

COMMUNITY POLICING

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I . INTRODUCTION

Policing has been changing continuously, responding to the situational problems of society and demands of the public. The police represent a very important instrument of democracy in a free society for protecting people from crimes and for solving conflicts among people. The scope of police work is broad ; it ranges from crime fighting to safety-protecting to peace-keeping. The role of the police is also complicated and difficult, especially in a heterogeneous society. Moreover, their tasks involve various social, behavioral and political problems (Newman, 1966)¹⁾ These considerations provide the op-

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1) The American Bar Foundation (ABF) Survey of the Administration of Criminal Justice in the late 1950's.

portunity to rethink the function of the police and to seek more adequate development of innovative strategies.

The history of policing in the United States can be divided into three eras : political era (1840's through the early 1900's), reform ear (1930's through the late 1970's), and community-oriented era (early and continuing)²⁾ Traditional policing during the reform era generated remarkable organizational, managerial, and tactical contributions by employing scientific knowledge and technology of the time, and in turn, spurred a movement towards professionalism in policing.

However, there are two decisive reasons why traditional policing which focuses narrowly on crime fighting gave way to community policing. One of the reason relates to the experiments regarding the efficiency of its main strategies, preventive routine patrol (Kansa City Preventive Patrol Experiment) and criminal investigation (Rand Corporation Study). Ironically, the findings showed no significant effectiveness for achieving the goals of enhancing crime fighting. The other reason relates to social, cultural, legal changes in the 1960's. The Supreme Court began to limit police activities by creating laws governing police procedures (Walker, 1989), and the civil rights movement represented a demand for justice by racial minorities and the poor, as happened in England during the 1980's(Cox, 1968)³⁾

2) See "Debating the Evolution of American Policing." edited by Francis X. Hartmann, p. 1.

3) The vast majority of the riots of the 1964-1968 period were precipitated by an incident involving the police (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968 and Waskow, 1967).

Community policing as an innovative approach was launched in the 1980's by several prominent police chiefs who obtained somewhat new ideas from problem-solving policing and the failure of team policing. They reconstructed goals and operational strategies because they realized that the police can not function well without consideration of physical and social environment and without going through appropriate channels of communication and social support.

This newly developing strategy broadens the goals of policing into preventing crime, reducing fear of crime, and improving the quality of life.

The fundamental philosophy of community policing is community-police reciprocity as well as improvement of the relationship between the police and other government agencies and between police managers and their officers.

Opportunity reduction theory from the offender's perspective, routine activity theory from the victim's perspective, and physical environmental design provide a theoretical rationale for crime prevention. The "Broken window model" is suggested to handle small order maintenance problems and to enhance informal social control for reduction of fear of crime. Additionally, main programs and their evaluations along with potential benefits and problems are introduced in this paper.

The shift from technically oriented traditional policing to community policing offers some hope, the improvement of policing but it still needs additional theoretical development and research. This reform process is being developed from a complex interaction between internal and external forces (Walker, 1989). More careful attention to the development of theories and programs

will help avoid negative consequences.

II. COMMUNITY POLICING

Rapid social changes and emerging problems since the 1960's have made the American police departments rethink their old strategies and seek new ones. With the benefit of hindsight, with regard to missed opportunities in traditional crime fighting, police departments throughout the country have begun to seek to extend the previous approaches by looking behind offenses to the precipitating causes of crime, building closer relations with the community, and seeking to enhance the self-defense capacities of the communities themselves (Moore et al., 1988a).

1. Historical Background

The strategies of traditional policing were successful during the relatively stable period of the reform era until the 1950's. police forces were able to manage crime control without unsurmountable problems. In the 1960's and 1970's, however, some significant social changes created unstable conditions. They included "the civil rights movement, migration of minorities into cities, the changing age of the population (more youths and teenagers), increase in crime and fear, increased oversight of police actions by courts, and the decriminalization and deinstitutionalization movements" (Moore and Kelling, 1988 : 17).

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As suggested before, the traditional crime fighting approach was unable to handle the increasing crime-related problems. At the same time, citizens began to demand new kinds of accountability and responsibility as a result of the crime and as a result of the fear that resulted from increasing crime rates, and police administrators began to show their concerns with declining neighborhood safety and classical race-based social conflicts in urban areas. In the 1960's and 1970's "team policing" and "problem solving policing" were initiated in a small fraction of the organization and as a time-limited experiment in a few departments.

Team policing efforts, contributing greatly to community policing philosophy, were more than a tactic.

Inherent in these efforts were implications(Moore and Kelling, 1988 : 23) "for authorization (police turned to neighborhoods for support), organizational design(tactical decisions were made at lower levels of the organization), definition of function (police broadened their service role), relationship to environment (permanent team members responded to the needs of small geographical areas), demand(wants and needs came to team members directly from citizens), tactics(consultation with citizens, etc), and outcomes(citizen satisfaction, etc) (Angell, 1971; Sherman, Milton, and Kelly, 1973; Schwartz and Clarren, 1977). But team policing was not sustained as a main strategy because it tended to foster eventual conflict with the traditional reform policing.

More problem-focused(Goldstein, 1979; Eck and Spelman, 1987) policing has also contributed to the ideology of community policing (Green and Taylor, 1988 : 195). Goldstein(1979) suggests a conceptual provision as to how to

identify problems in neighborhoods that may eventually lead to community disorder and crime, and find the solutions.

Both team policing and problem solving policing gave suggests to the new ideology of community policing that a complete change in the context of organizations and a new perspective on the community are necessary. The police can not succeed in its business only with its own personnel and technology. They also need to help communities to become more competent. Community policing puts emphasis on both the operational assistance and political support of the community(Mastrofski, 1988).

2. Definition

Before answering the question, "What is community policing?," two similar questions should be explained : "What is new about this type of policing" and "Why are there so many different answers as to its definition?"

The first popular question is usually formed as "Isn't community policing simply old wine in new bottles?" This is because community policing has some common characteristics with traditional policing during the political era. Both emphasize organizational decentralization, intimate relationships with community, political satisfaction, citizen satisfaction, law, politics, and use of foot patrol(Wycoff, 1988). But they are clearly distinguishable in that the police during the political era were trying to be accountable to the local politicians for maintaining their status quo; on the other hand, community policing attempts to provide the sort of justice expected by society as a whole.

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As Chris Braiden(1987) has pointed out, community policing can be understood as an echo of Robert Peel's 1829 statement that the police are "only members of the public that are paid to give full-time attention to duties incumbent on every citizen in the interest of community welfare and existence." But the substantial difference⁴⁾ between the two types of policing are their methods of how to operate the police force to make the philosophy come true in the context of current social conditions and technology(Waycoff, 1988 : 120).

As for the second question, relating to the number of different definitions for community policing, community policing means different things to different people(Skolinck and Bayley, 1988 ; Brown, 1989 ; Greene and Mastrofski, 1988 ; Weatheritt, 1988).

As stated in the historical background, this type of policing was initially developed by police professionals as a temporary response to a particular problem, and later, new ideas were added by scholars. Because so many different rationales underpin these developments, it is critical to mention that community policing is elastic and contains various vague elements.

Even though community policing, in fact, varies in both commitment and form, its meaning can be approached according to each level(Weatheritt, 1988) : ① pragmatic and programmatic at a small scale level, developing a set of programs or activities for police with such tactics as foot partol, commu-

4) Exemplified by Grianden's own work and the Bramshil report on community policing; Jones et al., 1987. "Community-Oriented Policing : A Report by the 24th Senior Command Course." Bramshill : The Police Staff College

nity-based crime prevention, ways of consulting communities about the kinds of problems they have and the kind of policing they want ; ② organizational framework for many police activities ; and ③ ideological like the dominant philosophy through the department. According to Weatheritt (1988 : 154), community policing, in Britain, is about “encouraging the development of the preventive and nonconflictual aspects of policing by emphasizing notions of service, flexibility, consumer responsibility, conciliation, consultation, and negotiation.”

Manning(1988) and Goldstein(1987) identified basic and common concepts of the various community policing programs. Manning(1988) pointed out that community policing is “a contrapuntal theme of harmony for the old melody” rather than denying the crime control professionalism. It includes “control of the public by a reduction in social distance, a merging of communal and police interests, and a service and crime control isomorphism.” Herman Goldstein (1987) suggested that community policing extends traditional law enforcement and order maintenance definitions of the police role, and includes the idea that the police are integral to promoting the common welfare.

Lee P. Brown(1989 : 7) suggests the clear definition that “community policing is an interactive process between the police and the community to mutually identify and resolve community problems.” Community policing stresses that the working partnership between the police and the community is indispensable for solving crimes, reducing fear, and resolving situations that lead to crimes. Overall, the community policing concept is summarized by the composing elements as follows : “the ends (expand beyond crime fighting to include

fear reduction, order maintenance, and some kinds of emergency social and medical service). means (incorporate all of the wisdom developed in problem-solving approaches to situations that stimulate calls to the police), administrative style (shifts from centralized and specialized to decentralized and generalized), and relationship with the community (not merely to alert the police to crimes and other problems, but to help control crime and keep community secure)” (More and Trojanowicz, 1988 : 10). Neighborhoods are a main factor in community policing. They are defined as “the places in which people live or work near each other, recognize their recurring proximity, and signal this recognition to each other” (Kelling and Stewart ; 1989). As Merry (1981) notes, residents of cities have “cognitive maps” in their minds in which they think of the distinctive places as “theirs”…… their neighborhood. The intensity and content of neighboring varies according to time and compositions of the zones.

In order to create new relationships between the police and neighborhood, the police should understand that neighborhoods vary in the nature of their problems, their capacity for self-help, and their interests. Thus, rather than employing the routinized tactics to the neighborhoods as the traditional policing strategy did, different ones to adjust to the circumstances in specific neighborhoods must be adapted. While the police remain committed to the equity to apply the law based on the professionalism, they willingly listen to the opinions of the local community concerning police operating procedures, past performances, and their priorities.

Careful attention should be paid to the definition of community policing.

Community policing, even though it is quite broad, must not include everything good about policing. This is because, as Skolnick and Bayley said, “hallowing every innovation by calling it community policing empties the phrase(1988 : 5).” A good example of this is the civilianization issue in Santa Ana and in Houston. In Santa Ana the logic behind employ civilians is to make them contact the citizens and to introduce the department’s crime prevention programs; but in Houston, civilianization was designed to make more sworn police officers available on the street(Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). The important thing is not the covering program, but the theory behind its invention.

As well, even though problem-solving strategy and community policing share common tactics and philosophy basically, it is also a mistake to equate them. They have different perspectives on the status and role of the community institutions and on the organizational arrangements constructed to enhance community involvement(Skolnick and Bayley, 1988).

3. characteristics

First, as a philosophy of policing, community policing focuses on resolving community problems by a problem-driven and preventive approach(Goldstein, 1979; Rosenbaum, 1986). The police, accordingly, are to become proactive. The goals are the maintenance of order rather than law enforcement, fear reduction which contributes eventually to crime, a sense of peace, and the quality of life(Kelling and Moore, 1988).

Second, the value of community policing is the police-citizen reciprocity

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(Skolnick and Bayley, 1986 : 212). This means that police must genuinely feel that citizen involvement directly and indirectly affects the enterprise of policing, which is the safety of the neighborhood. Both police and community are co-producers of crime prevention. The community should be mobilized by professional law enforcement agents for handling its own problems in particular neighborhoods. The police emphasize the underlying causal forces associated with crime and disorder, and eventually the results of police activities are expected to increase the capability of a community for informal social control. "Without reciprocity, community feedback and participation, the police are in no position to tailor developmental resources to local needs in any sort of optimal fashion"(1986 : 213)

Third, community policing arguably ensures accountability to the community. Because police officers understand the different concerns, desires, and priorities in neighborhoods on a routine basis, they are more sensitive to the community. They will also be able to establish mutual accountability by communicating with each other. In a practical manner, the police can maintain the values of fairness and lawfulness by saying no when the community makes a request that is discriminatory or illegal(Kelling et al, 1988).

Fourth, decentralization is another component of community policing. It has two dimension : areal decentralization and the decentralization of authority and structure. The first dimension takes many forms : "fixed substations in Santa Ana, directed Response Teams in Houston, mini-stations in Detroit, or simply the multiplication of precincts"(Skolnick and Bayley, 1986 : 214). Accordingly, beats or zones are designed by natural neighborhood boundaries, and shift

and beat assignment are not rotated, but are on a permanent basis(Brown, 1989). This aids in the coproduction of crime prevention by organizing community crime prevention groups or disseminating crime prevention information. The second dimension provides street-level police officers more authority to initiate creative responses and to make better suited decisions for solving particular neighborhood problems. This will, in turn, increase their morale.

Fifth, American police departments began to reestablish foot patrols. This step is proactive and has some merits as follows⁵⁾ (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986 : 216) ① the police presence on the street may prevent crime ; ② foot patrolmen can give warning either directly or indirectly through their presence ; ③ foot patrol can generate goodwill in the neighborhood, and in turn, it will make people feel safer ; ④ foot patrol seems to be more humane than mobil patrol and raises officer morale. But the problem is that foot patrol increases the pressure of 911 calls. Thus, whenever possible and appropriate, alternative response methods are used such as the taking of incident reports over the telephone, by mail, or in person at police facilities ; holding lower-priority calls ; and having officers make appointments with an individual or a group. Recently, police departments have started developing the balancing of mobile-and foot-patrol modes of operation.

Sixth, the investigative function needs to decentralize itself and focus on the neighborhood, on the premise that information from the residents is indispensable in solving the case. Even though community policing emphasizes more area

5) Police Foundation, The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment (Washington, D.c. : Police Foundation, 1981).

specific investigation, it does not entirely eliminate centralized investigation. This is because these are needed to conduct "pattern-or suspect-specific city-wide investigations"(Brown, 1989 : 6)

Seventh, supervision style shifts from monolithic rules and procedures within bureaucracy to flexibility for fitting diverse jurisdictions, such as ethnically and culturally mixed communities.

Under community policing, the patrol officer becomes the manager of the beat and searches for creative solutions to problems rather than employing in some routinized fashion. Management's role is more akin to coaching than directing('89 : 6),

Eighth, the objective of training has also changed under the community policing from law, rules, and procedures(even though these are important in recruit training level) to complexities and dynamics of the community and how the police fit into the larger picture. Its contents are values, crime prevention knowledge, community organizing skills, leadership abilities, and a problem-solving perspective(Skolnick and Bayley, 1986).

Finally, more attention in performance evaluation is given to the officer's ability to solve problems and the involvement of the community in the department's crime-fighting effort, rather than simply counting numbers such as traffic tickets issued, arrest rate, etc. The measure of success in community policing includes reduction of fear, increased order, citizen satisfaction with police services, as well as crime control (Brown, 1989 : 6).

4. Assumptions

From the beginning, community policing was a loosely composed concept. Because police administrators started community-oriented programs on an ambiguous hypothesis in the 1970's and 1980's the work to reconstruct more clear assumptions is thought to be worthwhile. Wilson and Kelling(1982) proposed in their article, "Broken Windows" the effect of incivility and how police go about it. The belief behind community policing programs is that the police should increase the quantity and quality of their contacts with citizens and get involved with the precipitating causes of the crimes. Furthermore, Manning (1984) developed, from the ameliorative drives associated with the community police movement, three assumptions about the attitude of people and police, public consensus, and the role of police. Recently, additional developments were added and qualified by a several scholars.

According to Manning (1988 : 30), community police programs are based on three assumptions. First, the public wants order and a crime-free environment, and police should and will facilitate them by means of community policing, which means police actions with, for, and by communities. The people wish to see the police more often in their neighborhoods, and this will increase satisfaction in the community. Second, police administrators accept the public demand and think that previous crime control has failed to satisfy the public. Now they can easily sell community policing as a new strategy and tactics (such as foot patrol) to the public. Third, the police can restore the decreased informal bases of social control in communities. The role of police is defining,

shaping, and pursuing community good, order, and quality of life.

Recently, Kelling (1987a), Wilson (in the experiments of the Houston/Newark, 1986), and Trojanowica (in the experiments of community policing in Flint, Michigan, 1986) specified some of Manning's assumptions. Some modest qualifications have been made (Mott, 1987 ; Wilson and Williams in Pate et al., 1985) for generality at a lower level. Their research focuses on what people want and how people view incivility as a sign of crime. As well, they made claims about the process and consequences of police activities and the internal effects of community policing on the police. Finally, they stated goals relating to the nature and impact of policing on communities. The assumptions and process linking programs and ideologies for crime control as well as community satisfaction⁶⁾, which are assumed by the scholars above, can be explained by Diagram I (Page 18) as follows :

① Community policing increases visibility in the neighborhoods by foot patrol and various activities, and it is welcomed by the people. → ② It provides access and close contact (police delivers crime prevention knowledge to people, and police are a moral force on behalf of the people to increase the informal social control atmosphere) → ③ It decreases psychological distance between the police and the civilians (base of co-operation is established and police boost informal social control) → ④ Citizen's perceptions of safety increase and community awareness of crime problem increases, too → ⑤ a) Taking action : community police officers teach and work to reduce disorder and inci-

6) Some qualifications (see Mott, 1987a ; Trojanowicz, 1987 ; Wilson and Williams in Pate et al., 1985)

vility with residents and local groups and government b) Behavior changes ; people report crime and other urban decay, and provide crime-related information more often than before → ⑥ a) investigators use the information from the community b) decrease of criminal opportunities and incivilities → crime decrease → ⑦ Results ; a) increase arrests, b) increase security, c) reduce fear by “incivility” assumption → ⑧ Outcomes ; community feels reassurance and integration, and satisfaction / informal social control base established among the people / police have job satisfaction and morale.

5. Approaches and Theories

No specific theory has yet been developed for community policing. However, it is thought to be possible that the theory construction can be made from considering the assumptions and from inferring the theories of crime prevention. The bottom line of community policing is crime prevention, which will, in turn, reduce the fear of crime and improve the quality of life in the community.

Rosenbaum (1988 : 325) suggested how the approaches of community policing have evolved. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, a main theme, “community crime prevention,” was used as a tactic for improving the image of the police in the community. In the mid-1970's, police departments developed the crime prevention skills and knowledge and began to provide them to the public. After that, law enforcement personnel were more interested in collective crime prevention activities, such as Neighborhood Watch. National crime control policy emphasized the role of community as an important factor in crime

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prevention (DuBow and Emmons 1981 ; Lavrakas 1985)⁷⁾

However, in the mid 1980's, recognizing that the neighborhood organizations needed professional help from the police for handling crime-related problems, a new realistic approach was suggested, "namely that formal and informal means of crime reduction and order maintenance are complementary and should work together to define community crime prevention (Rosenbaum, 1988 : 326)."

As for the theoretical construction behind community crime prevention, opportunity reduction theory and routine activity are used for direct crime control and/or reduction approach ; an incivility model and informal control theory are used for indirect crime control⁸⁾ Direct crime control refers to the police strategy to control crime directly, and indirect crime control refers to the control of possible precursors of crime, not crime itself. All of these theories are necessary to explain the reasons behind the tactics and strategies of community policing, and to justify and defend its philosophy, crime control, and community satisfaction.

7) In the community Anti-Crime Program in 1977 (Krug, 1983) and the Urban Crime Prevention Program in 1980 (Roehl and Cook, 1984) the funds were given to the community organizations rather than police departments to develop the capacity of residents for crime-fighting.

8) These two distinct approaches to crime control are referred to as the "opportunity reduction" or "victimization prevention" approach, and the "social problems" or "root causes" approach (Bennett and Lavraska, 1988 ; lewis and Salem 1981 ; Podolefsky and Dubow, 1981).

5.1 Direct crime reduction/control approach

Basically, there are two ways for individuals to protect themselves from crime : ① by making criminal acts unsuccessful or more difficult and ② by avoiding situations in which crime occurs easily and often(Rosenbaum, 1988 ; Suttles, 1972).

Opportunity Reduction Theory

Opportunity reduction theory starts with the rational choice perspective, which originated with modern utilitarian economists (Becker, 1968) and was developed for the equilibrium analysis of the market for crime opportunities by criminologists (Ehrlich, 1981). The main premise of the rational choice model is that anyone has the capability of committing crime, and the choice is made depending on the perceived costs and benefits of criminal activity (Cook, 1980 ; Clarke, 1983), but the decision processes are limited by the shortage of information and other conditions rather than by normative decision-making. The factors of choice-structuring vary according to different stages of decision making and different kinds of crimes (Cornish and Clarke, 1987).

Opportunity reduction theory provides a valuable framework to crime prevention strategy of community policing because it focuses on understanding and predicting potential offenses and on self-protective measures by potential victims against the threat of criminal victimization. This "opportunity reduction theory (Glastone, 1980 ; Rosenbaum, 1986)" is sometimes called "primary prevention (Brantingham and Faust, 1976)" and in England "situational crime prevention (Clarke 1984 ; Hough, Clark, and Mayhew 1980)". It is de-

defined as “the use of measures directed at highly specific forms of crime which involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in which crimes occur in as systematic and permanent way as possible (Hough et al., 1980).”

Two general assumptions that are contrary to the positivistic view are ① the decision-making process of the offence happens in response to the immediate circumstances and the immediate situation, and ② the motivation to commit a crime is not constant and uncontrollable (Bennett, 1986 : 42). The additional and specific assumptions about a criminal’s decision-making are various and not articulated, but are implicit in the nature of situational protection measure in each program⁹⁾ (1986 : 43).

The practices of community policing are guided by the broadness of the opportunity approach in order to reduce the opportunity and increase the risk of detection and apprehension for criminal activity in specific settings (Clarke, 1983 ; Rosenbaum, 1988). the currently used tactics of community policing can be categorized into three levels (Rosenbaum, 1988 ; Clarke, 1983 ; Bennett, 1986). First, at the individual level, there are television campaigns for crime prevention or self-defense along with police-initiated publicity and leaflet campaigns. Second, at the household level, there are ① target-hardening

9) The programs are such as ① security hardware, detection hardware, and property marking ; the offenders are assumed not to overcome the device, ② community based program ; the special assumption is not clear ; but in Neighborhood Watch residents can reduce opportunities for criminal activity by becoming the ‘eyes and ears of the police’, ③ environmental design ; Newman’s(1972) concept of defensible space (1972), territoriality, and surveillance (Bennett ; 1986, 44-46).

for elimination access to or physical intrusion of certain property, ② security surveys usually conducted by a police officer specialist for identifying crime risks (Kingsbury 1973)③ and recommending to minimize criminal opportunity, and operation identification. Finally, there are collective activities such as Neighborhood Watch, environmental design,¹⁰⁾ citizen patrol, etc.

Contrary to optimistic expectations of opportunity reduction theory, the major drawback is the “displacement” of crime. This means that offenses prevented are displaced to other targets, times, places, or types of crime (Repetto, 1976 ; Gabor, 1981) when the motivation still exists. Good examples are car theft displacement from cars with steering column locks to unprotected vehicles in Great Britain (Mayhew, Clarke, Sturman, and Hough, 1976) and robbery displacement from subway to street when police crackdown on subway robberies in New York City (Chaiken, Lawless, and Stevenson, 1974). Bennett’s offender study (1986) relating to the perceptions and decision making of convicted burglars between 1979 and 1982 reported six precipitating factors²¹⁾, and pointed out that the decision making process of the offender is too vague and needs to be narrowly defined. In order to clarify why and how

10) The main ideas (Jacobs, 1961 ; Newman, 1972) are ① territoriality : “dividing grounds and building into zones of influence” and ② surveillance : “designing buildings which allow easy observation”, for example, “street lighting, controlling access to buildings, restricting pedestrian and traffic flow and dividing grounds into identifiable areas” (Trevor Bennett, 1986 : 43-46)

21) They are ① the influence of instrumental needs, ② the influence of others, ③ the influence of presented opportunities ④ no precipitating factor, ⑤ the influence of expressive needs, and ⑥ the influence of alcohol (Trevor Bennett ; Situational crime prevention : from theory into practice, 1986 : 47).

displacement is likely to occur and then to predict and prevent it, choice-structuring properties²²⁾ must be compared in different crimes and more studies about offender's decision making structure are needed (Cornish and Clarke, 1987).

Opportunity theory has some limitations in realistic policy options. First, it is confined to residential and property crimes such as burglary rather than to expressive crimes such as homicide or rape (Trasler, 1986). Second, its implementation would adversely affect the liberties of the public or individual (Bennett, 1986). Finally, it tends to prevent crimes committed by low-rate rather than high-rate and professional offenders (Trasler, 1986 :)24.

Routine Activity Theory

Routine activity theory emphasizes the victim's legal activities of everyday life, which can influence the probability of victimization (Cohen and Felson 1979 ; Garofalo 1987). Some research has showed that lifestyle is closely related to the chances of being victimized (Hindelain, Gottfredson, and Garofalo, 1978), and the association between the household structure and risk of criminal victimization has been observed in individual-, block-, and national level data (Roncek, 1975 ; Choldin and Roncek, 1976 ; Cohen and Felson, 1979). Logically, people who have greater chances of being exposed to criminal risk are more likely victimized than people who have less.

Cohen and Felson (1979 : 588) pointed out that most criminal acts, especial-

22) see, choice-structuring properties (table 1.) of two offense groupings in Cornish and Clarke's article "Understanding Crime Displacement : An Application of Rational Choice Theory." *Criminology*, vol.25 (4), 1987 : 940.

ly predatory crime, require convergence in space and time of three elements such as likely offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians against crime. That convergence is affected by everyday lifestyle, which is substantially influenced by urbanization, facility, social structure, and technology. The systematic study of this convergence mechanism provides suggests to community policing. Felson (1978), in his article "Routine Activities and Crime Prevention," suggested that because facilities greatly affect people's normal lifestyles, architects, security planners, and facilities managers should become the important co-producers of crime prevention.

Similar to the opportunity reduction theory, this theory has the weakness that the implementation of this theory would limit the boundaries of enjoyable life. As well, it is hard to change lifestyles which are shaped by long-time experiences. Finally, the more restricted their behavior, in order to avoid the risk of victimization, the more fearful individuals feel (Gordon and Riger, 1979, 1988 ; Lavrakas, 1982 ; Maxfield, 1977, 1987). This finding reveals the opposite effect to the purpose of fear reduction which community policing tries to achieve.

5.2. Indirect Crime Control Approach

The basic philosophy of community policing is to enhance the capability of communities for informal social control through community-police co-operation. The need to consider the indirect crime control approach as a theoretical rationale for justifying their intervening informal social control. There should be, of course, a limit to which the police can get involved. The police should or-

ganize or mobilize the voluntary community organizations for order maintenance rather than control or interfere with the traditional social agencies, such as family, school, church, etc.

The assumptions of indirect crime approach are demonstrated in Diagram II-1 and II-2 (Page 29) The sequential connection of the assumptions is originated by combining Rosenbaum's (1988 : 356) "model of collective citizen crime prevention behaviors," and Greene and Taylor's revision of Wilson and Kelling's (1982) "broken windows model."

First of all, when "social disorganization" of Chicago school and "anomie" of Durkheim and Merton became social problems, and social agents such as family, school, church, and peer groups deteriorated, the community began to increase "incivilities." Wilson and Kelling (1982 : 31) suggested that unintended property and vandalism symbolizing physical incivility and social incivility occur where the obligation of civility is abandoned and the signal "no one cares" is widespread. They pointed out that "unintended behavior also leads to the breakdown of community controls (1982 : 31)."

Second, they explain that "a stable neighborhood of families who care for their homes, mind each other's children,can change, in a few years or even a few months, to an inhospitable and frightening jungle (1982 : 32)." Accordingly, informal social control is weakening and residents feel fear more and more. Fear and informal social control will escalate each other because fear will make people stay alone, and avoiding each other will lessen informal social control.

Third, residents restrict themselves from each other and do not want to get

involved with their neighbor's business. As a result, the neighborhood will be atomized. Finally, at this point urban decay will inevitably bring about serious crimes in areas in which disorderly behavior goes unchecked.

This model provides the implication of to how police should go about their job to combat fear of crime. This model suggests that police should work with residents on reducing social and physical incivility for order maintenance based on the moral order of the community (Greene and Taylor, 1988 : 200).

More specific explanation of how and what the police do to reduce "incivilities" and fear of crime comes from the possible answer to this fundamental question : can community policing "implant informal social control activities and related processes for controlling disorder where currently they are weak or nonexistent and where crime rates are high (Rosenbaum, 1987)?"

In theory, the answer is positive, based on the assumptions of community policing that communities want to be more responsible for social control. The first reason for this answer is that the police-residents' interaction programs including foot patrol increases opportunities to be familiar with each other, to exchange information, and to integrate communities. A good example is Neighborhood Watch. This program, in fact, is advocated as more than an opportunity-reduction program (National Crime Prevention Council, 1987). One of main functions of this strategy is encouraging social interaction through local meetings to community residents for "restoring informal social control processes or creating a sense of community" (Rosenbaum, 1988 : 348).

Second, the police officer use the proactive application of formal and informal sanctions such as "crime attack" (aggressive order maintenance) and

“community service” strategies (Mastrofsky, 1988 : 53–58). The desirable activities of police officers in this model are well described in “Broken Window” as follows : “sometimes what Kelly (police officer)” did could be described as ‘enforcing the law,’ but just as often it involved taking informal or extralegal steps to help protect what the neighborhood had decided was the appropriate level of public order” (Wilson and Kelling, 1982 : 31).

Finally, all the collective activities of community policing programs are initiated for strengthening informal social controls in the neighborhood. The direct approach provides this strength social interactional surveillance, and the indirect approach does so through education, job arrangement, values clarification, and self-sufficient role models (1988 : 351).

6. Programs and Research

Despite the benefits claimed for community policing, programmatic implementation of it has been quite tacit and unexplicated (Bayley, 1988). Furthermore, it has been criticized that the links between the ideologies, assumptions, programs, and internal organizational and operational reforms were even more unclear (Manning, 1988). This is because, as mentioned in the definition section, community policing is a rather loose and broad concept. Variety and comprehensiveness of activities associated with community policing seem to make it hard to systematically analyze the programs.

However, scientific research of community policing programs will provide the cornerstone for further development. In order to defeat the criticism that

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However, scientific research of community policing programs will provide the cornerstone for further development. In order to defeat the criticism that

community policing is just a set of aspirations wrapped in a slogan, concern should be focused on how to find somewhat distinctive programs from the ones of the previous policing era. Accepting that the philosophy of community policing is community and police reciprocity for the goals of crime prevention, incivility control, strengthening informal social control, and ultimately, the quality of life, then the identifiable programmatic elements of community policing provide categorical formation for programs.

Jerome H. Skonick and David H. Bayley (1988) suggested four elements : ① community-based crime prevention ; ② proactive servicing and reorientation of patrol to stress nonemergency service ; ③ increased accountability to the public, which means public participation in the planning and supervision of police operations ; and ④ decentralization of command, which means shifting of command responsibility to lower rank levels. They also tried to connect those elements logically. The proactive serving programs and foot patrol, coupled with organizational decentralization of command, are the tools to achieve the objectives including crime prevention. Once the public is mobilized in the process of community policing programs, they are more likely to participate in anti-crime activities and, in turn, demand police accountability to the public.

By using these elements as criteria, this writer tries to delineate the programs of community policing and the research on them, even though each program is quite often subject to more than one criterion.

6.1. Programs

6.1.1 Neighborhood Watch Program

This program, as a group action approach, is the most popular and representative one in community-based crime prevention. The logic is that this comprehensive program may be able to reduce the incidence of crime by sharing collective responsibility for the safety of other persons as well as for personal own safety, while also raising the level of informal social control, spurring general neighborhood revitalization, and improving relationships between citizens and the police (Rosenbaum, 1988).

The Neighborhood Watch Program encompasses various kinds of activities such as organizing block-watch groups, training people in self-defense or rape prevention, consulting concerning physical security measures, educating to report criminal activity, marking properties with identification, and publishing newsletters containing crime-related information, and having police officers make security surveys of premises (National Crime Prevention Institute, 1986 ; Skolinck and Bayley, 1988). Even though the collective activities for crime prevention in neighborhoods can be called Neighborhood Watch programs, Garofalo and McLeod suggested three minimal criteria : “① the primary participants in the programs live and/or work in the program area, ② the programs are collective, rather than individual, attempts at crime prevention ; thus, the participants must be involved in some sort of systematic effort in which their activities are coordinated, and ③ the programs are aimed at increasing the level of surveillance directed at criminal behaviors and suspicious behaviors that appear to be precursors of criminal behavior (1987 : 26).

There are thousands of Neighborhood Watch programs operating in various

ways in the United States (Bayley, 1986 ; Rosenbaum 1987 ; Weatheritt 1987). They differ in their manner of operation with respect to “whether the initiative comes from the police or the public ; whether costs are born by participants, government, or charitable organizations ; the size of areas organized ; the manner in which leaders are selected ; the amount of effort devoted to maintaining high levels of activity and involvement ; the kind of provision made for organizing neighborhood units into larger associations ; and the level of ongoing support provided by the police” (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 : 7). Neighborhood Watch programs are also being practiced under different names (Block Watch, community Watch, community Alert, etc). Moreover, they are different in range from the most simple and basic surveillance programs to multifunctional and multipurposeful ones including citizen patrol.

Some research on Watch-type programs showed positive effects on burglary rates after program implementation (Greenberg et al, 1985 ; Titus 1983), on general crime and fear levels in New York (Rich, Chavis, Florin, Perkins, and Wandersman 1987 ; Wandersman, Florin, Chavis, Rich, and Prestby 1985) and in St. Louis (Konfeld, Salert, and Schoenberg 1981), and on property crime victimization and fear of crime (Rosenbaum 1986). However, those studies are seriously questioned as to their reliability and validity because the programs were comprehensive and mixed with police activities, and/or the physical environment (Rosenbaum 1988).

Rosenbaum summarized four large-scale quasi-experimental evaluations¹³⁾ of Neighborhood Watch programs which are much better qualified methodologically (1988 : 361-364). The findings did not support other evaluations that claimed positive effects. The summary of program evaluations showed that Neighborhood Watch programs do not affect crime rates, fear of crime, and social cohesion. The explanation of the findings are derived indirectly from two possible reasonings. One is that Neighborhood Watch programs could not activate intervening variables between the program itself and the expected effects. Few changes were found in factors such as social interaction, behavior changes in terms of security, feelings of responsibility, satisfaction with the neighborhood, and attitudes toward the police, which are important in causal sequence for efficacy as pointed out in informal social control and opportunity reduction models. The other explanation is that participating and maintenance levels were fairly low in low-income, heterogeneous, high crime areas (Bennett, Fisher, and Lavarakas 1986) that unquestionably need help in activating for crime prevention action. In this area, the "social problems" approach is more recommendable than opportunity reduction (Bennett and Lavarakas 1988 ; Podolefski 1983) because local social problems are more serious and more closely related to the crime rather than to a stranger's offending in this neighborhood.

The findings suggest the lesson that a more comprehensive, rather than

13) In Seattle (Cirel, Evans, McGillis, and Whitcomb, 1977 ; Lindsay and McGillis, 1986), Chicago (Rosenbaum et al., 1985, 1986), Minneapolis (Plate, McPherson and Siloway, 1987), and London, England (Bennett, 1987).

mild, intervention involving changes in citizen behavior, police activity, and the physical environment, will be more effective (Rosenbaum, 1988).

6.1.2 Other Programs

“CB(Citizen’s band)” radio patrols have a long history and are designed to notify the police of emergencies or suspicious circumstances, rather than to take any action(Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). Their purpose is to increase the police surveillance capacity. “Educational programs” are developed for assisting particular groups of people to protect themselves more successfully (1988b). The objective groups are the elderly, school children, working women, commuters, vending machine operators, taxicab drivers, and vacationers. Usually, police crime-prevention specialists give lectures, develop brochures, and coordinate medial campaigns. “Newsletters” are the periodicals that are published by the police or the police and neighborhood watch committee cooperation that provided residents of the neighborhood with information about police programs, crime-related tips such as crime trend in the area, and crime prevention tactics such as physical security environment including locks, window, lightings, et (David Green et al., 1983).

Community policing does not typically use only one program, because, as suggested previously, a comprehensive “coordinated community policing” strategy is more effective for the purpose of the crime prevention, and it is easier to maintain such programs due to variety. The Newark Police Department experimented with Program that included a newsletter, a directed police-citizen contact program, the operation of a neighborhood community police center, intensified enforcement of disorderly conduct statues, and neighbor-

hood clean-up. In terms of individual-level outcomes, it was the most successful (Wycoff, 1988 : 108-111).

Foot Patrol

Over the course of several decades, patrol work has been questioned as to its effectiveness. The main issue is determining what kind of patrol style can deter more effectively and can intervene more promptly the criminal and disorderly activity. Recently, as a main strategy of community policing, foot patrol was experimented with on the basis of the assumption that it would provide close contacts with civilians and enhance police presence, which results in assisting both individually and collectively in terms of security, collecting crime-related information, and recognizing the community's problems (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988b). The main purpose of foot patrol is the reduction of fear and shoring up the informal social control atmosphere.

Foot patrol officers make door-to-door visits, introduce themselves to residents and business people, and talk freely with the people about any problems in the neighborhood which residents wish brought to the attention of the police (Kelling and Moore, 1988). Houston's door-to-door strategy accomplished the largest number of primary goals (Skolick and Bayley, 1986). This program required no special facilities or training and a very small amount of patrol officer time¹⁴⁾

The police department focuses their priority of foot patrol on social disorder and incivility (urban decay, physical deterioration). A direct patrol tactic is

14) An average of three-ten minutes per contact(Wycoff, 1988 : 108).

conducted to intensively enforce the disorderly conduct law on sidewalk and street corners, and to maintain order by radar checks, bus checks for DWI (driving while intoxicated), stolen vehicles, and improper licenses (Wilson and Kelling, 1982 ; Mastrofski, 1988). To decrease incivility, cooperation among the local service governments and neighborhood groups is activated.

Accountability to the Community

The San Diego Community Profile project (Boydston and Sherry, 1975) was conducted with the objectives of an understanding of and accountability to the community in 1973 and 1974. This community profiling was designed to ① change the attitudes of police officers toward the community residents and the perspective on community relationships, ② change the characteristics of the police department from law enforcement-oriented to community service-oriented, and ③ change the subculture of the police agency by improving job satisfaction among the police (1975 : 1).

Two groups of police officers were compared, one which participated in the community profiling orientation and the other which continued a traditional style of police patrol. The results of the study reported that “officers enacting the community profiling role changed their conception of police work, increased non-law-enforcement contact with community residents, and developed a more positive attitude toward police and community relations” (Greene and Taylor, 1988 : 212).

Police Community Stations

One of main characteristics of community policing is the shift from moto-

rized patrol with computerized dispatch systems to small police posts in neighborhoods under the decentralized command system. Like community policing itself, there are varieties as far as their operational differences in purpose and performance. For example, miniature police stations in Japan, Norway, and Singapore are responsible for soft and servicing police work except criminal investigation : “they receive complaints, respond to calls for service, provide information and advice, patrol on foot or bicycle, organize community crime prevention, and develop personal contacts (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 : 9).” But Detroit’s administrations, like those in Stockholm and like Melbourne’s Broadmeadows shop-front, are responsible only for community crime prevention rather than for general police work (1988 : 9).

6.2 Empirical Studies

Empirical studies focusing on those programs were conducted during the late 1970’s and the early 1980’s. The implemented strategies vary from simple foot patrol to comprehensive coordinated community policing. The studies focused on the effectiveness of the community policing programs aiming at goals such as satisfaction with police and reduction of fear, disorder, and crime.

Flint

The Flint Foot Patrol project (Trojanowicz, 1983, 1986) experimented with 22 police officers and 3 supervisors in 14 experimental neighborhoods. The foot patrol officers were given a wide range of roles in implementing foot patrol as envisioned (1982) by Wilson and Kelling’s incivility model. A panel and cross-sectional citizen survey was conducted during a time span of three

years.

The area-level analysis suggested that crime rate fluctuated irregularly. This pattern indicated that crime was not influenced by the foot patrol program, but rather by neighborhood dynamics in each area. But in the panel analysis, the perceptions of residents concerning the seriousness of neighborhood crime were positively affected. Evaluators reported low fear of crime and high awareness of police foot patrol.

Newark

The first Newark Foot Patrol Experiment (Police Foundation, 1981) was conducted for the issues of "untended property and untended behavior" envisioned (1982) by Wilson and Kelling between 1978 and 1979. A quasi-experimental nonequivalent comparison group design and separate pretest/posttest samples at individual levels were used. A residential and a commercial sample were analyzed for individual levels, and beats were analyzed for area levels.

Residents noticed a decline in street activity such as selling drugs and a decrease in the severity of crime. They also evaluated police performance more positively. But business persons, by contrast, felt that street crime became worse (1981 : 88). Reported crime and victimization were unaffected by the level of foot patrol in the residential and commercial samples.

The second Newark study for the given increased attention to social and physical incivilities and was conducted in 1983 and 1984 (Pate et al., 1985 : 3, Williams and Pate, 1987). A single control (nontreatment) area was selected. Twenty-four officers were trained for three days for their order maintenance roles, and were assigned to three beats. The patrolling effort, which is called

“coordinated community policing,” included various community policing tactics such as cleanup, community newsletters, foot patrol, bus checks, radar patrol, and enforcement of disorderly conduct statues.

Experimental design was used for assessing newsletter programs, and quasi-experimental design for the patrolling and clean-up programs. The findings (Pate et al., 1985) from comparing pre-and postprogram responses showed that in the area-level analysis, changes¹⁵⁾ were observed in three treatment beats (cleanup, newsletter, and patrol). However, at the individual level Williams and Pate (1987) reported no significant effects in the newsletter or cleanup programs. In an earlier version (Pate et al., 1985), evaluators reported that the coordinated patrol program decreased fear of crime in the comparison area and increased the levels of concern about crime among employees and patrol in the nonresidential samples.

Oakland

In 1983 a diversified patrol strategy intervention experiment was conducted in a portion of Oakland’s Central Business District (CBD). This included foot patrol, small vehicle patrols, and a RID (Report Incidents Directly) program. Twenty-eight foot patrol officers contacted people on the street during the duty. They focused on “soft-crime” (Reiss, 1985 : 6-8) and the social and physical incivilities referred to by Wilson and Kelling.

The findings showed that felony and misdemeanor arrests records per officer were surprisingly high, and the drops in crime in the treatment area were

15) The correlations among the dependent measures were not reported (Green and Taylor, 1988 : 211).

more substantial than the declines noted citywide (Reiss, 1985a : 39). However, no statistical tests were reported.

Houston

Between 1983 and 1984 the Houston fear-reduction program was implemented to test the effects of five community strategies for reducing the fear of crime. They are a victim recontact program, a community newsletter program, a citizen contact patrol program, a police community station, and a community organizing for crime prevention (Brown and Wycoff, 1987).

The researchers use experimental procedures for victim recontact and neighborhood newsletter programs, and a quasi-experimental design for the remaining three programs. As well, the individual and the area level analysis were conducted on the basis of across-sectional and panel data.

The newsletter program did not show effectiveness, and neither did the victim recontact program due to a two month time lag. However, in cross-sectional analysis, the citizen contact patrol and the police community station showed positive results in perceptions of social disorder, fear of personal victimization, and the level of personal and property crime. Community organizing also improved the evaluation of the police. Even though panel analysis was partially supportive of the results for the cross-sectional analysis, it showed no substantial difference in the police community police station and the contact patrol programs, and no change in the perceptions of social disorder or crime level in the area (1987).

Boston

In 1983 the Boston Police Department implemented some tactics of a new ideology, community policing. They reallocated 34 percent of their patrol force into foot patrol and changed the characteristics of police service from arresting serious offenders to decreasing disorder and minor crimes.

The degrees of foot patrol (high, medium, low, unstaffed, and no change) and changes in calls-for-service (serious crime, less serious crime, and non-crime related) among police beats were examined by the evaluators. The results of the study were that "neither the total number of calls or order maintenance at any three priority levels rose with increased foot patrol staffing (1986 : 27)." The rates of crimes and disturbance behaviors fluctuated in inconsistent direction in foot patrol areas ; violent crimes including burglary did not change, while street robbery and property offenses, minor disturbances, and gang calls rose. In sum, the evaluators concluded that "citywide patrol reallocation strategy did not produce consistent or systematic changes in the number of kinds of incidents police deal with.....or, by implication, in the underlying problems that such calls reflect (1986 : 38)."

Baltimore County

Another experiment for the citizen fear reduction of crime, COPE (Citizen Oriented Police Enforcement) was conducted in 1981 (Cordner, 1985 ; Taft, 1986). This project focused on problem-oriented policing which placed emphasis on solving community problems that lead to crime, fear, and disorder rather than focusing on the style of patrol (Goldstein, 1977, 1979). The program has three stages from Step I (directed patrol) to Step II (crime prevention), and to Step III (problem identification and problem solving).

Evaluation of the study was made by door-to-door survey with pre/post surveys and a control group. the findings are that ① residents' awareness of the program steadily increased ; ② citizen satisfaction with police services decreases from Step I to Step II, but increases during the Step III. ③ fear of crime decreased modestly ; and ④ reported crime initially increased, but began to decrease after the program had been settled up (12%), and calls for service decreased, too¹⁶⁾

Collectively the experiments across studies have failed to verify the effectiveness of community policing strategies to achieve the goals. With regard to fear of crime, each study showed contradictory results. Findings concerning the impact on crime are also inconsistent. Furthermore, the studies contain numerous design and analytical deficiencies¹⁷⁾. However, it is too early to throw away community policing at this point. Additional theory development and improved research methods are desirable.

7. Problems and Benefits

7.1 Benefits

Despite the ambiguities of the concept and the realities of police resistance,

16) No tests for statistical significance were reported because the number was small (N=24).

17) Greene and Taylor (1988 : 216-219) pointed out six features of the slippage between the theory and the research ; ① inadequate operationalization of "community", ② confusion about the appropriate level of analysis, ③ design, ④ implementation, ⑤ defining the treatment, and ⑥ outcome specification.

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community policing embodies both an operational philosophy and a management philosophy. As a new innovative ideology, community policing suggests possible dual benefits to the community and to the police, if its problems and limitations (in next section) in theory and practice are carefully considered and could be solved.

7.1.1 Benefits to the Community

The basic mission of the police in community policing is to prevent crime and disorder. This was also Sir Robert Peel's premise. Even though there is presently little hard evidence to support the effectiveness of community policing, the Singapore experience well supports this issue with its results. According to the findings of this experience, the public's perception of security rose along with increased support for the police (Quah and Quah, 1987). Second, community policing enhances public scrutiny of police operations because it emphasizes greater involvement of the public in the discussion of "what", "why", and "how" of police work.

Third, community policing also increases accountability to the public. Unlike traditional policing, which is accountable only to legal standards and police management, police-community reciprocity in strategy planning, tactic implementation, and policy development is the basic and essential element in community policing. Such reciprocity makes the police personnel more responsible for their activities. Finally, more representative recruitment is necessary. Because community policing uses both tactics, hard and soft, the job can be done "as well by women as men, by the short as by the tall, by the verbal as by the physical, and by the sympathetic as by the authoritarian (Skolnick and

Bayley, 1988 : 32).” This kind of recruitment policy fits well in dealing with pluralistic and heterogenic neighborhoods.

7.1.2 Benefits to the Police

Bayley (1986 : 71) calls the community policing “a game the police cannot lose” because it is a product of police–community coproduction. If they failed to control crime, police can persuade the public who is feeling current fear of crime by arguing for accepting more traditional strategies. The public, then, would not give up support for policing. Second, the public become familiar with the police and police work while working with the police. That experience helps the public understand and be sympathetic toward the police, and, in turn, the police gain have greater citizen support.

Third, community policing raises the morale and the satisfaction of the police involved. Community policing increases the positive contacts between the police and the public by nonemergency interaction which provides opportunities for mutual trust and helps citizens resolve issues and problems. As a result, police officers have “① recognition that most citizens welcome the opportunity to interact with police, ② a sense of pride in their work, and ③ a growth in their sense of efficacy and personal competence (Wycoff, 1988 : 111).” Finally, because community policing broadens the range of police activities and skills for that purpose, police needs, more than simple law enforcement–oriented one way characteristics, professional stature such as being “analytic, empathetic, flexible, and communicative” (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 : 34). At the same time, the expanded performance skills create additional career opportunities for more officers who have various back-

grounds and skills.

7.2 Problems

However good theory is, it has some problems and limitations. Community policing is not the exception of that rule. Like both sides of a coin, community police has a bright side of benefits and a dark side of problems. Because community policing is a developing theory, much more room is left for criticism. This criticism (Cohen, 1985 ; Goldstein, 1987 ; Kinsey, Lea, and Young, 1986 ; Klockars, 1986 ; Manning, 1984 ; Mastrofski, 1984) in the early stages is a positive sign toward promising the pessimistic future for community policing. There are some fundamental questions regarding an adequate framework or a set of concepts of community policing and how they might be given practical content (Weatheritt, 1988).

7.2.1 What is a Community?

Even though the community in community policing is presupposed as an identifiable and viable concept, the real observations revealed that genuine communities are probably not very usual in modern cities (Klockars, 1988). Where they do exist, citizens have little desire for close contact with the police and responsibility (Manning, 1984). Klockars (1988 : 248) pointed out that community policing mystified the real entities such as districts or interest groups as the concept of community.

Even today, we don't know much about the ecology of neighborhood or city self-defense (Kelling and Stewar, 1989). Communities are pluralistic and diverse sociologically, for example, ethnic and racial groups, and vary in scale

and size. Depending on circumstances, the community will show very different faces. Accordingly, it is valuable to understand expectations, perceptions, and values of the people in a community.

But the advocates for community policing oversimplified the dynamics of the community and the process of how a community will be made. It is especially important to implement community policing tactics in areas where crime and disorder are prevalent, and even in areas that seem to have a coherent consensus regarding local problems (Mastrofski, 1988). We know from the police experience that we need “a more realistic and perhaps useful conception of community as that of a community of interests, united on a temporal basis, in relation to specific interests, requiring some degree of mutual collaboration and agreement” (Murphy, 1988 : 186).

7.2.2 Who Represents the Community?

The next problem is that community policing supposes that there is a consensus in the community regarding police services priorities and policing problems. This legitimacy for more active and democratic policing is questioned regarding who legitimately represents that community. This issue is particularly problematic in communities that are low-income, poorly organized and politically unrepresented (Murphy, 1988 : 186).

Accordingly, the concerns about fairness and equity in the supply of resources for community defense are a critical issue. This may exacerbate the gap between the “have” and the “have nots” with the development of private security business in modern industrial society. This is because the neighbor-

hood social control is not necessarily cumulative and the displacement phenomena to the less well-off classes of people by security mechanism of the well-off people may happen.

If the representation of community is so vague, community policing is seriously challenged by the questions "Whose order?" and "Whose disorder?" Why is community policing more democratic than traditional policing (Manning, 1988 : 43)? In this regard, policing may be politicized and the spirit of professionalism can be undermined because community policing uses negotiating with local groups rather than the rule of law, and more discretion is given to police officers. The public are more likely to become an interest group for the police, and the unpopular persons can not benefit from the protection afforded by law.

Even though it is accepted that neighborhoods operate as a true political system, another problem remains. This is the conflict between community standards and individual rights (Murphy, 1988). Community philosophy endorsing the norms of the community as public order maintenance and/or selective enforcement sometimes does not coincide with the legal mandates of equality and the duty of protection of individual rights and minorities from the arbitrary police power and standards of the majority (1988 : 18777). The inherent and conflicting tension between individual freedom and collective security still remains a dilemma to police.

Murphy (1988 : 186) casts some important questions which should be answered : "Should the police, where necessary, organize communities to represent their own interests?" How should police assess public opinion? How do po-

lice balance their formal commitments to local governments and neighborhood politicians, versus informal representatives of the community?

7.2.3 What is the Community Role in Policing?

The role of community in community policing is various : it can serve as an extension of police surveillance (such as in Neighborhood Watch program), clientele (Goldstein, 1979, 1987), partner or coproducer with police in policing (Murphy and MUIr, 1984 ; Wilson and Kelling, 1982), and a source of decision making over police activities (Kinsey, Lea, and Young, 1986). Without suggesting the clear definition and mechanisms of the relationship between the community and the police, community policing can not evade the criticism that everything is so vague that community policing is full of confusions.

As well, whatever the role of the community is, it is true that the community is no more the third part in community policing. This places the community in a dangerous position. In other words, if the community is the coequal partner with the police, the police can blame the community for the failure of their activities if that community does not cooperate well enough. In fact, the relationship between the public and the police is asymmetrical rather than police-community reciprocal. In the crime programs, the public serves as the department's eyes and ears, and the police play the main role to lead the public (Police Foundation, 1983). Community policing, especially coupled with the use media, provides tools to shape the public opinion.

7.2.4 Expanded Role of the Police

Community policing results in the expansion of the role of the police. Rather

than simply operating legal suites in public places, police officers in community policing educate, cooperate, and encourage as much in private as public (Bayley, 1988). Their roles are more involved in social and political activities. This expansion of the role results in the enhancement of power and influence. This phenomenon must bring about some change, either abusing police power or being more responsible for the community security. This depends on the police itself and political safeguards against police power abuse. Even though it is still an arguable issue, there are fundamental conflicts between the police role and the community's reaction (Menke, White, and Carey, 1982).

The new role and increased power are created by community policing ideology, because its main characteristic is proactive. Crime prevention programs allow the police to engage proactively in community affairs and local government services.

Informal social control strategy provides a broad and powerful base for the police to achieve their goals. However, the problem of this strategy is one of the hottest philosophical and political arguments in history. Informal social control operates as a system of norm enforcement independently or at best complementarily with formal social control (Greenberg and Rohe, 1986). Thus community policing seems to emphasize the formal control system, rather than the informal social control system. The more police agencies get involved in informal social control, the more dependent the informal social control element is on the police. Finally, the balance will disappear. However, community policing does not suggest the specific practices as the how to enforce informal social control. It is not easy to deny that what the police is supposed to do is to regu-

late the conflict, if necessary, by use of force or violence.

The Deveon and Cornwall experiment in 1976 by Anderson, which was successful in testing Anderson's argument of informal social control by the police, attested to the hypothesis (Balwin and Kinsey, 1982). On a practical level, the results reported that informal social control failed to reduce crime, and the police were not able to improve informal social control. On constitutional grounds, Anderson overestimated the police role and their capability. Short (1983), in his study concerning this issue in the West Midlands police, pointed out that the police have limits in gearing the informal social control and that social harmony is hard to achieve in this society.

There is a possibility that the politicization of the police makes the police superpower organization in the society become larger when the police are permitted to have more sophisticated electronic equipment and the even greater legal, social, and informal control functions.

7.2.5 What and How to Assess

Community policing created new objectives and criteria. The focus of policing shifts from arresting offenders and reducing the crime rate to preventing the offense and reducing the fear of crime. Of the practical differences some are measurable and some are not. The failure of arresting strategy is measurable by using crime rates, but the success or failure of crime prevention is hard to prove (Rosenbaum : 1988).

The goal of reducing fear and disorder is also problematic. First, we know little regarding how the fear of crime functions and how much it affects the human behaviors, especially against crime (Garofalo, 1981). Second, even

though fear and disorder are assumed to provide the assessment of success of police activities, the concepts are unclear and depend on subjective measures such as people's perceptions of the extent of crime and disorder (Mastrofski, 1988). These subjective measures are seldom used together and show the results contradictory to objective indicators of crime control, order maintenance, and police practice (Pate et al., 1986). When the objectives are obscure and unmeasurable, police may be less accountable for the operations because the police officers are confused with the scales by which to judge. Systematic inperson observation is needed in how to handle situations and the development of capacity of officers to fit their actions on the street for particular circumstances

7.3 Limitations

In addition to the problems described above, there are other limitations in community policing. First, even though the community policing programs work, they are inappropriate for coping over the long term with many of the social disorders from the insiders of the community that cause urban deterioration (Mastrofski, 1988). Second, Greene and Taylor (1988 : 198-206) found that the linkage between incivility and weakened informal social control should be limited to those neighborhoods that are neither poor nor well-off.

Third, Goldstein (1987 : 21) suggests that because the success of community policing depends on the capacity of police officers and their self-discipline, it may be able to be implemented only in those departments in which integrity and conformity with legal requirements are established. Fourth, contrary to op-

timism about community policing, the capacity of the police to handle crime-related problems is somewhat limited. The causes of crimes are primarily rooted structural factors such as unemployment, education, age distribution, and ethnic heterogeneity (Radzinowicz and King, 1977).

III. CONCLUSION

As a reform of traditional policing, community policing suggests new tactics, organization, management, strategy, goals, and philosophy. This innovative idea demands that the police and community change their behaviors and thoughts in new direction. Its impact on society, if fully implemented, will be much greater than we can imagine.

Accordingly, a great deal of attention has been being paid to the possible problems of theory and practices in community policing. Moreover, the empirical studies, even though major evaluations are scarce, have not proven the effectiveness of this model regarding crimes, community satisfaction, and quality of life.

The main concern which causes why many scholars to be cautious concerning its potential backfire comes from the characteristics of theoretical ambiguity and of aspiration rather than the facts. This issue is well cautioned by Bayley (1988 : 226-236) who states that "the changes to community policing may decrease public safety, reduce the police capacity to deal effectively with disorders, provide a continuing rationale for inefficient public resource allocation, increase the power of the police relatively among government agen-

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cies, legitimate the penetration of communities by forceful enforcement agents of government, undermine professionalism, promote vigilantism, and produce a number of other equally unpalatable changes." The reason some police departments adapt community policing is that they need something new, that looks good, and is appealing to the public rather than the substantial contents (Bayley, 1988).

Despite those worries, it is too early to give up the idea of community policing because it has potential benefits to police and community and some positive research results from Detroit, Houston, and Santa Ana, even though they are difficult to generalize (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). As Rosenbaum (1988) concludes in his article "Community Crime Prevention: A Review and Synthesis of the Literature," it is often difficult to tell whether or not the ineffectiveness of a program is attributable to a misguided theory or to a miscarriage of implementation.

Diagnosis of shortcomings of theory, practice, and its links in community policing provides several recommendations as follows. First, the primary concern in community policing treatment should be the ends (the what) of policing rather than means (the how). In other words, problem-solving patrol is recommendable over foot patrol or some other strategy (Greene and Taylor, 1988 : 220)

Second, other general theories, such as "fear of crime (Taylor and Hale, 1986)," and "informal social control" (Greenberg and Rohe, 1986) will greatly help to justify the theoretical rationale for the police role in community policing (1988 : 221).

Third, more attention should be paid to community dynamics (Heller et al., 1984). Community policing policy should consider the practicability of the programs in different locations and situations, such as race and poverty, especially for equal protection of all segments of the population (Tylor and Hale, 1986).

Fourth, the link to connect the process (programs) and the outcome (the accomplishment of goals) needs to be specified necessary as to how officers should respond to the particular circumstances they are called to handle and as to how the public can become an active partner in producing public order.

Fifth, the broadly permitted street-level discretion, especially in the handling of disorders, should be controlled by any means, because it has a great potential danger of misbehavior, abuse of authority, and bad judgement. As a safeguard, citizens and an institution outside the police must be given the authority and capacity to judge what, why, and how the police are performing (Mastrofski, 1988 ; Bayley, 1988).

Sixth, to bring about "police-community reciprocity," the police organization needs to do extensive internal work before taking action in the community (Wycoff, 1988).

Seventh, police department needs to strive to recruit high quality police officers to fulfill the demands of community policing. At the same time, training should be provided to all police officers for the same purpose.

In current issues of community policing, the debates and analysis regarding pros and cons, and the demands to it make more realistic rather than simply rhetorical are believed early sign for successful development of community po-

licing in the the near future. As Manning (1988) stated, community policing, still primitive in design, umplementation, and assessment, should be seen as part of an ongoing reform movement that police and scholars should continue to challenge. Community policing is thought to be worthwhile and should definitely receive concerns about its movement from the world. It is quite possible to find an appropriate model of community policing to guide the police, if a systematic study regarding theory of new strategy and scientific research about practices of new tactics continues.

Diagram I

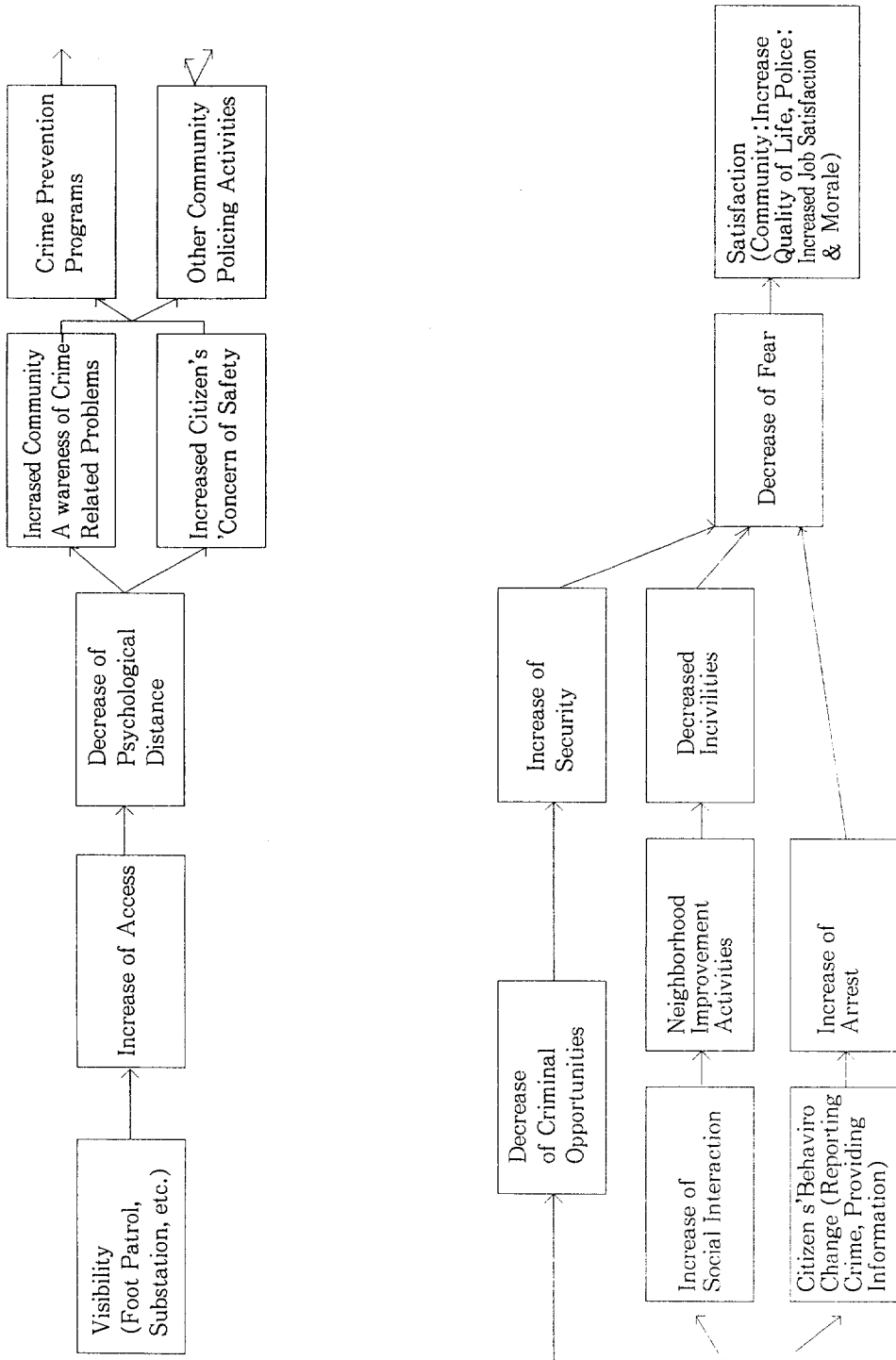


Diagram II - 1

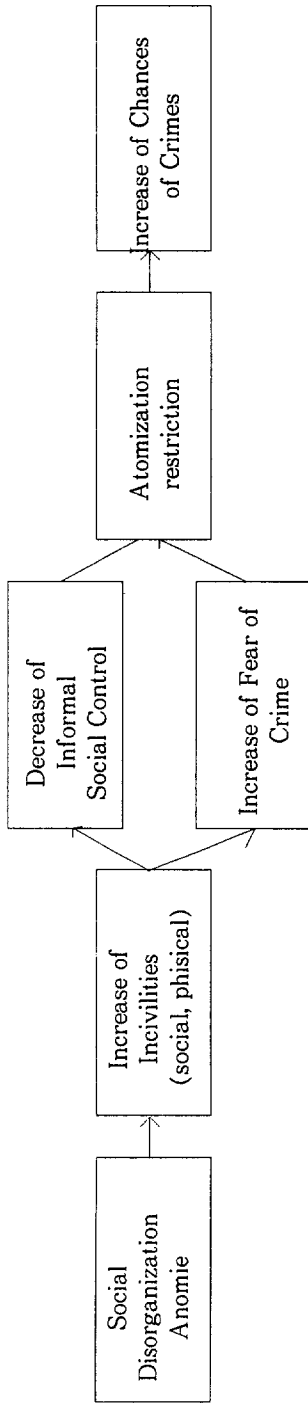
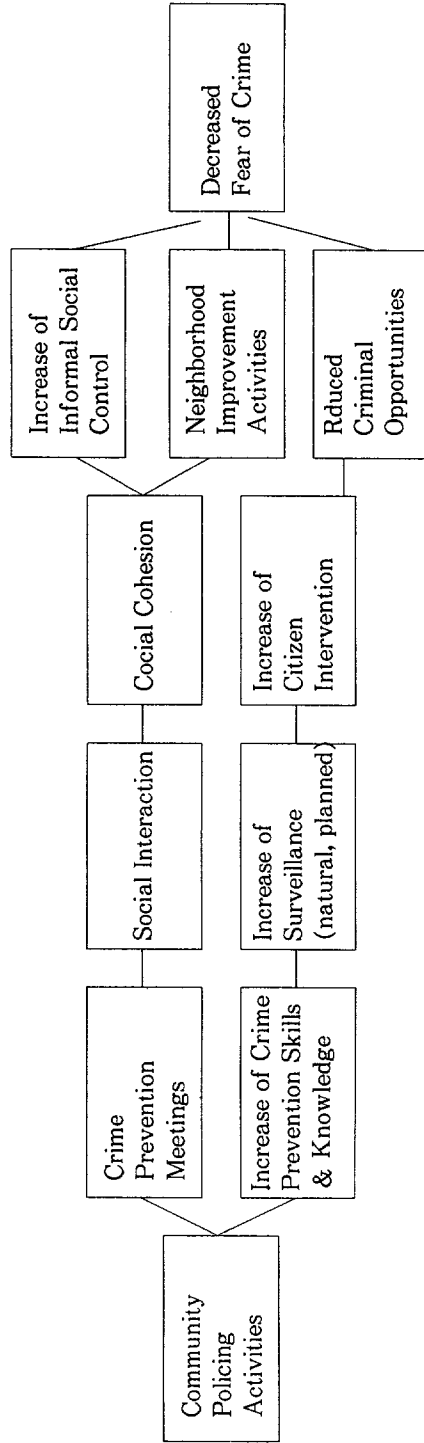


Diagram II - 2



◀ 編輯委員 ▶

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朴 景 賢
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