves to block change, stifle innovation, under utilize the human resources of the department and produce inhouse conflict and frustration which has a negative impact on police-community relations (See Sandler and Mintz, 1974: 458-459).

John Angell (1971: 185-188) has examined the organizational structure of today's urban police department and noted the paralyzing effect which the adoption of the dictates of classical organizational theory has had on police functioning. He notes that the adoption of the classical philosophy renders the police culture bound and promotes management attitudes inconsistent with the humanistic democratic values of the United States. More importantly, Angell notes that the classical organization stifles individual initiative on the part of the employees and directs the organization to a state in which it is unable to cope with the environmental chance which surrounds it.

III. POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The inherent problems which characterize the police organizational structure also affect the nature and status of police relationships with the community. The continued development and refinement of the police organizational structure which is primarily viewed as a means of improving police effectiveness has also affected the nature of police community relations. Concomitant with the increased specialization of varying functions within the police organizational structure is the rise of police professionalism.

PROFESSIONALISM

This rising professionalism results from the accumulation of knowledge and the development of expertise within specialization. Coupled with the increased utilization of technology, the push for professionalism has resulted in the proliferation of highly qualified technical specialists who consider themselves to be more advanced and of a higher status than the traditional beat or patrol officer (See Neiderhoffer, 1968: 16-21; Norris, 1973: 5-7).

More importantly professionalism has affected police-community relations. The professional ethic ascribe to by many police personnel narrowly focuses on the law enforcement role of the police and implies that the police limit the sphere of their interaction with the community to law enforcement matters. Suggesting total impartiality, organizational efficiency and limited police-community interaction,

the push to professionalize the police may greatly impede the fostering of improved police-community relations.

IMPORTANCE OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement states that the need to improve police-community relations is critical in the urban environment and that "police-community relationships have a direct bearing on the character of life in our cities, and on the community's ability to maintain stability and to solve its problems" (Task Force Report, The Police: 1967: 144). The report further notes that when the police and the public are at odds, the police tend to become isolated from the public and less capable of understanding and adapting to the community and its changing needs.

EFFECT ON THE POLICE ORGANIZATION AND POLICE OPERATIONS

The nature of police-community relations directly affects the police organization. Adverse community relations interferes with the recruitment of personnel and affects the morale of police officers making them less enthusiastic about doing their jobs. In addition a dissatisfied public will not support the financial needs of the police effecting police salaries, building programs and the acquisition of needed equipment (See Task Force Report, The Police: 1967: 144).

Police-community relations also directly affects the ability of the police to prevent and control crime. A

community which is hostile toward its police is less likely to report crimes, to volunteer information or to testify as witnesses in court. These issues at times cause the police to use unnecessary force and act in a less judicious manner in their efforts to accomplish their goals of crime prevention and control (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 144-145).

ATTITUDES OF THE POLICE

Police attitudes toward the public and the community's attitude toward the police appear to be a basic factor in analyzing police-community relations. These attitudes assume increased importance in determining the nature of police work in the urban ghetto in that the police are more intricately involved with the ghetto resident due to the pervasive crime rate and social problems which characterize the ghetto living (See Reiss, 1972: 63).

In general, the police believe that teenagers, blacks and lower income persons are involved in and commit a disproportionate share of all reported crimes (See Wilson, 1968: 40-41). He sees them as lacking in morality and political influence, ready to commit a crime and ignorant of the law (See Westley, 1970: 99).

In view of these beliefs, the police feel that by utilizing an increased amount of force, they will elicit increased respect and cooperation from the slum dweller. He feels superior to this segment of the public, wants them to

recognize this superiority, and believes that this superiority can be based on fear (See Westley, 1970: 99).

The police also feel that they are hated by the public. This feeling is substantiated by the uncooperative attitude which the police feel the public displays by the lack of public support and by numerous and unrealistic demands which the public places on the police (See Westley, 1970: 106-107; Reiss, 1971: 45-60).

ATTITUDES OF THE PUBLIC

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement found that "contrary to the belief of many policemen, the overwhelming majority of the public has a high opinion of the work of the police" (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 145). However, this generalized statement does not hold true when viewed from the perspective of the ghetto resident or minority group member. The Commission reports that "Negroes are significantly more negative than whites in evaluating police effectiveness" (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 146). Common complaints about the police focused on the language, and degree of force utilized by the police. Minority group members expressed a more hostile attitude toward the police and for the most part regarded the police as the enemy (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 147).

The analysis of the ambiguous role of the police, the police organizational structure and the state of police-community relations suggest that there are a number of

serious issues which impede the police in their efforts to effectively serve the community. Many of these issues are summarily identified by James Q. Wilson in his analysis of the Albany Police Department.

THE ALBANY POLICE DEPARTMENT

The Albany Police Department was one of eight police departments reviewed and reported on by James Q. Wilson in his book entitled Varieties of Police Behavior. Wilson noted that the Albany Police Department displayed and employed a police philosophy and methodology characteristic of the watchman style, a style of policing which is descriptive of 19th century American Law Enforcement (See Wilson, 1968: 140-141).

The watchman style is characterized by the idea that order maintenance supersedes the control of crime as the primary function of the police, and by a departmental attitude in which "the patrolman is allowed - and even encouraged - to follow the path of least resistance in carrying out his daily routine assignments" (Wilson, 1968: 144). Wilson goes on to characterize the watchman style department as being one which "is as interested in avoiding trouble as in minding its own business" (Wilson, 1968: 148).

Wilson noted that the officers of a watchmanlike department are recruited from the local working class, are poorly paid, receive inadequate supervision, and have a minimum of formal training with no encouragement to take additional training. He notes that little emphasis is placed on neat-

ness and courtesy or manner', and that officers do not antagonize the respectable elements of the city (See Wilson, 1968: 140-156).

Focusing on the role of the police in the ghetto and police-minority group relations, Wilson reveals that officers of a watchmanlike department view minority group persons as wanting and deserving "less law enforcement, because to the police their conduct suggests a low level of public and private morality, an unwillingness to cooperate with the police or offer information and widespread criminality" (Wilson, 1968: 141). He noted that the Albany Police did not frequently or formally intervene in negro neighborhoods, but that when they did the residents complained of police brutality (See Wilson, 1968: 161 and 168).

NEED FOR CHANGE

The literature clearly displays the need for change. Previous change efforts which have attempted to more finitely define the role of the police or develop the organizational structure of the police have not been successful. They have not addressed the complex issues involved in the fostering of improved police-community relations nor have they resolved the problems of organizational rigidity and role ambiguity which continue to pervade policing.

The International City Managers Association noted that "Even though there is considerable knowledge about police organization, insufficient experimentation and reassessment

of traditional principles is taking place in police service today. In general, too many police departments appear unwilling to abandon outmoded concepts to work in close collaboration with community agencies (especially social service agencies), or to encourage personnel to show initiative or offer suggestions. This prevailing attitude must change if the police are to meet the changing conditions of police service" (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 48).

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice in their review of the fragmentation and overspecialization of urban police bureaucracies emphasized that "Police Departments should commence experimentation with a policing concept that envisions those with patrol and investigative duties combined under a unified command with flexible assignments to deal with the crime problems in a defined sector" (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 53). They described this change as "Team Policing" and perceived that it would improve the quality of police personnel and police field work (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 53). The Commission also recommends that the police become more involved with the community and with the providing of community services (See Task Force Report, The Police, 1967: 162).

These recommendations embody the realization that the institution of policing must change if it is to meet the needs of both the persons it employs and the persons who are the recipients of its services. The recommendations involve both

the need to bring about organizational change for the purpose of enriching the role of the police officer and for the purpose of providing a responsive service relevant to the needs of the population.

The recommendations suggest that the needed changes are comprehensive in nature. They involve the adoption of a broader "order maintenance" role for the police, the decentralization of the police organizational structure and the establishment of neighborhood oriented police service units. Additionally these changes require the reorientation of the police reward system, the re-focusing of police training programs and the development of police services based upon an analysis of community needs.

The comprehensive nature of change needed in policing when viewed in the context of the current status of the police role, organizational structure and police relationships with the community indicates that the ability of the police to change is a major issue. James W. Doig, editor of the Police in a Democratic Society, has written: "To identify a reasonable proposal for innovation is one thing; to implement it is quite another. Like most bureaucracies, police organizations are largely composed of members who prefer to maintain familiar habits of thought and practice in the face of demands for change. In fact, the police in the United States may be more resistant to innovation than most other organizations, because of the fragmentation of policing into separate local departments, closed systems of

recruitment and promotion and an unusual degree of general isolation from the broader public" (Doig, 1968: 396; also see Bennis, 1966; Wilson, 1968).

CHAPTER THREE

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

In light of the highly traditional, rigid organizational structure of the police bureaucracy, the bringing about of organizational change entails the development of a complex process of problem identification and solution development. This comprehensive change process has not been fully explored nor has it come easily to the police in the past (See National Advisory Commission, Criminal Justice System, 1973: 207-214).

THE PROCESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The literature suggests that innovation and change are a highly complex process consisting of concepts, systems and skills. The process of change is viewed as a philosophy, science or administrative strategy designed to identify, develop, mobilize, and coordinate, in a comprehensive manner, a variety of organizational resources and components, social forces, and community services (See LaPierre, 1965: 107 and National Advisory Commission, Criminal Justice System, 1973: 207).

Viewed as a process, change requires the meshing of social, operational, organizational, and technical structures within the agency. It requires a fracturing of some change resistant traditions within a continuing process of problem assessment, solution development, and implementation (See National Advisory Commission, Criminal Justice System, 1973: 207).

In addition, the literature indicates that "innovations in organizations are often very crude to begin with and must go through a longer period of development and refinement . . . Few innovations are perfected at their inception; most, sometimes even the simplest of new mechanical devices, must go through a more or less prolonged period of development before they become established elements in the social system. During this development the innovation is refined, and ordinarily increased; and often the developed innovation bears little structural resemblance to the original" (See LaPierre, 1965: 109-110).

PLANNED CHANGE

Planned change, Bennis, Benne & Chin write, "can be viewed as a linkage between theory and practice and between knowledge and action" (1965: 65). The methods used in planned change serve to convert the knowledge of relevant variables into strategic instrumentation and program.

"Planned change is a method which employs social technology to solve the problems of society. The method encompasses the application of systematic and appropriate knowledge to human affairs for the purpose of creating intelligent action and choices" (Bennis, 1966: 81).

STRATEGIES OF CHANGE

Three basic strategies of change exist within the parameters of planned change. They offer a more technical approach to change and to a degree acknowledge the role of

the social sciences in the development and implementation of change. The three strategies display an evolutionary shift from the traditional ideological view of the change process to one in which the behavioral scientist is involved in "how to plan particular changes in particular settings and situations" (See Bennis, Benne & Chin, 1961: 28-32).

An element common to all of the following strategies is the conscious utilization and application of knowledge. Knowledge is viewed as an instrument or tool utilized in the modification of patterns and institutions of practice (See Bennis, Benne & Chin, 1961: 33).

The empirical-rational strategy is based upon the fundamental assumption that men are rational and that they will follow their rational self-interest once it has been revealed to them. It assumes that man is guided by reason and that he will adopt a proposed change if it has been or can be rationally justified.

Education is viewed as the primary means for disseminating the knowledge upon which the rational judgment is based. The dissemination of knowledge through the process of education is viewed as a key factor in reducing the limiting affects of ignorance and superstition and in creating an environment receptive to change.

Acknowledging the intelligence and rationality of man, proponents of the Normative-Re-educative Strategy believe that change will be brought about by and occur through a re-orientation of values, attitudes, human patterns and

relationships. The normative re-educative strategies do not rest upon a change in knowledge or intellectual rational. They suggest that change will occur only when the persons involved in the change are made to change their normative orientations to old patterns and develop a commitment to new ones (See Bennis, Benne & Chin, 1961: 34-35).

The third is labeled the Power Coercive Approach to Change. This approach identifies power as the key factor in the development of change. Change is accepted by those holding a lesser degree of power in relation to the plans, directives and leadership of those possessing a greater degree of power. Compliance with the goals of change is achieved due to the influence and power of the leader of the group or organization (See Bennis, Benne & Chin, 1961: 52-57).

NEED FOR A THEORY OF CHANGING

The strategies of organizational change fail to provide a clear concise plan for changing. "A deficiency in the existing theories of social change in the various disciplines of social science is that they tend to be weak in describing and explaining the variables of the system which are subject to manipulation through intervention" (See Peter, 1966: 292).

"The theories are silent on matters pertaining to directing and implementing change. They are theories suitable only for observers of social change, not for participants in or practitioners of social change. They are theories of

change and not theories of changing" (See Bennis, 1966: 99).

ELEMENTS OF THE CHANGE PROCESS

Although the strategies of change fail to provide a concise plan which will guide the implementation of change, they identify a number of important elements which serve as a basic framework for the change process. The change strategies suggest that organizational flexibility and continuing involvement are the important elements of a changing process. Flexibility facilitates the collection of inputs from varying parties and interest groups either directly included in or effected by the change process. This flexibility and continuing involvement allows for the assimilation of intervening variables as they arise (See Igleburger, Angell and Pence, 1973: 76-114).

The desired degree of organizational flexibility is achieved by opening the organization and allowing for participation in the planning and implementation phases of the change process. This opening process necessitates the continued communication of program goals and objectives, the unfreezing of traditional values and perceptions and the acceptance of feedback by those persons directing the change.

Specific elements of the change process include:

- (1) The recognition of need.
- (2) The assessment of specific problems.
- (3) The communication of findings and the analysis

of feedback.

- (4) The development of solutions and the communication of concepts.
- (5) The analysis of alternatives.
- (6) The implementation of program concepts.
- (7) The evaluation of program concepts.
- (8) The continued development of alternatives and the making of program adjustments (See Igleburger, Angell and Pense, 1973; Evan & Black, 1967).

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CHANGE

The specific steps of the change process serve as a basic model for change with the implementation of the change being realized at step six. However, the literature reveals that the actual process of implementation is the most critical phase of the change process. It is a transitional phase in which plans and concepts are transformed into factual reality and intermeshed with existing organizational and environmental factors.

Although no exact formula has been developed which directs the implementation of organizational change, the literature suggests that the following factors are of critical importance:

- (1) The recipients of the change and the persons who will experience actual involvement in the change process must have a greater understanding of the change and its consequences as possible.
- (2) The recipients of the change and the personnel

who will experience actual involvement in the change process must have a greater influence in determining the nature of the change and in directing the implementation of the change as is possible.

- (3) The change effort should be perceived by the persons involved as being self-motivated and voluntary.
- (4) The change program must contain emotional as well as cognitive value for the persons effected by and taking part in the change (Bennis, Benne & Chin, 1965: 77-78; Peter, 1966: 311).

A DESCRIPTIVE REVIEW OF THE CHANGE PROCESS UTILIZED BY THE ALBANY POLICE DEPARTMENT

The literature, focusing on social and organizational change, identifies a number of factors which guide the planning and implementation phases of the change process. As indicated however, a theory or plan for change is not available. The literature suggests that each organization adopt a unique plan for change consistent with the organizational and environmental conditions which encompass the organization.

In light of this suggestion, the Albany Police Department developed a plan for change. It is based on the utilization of a participative planning technique and the opening of the department for increased organizational flexibility.

PARTICIPATIVE PLANNING

The planning phase of the change process focused on the identification of specific problems facing the department and the desired goals of the department. It was characterized by the active participation of both community residents and departmental members.

The involvement of community residents served to sensitize the police to the needs and life styles of the community and provided an initial constructive environment in which the police and the residents could meet and work together on a first name basis. Conversely the community's involvement enabled the residents to attain a clearer view of the role of the police, the concerns of the department and the operational procedures and limitations of the department. This participation was also instrumental in the development of a social and organizational environment which was receptive to the future changes.

TASK FORCE APPROACH TO PLANNING

Since it was impossible to include every officer in the planning process, a task force approach was utilized. Representing both administrative and operational personnel, the task force was characterized by flexible, open minded personnel who commanded a comprehensive overview of the department and the problems faced by the department. Utilization of the task force approach enabled the department to benefit from a wide variety of backgrounds and viewpoints (See Bloch

and Specht, 1973: 105).

The dissemination of information regarding the nature of the planned change was viewed as a most important function of the task force. This process kept all departmental personnel informed of the work of the task force and facilitated their commenting on the direction of the change process.

The dissemination of information and the encouragement feedback also helped to eliminate the common perception of an impending change as being a threat to an individual's status, job security, authority, responsibility or working relationships. In addition, this approach would heighten the self esteem of many officers in that they actively took part in and received the satisfaction of creating a new organizational structure and operational procedure which would possibly characterize policing in the future (See Katz & Kahn, 1969: 402).

Results achieved by utilizing the participative, task force approach to planning included:

- (1) The unfreezing of fixed attitudes, stereotypes and cultural beliefs held by either line or non line personnel of the department.
- (2) The increasing of line officers confidence in the intentions and objectives of the departmental administration.
- (3) The broadening and further development of both line and non line staff capabilities.

FOCUS OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

The efforts of the departmental community planning task force led to the identification of a number of specific problems effecting the police and the community. Similar to the basic sociological issues discussed in Chapter Two, the problems appeared to originate into blighted ghetto areas commonly known as the South End and Arbor Hill. Specific problems identified by the task force included:

- (1) A rapidly rising increase in street crime.
- (2) The lack of effectiveness on the part of the department to effectively deal with the myriad of order maintenance and public service problems encountered on a daily basis in these communities.
- (3) The detrimental effects of a low morale among the officers assigned to patrol the blighted areas.
- (4) The ambiguity which pervaded the department regarding the responsibilities of the police in the areas.
- (5) The negative and at times hostile attitude of South End and Arbor Hill residents toward the police.
- (6) The lack of cooperation between the police and the residents of the areas.
- (7) The limited knowledge of the police regarding the nature of the social problems afflicting the areas and the potential impact of such problems on police operations (See Proposal for South End

Neighborhood Police Unit, 1971; Proposal for
Arbor Hill Neighborhood Police Unit, 1972.)

The analysis of problems entailed the review of a wide variety of data including daily activity reports, incident reports, arrest records, and community relations reports, census tract data and social service reports. In addition, the subjective views of departmental staff, social service agencies, community leaders and area residents were reviewed and taken into consideration.

PROGRAM GOALS

Upon completing their analysis of the problems facing the department, the task force focused its efforts on the identification of departmental goals which would lead to the development of effective solutions. The process of identifying the goals led the task force to the rudimentary concepts of decentralization, team policing and order maintenance.

Broadly stated the goals focused on:

- (1) The reducing of crime in the target area.
- (2) The fostering of an improved image of the police within the community.
- (3) The development of a rapport with the community based on mutual trust, cooperation and respect.
- (4) The providing of expanded order maintenance oriented police services in the community.

In specific, the behavioral modifications sought in the program focused on the:

- (1) Changing of the attitudes of the police toward the community.
- (2) Changing of the attitudes of the community toward the police.
- (3) Changing of the attitudes and behavioral patterns of the individual policeman toward his role in the community (See Proposal for South End Neighborhood Police Unit, 1971: 22-25).

The analysis of the problems and goals of the department led the task force to the concept of Neighborhood Policing. Embodying the decentralization of command, the adoption of the order maintenance police role and the tailoring of police services to fit the specific needs of the community. Neighborhood policing appeared to be a viable solution to the numerous problems confronting the Albany Police and the residents of the South End and Arbor Hill.

Further development of the concept of Neighborhood Policing took place during an extended phase of the planning process. Territorial boundaries for the unit and staffing patterns were determined. In addition, intradepartmental working relationships and rudimentary operational procedures were analyzed and discussed.

Upon completion of this process of "fleshing out" the concept, the task force directed its efforts toward the mapping out of an implementation strategy. Implementation was viewed as the most critical phase of the ongoing change process. It was viewed as the phase in which the myriad

of plans developed during the earlier phases of the planning process would be transformed into factual reality and intermeshed within the existing organizational structure and operational procedures of the department.

THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Basically the implementation process can be divided into three steps. The process begins with the recruitment of personnel, and then proceeds into the development of a training program and the preparation of unit standard operational procedures.

RECRUITMENT

Pursuant to the complete dissemination of planning information, members of the department were requested to volunteer if they were interested in serving in the NPUs. All departmental personnel were viewed as being eligible with minimal rewards regarding liberalized vacation and off duty schedules being offered to those who volunteered.

All officers volunteering to serve in the units were requested to submit a personal resume. Each resume was reviewed by a task force consisting of administrative, planning and operational personnel. The volunteers were then orally screened regarding their previous police experience, level of education, ability to work in an unstructured setting. In addition, their previous interaction with community residents was reviewed in an effort to screen out those officers who were unable to develop a basic rapport with the community

(See South End Neighborhood Police Unit Proposal, 1970, the Arbor Hill Neighborhood Police Unit Proposal, 1972).

TRAINING

Once the volunteers had been screened and selected, the second step of the implementation phase was initiated. The second step consisted of a 160 hour training program designed to acquaint the volunteers with their new unit and the community it would serve.

Objective and subjective data collected during the planning phase regarding the social problems of the area was presented to the officers. Specific attention was focused upon the traditional role of the police in the community in comparison to the objectives and operational procedures of Neighborhood Policing.

The involvement of community residents in the training program helped to clarify differing views and values and served to introduce the members of the unit to the community. Four 2-day sessions during the training were devoted to the discussion of the most pertinent areas of community concern, namely; drug abuse, poverty, juvenile delinquency, and race relations. University professors reviewed the topics with the unit members and served as moderators during panel discussions involving community residents.

Additionally, the training program was designed to familiarize unit officers with the resources available through the numerous governmental and private social service agencies

serving the residents of the target area. Representatives of the alcohol detoxification clinic, family court, probation department, neighborhood youth corps, urban league, health department, legal aid society, department of social services, and county youth bureau explained the nature and scope of services provided by their respective agencies. Officers from the New York State Police Academy and Agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation lectured on innovative police methods and police-community relations (See McArdle and Betjemann, 1972: 9-10).

UNIQUE OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES

At the close of the 160 hour training session, officers assigned to the unit began the task of preparing their standard operational procedures manual. The manual described in detail the role of the neighborhood officer, the operational policies and procedures of the unit.

The participation of the officers in the development of this manual proved to be a most successful means of allowing the officers to describe and implement daily operational procedures and policies pursuant to their perception of community needs. In addition, it enhanced their individual commitment to the change and provided them with a new outlook regarding unit operations.

The final step of the implementation process consisted of the issuing of administrative directives by the Chief. These directives intricated the implementation of dispatching, arrest and recordkeeping procedures for the unit within

the existing departmental systems. In view of the fact that there was widespread participation during the planning phase, these administrative orders were executed in an orderly and smooth fashion.

The implementation of the Neighborhood Units proceeded in a smooth and orderly fashion. However, several basic issues arose during the implementation process. These issues focused on the validity of the degree of risk associated with the change.

VALIDITY OF THE CONCEPT

"The change must be perceived as being valid by those involved in the process". (See Edley, 1973: 48). Proving the validity of the neighborhood concept was a major obstacle during the implementation phase in view of the fact that the concept had not been proven successful in any other city. In addition, statistical data was not available which proved that neighborhood policing was a valid approach to the crime control, order maintenance and community relations problems being experienced by the department.

In view of the lack of proof regarding the validity of Neighborhood Policing, the concept was presented to the department as an experiment. If the experiment failed to achieve the stated goals, it was agreed that the concept would be modified with the implementation of other alternatives.

This experimental status served to ease the anxiety

of departmental personnel. They adopted a wait and see attitude with the realization that initial results would not be available until the conclusion of the first operational year.

DEGREE OF RISK

The minimization of the degree of risk associated with the change enhances the implementation process (See Igleburger, Angell and Pense, 1973: 85-92). In view of the fact that the concept of Neighborhood Policing inevitably involves personal and organizational risks, all issues were addressed openly and honestly within the department. Efforts were made to assure those officers volunteering to serve in the neighborhood units that the concept would not pose a threat to the fundamental facets of their occupational culture including their promotional opportunities, working conditions and authority to perform within the prescribed police role.

These assurances proved to be a most important factor in securing the commitment of the men to the concept. They showed the men, that although Neighborhood Policing was a comprehensive change, it could be implemented within an existing context which they were familiar with.

Since problems which impeded the implementation of the concept were openly addressed by the planning and administrative personnel of the department. These factors included the traditional orientation of the police subculture, the effects of unfounded rumors and the views of middle manage-

ment personnel. In retrospect the potential impact of these factors outweighed their actual effect.

The proliferation of conflicting rumors which circulated throughout the department proved to be a constant source of irritation during the planning and implementation phases of the program. The rumors spread doubt among the personnel of the department as to the goals of the project and the operational procedures of the units. Directly affecting the commitment of individual officers to the concept, administrative and operational personnel reacted to the rumors by further opening the lines of communications and avenues of participation within the department.

The rumors were clearly associated with minor disagreements regarding the objectives and operational procedures of the neighborhood program. In light of the fact that the program was open to the participation of all departmental personnel and had the support of the Chief and the Mayor, operational and planning officers were able to effect compromises in many areas. These areas included the staffing of duty tours and the uniforming of personnel.

The minor issues which arose regarding the deployment and uniforming of personnel appeared to be related to the occupational subculture which pervades policing. Its intolerance for change and deviation from tradition, caused many to view it as a potential impediment to change. However, the informal organization of the subculture was recognized and brought into the change process from the start. This

inclusion of the subculture served to minimize its affect. In addition, the impact of the subculture was minimized by the recruitment of new personnel and the transfer of veteran officers to other operational areas of the department (See Igleburger, Angell and Pense, 1973: 82-85).

Middle management officers within the department who perceived the change as a threat to their authority or status were also viewed as a potential impediment to implementation. Efforts were made during the planning phase to show middle management officers that implementation of Neighborhood Policing would relieve them of many burdensome problems and not overly impinge on their authority.

However, since Neighborhood Policing is a form of decentralization and does give an increased amount of decision-making power to lower level personnel, it was decided that NPU commanders would have direct access to the Chief's Office. In effect, this decision enlarged the Chief's direct span of control and greatly diminished the potential impact of middle management officers on the program (See Sherman, Milton and Kelley, 1973: 91).

SUMMARY

The literature pertaining to the strategies of planned organizational change and the process of change, identifies a number of generalized factors on which change is based. In the main, these factors focus on the planning and implementation phases of the change process.

The literature fails however to identify a formula for change which can be utilized by an organization. It suggests that each organization must develop its own strategy based on analysis of the numerous environmental and organizational factors which exist at the time. Such factors include the flexibility of the organizational structure, the commitment to change displayed by the organization and the desired planning approach to be utilized by the organization.

In light of these suggestions, the Albany Police Department developed a strategy for change. The strategy facilitated the development of the Neighborhood Police Concept described in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

The planning task force's analysis of the social and organizational problems confronting the Albany Police Department led to the development of a unique team policing model entitled Neighborhood Policing. Development of the model entailed the refocusing of the role of the police and the expansion of police-community relations activities. In addition, adoption of the model necessitated that the department alter its traditional organizational structure and make concomitant changes in its operational procedures.

The Albany Neighborhood Policing model embodies and yet departs from the basic traditions of law enforcement. It serves to cast the police in a new and expanded role involving order maintenance and community service functions while readopting the decentralized community oriented police deployment practices utilized when the department operated out of a number of precincts. In addition, the model embodies the projection of a new image by the police and the development of expanded interworking relationships between the police and a wide variety of social service agencies (See Bloch and Specht, 1973).

In light of these changes, neighborhood officers exchanged their traditional blue uniforms for distinctively colored blazers and shifted their operational base from the traditional, fortresslike centralized headquarters to a neighborhood storefront office. In addition, the officers also began to work with and closely coordinate their efforts

with the activities of a number of social agencies, community groups and community leaders.

A NEW APPROACH TO CRIME PREVENTION

The foundation of the Albany Neighborhood Policing model rests on several basic concepts. The primary concept concerns the policeman's understanding of his role in the community. Traditionally, the police have viewed their role as focusing on the prevention and control of crime. They have viewed these duties as the exclusive function and responsibility of the criminal justice system and have attempted to minimize their interaction with the public regarding the myriad of other social problems which affect society.

The officers assigned to the Neighborhood Units have adopted the philosophy that crime is closely interwoven with the other social problems which effect society. These social problems which include poverty, racial friction and urban blight are viewed as social factors which contribute to crime.

The adoption of this philosophy necessitate that the police change their views regarding the role of the police in relation to the role of other social service agencies. Rather than viewing crime as a unique social problem, the officers assigned to the Neighborhood Units acknowledged the interrelationship of crime with other social problems and initiated efforts to closely coordinate their work with the activities of other social service agencies (See McArdle

and Betjemann, 1972: 11).

The fostering of expanded working relationships with social service agencies and the coordination of efforts will permit the police to focus many of their efforts on the prevention and control of crime. However, they now attempt to prevent crime by working with other social agencies in the development of community programs designed to lessen the impact of those social problems which are viewed as the root causes of crime.

IMPROVED POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The expansion of the role of the police and the development of close working relationships with community and social service agencies have permitted the neighborhood officers to initiate many new and varied contacts with the public. The expanded role permits the officer to interact with the public in a constructive manner.

These interactions have a positive connotation and help to dispell the negative crime control, arrest oriented image which envlops the police in the ghetto. Their support of and participation in a variety of community service programs has reduced the impersonal suppressive image of the police and facilitated the development of an improved rapport with the residents of the area.

CONSUMER ORIENTED SERVICE

Concomitant with their efforts to expand their role in the community and revitalize the image of the police, the

Neighborhood Units have adopted operational procedures which permit them to focus on the unique needs of the area. The traditional scope of the police role and the uniform deployment of police resources throughout the city did not permit the police to effectively meet the diverse needs or demands of various population segments.

Facilitated by increased organizational flexibility and effective lines of communications with the community, the Neighborhood Units have adjusted the scope of their services in relation to the needs of the residents.

Unit officers found themselves involved in a myriad of functions ranging from the sponsoring of recreation programs for juveniles to the operation of a weekly clothing drive for the needy. The units have become an integral component of the community serving in an advocate role at times and lending direct assistance when possible.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The expanded police role and revitalization image were facilitated and supported by several distinctive organizational changes. The rigid organizational structure and hierarchical decisionmaking process of the department was decentralized with the establishment of the two geographically oriented, autonomous Neighborhood Units. In addition, the traditional pattern of deploying police resources was changed with the adoption of the concepts of territoriality and geographical stability.

In the past, the rigid semi-militaristic structure of the police department has been impervious to the unique needs of varying neighborhoods and population segments residing within the city. The bureaucratic decisionmaking process and standardized deployment patterns did not permit the individual officer to become familiar with the problems of varying population segments nor to adjust the scope of his responses to fit these needs. In addition, the officers were rotated through the varying patrol sectors on a periodic basis and never became totally familiar with the social differences which characterize the various residential neighborhoods.

Thus from an organizational perspective, the development of the Neighborhood Police Units embodied the following modifications:

- (1) The decentralization of the traditional bureaucratic police organizational structure.
- (2) The implementation of two autonomous geographically oriented neighborhood units.
- (3) The stabilization of personnel deployment patterns.
- (4) The adoption of a participative management team concept.
- (5) The removal of the units from the organizational chain of command and the redistribution of decisionmaking authority.

OPERATIONAL CHANGES

The previously cited organizational changes created an organizational environment which facilitated the implementation of additional changes of an operational nature, which directly effect the functioning of the individual officer on the street. Specifically, they included:

- (1) The adoption of a generalist role which greatly enlarged and enhanced the variety of activities engaged in by the individual police officer in the community.
- (2) The establishment of a referral system between the police and other social service agencies, which permitted the officers to successfully utilize a variety of social resources when they were called upon to provide a service not available through the police unit.
- (3) The establishment of a community advisory committee designed to maximize police-citizen interaction.
- (4) The utilization of an informal storefront office designed to increase police-citizen contacts.
- (5) The adoption of the blazer style uniform designed to reduce the effects of the traditional police image.

SUMMARY

The implementation of the neighborhood concept by the

Albany Police Department resulted in the development of two geographically oriented autonomous neighborhood units. The creation of these units was facilitated by the decentralization of the department's organizational structure and the implementation of new operational procedures. These changes facilitated police-citizen interaction and permitted the officers assigned to the neighborhood units to adjust the scope of their services in relation to the needs of the public.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT OF THE PROGRAM

In light of the comprehensive changes necessitated by the implementation of the Neighborhood Policing Concept, Departmental Administrators viewed evaluation as being a most important component of the Neighborhood Programs. It was anticipated that the evaluations would provide valuable feedback regarding the direction of change, the effectiveness of change and the impact of the change.

Three separate evaluative studies were utilized to assess the impact and effectiveness of the Neighborhood Units. In the main, they focused on the nature of the change in the role of the police, the organizational structure of the police and police-community relations.

From the perspective of police-community relations, the evaluative studies monitored changes in:

- (1) The perception of area residents regarding the role of the police in the community.
- (2) The perception of area residents regarding the effectiveness of the police in the community.
- (3) The perception of area residents regarding the honesty, competency and degree of professionalism displayed by the police.
- (4) The residents perception of police fairness.
- (5) The willingness of residents to confer with the police.

- (6) The general attitudes of the police toward area residents including the police officer's perception of community attitudes toward the police and his perception of the nature of law enforcement services desired by the residents.
- (7) The officer's perception of the police mission and function in relation to the needs of the community.
- (8) The police officer's perception of police effectiveness in the target area.
- (9) The police officer's perception of resident attitudes toward the police.

Changes in the role of the police were analyzed by reviewing the nature and frequency of the calls for service, received by the NPU in comparison to the traditional police. Specifically, the evaluators focused on:

- (1) Changes in the frequency and nature of non criminal calls for service received by the NPU in comparison to the traditional police.
- (2) Changes in the frequency and nature of crime related calls for service received by the NPU in comparison to the traditional police.
- (3) Changes in the nature and frequency of arrests made by NPU Officers in comparison to the traditional police.

Participant observation techniques were utilized in

evaluating the impact of the organizational and operational changes embodied in the Neighborhood Police Concept. Specific attention was directed toward ascertaining the:

- (1) Actual differences in the level of service provided by the NPU in relation to the more traditional approach in terms of police performance of basic protective, public service and preventive functions.
- (2) Impact of the unique techniques of the neighborhood unit including the effects of the generalist approach, decentralization, territoriality, unity of command and lower level decisionmaking.
- (3) Effect that assignment to the NPU has had on officers in relation to their perception of the mission of the police and their reaction to the differing management philosophy and leadership style adopted by NPU Supervisors.
- (4) Level of cooperation established between the NPU and the traditional line and non line functions of the department (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, 1974: I, 1-2).

LIMITATION OF THE EVALUATION COMPONENT

The evaluation component of the Neighborhood Police Program was limited in scope due to a variety of problems. In the main, these problems centered around limited financial support and the limited amount of valid statistical data available to the consultants.

Specifically the evaluation component was beset by the problem of inadequate information, a problem which often effects many law enforcement studies. Differing policies and procedures regarding the reporting, classification and clearance of criminal cases and the limited collection of data regarding police activities of a non criminal nature severely impeded the comparison of workload data between the Neighborhood Units and the previously deployed police personnel (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, 1974: I-1).

Fiscal constraints of the program forced the evaluators to limit the scope of the study and focus primarily on the organization and operation of the NPU as a functional unit of the department. The study did not attempt to analyze the organization and management of the department as a whole, but reviewed other elements of the department and the community only to the extent necessary to determine their relationship with and influence on the results of the neighborhood program.

I. EVALUATION RESULTS REGARDING POLICE AND CITIZEN ATTITUDES AND POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The evaluative study focusing on the South End showed that the attitudes of the residents toward the police had improved since the inception of the Neighborhood Unit. A comparison of responses received in the three surveys conducted during the first operational year of the Neighborhood Program, showed that the residents expressed as favor-

able or more favorable attitudes toward the police in the second and third surveys than in the first (See Candeb, Fleissig, 1972: 19).

Responses received on the survey questionnaire showed that the attitudes of the residents regarding the fairness and effectiveness of the police had improved. These more favorable responses were exemplified by the fact that 56 percent of the residents participating in the third survey felt the police were doing a good job of providing protective services in the community. This figure represents an increase of 26 percent over the number of favorable responses received in the first survey (See Candeb, Fleissig, 1972: 19-22).

Similar results received in the Arbor Hill study support the above findings. Arbor Hill residents reported that they were favorably impressed with the ability of the Neighborhood Police to provide adequate protection in the community. They were also favorably impressed by the dependability and fairness displayed by the officers of the Neighborhood Unit. Additionally, the survey results showed that the area residents perceived the Neighborhood Police to be more competent and enthusiastic regarding their work in the community (See Forer and Farrell, 1974: 50-56).

The Arbor Hill evaluation report notes that attitudinal change was related to the quality of police protection received by the respondents (See Forer and Farrell, 1974: 50). It appears that the residents displayed a more favorable

attitude toward the Neighborhood Police because they perceived the police to be more effective in preventing and controlling crime.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES

Both evaluation studies noted significant differences in the responses of area residents when reviewed according to the race of the respondent. The researchers found that both the white and black residents of Arbor Hill displayed a more favorable attitude toward the Neighborhood Police than did the respondents residing in a control area. They noted, however, that white residents displayed a considerably more favorable attitude than blacks (Forer and Farrell, 1974: 52).

The evaluation of the South End represents similar results. It shows that both black and white residents displayed a more favorable attitude toward the Neighborhood Police. However, the significance of this attitudinal change was tempered by the fact that white residents started off with a more favorable attitude and continued to show a more favorable attitude toward the police than non-white residents (See Candeb and Fleissig, 1973: 19).

AGE OF RESPONDENT

The age of the respondent was also viewed as an important variable in the analysis of community responses. The analysis of the attitudes of the South End residents showed that older residents held a more favorable attitude toward

the police from the start and continued to respond in an increasingly favorable manner (See Candeb and Fleissig, 1973: 20).

Similar findings are displayed in the Arbor Hill study. All age groups in the Arbor Hill area displayed a more favorable attitude toward the Neighborhood Police than corresponding groups in the control area but that an increasingly larger proportion of favorable responses were received as the age of the respondent increased (See Forer and Farrell, 1974: 54).

EFFECT OF CRIME RATE ON THE RESIDENTS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE POLICE

The effect of the crime rate on a resident's attitude toward the police was measured only in the Arbor Hill study. The researchers concluded that the crime rate affected the opinions of those residents living in a control area patrolled by the regular police while having little or no effect on the attitudes of the residents residing in the NPU area. They further concluded that in view of the fact that the crime rate was initially higher in the NPU than in the control area, the residents of the NPU area were more satisfied with police performance (See Forer and Farrell, 1974: 58-59).

In conclusion, both research groups found that residents receiving police services from a Neighborhood Unit displayed a more favorable attitude toward the police than residents residing in control areas. These results indicate that the NPU's have had a significant and favorable impact

regarding the fostering of improved police-community relations (See Candeb and Fleissig, 1973: 22).

The impact of Neighborhood Policing on police-community relations was tempered to a degree by a finding noted in the Arbor Hill study. The evaluators acknowledge and confirm the attitudinal changes of the residents toward the police. They note, however, that there has not been a significant change in the recorded behavior of the residents toward the police.

In light of the financial and time limitations of the study, the evaluators were unable to determine the significance of this lack of behavioral change. They suggest that it may be forthcoming following the identifiable attitudinal changes.

II. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

An analysis of police incident reports and arrest records was conducted in an effort to ascertain the nature and degree of change regarding the role of the police in the community. It was anticipated that a comparison of police blotter entries would show that the Neighborhood Police had become more involved with non-criminal calls than the traditional police. It was anticipated that blotter entries would also reflect major shifts in the nature of the relationships between the police and the community and types of activities engaged in by the police in the community (See Forer and Farrell, 1974: 22-24).

The analysis of the data showed that there had been a reversal in the patterns of interaction between the community and the police. Findings showed the total number of calls received by the Neighborhood Police was almost twice the number of calls received by the regular police, and that while crime control related calls accounted for 70.5 percent of the workload of the regular police, they now accounted for only 15.3 percent of the total duties performed by Neighborhood Police. The analysis indicates that the role of the police had shifted from its previous focus on crime-related functions to community service and order maintenance matters.

The analysis of the police blotters also showed that a measurable change in the crime rate had occurred since the inception of the NPU. Statistics showed that 37.1 percent fewer crimes of violence were reported to the NPU than the regular police and that reported incidents of both assault and robbery had markedly declined.

The overall efficiency of the NPU was measured in a comparison of arrest records and incident reports. The comparison indicates that in terms of relative percentages, the NPU seems to perform with a good deal more efficiency. The research evaluations shows that arrests for assault increased from 55 percent to 89 percent, and from 24 percent to 58 percent for robbery (See Forer and Farrell, 1974: 36).

The decline in the crime rate and the improved efficiency of the Neighborhood Police is significant in viewing the

reorientation of the police toward the order maintenance and community service spectrum of the police role. Manpower resources traditionally deployed in a crime suppression manner were now allocated to other needs and functions identified in the cooperative working relationship developed between the units and the residents of the area.

In summary, the evaluators report that crime in the target area had declined by more than half since the inception of the Neighborhood Unit and that the officers assigned to the unit were now focusing their attention on other community service and order maintenance aspects of the police role. When viewed in conjunction with the reports of attitudinal change, these figures appear to indicate that the NPU's have developed a rapport with the community and are viewed by the community as an agency to which they can look toward for a variety of services (See Forer and Farrell, 1974: 28).

EVALUATION RESULTS: FOCUSING ON ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Utilization of the concepts of unity of command and territoriality appear to have enhanced the ability of the Albany Police Department to provide improved police services to the residents of the target area. In assuming responsibility for providing the full range of police services with the target area, the Neighborhood Units have:

- (1) Successfully addressed the public protection mission of the police.

- (2) Ensured the provision of uniform and consistent standards of law enforcement services to community residents in a manner and with a degree of visibility evidently found satisfactory by them.
- (3) Successfully generated a loyalty to the area by officers assigned to the unit as indicated by frequent instances in which the officers have volunteered to work overtime without pay or compensatory time off.
- (4) Extended the role of the police into the performance of wide range of public service functions as needed by the public (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, 1974: IV-4).

The evaluation team focusing on the organizational change found that the vast majority of the officers who volunteered for the Neighborhood Unit recognized the need for and endorsed the assumption of the public service police role. The evaluators noted that the officers saw the benefits of performing such services and did not view them as being demeaning or unprofessional as they have been traditionally viewed (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, IV P. 15).

The evaluators found that, from an operational perspective, the unit had developed a definitive and workable enforcement strategy well-suited to the needs of the area. They report that enforcement resources were focused on subjects and incidents which held highest priority in the area and that a lesser degree of emphasis had been placed

on routine traffic and parking enforcement excepting where the safety of the community was directly involved (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, IV P. 16-17).

Administratively, the redistribution of decisionmaking authority and the unifying of command responsibility had been successfully implemented. The evaluators found that the unit supervisors had developed and utilized a balance of firm guidance with the extensive delegation of authority (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, IV P. 17).

The evaluators also report that the command personnel of the unit showed a greater degree of latitude in selecting the most appropriate enforcement methods suitable to the immediate conditions which prevailed in the field and that this more informal and flexible style of leadership permitted senior patrolmen to assume management responsibilities when the supervisors were off (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, IV. P. 18). In addition, an atmosphere conducive to the development of team work was noted by the evaluation staff. They observed that the majority of the officers engaged in all unit activities and that this approach permitted the officers to gain a wide variety of experiences which further enhanced the team concept.

The evaluators concluded that the generalist approach served to enlarge the role of the individual police officer. They found that Neighborhood Officers had significantly broader opportunities to participate in a variety of police functions in comparison to the other units of the department

(See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, IV P. 23).

Interviews with officers and supervisors working in other command areas of the department indicated that they generally accepted the unit as a specialized method for providing police services in the Arbor Hill area. These officers informed the evaluation team that effective lines of communication and coordination had been developed between the Neighborhood Units and other supportive units within the department including the communication division, the identification bureau and the narcotics enforcement unit.

These interviews also show that even though the neighborhood unit operated as a self contained unit in an exclusive territory, they did not appear to be a disruptive factor to the remainder of the department. The researchers reported that the level of cooperation appeared to be high with the officers expressing a high degree of mutual confidence in each other's capability and performance (See Cresap, McCormack and Paget, IV P. 21-23).

Other commanding officers within the department did not express such favorable views. They doubted the long term viability of the program and expressed some ambivalence toward the community service approach utilized in neighborhood policing. In the main, their generalized criticisms focused on the informality and flexibility found within the unit. They perceived these characteristics as causing a potential morale problem within their commands in view of

the more restrictive and rigid atmosphere of the traditional police organization.

In conducting their review of the crime related activities of the unit, the consultants noted that the unit had primarily focused on crime control versus crime prevention during the first 14 months of operation. They suggested that in view of the reduced level of criminal activity in the area, the unit should refocus its orientation and adopt a more active crime prevention strategy.

This suggestion is significant in view of the problem of boredom which presently threatens the continued development of the Neighborhood Units. The consultants found that the reduced level of criminal activity and the diminishing of the novelty of serving in a new and highly publicized unit had begun to negatively affect the morale of neighborhood officers. They suggested that the adoption of a comprehensive crime prevention program would counteract this growing problem.

In conclusion, the management evaluation revealed that the NPU projects had achieved the desired objectives regarding the initiation of change in the organizational structure and operational procedures of the department.

The results, however, clearly show that the process of organizational change must continue, and future program modifications must occur if the concept of neighborhood policing is to be fully institutionalized within the realm of policing.

SUMMARY

The evaluation studies showed that the Neighborhood Police Units developed by the Albany Police Department have successfully addressed the basic problems identified by the planning task force. The crime rate in the target areas had been reduced and attitudinal change on the part of both the police and the community residents had resulted in the fostering of improved police-community relations. In addition, the evaluation reports note the significant shift in the role of the police. Crime control related efforts had been superseded by order maintenance and community service functions.

In reality, however, the evaluation results can be viewed only as tentative or temporary findings. The continuing social change taking place in the community will necessitate future compensatory changes in the role and organizational structure of the police. If the Neighborhood Units can successfully accommodate these future changes then one might say that Neighborhood Policing is a viable approach for providing police services in a rapidly changing urban environment.

CHAPTER SIX

The results of the evaluation studies indicate that the concept of Neighborhood Policing was successfully developed within the organizational framework of the Albany Police Department. In addition, the evaluation studies identify the concept as an example of social and organizational change which has permitted the department to more successfully address the complex social issues and problems which confront the urban police department.

However, the concept of Neighborhood Policing should not be viewed as the panacea for all police problems. It successfully addressed the specific role, organizational and community relations problems faced by the Albany Police Department and can possibly be tailored to address the role, organizational and community relations problems of other police departments.

This tailoring process is perhaps the most important aspect of the future application of the concept of Neighborhood Policing. Each police department facing complex social and organizational problems similar to those faced by the Albany Police Department must view the concept of Neighborhood Policing in relation to the specific aspects of the social and organizational environment which encompasses their department.

In view of the extensive changes necessitated by the implementation of Neighborhood Policing, and the cost of implementing these changes, the concept of Neighborhood

Policing should be viewed as an alternative method of policing and employed when needed. However the police executive should remember that specific problems faced by his department and the development of a change process and solutions to these problems may lead to the development of other innovative police concepts and methodologies which will better serve the needs of his department and the people they serve.

IMPLICATIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD POLICING - CHANGE IS A REALISTIC GOAL

The review of the Albany Neighborhood Police Concept shows that organizational and social change can be implemented within the realm of policing. In light of the traditional resistance of the police to change, the fact that a change occurred is perhaps the most important implication of the Neighborhood Policing Program.

The officers of the Albany Police Department now realize that modifications of the organizational structure and operational policies have been successfully implemented, have improved the effectiveness of the department and have resulted in improved police-community relations.

Additionally, the concept implies that the focus of the police role can be expanded and that this expansion will have a positive effect both on the individual police officer and on the community he serves. The expansion of the police role has resulted in the development of a new and more challenging job for the individual police officer, one which permits him to develop and utilize those approaches

which he feels will best fit the situation at hand. In addition, the role expansion has provided the community with a revitalized image of the police.

NEED FOR FURTHER CHANGES

The continued institutionalization of the concept of Neighborhood Policing within the Albany Police Department rests upon the adoption of additional organizational and operational modifications which primarily involve the internal reward system of the department, the focus of future police training programs and personnel rotation policies. These changes are necessitated by the fact that at present, the Neighborhood Police Concept is viewed as an experiment rather than as an accepted approach to policing.

INTERNAL REWARD SYSTEM

The officers of the department continue to believe that a good police officer can be identified by solely reviewing an officer's investigatory skills and arrest record. This perspective of what constitutes good police work continues to emphasize the crime related aspects of the police role, ignoring the numerous other forms of police service in the community.

If the concept of Neighborhood Policing is to be fully institutionalized within the department, the narrow focus of the departmental reward system will have to be broadened. Recognition and reward will have to be based upon not only an officer's ability to prevent crime or apprehend the

perpetrator of a crime, but also the officer's ability to keep the peace, elicit cooperation from the public and project a favorable image of the police to the public.

It is anticipated that the expansion of the internal reward system will serve to reinforce the modified focus of Neighborhood Policing. In addition, it will display to the individual officer that the departmental administration is cognizant of his efforts and sees the importance of them.

FUTURE TRAINING PROGRAMS

The narrow scope of the regular police training programs is also viewed as an impediment to the continued institutionalization of the Neighborhood Policing Concept. In the main, these programs focus on the crime related role of the police, and serve to limit the range of responses utilized by the police when interacting with the public.

These narrowly focused programs are viewed as counter-productive in light of the generalist role of the Neighborhood Officer. They do not prepare him to adequately respond to the wide variety of community needs nor successfully generate improved police-community relations.

Future training programs should be broadened in scope with an increased emphasis placed on a review of the social and psychological variables of the community. These programs will assist in the development of a professional officer prepared to professionally and competently interact with the community in a variety of situations.

PERSONNEL ROTATION POLICIES

The third factor which affects the institutionalization of the concept of Neighborhood Policing pertains to departmental personnel rotation policies. Due to the success of the Neighborhood Units, neighborhood officers are viewed as the elite of the department. This factor appears to be having a potentially serious effect on the morale of the officers deployed in a traditional manner.

In light of the fact that the success of the Neighborhood Units depends on the degree of cooperation which they receive from the other line elements of the department, these potential morale problems take on increased significance. Future operational programs should focus on the rotation of personnel into and out of the Neighborhood Police Units. It is anticipated that the implementation of this rotational policy will serve to provide all officers with an opportunity to work within the concept of Neighborhood Policing and also serve to reduce the negative effects of the status differentiation which presently exists between the Neighborhood Units and the remainder of the Albany Police Department.

CONCLUSION

The review of the development and implementation of the concept of Neighborhood Policing in the Albany Police Department shows that change, if correctly approached, can be brought about within the rigid, traditional oriented, police structure. The analysis also shows that the concept

of Neighborhood Policing is a viable approach to the development of solutions for the complex and comprehensive social and organizational problems which presently confront the urban police department. In addition, this treatise indicates that change is a continuing process and that the most important aspect of the change process is the realization by the individuals involved, that change can be acquired.

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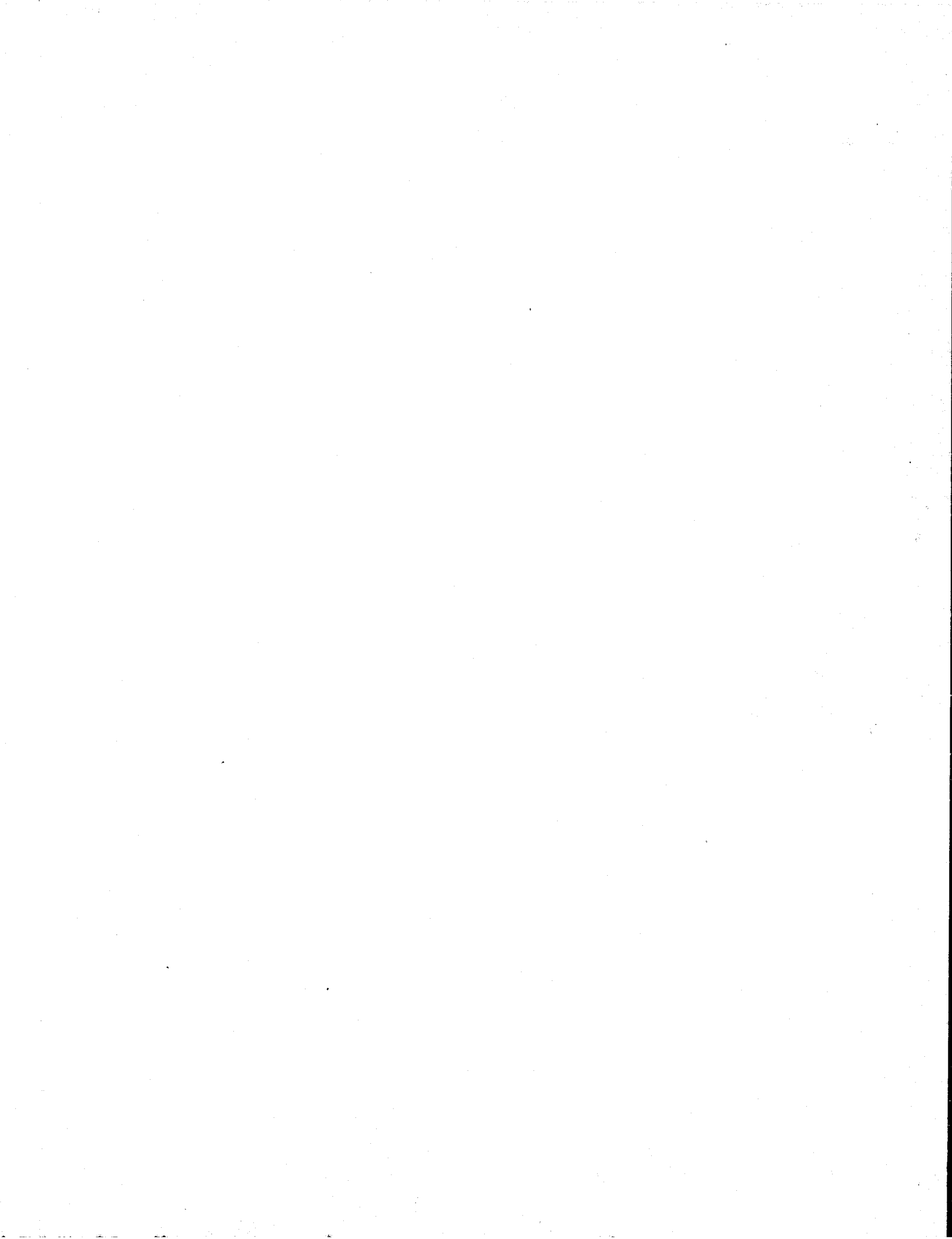
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