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Law Enforcement as a Form of Development: Community Policing in the United States

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Running Head: Law Enforcement as a Form of Development: Community Policing in the United States

Law Enforcement as a Form of Development: Community Policing in the United States

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ABSTRACT

The evolution of crime throughout time has required a development of alternative policing methodologies in the United States. One result of this is community policing, where problem solving became foundational to solving crime, transitioning from reactionary to prevention-based policing tactics. However, serious issues with community policing persist. This paper considers the role of police officers as development actors, introducing a foundational philosophy of development and formulating new principles and suggestions for modern police tactics.

Keywords: Police, policing, civil rights, community policing, development, development actor, United States

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout the history of the United States, policing has undergone almost constant reformation. In the beginning, the country's policing infrastructure was modeled after England (Potter, 2013). This early form of governance primarily consisted of volunteers whose central duty was to warn of immediate danger. Scholars also noted the importance of slave patrols as a rudimentary form of policing during the 1700's. Transitioning into the early 1800's cities began to implement a night watch system where volunteers patrolled the streets around their assigned stations. This eventually led to a day shift some 100 years later (Gaines, Kappeler, & Vaughn, 1999). During the mid 1800's, the institution that is recognized today began to take shape.

Through the transition from the early night watches to the centralized and municipal police departments of mid 1800's, the contemporary police force begins to more closely resemble the police force of today. With the establishment and centralization of governance offices, police officers assumed a new identity and cities established a new bureaucratic structure. Officers became full-time employees with continuous employment, codes of conduct were implemented, and departments became answerable to a governing authority (Harring, 1983; Lundman, 1980; Lynch, 1984 as cited in Potter, 2013). As cities grew, crime increased, and disorder diversified, which in turn required a more capable governance system (Walker, 1996).

The United States police force has undergone almost continuous change in response to the social climate at any given point in time. However, a recent issue has emerged that further suggests that policing is in need of a paradigm shift. The issue is that of police abusing the rights of citizens, which has become a hot-button topic in the media, on campaign trails, and in the White House (Craven, 2015; Sanders, n.d). The literature presented in this paper will attempt to do two things: 1) Address the issue of justice as a philosophical policing issue through the

question of whether or not police officers are development actors, while considering that these practices could affect outlying societal entities; and 2) Create a guidebook of better policing practices stemming from a developmental standpoint.

According to Sumner and Tribe (2008), development is a process of societal transformation, an outcome of desirable targets, and a dominant discourse of western modernity. Introduced within the last few decades, community policing was created to establish new policing strategies that targeted more than immediate crime, but also focused on community-police relations (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994). The initiative was designed, and is implemented, to inaugurate a more diverse strategy that not only possesses the capability of handling immediate crime, but is also capable of engaging with the community in an effort to address the underlying causes of crime holistically (Bear, 2010). Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) contends that the initiative finds success through community partnerships, organizational transformation, and problem solving (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014). Through this operating paradigm, community policing aims to deter crime through a grassroots approach by engaging the community around the department. Increased community engagement helps to redefine what it is to fight crime *before* it occurs, instead of implementing reactionary practices that only deal with the aftermath of crime (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014). Although the majority of this research aims to test the validity of whether or not police officers can be deemed development actors, it is important to note that the initiative has been in existence for over 30 years, while crime remains a major issue in the communities that host it (U.S. Department of Justice, 2010).

In cities such as Ferguson, MO and Cleveland, OH, where policing scandals in the 2010s have sparked nationwide debate, community policing is a part of the broader governance strategy

(City of Ferguson, n.d.; City of Cleveland, n.d.). However, despite the implementation of community policing initiatives across the nation, policing scandals such as excessive force, racism, and general misconduct have become normative within the United States (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.; Lieberman, 2016; Shoichet et al, 2015; Tynes, 2016). Introducing the paradigm change of categorizing police officers as not only representatives of the law, but also as development actors might offer a solution to negatively perceived policing endeavors. For example, Amartya Sen (1999), a well respected and Nobel Prize winning development scholar, presented the notion that society operates through the success of its governing pillars, or freedoms. These freedoms include political freedoms, economic freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. Each of these foundational freedoms, or pillars, is subject to negative or positive influence. As explored in a later chapter, the city of Ferguson proves to exemplify this notion of negative influence, whereby the court influences the police department to implement unconstitutional measures that generate income at the expense of its citizens (Department of Justice, 2015). Policing initiatives and departments will also be analyzed in order to create a guidebook of implementable policing strategies to better serve and protect the United States population.

Overall, the literature of this research will aim to: explore the history of policing within the United States to better understand its foundations, introduce the paradigm of development and what it means to be a development actor, navigate and discover community policing as a means of development, assess police departments and initiatives, and create a guidebook of implementable proposals that might lead to better policing strategies for the American people.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Development

In order to fully explore the hypothesis that police officers are development actors, it is necessary to introduce the term “development.” First and foremost, development is often accepted as being a multidimensional entity that has no clear or straightforward meaning. For example, noted development scholar Kanbur (2006) stated that “since development depends on values and alternative conceptions of the good life, there is no uniform or unique answer” (p. 1). However, Sumner and Tribe (2008) noted that development as an entity is in constant flux between three definitions: “Development as a long term process of structural societal transformation; Development as a short-to-medium term outcome of desirable targets; and Development as a dominant ‘discourse’ of western modernity” (p. 14).

Throughout a study by Sumner and Tribe (2008), the evolution of development is explored. Sumner and Tribe (2008) considered development to be a constantly transformative concept beginning in the post-World War II period, specifically during “the shift from an agrarian economy to an industrial economy, while after the 1990s it changed to an indication of policy objectives and performance indicators” (p.23). However, Sen (1999) considered the philosophy of development differently. Through his paradigm, development is an accumulation of freedoms, or civil liberties, that citizens harness within a given society: The more freedoms a country has, the more developed it is.

Development as a function of society. According to Sen (1999), there are observable freedoms that are conditional to the measure of the developmental state that a given area can be in at any time. In an effort to clarify, Sen’s (1999) report indicated that:

Freedom is central to the process of development for two distinct reasons: 1) The evaluative reason: assessment of progress has to be done primarily in terms of whether the freedoms that people have are enhanced; and 2) The effectiveness reason: achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people, that ultimately determine five distinct types of freedoms – Political freedoms, economic freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security, where a link can be found to bound them together. (p. 4)

As stated, the idea that these five freedoms have the potential to influence and complement one another is central to Sen's thesis. With the power to influence, however, also comes the power to harm. These freedoms are interconnected for both positive and negative consequences.

Sen (1999) argued that there is a host of linked connections between these five freedoms, which presents the possibility of a harmful domino effect if any one freedom is negatively affected. According to a 2008 study conducted by Ciborra and Navarra, governance could be seen as a central beacon of development as it is "among the most important causes of state failure and underdevelopment" (p. 1). Additionally, Thomas (2001) presented the notion that governance, development, and human security are interwoven, and intensifying inequalities can be referred to, and recognized, as a foundational concern of human security (p.1). Thomas (2001) continued by linking human security concerns to the issues of inequality. Through this paradigm, inequalities have the potential to be explosive, causing violence and unrest. When considering development, Sen (1999) argued that it is observable through a societal infrastructure system, where the five fundamental freedoms become indicators of a population's development.

To understand development in the context that Sen described, his listed freedoms will be introduced. The first of the freedoms, political liberties, introduces the notion that people must have the opportunity to take part in public decision-making processes (Sen, 1999). Having the right to vote in elections is an example of freedom in political affairs. Conversely, those deprived of this liberty experience, or any other experience dictated by one of the listed freedoms, is what Sen deemed as an unfreedom. Sen stated, “political and civil freedoms are constitutive elements of human freedom, their denial is a handicap in itself” (1999, p. 38). In summation, without political freedoms, people are hindered in their ability to express their individual opinions about how they are governed.

Secondly, economic freedom allows individuals to “utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, or production, or exchange” (Sen, 1999, p. 39). This form of freedom considers the economic entitlements of a person by, coupled with reasonable prices and a successfully operating market, relating their personal resources owned or available for use and exchange (Sen, 1999). In short, the amount of resources an individual can harness is viewed as their economic entitlement. The more resources available to a wide range of individuals, the more chance for economic opportunity and participation. Additionally, central to this belief is the relationships between national wealth, personal wealth, and their constant flux. National wealth and personal wealth should be positively related: the more economic success of a country, the better the opportunity for reasonable distribution and economic entitlements for its citizens (Sen, 1999).

The third freedom, social opportunities, includes the societal amenities that a country offers each individual, regardless of wealth, race, gender, or other potentially marginalizing factors. These amenities include education, healthcare, protection, and other services that

contribute to an enhanced lifestyle (Sen, 1999). For example, without access to proper health care information and services, unhealthy lifestyles and preventable health issues might have the potential to pose risks to the populace. Sen highlighted the significance of the freedom of social opportunities and its effect on not only economic, but also political freedom. Without an education, for example, individuals must first cross the barrier of illiteracy before they can fully participate in economic activity. The same holds true for political participation in that effective communication can become hindered due to a lack of constituent education (Sen, 1999).

Without widely accessible educational services, those seeking to participate in the political arena aren't equipped with the foundational education to ensure their success.

Transparency, the fourth freedom, is a preventative agent against corrupt proceedings. Sen framed this component of freedom as people having a familiarity with one another through regular interactions. He proposed: "society operates on some basic presumption of trust" (Sen, 1999, p. 39). This trust is a transparency guarantee that serves as a primary medium in preventing corruption, economic carelessness, and deceitful transactions. Implementing this form of ideology into societal governance structures encourages a standard of disclosure and lucidity. According to Sen (1999), there must be a trust between those in authoritative positions and those they are working to serve. Without this trust, people are left in vulnerable positions and exploitative actions become commonplace. If left unchecked, these actions perpetuate unfreedoms, while deteriorating other established freedoms (Sen, 1999). Transparency International, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that is aimed at dismantling corruption worldwide, complemented Sen's reasoning, stating that:

Corruption corrodes the fabric of society. It undermines people's trust in political and economic systems, institutions and leaders. It can cost people their freedom,

health, money – and sometimes their lives [...] Transparency means shedding light on shady deals, weak enforcement of rules and other illicit practices that undermine good governments, ethical businesses and society at large

(Transparency.org, n.d.)

As Transparency International suggests, a population without transparency doesn't offer its citizens proper form of governance that is safeguarded by suitable checks and balances. This could be important when considering the safety of a community, or Sen's final freedom – protective security.

Lastly, and most importantly for this research, protective security as a freedom involves the protection of a population both figuratively and literally. Without protection and security, all other freedoms are potentially vulnerable. As Sen stated:

No matter how well an economic system operates, some people can be typically on the verge of vulnerability and can actually succumb to great deprivation as a result of material changes that adversely affect their lives. *Protective security* is needed to provide a social safety net for preventing the affected population from being reduced to abject misery, and in some cases even starvation and death.

(1999, p. 40)

Institutional safeguards are a necessity for the population to rely on in time of need, such as: “unemployment benefits, statutory income supplements [as well as] famine relief or emergency public employment” (Sen, 1999, p. 40). Similarly, without an entity that assesses the dangers that may arise within a population, feelings of security and trust are absent. Providing basic protection and security, according to Sen, ensures a population's capacities, as citizens can then focus on the remaining aspects of their life and society.

Sen's five principles of freedom are essential to his thesis of development as freedom. However, for the purpose of this thesis, only protection and security and transparency will be directly considered, while the remaining will be loosely considered when determining the negative or positive influence placed on them. In examining these freedoms, Thomas offered an additional link that complements Sen's research.

Thomas's (2001) research on human security complemented Sen's thesis on development. Combining their concepts, the link between individual capacities and development may become not only observable, but also relevant to the subject of law enforcement in the United States. Specifically, under Sen's paradigm, one failure of the five defined freedoms will affect the remaining four, while Thomas noted that unchecked discrepancies in human security could create violence and unrest within the exposed population (Thomas, 2001; Sen, 1999). This might be more apparent when considering controversial incidents involving citizens and the police, such as Michael Brown, Trayvon Martin and Rodney King, which will be explored later in this research. These three incidents, which created wide-scale protests and riots, might validate Thomas's research (CNN Wire Staff, 2012; HRW, 1994; USDOJ, 2015). Also important in connecting these two paradigms of thought is Ferguson's municipal court system's corrupt practices that led to the influence of poor tactics in the police department, further verifying Sen's thesis of societal pillars having the propensity to positively or negatively affect one another (Sen, 1999; USDOJ 2015). When considering both viewpoints, a society's security infrastructure is imperative for its citizens' well being. Throughout the presented theses and research that Sen and Thomas propose, a theme of civil rights emerges.

United States civil rights are individual liberties that are assured and protected by the constitution and federal law (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, n.d.). Similarly to

Sen's pillars of development, these rights include: freedom of speech, the right to vote, due process of law, equal protection of the laws, and protection from unlawful discrimination. When considering the link between civil rights and Sen's notion of development as a principle of freedom, the two become identical. Although the link between the two philosophies might be sound, Sen's proposed thesis has not received universal acceptance within the academic community.

The freedoms identified by Sen are both highly revered and heavily scrutinized within the scholastic development community. Due to his achievements, Sen, along with Ul Huq, Jolly, Stewart, and Desai, created the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR), a commonly cited reference for development indicators (Sumner, 2007). However, his theory has also garnered criticism. One of the critiques comes from Denis O'Hearn, a community activist and professor of sociology. In his article, "Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom: Ten Years Later" (2009), O'Hearn critically assessed Sen's principal thesis as well as its resulting impact on development. O'Hearn stated, "there are deeply troubling elements in Sen's basic assumptions about the nature of people and his lack of a feasible prescription for reaching his stated goals that make Development as Freedom not just misguided, but even rather dangerous" (para. 1). He pointed out the possible fallacy of failing to consider social origins of ethics, or the historical or cultural relevance impacting the ethical thought process, rather than classifying development as a "principle determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness" (O'Hearn, 2009, para. 9). Failing to consider the possibility of other benefits is a theme throughout O'Hearn's critique. Additionally, O'Hearn suggested that other societal capabilities deserve to be considered in Sen's proposed thesis, in that they have the potential to be socially organized. Similarly, Ben Fine (2004) pointed out Sen's failure to

consider welfare economics, in that they operate under the circumstances of “informational imperfect contracts between state and citizen” (p. 7). Conversely, sufficiently engaging in the attachment of not only formalistic and individualistic contribution, but also public and private contributions is essential. According to these scholastic opinions, Sen failed to attach a realistic assessment of the dependent circumstances that freedom relies upon, but rather picks and chooses without rationale.

Another critique of Sen’s proposed paradigm comes from Richard Sandbrook, author of “Globalization and the Limits of Neoliberal Development Doctrine” (2000). Within Sandbrook’s text, he considered the failure to note capitalism’s perpetuating influence on the reinforcement of unfreedom. Furthermore, Sandbrook stated that:

Sen’s pragmatic brand of neoliberalism purveys a false promise to the poor and socially excluded. Sen portrays a world of ‘reasoned social progress’ in which citizens, through informed and rational discussion in the context of free speech and free markets, may select policies to promote a just and prosperous society [-] a world in which the destructive side-effects of actually existing markets disappear. To achieve development, defined by Sen as the expansion of freedom, they will usually have to confront, not just dictatorial states bent on dominating markets, but global and national power structures rooted in the market economy. (Sandbrook, 2000, p. 1071)

Sandbrook clearly disagreed with the foundation of Sen’s thesis framework. However, Sandbrook made a case for why his disagreements are reasonable. Sandbrook contended that Sen’s approach relies solely on the expansion of one’s freedoms as a mechanism of development, rather than focusing on capitalistic motivations.

In considering capitalism as an alternative measure, Sandbrook cited research from noted scholars to support his argument. First, Karl Polyani's "The Great Transformation", gave historical precedence of the market. Within this proposed research, the economic system, or market system, was seen as a transformative entity that has over the years changed from a market exchange to a system wherein land, labor, and money are revered as commodities. Paired with this is the notion stemming from detailed studies that the economy was discovered to be integral to society in various places and times, using reciprocity and redistribution as examples (Polyani, 1957). Polyani (1957) uses these as examples to state that they operated outside of the realm of market exchange, and thus proving the need for alternative forms of economic organization for social priorities to be re-introduced into the economy. This reintroduction is essential in order to curb the disparaging implications inherited in the commodification of all things (Polyani, 1957; Sandbrook, 2000). In relation to this pathway of thinking, Sandbrook considers George Soros and his book "The Crisis of Global Capitalism: Open Society Endangered", wherein the general theme comes in the shape of a warning that erroneous and unregulated markets possess the propensity of creating a social reaction due to the inequalities that it develops (Soros, 1998; Sandbrook, 2000). Intensifying individualism, although valuable in the marketplace, eventually influences social norms wherein it corrodes authority while causing the bond of families, neighborhoods, and nations to deteriorate (Sandbrook, 2000). However, in his review of Sen's book, Fareed Zakaria has a different perspective. He notes that,

In awarding Sen his prize, the Swedish Academy of Sciences noted that he had "restored an ethical dimension to the discussion of vital economic problems." He has done this and more. He almost [handles difficult] choices by declaring that we must balance values, even when they are, as they often are, competing. Suggesting

Sen's work to be morally binding rather than absent, in that he promotes ethical inclinations to economical practices (Zakaria, 1999).

To summarize, Sandbrook notes the cause and effect relationship between disembodied markets and society, considering the end result to have harmful tendencies. Additionally, he notes that Sen fails to take this into consideration, but only sees participation in markets as a representation of "economic freedom, which can prove to be dangerous when people that are poor are reduced to selling nothing but their labor" (Sen, 2000, p. 40).

With regard to the criticism, Sen's argument of Development as Freedom appears to be too generalized in scope, lacking tangible indicators of freedom or unfreedom. However, this general approach at problem solving might prove to be beneficial when applying Sen's paradigm to United States policing practice. Although these critics raise valid arguments, Sen's thesis still provides value in linking society's foundations to policing. For the purpose of this thesis, development is defined through Sen's lens of development encapsulating an expansion of capabilities, and increasing a civilian's access and input to things they value (1999). Sen's framework will also be paired with his indirect notion that civil rights encapsulate freedom. Moreover, this requires civil rights to be protected dutifully, and therefore, a general assessment of police as the authority is required. Having defined development and introduced Sen's theory of developmental freedoms, the next section will provide an overview of the police force as the protective authority.

United States Police

According to the Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice (n.d.), there are several variations of police personnel within the United States. Some of those include, but are not limited to: local law enforcement officer, sworn officer, sheriff and non-sworn security

officers. With each variation come different roles and responsibilities. The title “local law enforcement officer”, which more or less casts an umbrella over a wide range of different officers, covers the following individuals:

An employee of a local law enforcement agency who is an officer sworn to carry out law enforcement duties. Examples of this class are sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, and chiefs of police, city police officers, and sworn personnel of law enforcement subunits of port and transit authorities. Formational level general data, this class includes campus police officers employed by a local city and community college districts, while excluding private campus police personnel. (Bureau of Justice, n.d.)

The largest difference of responsibility within this category is between sworn officers and non-sworn officers, as sworn officers are warranted with the formalized authority to initiate and conduct arrests while performing within the jurisdiction of unequivocal legal authority (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). Conversely, non-sworn officers are not granted the formal authority to issue arrests or serve in a manner containing a level of authority similar to that of their sworn officer counterparts (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). For example, police officers represent the law of the country and have the authority to detain and arrest citizens throughout the city or county in which they are stationed; this level of operation is outside the boundaries of security officers’ legal ability. Security guards, or officers, only receive the authority to provide assistance on the grounds of a private area (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). Their authority begins and ends with the receiving of Agent of the Owner powers – the ability to carry out protective manners of one’s property, essentially removing the requirement of probable cause to effectively safeguard the grounds operated on (Barrick, et al, 2009; Baze, 2009; Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). Also, to clarify the distinction, security police offer a combination of

security officer and police duties while protecting a specific locale and the personnel navigating within it (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). Additionally, City police officers and sheriffs have slight differences in jurisdiction. A sheriff is “an elected chief officer of a county law enforcement agency, typically responsible for law enforcement in unincorporated areas and for the operation of the county jail” (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). Deputies work under sheriffs, encapsulating the same duties, while city police officers are confined by jurisdictions relating to the city at which they serve (n.d.).

There are a multitude of variations within the classification process of police officers; however, there appears to be a general theme wherein responsibilities converge. As previously stated, the primary observable difference among officers is whether their classification is listed as sworn or non-sworn. For the purposes of this research, it is important to establish a strong foundation of what an officer is. With the help of the textbook “An Introduction to Policing” and the Bureau of Justice Statistics, a police officer is defined as a sworn-in, representation of the civil and legal power of the government that has the authority to act in an according manner (Dempsey & Forst, 2012; Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). In addition to creating a consistent definition for a police officer, it is important to consider what it means to be a police officer within the United States. In the following section, a brief history will be provided of how the police force became the legal and authoritative representation of the law that it is today.

History of policing. The United States’ police force has a long history, dating back to when America was a British colony. This early police force eventually transformed into the modern entity that it is today. During the colonial era of the United States, colonists established a policing system that closely imitated the English system that they had left behind. Civil unrest was combatted through the issuing of “law representatives” based on territories, which consisted

of, but were not limited to, town marshals, county sheriffs, and constables (Dempsy & Forst, 2012). This derivative approach lasted into the 1700s, when slave traders were given a more authoritative role, in which patrolling slave traders was loosely considered a rudimentary form of policing in the curtailment of slave related disputes (Dempsy & Forst, 2012). Ultimately, the development of policing entities resulted in the more modern urban era of the mid to late 1800s, wherein a more recognizable system comparable to the modern police force began to take shape. A brief overview of these past policing practices will better mold the understanding of contemporary policing institutions throughout the United States.

Rising from self-protection and the aide of military or militia during civil unrest, early colonists turned to the similar structure of England's civil law enforcement model during the 1600s (Dempsy & Forst, 2012). During the 17th century, there were not many options of reliance for criminal acts committed against colonists, which made them self reliant and occasionally dependent on that of the military and militia's involvement. This changed, however, with the introduction of a borrowed structure that instilled authority to newly created positions that would handle administrative duties and civil disputes. These positions included: a county sheriff that was in charge of tax collection, the supervision of elections, and other legal proceedings; sheriffs that were issued a bounty on conducted arrests; and a town marshal that was granted total authority in the law enforcement process over a city, aided by the constables and night watchmen throughout a defined area (Author, 2012). Although the application of these roles proved to be appropriate in theory, colonists in New York experienced difficulty with the night watch officers. Indeed, the New York City Gazette described these officers as "a parcel of idle, drinking, vigilant snorers, who never quelled any nocturnal tumult in their lives; but would perhaps, be as

ready to joining a burglary as any thief in Christendom” (Dralla, 2010, p. 443). However, with time, law enforcement became increasingly legitimized, reputable, and capable (Dralla, 2010).

The next period of the diverse history of the U.S. police force history is a loosely connected root to the turbulent slave-trading era. During this period, rural police were given authority to regulate the movement and activity of slaves (Turner et al., 2006). According to Turner et al (2006), discrimination and social restriction was deeply ingrained in the system, “particularly in rural areas, to maintain the institution of slavery by enforcing restrictive laws against slaves, [wherein the patrols became] prominent in many of the early colonies [and in most] Southern slave states [were] used as a means of apprehending runaway slaves and of protecting the white population from slave insurrections or crimes committed by slaves” (p.12). This system can be dated back to 1704, when the state of South Carolina authorized slave patrols in response to a mobilization of its militia due to the fear of a possible Spanish invasion. Lawmakers feared that there would be a secondary need for this militia in assisting with the possible internal threat of ‘insurrections and mischiefs’ from slaves (Hadden, 2001). Although some women joined the patrol, the force consisted primarily of free white men. The law granted those holding the position with authority to “enter, without permission, any homes of blacks or whites suspected of harboring slaves who were in any way violating the law” (Turner et al., 2006, p. 13). As stated by Dempsey and Forst (2012), “southern codes mandated that slaves had no rights as citizens because they were considered to be property,” thus these potentially radical powers given to the slave traders were justified (p. 440). As seen, these systems continuously underwent restructure throughout the years, ultimately becoming more relatable to the entity that the country has in place today.

During the mid 1800's, the need for an organized police force came with an increasing population, mainly due to a rise in immigration, which brought discrimination, crime, and disorder (Dempsey & Forst, 2012). Due to this rising threat, larger cities responded by creating formalized police departments. The first modern police department in the Northern states was established in Boston in 1838, though all officers were not fully uniformed until 1859. In these early stages, a police officer's responsibilities were not limited to governing the lawless, but ventured into other avenues that are not often shared with officers today. These avenues included, for example, maintaining public health while tending to a variety of societal issues: cleaning streets, inspecting boilers, caring for the poor and homeless, operating emergency ambulances, investigating vegetable markets, and performing other social services (Dempsey & Forst, 2012). By the time of the Civil War, many of the larger cities throughout the country had followed suit. Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Newark, among others, established their own police departments, which replaced the former night watch, or slave patrols (Dempsey & Forst, 2012; Archbold, 2013). Although the duties of these early police officers differed slightly from those of today, the modernization of the police structure was well underway. Eventually, detective divisions were created to investigate reports of corruption, mismanagement, and brutality that required further attention (Dempsey & Forst, 2012). As new positions and departments were added to police departments across the country, competency of the police force altogether increased.

Contemporary policing. Modern police departments comprise a wide range of divisions capable of various competencies that, theoretically, better serve the American population. Departments within the federal, state, county, and municipal levels contain different jurisdictions allowing the authority to operate within specific parameters. The priorities of the U.S. police is to

enforce the law while defending the attentions of the U.S., ensure the welfare of U.S. citizens against foreign or domestic threats, provide national direction in the prevention and control of crime, and impose fair and unbiased administration of justice for all U.S. citizens (United States Department of Justice, n.d.).

According to Reaves (2015), as of January 1, 2013, there were approximately 477,000 full-time sworn-in officers within 12,000 local police departments across the United States (p.1). Duties of these officers were wide ranging, and the nature of the job, multidimensional. For example, the Baton Rouge Police Department (BRPD) (n.d.) offers a detailed rubric of responsibilities, while also sharing what they believe to be prerequisites. The department states that while police work normally involves simple responsibilities such as parking meter and traffic inspection, routine patrols, and initial investigations, it also contains investigative duties in areas that place the officer in danger, wherein they must act without direct supervision while also exercising independent judgment when handling emergencies (BRPD, n.d.). The BRPD also states that:

Employees may receive special assignments, which call upon specialized abilities and knowledge usually acquired through experience as a uniformed officer. In addition, employees of the class may be required to assist other personnel of the police department in conducting interrogations, searches, and related duties as assigned [.] Assignments and general and special instructions are received from a superior officer who reviews work methods and results through reports, personal inspection, and discussion. (Baton Rouge Police Department, n.d., para. 2)

As the quote suggests, a police officer's duties are varied, with responsibilities extending beyond traditional law enforcement requiring discretion and good judgment.

The BRPD (n.d.) maintains that, fundamental to enforcing the law within the community, officers require prior knowledge, skills, and abilities to aid them. A short list of these abilities includes: “Ability to analyze situations quickly and objectively, and to determine proper course of action to be taken; Ability to write and speak effectively; good general intelligence and emotional stability; [and a] Willingness to cooperate with officials and other police officers” (BRPD, n.d., para. 3). All incoming officers must be between the ages of 21 and 40 and are required to “meet such medical and physical standards as may be prescribed by the civil service board and successfully pass any qualifying examination, either oral or written, that the board may approve, [while having] graduated from a standard high school or [in possession of] a valid certificate of equivalency by a state department of education” (Baton Rouge Police Department, n.d., para. 28). While stipulations and requirements of potential police officers might be important in understanding the foundations of the practice, it might be equally important to examine the vision and mission of prominent departments.

The New York City Police Department (NYPD) is the nation’s largest police department in the country with over 30,000 fulltime officers. The NYPD mission statement is a prime example of how the police department implements their governance throughout the city: “The [mission] of the New York City Police Department is to enhance the quality of life in our [city] by working in partnership with the community and in accordance with constitutional rights to enforce the laws, preserve the peace, reduce fear, and provide for a safe environment (NYPD, n.d., para. 1).” Similar to the NYPD, the Chicago Police Department’s (CPD) mission statement espouses similar rhetoric when highlighting the goals of the department. It states that:

The Chicago Police Department, as part of, and empowered by, the community, is committed to protect the lives, property, and rights of all people, to maintain order,

and to enforce the law impartially. We will provide quality police service in partnership with other members of the community. To fulfill our mission, we will strive to attain the highest degree of ethical behavior and professional conduct at all times. (CPD, n.d., para. 1)

The themes expressed throughout these mission statements will be considered for reference to the identity of policemen within the United States. While this may be the face of the United States policing structure, the media and academic community portrays the entity in an entirely different light. Over the next few sections, police contact and misconduct cases will be investigated in order to explore contemporary policing through a different lens.

Contact with police. A study published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2011) gave a thorough analysis of police statistics throughout the U.S. The study highlighted several things about police departments that are useful in the development and implementation of tangible solutions. The report claimed that during the year 2008 an estimated 16.9%, or 17,994,082, of Americans over the age of 16 had circumstantial, face-to-face contact with a police officer (Eith & Durose, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). However, the report later stated that “1 out of 4 had repeated contact with the police”, inadvertently raising the previous number further (Eith & Durose, 2011, p. 6). Of these scenarios it was found that the primary circumstance of contact stemmed from traffic stops, resulting in 44.1% of all contacts. The report also estimated 9 out of 10 respondents believed that the officer in contact acted appropriately (Eith & Durose, 2011).

Of the 44.1% traffic stop cases, 5% were then subjected to a search; 57% of these cases then resulted in a scenario where only the driver was searched (Eith & Durose, 2011). Within these conducted searches, 60% of the drivers offered consent to the officer. From the estimated 870,000 documented traffic stops, it is found that 3.9% of traffic stops resulting in a search was

conducted upon Caucasian drivers, while 5.8% were Hispanic drivers and 12.3% African American drivers – indicating that black drivers were nearly three times as likely as white drivers to receive a search and nearly two times as likely as Hispanic drivers (Eith & Durose, 2011). Despite these reports, nearly 1 of 10 (8.4%) of conducted searches from traffic violations resulted in the discovery of illegal items, while illegal items were recovered 14.3% of the time in the occurrence of a search of both the driver *and* vehicle. The Bureau of Justice reported that only 20.7% of drivers whose automobiles were searched believed in the legitimacy of the search, while nearly 36.1% of individuals who were subjected to a search of their person and 21.7% who had *both* their person and vehicle searched agreed to the validity of the officer's rationale (Eith & Durose, 2011). It might be important to note the driver's perception of these outcomes of these altercations, as some of some of these traffic violations result in an abuse of citizen's rights: Ferguson PD's unconstitutional ticketing strategy, Rodney King's excessive force incident, and so on (USDOJ, 2015; HRW, 1994).

Although interaction with police officers occur on a daily basis, a modest amount of people leave with a relatively positive perception of the event; however, others have different experiences, some of which can be fatal (Kappeler, 2014). According to a study on this subject, it was found that 4,813 people died while being arrested by local authorities between 2003 and 2009 (Kappeler, 2014). Of those deaths 56.5%, or 2,628, were people of color. Given that 72.4% of the American population is classified as white, it emerges that people of color are dying during arrests at significantly higher rates than their Caucasian peers (Kappeler, 2014). These occurrences can be viewed within numerous police brutality scandals throughout the recent past that were given heavy media coverage. Whether it's Michael Brown, an unarmed African American that was shot and killed and ultimately led to the United States Department of Justice's

investigation of the Ferguson Police Department, Trayvon Martin, also shot and killed while unarmed, Rodney King, who was brutally beaten by several officers of the LAPD or any other incident - these cases garnered intense scrutiny, and emotional responses (CNN, 2016; HRW, 1994; USDOJ, 2015) These civil rights violations have the tendency of not only impacting the immediate parties involved, but also overlap with other components of the social justice infrastructure, such as the municipal court as seen within the USDOJ's (2015) investigation of Ferguson Police Department. A further look into misconduct cases will offer further reason to consider alternative paradigms in policing philosophies.

Police misconduct. Several police departments in the United States have been investigated due to practices that have been identified as resulting in civil rights violations. Some of the more well known instances were found to especially affect minority populations, including such high profile cases as those of Michael Brown, Trayvon Martin and Rodney King (CNN, 2016; HRW, 1994; USDOJ, 2016). And although many departments incorporate community-policing measures, discrimination and racial issues continue to occur (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.; USDOJ, 2016). Despite this, both public and institutional discussions have fought to question targets of police aggression. Researchers such as Smith and Holmes (2003) recognize the skepticism and stigma of racial and discriminatory intent within some policing strategies. They, along with numerous scholars (Blauner, 1972; Chambliss, 2001; Feagin, 1991; Holmes, 2000; Irwin, 1985; Myrdal, 1994; Seilin, 1930; Westley, 1953, 1970), argue that the reception of minority perspectives contributes to, and ultimately results in, a disadvantage in their care and disregard for racial equity altogether (Smith & Holmes, 2003). To support this proposition, Holmes (2003) offered the Conflict Theory of Law to describe the disproportionate affects of police brutality.

The Conflict Theory of Law, discussed by Holmes, explores the notion that crime control strategies are a representation of dominant group dynamics during threat-based operations (2003). More specifically, crime control is an end to the means of powerful groups to preserve current social structures through regulation of threats based on their interests. Police aid these groups by seeking to control what is considered to be dangerous classes, consisting of minorities, lower socioeconomic populations, and immigrants (Holmes, 2000). Jackson (1989) expressed concern over the roots of police-minority aggression, stating that it is deeply rooted in the social structure of the country. This type of phenomenon is also observable throughout Iris Young's *5 Faces of Oppression* (2004), where she identified five specific types of oppression within the United States. Of the five oppressions listed in Young's work, the following three are the most observable in Holmes' theory: "Cultural imperialism – the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as a norm; Powerlessness – those over whom power is exercised over without their exercising it; and Violence – direct victimization and the shared knowledge by all members of the oppressed groups that they are liable to it. (Young, 2004, p.3)

Also complementing Holmes' framework is the "Ferguson Commission Report" that considered the issues related to the rooted unrest of Ferguson, MO in 2014-15. The Ferguson report found that racially motivated unrest stemmed not only from police brutality, but also other issues revolving around socioeconomic statuses, housing, education, employment, and many other discrepancies facing the citizens of that city (USDOJ, 2015). Not only is this particular conflict in Ferguson directly represented throughout Holmes' approach, numerous other scholars also highlight variances of this rhetoric.

Bittner (1970), revered scholar, remembered for research based on relationships between the police and society, noted that the role of the police force is represented through their legitimacy in the use of force, or their authority to exercise force when they see fit. Looking back to Bittner on his presented paradigm of police actions could offer an explanation of the brutality that has permeated into the limelight throughout the past few years. Key incidents revolving around this issue are numerous and have occurred with relative consistency throughout the past few decades, with one in particular dating back to the early 1990s.

When considering racial dynamics paired with police brutality, the incident involving Rodney King might offer an appropriate angle. On March 3, 1991, what began as a high-speed police chase, resulted in the excessive use of force on Mr. King whereby four police officers struck the victim over fifty times before placing him under arrest (CNN Wire Staff, 2012). An eyewitness, Mr. George Holliday filmed the attack and handed the footage over to local media outlets, stirring local and national unrest. This national attention eventually led to an in-depth investigation and a lawsuit against the LAPD and the officers involved. Ultimately, the officers were acquitted of criminal charges and were released without punishment. A poll conducted by the Los Angeles Times revealed that 92% of those who viewed the footage of Mr. King's altercation with the LAPD believed that excessive force was indeed present in the Rodney King case. The court's decision sparked a series of riots in Los Angeles, which cost the city in upwards of 1 billion dollars and resulted in the deaths of 53 people. An estimated 7,000 people were arrested and the LA Riots propelled racism into the media limelight and sparked nationwide outrage (CNN Wire Staff, 2012).

With the increased attention that the Rodney King scandal attracted, numerous reports began to surface highlighting the abuses and violations that took place during the attack. Human

Rights Watch (HRW) conducted an independent report on the incident. Within the report, HRW stated that in light of the Rodney King beating, police abuse was one of the United States' most pressing human rights issues (HRW, 1994). The report continued to explore consistent use of force, which may often be perpetuated by racism, as a direct violation of Article 7's prohibition on "cruel and inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment" (HRW, 1994, 115).

Furthermore, the report stated that, "These continuing abuses by state and local law enforcement agencies violate Article 7, notwithstanding the reservation attached to this article at the time the United States ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)" (HRW, 1994, p. 115). Although these issues might be considered abusive in and of themselves, the report proceeds to list other symptoms of these concerns, while also stating further violations.

Another issue corresponding to the incident of the Rodney King scandal is discrimination. HRW stated that, "the discriminatory impact of police abuse on members of minority groups, particularly African Americans, violates the Article 2 and Article 26 prohibitions on discrimination" (1994, 115). HRW made the case that the violation remains true "whether discriminatory policies and acts are intentionally motivated by race or not" (1994, PAGE). Article 2 of the ICCPR mandates that the United States is held responsible to ensure that all law enforcement agencies within the country take necessary steps to uphold and protect the rights that Article 7 guarantees (HRW, 1994). Although police brutality may be viewed as a civil rights infringement, there are other forms of misconduct that may enable this type of aggressive behavior.

Although a theme of the use of potentially excessive force is observable throughout many of the incidents explored within this literature, it is important to note that there is policy in place to analyze the conditions that might warrant varying levels of force. The Use of Force Model,

designed via a collaboration between Dr. Franklin Graves, the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, and Gregory J. Connor (1997), was created to assign levels of force to varying circumstances through the assessment of risk perception categories. During altercations, it is important that officers maintain control or, if lost, regain it through the use of force, and this model equips officers with the knowledge to dictate when, and to what degree, it is warranted (National Institute of Justice, 2015). According to the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), “An officer’s goal is to regain control as soon as possible while protecting the community. Use of force is an officer’s last option – a necessary course of action to restore safety in a community when other practices are ineffective” (2015). The case studies presented within this research provide instances where this use of force was analyzed by the United States Department of Justice.

The case studies introduced later in this paper emphasize the things that can go wrong when policing tactics potentially create distrust amongst the community are used, while also highlighting the practices that encourage just measures. However, if and when the United States considers an alternative-policing paradigm when combatting some of these issues, development-based practices may be a contender. Examining leading development agencies’ guiding principles and tactics highlight similarities in policing strategies, while building the case that policing might not only be a form of governance, but development as well.

Developmental Practice Through an Organizational Setting

By analyzing the roles and responsibilities of development institutions, I intend to establish a link between these organizations and community police officers. Development actors are referred to using different terms by different organizations; these terms include: aid workers, international development field workers, and development project managers. Development

organizations handle a diverse workload that could easily be placed under an umbrella of civic functions within a country. These functions include education, human rights, community development, and security and protection (USAID, 2016). Development roles are designed to address and combat issues facing a population. For example, according to Oxfam:

When crisis strikes we respond with life saving support, and help people to rebuild their livelihoods. Day in and day out we work with our community partners to find practical, innovative ways for people to lift themselves out of poverty and thrive – often by exercising their basic rights as women and men.

(Oxfam, n.d.)

Similar to the community policing approach, development organizations utilize problem-solving methods to identify and solve community issues. However, development scholars consider many additional factors when defining themselves or development actors in general. With the help of existing organizations, a definition of a development actor can be established for this research.

Defining a development actor is best achieved through analyzing development organizations' mission and/or vision statements. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), more commonly known as Red Cross, has an established presence in the international development community. With an international staff of over 11,000 development actors, the ICRC has offices all over the world with unique goals tailored to the host country (ICRC, n.d.).

The mission statement of the United States branch states:

The American Red Cross exists to provide compassionate care to those in need. Our network of generous donors, volunteers and employees share a mission of preventing and relieving suffering, here at home and around the world, through five key service areas: disaster relief, supporting America's

military families, lifesaving blood [distribution], health and safety services and international services. (ICRC, n.d.)

Although ICRC has a slightly different approach than that of Oxfam, they both seek to combat similar issues using similar tactics. While Oxfam defines their organization on a broad scale, Red Cross offers more thorough definitions for each region that it works in. Despite the small difference, the goal is overlapping: using problem-solving strategies in order to bring tangible solutions to those in need.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) implements problem solving tactics that are unique for the goals they attempt to achieve. USAID has similar views to the other two organizations; however, USAID also incorporates military actors into their development strategies (USAID, n.d.). USAID is also significantly different in that it is a government organization rather than an international non-governmental organization (NGO). Due to this, the language they use is slightly different, but still focuses on their development philosophy. An overview of how USAID presents themselves is found on their website:

In an interconnected world, instability anywhere around the world can impact us here at home. Working side-by-side with the military in active conflicts, USAID plays a critical role in our nation's effort to stabilize countries and build responsive local governance; we work on the same problems as our military using a different set of tools. We also ease the transition between conflict and long-term development by investing in agriculture, health systems and democratic institutions. And while USAID can work in active conflict, or help countries transition from violence, the most important thing we can do is prevent conflict in the first place. (USAID, 2015)

USAID's funding comes directly from the American people via tax dollars and is allocated to highlight and implement measurable strategies to aid the "poorest and most vulnerable around the world" (2015, p ?). Some of their program priorities include:

- Investing in agricultural productivity so countries can feed their people
- Combating maternal and child mortality and deadly diseases like HIV, malaria and tuberculosis
- Providing life-saving assistance in the wake of disaster
- Promoting democracy, human rights and good governance around the world
- Fostering private sector development and sustainable economic growth
- Helping communities adapt to a changing environment
- Elevating the role of women and girls throughout all our work (USAID, 2016, para. 3)

With these mission statements in mind from some of the leading development actors throughout the world, it might be important to note the solidarity displayed throughout their mission statements.

With consideration of the approach and vision of these developmental agencies, as well as Sen's thesis on development and its interconnectedness of societal infrastructure, community policing can potentially be viewed as a form of development. As Sen's thesis and the development agencies imply, a single issue has the propensity to spill over and cause disorder in another social structure. These highlighted issues are one way to establish a recurring theme within this paper: problem solving. This theme can also be found in community policing. Taking a further look at the foundation of the concept of community policing will demonstrate parallels

with the development agencies explored above, while also strengthening the case that policing can be considered a form of community development in the United States.

Policing as A Form of Development: Community Policing

As identified in the previous section, development organizations approach problem solving in communities using the organizational principles and philosophies that guide them. The profiles of USAID, ICRC, Oxfam, and many others indicate that a blanket solution does not work for every project. As explored shortly, each issue requires its own unique solution that might not have the success when reapplying it to another city, state, country or culture (USAID, 2016). It might be important to consider more than just the immediate issue when dealing with a particular problem, but also contemplate the affect of local culture, social norms and economic matters within the area of development before approaching concerns afflicting individual communities (USAID, 2016). Similarly, police officers can be considered as development actors through the community policing initiative, because they often use these same philosophies and considerations when combatting crime in neighborhoods, communities, cities, and states as explored next.

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, during the last few decades, there has been a growing need to consider alternative policing practices, particularly as characteristics of crime and violence affecting communities have created multilayered needs requiring unconventional ways to better serve them (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994). Theoretically, community policing emerged as an opportunity to establish a more diverse practice capable of not only addressing immediate crime, but, in the words of Daniel Bear of The Guardian, “to engage in the proactive, community level [that] actually *prevents* crime by dealing with its causes” (Bear, 2010). This can be seen as a close similarity to development-based ideologies that attempt to alleviate issues by

identifying the core cause rather than approaching a concern without identifying the mitigating circumstances. This can be seen throughout a variety of development agency's strategies, such as: the United Nation's approach to the world's HIV/AIDS issue through education and the distribution of condoms; or USAID's method of ending extreme poverty by influencing an increased food security throughout the globe, providing assistance to countries that will strengthen health systems, and promote democracy, governance and human rights through the encouragement of stronger underlying mechanisms of voice and accountability (UN, n.d.; USAID, 2016). As explored within these organizations, development takes place at the core, where prevention can occur, and community policing's approach to law enforcement further reinforces the notion that officers can be development actors, by encapsulating what it means to be a development actor.

In an effort to define community policing, the office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), a component of the United States Department of Justice, put together the handbook "Community Policing Defined" (2014). Within the handbook, it is stated that community policing is comprised of three fundamental components: community partnerships, organizational transformation, and problem solving (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014). The first component, community partnerships, is a collaborative effort between the local law enforcement and entities they serve, whether at the individual or organizational levels, in an attempt to create effective solutions while also increasing trust in police. Some of these entities may include: government agencies, community members or groups, nonprofit organizations and service providers, private businesses, and lastly, the media (DoJ, 2014, p. 1). Due to the complexity of modern problems facing communities today, the authors of the handbook determined that local law enforcement cannot solve all problems by themselves; instead, multilayered issues required

partnering with the community to better serve not only those affected, but also those offering assistance. As stated by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (1994):

Community policing is democracy in action. It requires the active participation of local government, civic and business leaders, public and private agencies, residents, churches, schools, and hospitals. All who share a concern for the welfare of the neighborhood should bear responsibility for safeguarding that welfare. Community policing is being advocated by leaders at the highest levels of government—including President Clinton and Attorney General Reno, who describes it as the ‘changing of policing’. (p. 4)

This also highlights the need of transformation not only at community levels, but also within organizational settings. Policing as a form of community development might be visible through the notion explored above, that community policing can be seen as democracy at work, but from a top down approach (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994). Indeed, if transformation does not occur within the infrastructure of those responsible with issuing orders, then the process’ potential could be hindered for community relations based initiatives such as those seen in Portland like the Neighborhood Committees or the Advisory Committees (Magurie, 2009).

The second component, organizational transformation, is “the alignment of organizational management, structure, personnel, and information systems to support community partnerships and proactive problem solving” (COPS, 2014, p. 4). This support is achieved through agency management, organizational structure, personnel, and information systems. Agency management is characterized by changes within the “climate and culture, leadership, formal labor relations, decentralized decision making and accountability, strategic planning, policing and procedures, organizational evaluations, and increased transparency” (COPS, 2014,

p. 5). Organizational structure revolves around the notion of involving decision-making authority and accountability through “long-term assignments, the development of officers who are generalists, and using special units appropriately” (COPS, 2014, p. 7). The personnel portion of organizational transformation uses the logic of infusion, in which the entire force is aware of and engaged in the practice of community policing. This starts from the hiring process through the retention of all law enforcement agency staff involved. Lastly, information systems is a central measure, in that technology can be vital in providing effective communication as well as developing agency accountability and successful performance outcome measures (COPS, 2014, p. 8).

The third and final component of community policing, problem solving, is a process in which proactive and systematic examinations are utilized in order to provide effective solutions to complex problems (COPS, 2014). Problem solving is carried out through a model titled “SARA”. SARA stands for: Scanning (identifying and prioritizing problems), Analysis (researching what is known about the problem), Response (developing solutions to bring about lasting reductions in the number and extent of problems), and Assessment (evaluating the success of the responses) (COPS, 2014, p. 7). Together, these three components of community policing reinforce one another while combining to, theoretically, offer the public a more grounded police force capable of addressing diverse needs.

Since the introduction of community policing, it has become an integral practice for many departments. According to the U.S. Bureau of Statistics, in 2003, there were an estimated 54,800 local police officers designated, specifically, as community police officers (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). That number encompasses 58% of all U.S. police departments having community policing officers or initiatives, which employ 82% of officers that serve more than

25,000 citizens. All of these institutions have written agreements with communities, local groups, or alternative entities (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). A further breakdown shows that 43% of all departments nationwide, employing roughly 74% of all officers, provided one or more full-time school-resource officers, totaling an estimated 14,300 officers of that nature. Within that same percentile, police departments also provided crime prevention education to citizens (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.). Along with the desire of officers' expressed interest to become involved in more than crime fighting, another reason might be that, for community policing, combatting crime isn't an end unto itself, but there is also the potential to improve a civilian's quality of life (Xu, Fiedler & Flaming, 2005). As stated by the authors, "Effective policing should not only cure the symptoms of criminality but also, more importantly, eliminate the causes of the diseases by changing the social conditions that breed crime, generate fear, and deteriorate neighborhoods" (Xu et al, 2005, p. 150).

Although the term "policing" on its own might refer to traditional policing strategies, some police departments offer alternative services to further aid their policing agenda. It is approximated that over two-thirds (65%) of departments provide animal control services, 42% provide school crossing services, 26% offer emergency medical services, 19% provide civil defense, and 10% offer fire services (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d). Another statistic stated that "37% of residents in 12 cities reported seeing police talking with residents in their neighborhood and 24% of respondents reporting seeing police facilitating crime watch and prevention activities" (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d, para. 2). In short, many departments across the country seek to engage the community, offering a wide range of services that exceed traditional policing responsibilities or duties. These extra services foster stronger relationships between the local police and the community it serves (Sozer, 2008). However, the academic

community does not view the practice as absolute in effectiveness (Childress, 2015; Starr, 2015). If policing has the capacity to be recognized as an authority responsible with protecting the civil liberties of citizens, then it might be important to consider the most appropriate ways of eliciting success without also violating the law in order to do so. Community policing might be the tool to ensure that this is done. Considering that, it is important to recognize the positive and negative press surrounding the practice.

Perceived advantages of community policing. Community-oriented policing has existed for over three decades, but with the surge of high profile police abuse scandals the effectiveness of this approach has come under scrutiny (Childress, 2015; Starr, 2015). However, despite these instances, several scholars still support the community policing approach, claiming a variety of benefits of the practice. Some of these benefits include: reducing crime, disorder, and fear while increasing legitimacy and citizen satisfaction; reducing violent crime through the subsequent initiative problem oriented policing; and positively increased relations between the police and community (Weisburd, 2012; Sozer, 2009; Forman, 2002).

Sozer (2009) presented the idea that policing, itself, has a variety of limitations combatting crime's core origins. He considered not only the root causes of crime, "poverty, unemployment, child rearing, family structure, and gun and drug policies" (p. 45), but also explored the relevance of community policing. Sozer explored whether community policing has the capability of preventing crimes related to these issues through an enhanced relationship with the public, where he concluded that the practice is more effective at controlling and preventing crime than traditional policing endeavors (Sozer, pg. 45, 2008). While Sozer wasn't entirely convinced that traditional policing methods have the ability to reduce crime, he investigates the notion of community policing providing this service, while also reducing fear of crime and

increasing citizen satisfaction with police services (Lurigio & Weisburd, 2006 as cited in Sozer, 2009). This was also observable throughout Flint, Michigan's first experiment with a community policing initiative.

The Flint, Michigan Police Department implemented a foot patrol program to their community policing experiment between 1979-1982. The initiative demonstrated the relevance of crime reduction as a possible result of community policing. During the experimental initiative, crime decreased more than 8% (Sozer, 2009). This decrease in crime was attributed to a number of contemporary programs, such as: community involvement, two-way information flow between the community and police, and problem-solving tasks. These programs may not have only showed the effectiveness of community policing initiatives, but also added to the positive perception of police once these measures were implemented into the community (Sozer, 2009).

While community policing was generally perceived as beneficial to Flint, Michigan by decreasing the overall crime during its implementation, it also fostered the ability to bring the community and police closer together. This observable dynamic was also witnessed in a similar implementation in Chicago (Forman, 2009). According to Forman (2009, the Chicago police department has one of the most extensive community policing departments in the country, where the Initiative produces exceptional levels of community-police participation in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Community meetings, priorities for the department, are identified as a venue for greater cooperation between the public and police. Adding to this is a destabilization to the social stigma of cooperating with the police, allowing for increased crime prevention through increased police-community relations (Forman, 2004).

Limitations of community policing. Despite the ideological shift from reactionary practices to problem solving oriented policing strategies that community policing enabled,

reports of potentially questionable policing strategies still occur. According to Childress (2015) of FRONTLINE, there have been over 60 cases of U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ) sponsored policing investigative probes since 1994. These investigations often result in cooperative initiatives attached to community policing efforts aimed at solving the identified issues affiliated with the department. Although these probes usually resulted in department turnarounds, the process is often laborious and drawn out, costing taxpayers millions (Childress, 2015). This can be reflected within a variety of department probes.

Due to USDOJ investigations, many positive changes have ensued as a result; however, so do inflated costs. According to Kelly, Childress, and Rich (2015), 13 investigations conducted by the Department of Justice surpassed \$600 million in costs. Along with these costs came reports of decreased officer morale, recycling of police chiefs, and, in some cases, unsustainable changes (Kelly, et al., 2015). Over the course of these investigations it was reported that over 52 police chiefs were replaced, impacting the overall morale of affiliated departments (Kelly, et al., 2015). While these investigations usually result in positive changes to police departments, some have noted that it can also have adverse effects, and can even increase certain symptoms of dysfunctional departments (Starr, 2015).

Of the 68 USDOJ police department investigations, over half of the allegations have been a result of claims harboring excessive force. According to Starr (2015), community policing has been shown to perpetuate police brutality occurrences rather than eliminate it. Despite both President Obama and Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's notions that community policing requires the implementation of additional policemen into communities, Starr (2015) noted that, in some neighborhoods, adding additional officers increases the chance of brutality. While this may be the case, there might be another approach to consider when touching upon

brutality or any other form of negligent form of policing. By analyzing the issues facing a similar development profession to policing, a better understanding of how these officers conduct these violent acts might be provided.

Humanitarian aid workers and law enforcement officers. While there are several occupations throughout the world that put individuals in danger through their proximity with victimized individuals or traumatized communities, it is highly prevalent in the careers of both police officers and humanitarian aid workers.

Although police work is a difficult and dangerous occupation, it is difficult to comprehend all of the challenges and pressures that arise throughout one's career. According to the psychological report, "Stressful Events, Work-Family Conflict, Coping, Psychological Burnout, and Well-Being among Police Officers" (1994), police work was identified as a "particularly stressful occupation when compared to others" (Burke, 1994, p. 1). The negative aspects of the job were: "boredom, lack of respect from members of the public, excessive paperwork, contacts with the public that are sometimes negative and confrontational, shift work, threats of violence, and the militaristic nature of the bureaucratic structure of policing" (Burke, 1994, p. 1). The article continues with mentions of stressors resulting in a number of symptoms and/or reactions including, "deteriorating work performance (absenteeism, low morale), negative psychological states (emotional burnout, frustration, depression, anger), and psychosomatic and physical conditions (headaches, ulcers)" (Burke, 1994, p. 1). As a result, these pressures led capable police officers to abandon the profession for more sustainable careers (Burke, 1994). These themes, identified throughout humanitarian and police work, call into question whether individuals can remain effective when constantly working in traumatic situations.

According to Shah, Garland & Katz (2007), humanitarian workers who work with traumatized populations experience emotional, cognitive, and physical consequences. They classify this as a form of secondary traumatic stress where they define it as a “result of indirect exposure to trauma through a firsthand account or narrative of a traumatic event” (Shah, et al., 2007, p. 61). Although secondary traumatic stress is a widely accepted side effect of development work, there are other psychological conditions that can arise, including: “compassion fatigue, compassion stress, and vicarious traumatization” (McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). A worker can experience negative changes in professional functioning, self and worldviews, sense of security, self-capacities, and psychological needs (Saakvitne & Pearlman, 1996). As a result, secondary traumatic stress can cause decreased quality of life and work performance. Due to this revelation, the argument that secondary trauma could have the potential to negatively impact critical decision-making skills might have importance when considering possible solutions to those afflicted. Although this might be important to note when considering negligent practices of police officers, it may still be important to consider positive and negative community policing reformations. To explore this, case studies will be examined.

The following case studies highlight the negative and positive outcomes of policing strategies. Using the positive initiatives to assist in creating a solution might also further promote policing as a viable form of community development.

Case Studies: Positive Examples of Community Policing Strategies

To show the potential of community policing as a positive policing strategy and to make the case that police officers can be classified as development actors, two case studies are presented here. These case studies were chosen using the United States Department of Justice

COPS program, which identified several successful implementation strategies for community policing projects. Of the twelve cases listed, I chose to examine cases from the Portland, Oregon and Colorado Springs Police Departments because of my personal conclusion that they were the most suitable to the literature due to their community-police relations outreach, community building and organizational restructure initiatives that encapsulates the notion of police officers as not only representatives of the law, but development actors as well.

Portland, Oregon. Home to roughly 619,000 citizens, Portland is located in the northern area of Oregon, minutes outside of Vancouver, Washington (United States Census Bureau, 2014d). The demographic makeup of the city is composed of 76.1% Caucasians, 9.4% Hispanic or Latinos, 7.1% Asians, 6.3% African Americans, 1% American Indian or Alaska Native, 4.7% of people that contain two or more races and 0.5% Native Hawaiian (United States Census Bureau, 2014). Despite the police department's investigation for excessive use of force against mentally disabled persons, the department has created many community oriented policing strategies that engage the community (USDOJ, 2012; Maguire, 2009).

Following several years of development of vision and practice rubric, and the leadership of three separate chiefs, Portland began the process of implementing their community policing philosophy (Maguire, 2009). Portland's community policing initiative was achieved by creating a system that harnessed partnerships with local businesses, neighborhood involvement, advisory groups, community activities, and other problem solving strategies (Maguire, 2009). Portland soon redefined police effectiveness in the city.

Community policing in Portland has been a topic of interest since the late 1980s. Portland's population significantly increased, bringing with it a necessity for rethinking traditional policing measures. The city's population rose from slightly over 350,000 in the 1980s

to more than 500,000 in the city's immediate parameter and up to 2 million in the surrounding metro area in 2014 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014).

Through forming various partnerships, the Portland Police Department (PPD) confronted diverse issues facing the community. One of the issues in particular involved the illegal use of rental properties to manufacture and sell drugs, which caused a decline in the surrounding neighborhoods. Using problem solving techniques, the PPD responded by creating a landlord-training program that provided management and owners with the skills to recognize and prevent illicit acts on their properties. The training program included landlords, management associations, private attorneys, tenant screening companies, and others (Maguire, 2009). Throughout the course of the initiative, over 5,500 landlords and property managers were trained, affecting over 100,000 rental units within the city. Due to its success, this model was studied and replicated by many other police departments around the country (Maguire, 2009). With the implementation of these neighborhood initiatives, the PPD created a unique system of espousing community involvement within their policing strategies.

Portland's community infrastructure is composed of 95 distinct neighborhoods that each have its own represented association (Maguire, 2009). Each neighborhood has a "coalition," contracted by the city, which takes care of various administrative duties. These coalitions are responsible for the creation and distribution of newsletters, coordinating neighborhood meetings, and providing crime prevention information. The Office of Neighborhood Associations (ONA), a government based entity, also provides further support. The PPD, understanding the value of this neighborhood infrastructure, appointed and assigned specialized community officers to each neighborhood (Maguire, 2009).

The position of Neighborhood Liaison Officer (NLO) was created to aid and receive input from neighborhood systems. This initiative assigns one NLO for every neighborhood, designating each officer to address the expressed needs of the community. The NLO guides the community to solutions within the city's bureaucracy when needs cannot be addressed at a neighborhood level. During ordinary timeframes, and when neighborhood committees don't need the assistance of the NLO, the officer patrols the neighborhood (Maguire, 2009). Through the NLO program, the PPD and Portland's neighborhoods came together, forming a symbiotic relationship that responded to crime in a unique manner (Maguire, 2009).

Another initiative that was implemented throughout the city was the creation of advisory committees that represented the interest of Portland's underserved populations. These Committees included: Chief's Forum, the African American Community Advisory Council, Hispanic and Asian Community Advisory Councils, and various community advisory councils for sexual minorities (Maguire, 2009). These groups allowed for the chief of police and his staff to hold recurring meetings in an effort to collaborate on identified issues affecting these marginalized communities (Maguire, 2009). This initiative succeeded in empowering and building trust between vulnerable populations and the police force (Maguire, 2009).

In another effort to better serve the community, the police department sponsored a number of community-oriented activities, including programs targeting at-risk youth. The Police Activities League (PAL) was an after-school initiative that incorporated both volunteers and police officers in a collaboration of youth programs. These programs included youth football, National Youth Sports Camps, PAL Camp, fishing, archery, art programs and other initiatives (Portland Police Bureau, 2013). Other sponsored community programs included the organizational structuring for the Sunshine Division, a volunteering organization geared towards

providing for the needs of the homeless; community policing workshops; an “explorer” program for juveniles interested in policing as a profession; and outreach initiatives catering to problems afflicting the mentally ill (Maguire, 2009). These initiatives proved to be vital in the implementation process of positive community-police relations, building trust during the adolescent stages of children engrains the positive relationship into the community, creating sustainability.

The PPD also implemented measures allowing for community feedback and input. The PPD achieved this through creating and distributing surveys to members of the community, criminal justice agencies, and high schools. They also administered focus groups in order to better understand views of neighborhood issues and crimes (Maguire, 2009).

While the problem-solving model proved to be a success in most areas, some officers felt conflicted when encouraged use the strategy while they were on duty. For example, as noted by Maguire (2009):

The officers we interviewed told us that they had been directed to improvise and “use their imaginations” to identify and solve problems, but that organizational factors were inhibiting them. First, they found the department fairly formal, with rules and policies that effectively blocked the problem-solving process. Some felt that the sheer number of departmental rules put them at greater risk of violating one and incurring disciplinary action. Second, a stringent request process had to be followed before starting a project. Officers perceived that administrative details such as the correct proposal format (e.g. was it to be single or double spaced?) were of more concern to the administration than a project’s potential for success (p. 165).

This lack of clarity, or unimplemented structural strategy, will need to be addressed in order to maintain maximum effectiveness (Maguire, 2009). When considering solutions to issues faced within the community, officers shouldn't be trained to appropriate them through the problem-solving method explored within the literature if its only going to be blocked; this might cause unease and weariness in paying homage to the process at all.

Finally, a recent initiative was incorporated into Portland's community policing model because of a national investigation. The United States Department of Justice's complaint asserted:

The Portland Police Department engages in a pattern or practice of using excessive force on individuals with actual or perceived mental illness by: (1) too frequently using a higher level of force than necessary; (2) using electronic control weapons ("ECWs"), [...] in circumstances when such force is not justified, or deploying ECWs more times than necessary on an individual; and (3) using a higher degree of force than justified for low-level offenses. (USDOJ, 2014, p. 2-3)

The settlement of the case resulted in the implementation of a Community Oversight Advisory Board (COAB). The COAB, which went into effect on February 9, 2015, consists of five PPD officers, fifteen community members and five alternative members. The board will be used to design and incorporate "a new Community Engagement and Outreach (CEO) Plan" (City of Portland, n.d.). The goal of the program is to strive for an increased interaction between the police department and the community in an effort to promote effective problem resolution and establish more sustainable trust in the police force (City of Portland, n.d.). This COAB initiative

was chosen because of its unique citizen-police collaboration of police reform, engaging the community in the process of creating new strategies.

Although direct statistics related to the implementation of the listed initiatives weren't identified, they're representative of the development-based rhetoric expressed throughout the literature. This can be reflected in many of the listed programs that bolster community-police relations, as seen in the COAB Board, Advisory Committees, and Neighborhood Committees and Liaison Officers, while creating an environment that is representative of both law enforcement and community interests (Maguire, 2009; City of Portland, n.d.). The community-based programs implemented by the Portland Police Department can be interpreted as unique efforts to empower, engage, and serve the population that they attend to. Recognizing these initiatives may be a way of also recognizing, and accepting, law enforcement officers as development actors by acknowledging the community development that the programs instill into the community through increased awareness, engagement and solidarity between the community and the law.

Colorado Springs, Colorado. Incorporated on June 19, 1886, Colorado Springs is one of the most populous cities of Colorado with an estimated population of 445,830 and a density of 2,140 people per square mile (List of Incorporated Cities, n.d.; United States Census Bureau, 2014b). The city's police department was one of the 12 agencies recognized in the United States Department of Justice's "Implementing Community Policing: Lessons From 12 Agencies, and is the second positively reviewed case study to be explored within this research (Maguire, 2009)."

The second case study of community policing and its implementation highlights the efforts of the Colorado Springs Police Department (CSPD). In the mid-1980's extending into 2002, in an effort to promote individual empowerment, decentralize the command structure, and

establish a more cohesive relationship with the public was set in motion. In doing so, the CSPD restructured their entire law enforcement rhetoric. This was achieved through implementing problem solving models, replacing dated training programs, creating advisory committees, establishing community partnerships, and designing alternative accountability and service standards (Sheingold, n.d.).

The Colorado Springs Police Department began its organizational restructuring by implementing problem solving models. In an effort to make the department more responsive and accountable to the community, the CSPD created the Neighborhood Policing Unit (NPU) (Sheingold, n.d.). The NPU initiative is operated by two sergeants who are assigned to each police division. The fundamental role of the NPU is to implement the SARA model (Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment) created by the COPS program, while also facilitating communication between the department and local communities. (Maguire, 2009) The CSPD's efforts were widely praised throughout the community. Due to the success of this initiative, the NPU became a critical piece of the police force, often leading projects with support from patrol officers (Maguire, 2009).

Another successful problem solving initiative involved the CSPD vice and narcotics sector. Vice and narcotics detectives are often encouraged to use problem-solving techniques to combat illegal drug activities (Maguire, 2009). One detective in particular was given carte blanche to handle problems in challenging areas. The detective, unnamed in the publication, instead of using reactive strategies, increased communication between the department and community, and established a closer relationship with residents in the immediate vicinity. This resulted in several critical arrests while strengthening community relationships with the police (Maguire, 2009).

A third measure incorporated by the CSPD was the replacement of the department's Field Training Program with the Police Training Officer (PTO) Program: a jointly created program between COPS and the CSPD. The PTO program was first implemented in the Reno Police Department and proved so successful that it was later adopted by the CSPD (Rushing, 2010). The initiative utilized "problem-based learning [that] combines adult learning theory and problem solving tools into a process that encouraged new officers to think proactively, helping them identify solutions to problems within their communities" (Rushing, 2010, para. 1). The CSPD used the program to replace their outdated training methods (Maguire, 2009). The PTO program changed training measures from simply completing a list of tasks to actually addressing real-life scenarios in their communities. Once trained, the recruits then received neighborhood portfolios that equipped them with the skills to continue the problem solving process (Maguire, 2009).

The CSPD also established and maintained partnerships with community groups, while offering assistance in creating advisory committees similar to those in Portland. The CSPD created a multitude of formal relationships with the community, including: neighborhood committees, retailers, non-profits, other law enforcement entities, and the clergy (Maguire, 2009). These partnerships resulted in a better-informed department, while also encouraging the creation of more neighborhood watch groups. In one division, the number of neighborhood watch groups doubled over three years. The creation of advisory committees proved to be advantageous to both the community and CSPD (Maguire, 2009). In an effort to encourage community and department representatives to share concerns and ideas to generate common themes, the police department "helped create citizen advisory committees that met with area division commanders monthly or bimonthly" (Maguire, 2009, p. 107). While the initiative was

relatively successful, some of the officers stated, “power-sharing with the community was difficult” (Maguire, 2009, p. 108).

Another successful community partnership developed by the CSPD was aimed at reducing domestic violence. The CSPD received a grant in the mid-1980s with the intention to combat the prevalence of domestic violence (Sheingold, n.d.). This initiative ultimately led to a strong relationship with DIVERT (Domestic Violence Enhanced Response Team), a multi-agency organization that focused on targeting domestic violence offenders with a high risk of using lethal force against their victims. This partnership proved fruitful; only one year after its inception, the joint partnership increased their caseload from 25 to 125, enabling them to investigate domestic violence more thoroughly. The initiative went on to receive first place in the National League of Cities Innovations in Policing competition (Sheingold, n.d.). This partnership received national attention and has been replicated in other departments across the country, including Minneapolis.

Lastly, in an effort to establish accountability and regulate service standards, the CSPD developed the Police Accountability and Service Standards (PASS) model. The initiative called on citizens to identify services that they wanted to be implemented in their communities, whilst also aiding the department in establishing standardized procedures and accountability based upon these services (Maguire, 2009). While the model encouraged and recognized the categorization of service standards, it also implemented an internal problem-solving method, addressing the department’s organizational needs. The shift in organizational goals and performance standards removed the pressure of individual accountability in office settings. However, officers were still held accountable for their time on duty, as electronic logs were utilized for every shift. These electronic logs allowed for superiors to monitor and guide officers toward particular problem

solving assignments (Sheingold, n.d.). The program model addressed the need to better account for duties, while also allowing community input to influence department standards.

The initiatives launched during the Colorado Springs Police Department’s restructuring efforts showed positive results. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, surveys that were issued over a thirty-year period showed relatively positive indicators (Sheingold, n.d., para. 182).

Table 1

Perception of safety

| Perception of safety | 1994 | 1996 | Increase |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|
| Feel safe walking on their block | 76% agreed or strongly agreed | 84% agreed or strongly agreed | 8% |
| Feel safe in their home at night | 75% agreed or strongly agreed | 81% agreed or strongly agreed | 6% |

Table 2

Unknown title

| Item | 1978 city mean | 1996 city mean |
|--|--------------------|----------------|
| How good a job is being done by your local law enforcement agency? (4=excellent; 1=poor) | 2.90 | 3.07 |
| Most law enforcement officers can be trusted. (1=strongly disagree; | Question Not Asked | 4.09 |

| | | |
|---|------|------|
| 5=strongly agree) | | |
| Generally, how safe is your neighborhood? (4=very safe; 1=very unsafe) | 3.06 | 3.81 |

Although these tactics were implemented over the course of several years, their methods proved to be a success amongst the residents of the city, where there was an increase in trust of the police officers by the city’s citizens (Sheingold, n.d.).

Case Studies: Negative Examples of Community Policing Strategies

Having explored two positive examples of police department reforms, it is necessary to explore two examples of unsuccessful community policing strategies. The United States Department of Justice’s (USDOJ) Civil Rights Division has conducted numerous investigations of police departments across the country. Departments that are subject to this investigation are typically found to have unconstitutional practices that result in civil rights abuses (USDOJ 2014; USDOJ, 2015). Due to the recent press of the Ferguson and Cleveland Police Departments, their investigation reports will be presented as unsuccessful community policing strategies.

Ferguson, Missouri. Incorporated in 1894, Ferguson is located in the northeast quadrant of Missouri. According to the United States Census Bureau (2014c), the city composed of 21,086 locals, with a demographic makeup of 67.4% African Americans, 29.3% Caucasian, and the remaining a mixture of American Indian, Alaska Native, Asian, or a combination of two or more racial entities. Despite the demographics of the population there have been reports of injustices stemming from racist inclinations (USDOJ, 2015). Due to this, the United States Department of Justice issued an investigation into the Ferguson Police Department in 2015.

The USDOJ Civil Rights Division's Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department (2015) stated: "Ferguson's law enforcement practices are shaped by the City's focus on revenue rather than by public safety needs" (p. 2). The city received international attention after one of Ferguson's citizens, Michael Brown, was killed during an altercation with a police officer. This incident ultimately led to the investigation of Ferguson's public sector. Operating under a rhetoric based on profiteering has caused deterioration in not only the policing sector, encouraging unconstitutional policing practices, but also within the municipal court system (USDOJ, 2015). Both entities perpetuate racial undertones that exist within the city through institutionalized bias and stereotyping (USDOJ, 2015). This is observable throughout the USDOJ's investigation of Ferguson where police were found conducting discriminatory intent to garner revenue. This is presented in a way that correlates a deepening mistrust between minority communities and police officers, while also potentially highlighting a link that Sen (1999) identified: a deterioration in one public sector can in return cause a domino effect degrading other pillars of societal infrastructure. In this case, the deterioration of law enforcement has affected citizens' civil liberties and the city's court system (USDOJ, 2015).

The city of Ferguson's police department isn't the only public service entity credited with having a revenue driving force. Throughout the DOJ's investigation, it was found that the city based its budgets on incoming court fees while encouraging the police force to produce the revenue with monitoring methods (USDOJ, 2015). In an effort to further generate revenue, the court issued over 9,000 warrants for minor violations in 2013 alone (USDOJ, 2015). It was also reported that elected city officials routinely encouraged the chief of Ferguson's police department to generate revenue through policing methods. The city's finance director, John Shaw, stated: "unless ticket writing ramps up significantly before the end of the year, it will be

hard to significantly raise collections next year.... Given that we are looking at a substantial sales tax shortfall, it's not an insignificant issue" (USDOJ, 2015, p. 10). He further stated: "court fees are anticipated to rise about 7.5%. I [asked] the [police chief] if he thought the PD could deliver 10% increase. He indicated they could try" (USDOJ, 2015, p. 13). This direction was reportedly given down the chain of command, whereupon officers stated that generation of revenue was a significant priority, creating a potentially hazardous effect on the police department's methodology of law enforcement (USDOJ, 2015).

This type of policing can potentially create a negligent form of governance and promote hazardous conditions, not only for citizens, but for the police officers as well. The DoJ (2005) indicated that patrolling and scheduling methods were tailored for an assertive implementation of the city's municipal code. The report noted that the form of policing portrayed by the Ferguson Police department failed to implement appropriate consideration of whether or not safety was encouraged among citizens during altercations or if it directly challenged their trust and cooperation. This issue is compounded when promotions and evaluations become directly dependent on the number of citations issued. Those affected by increased police citations often live in predominately African American neighborhoods as officers "appear to see some residents less as constituents to be protected than as potential offenders and sources of revenue" (DOJ, 2015, p. 3). This practice might be seen to perpetuate a cycle of poverty, crime, while limiting the ability of people who live in low-income areas to improve their socioeconomic status.

The USDOJ found that these poor governing tactics were in violation of citizens' civil rights. According to the United States' Constitution (1787; as cited in whitehouse.gov, n.d.) the first amendment, "provides that Congress make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting its free exercise. It protects freedom of speech, the press, assembly, and the right

petition the Government for a redress of grievances” (whitehouse.gov, n.d.). The fourth amendment “protects citizens from unreasonable search and seizure. The government cannot conduct any searches without a warrant, and such warrants must be issued by a judge and based on probable cause” (whitehouse.gov, n.d.). The USDOJ (2015) found that both of these rights were violated throughout Ferguson’s governing and policing practices. The DOJ’s report explained:

This culture within FPD influences officer activities in all areas of policing, beyond just ticketing. Officers expect and demand compliance even when they lack legal authority. They are inclined to interpret the exercise of free-speech rights as unlawful disobedience, innocent movements as physical threats, indications of mental or physical illness as belligerence. Police supervisors and leadership do too little to ensure that officers act in accordance with law and policy, and rarely respond meaningfully to civilian complaints of officer misconduct. The result is a [violation of the First and Fourth Amendment].
(USDOJ, 2015, p. 80)

As the First and Fourth Amendments were found to be in violation within Ferguson, and Cleveland, as discussed below, these cases might serve as an indicator of a recurring theme that has the propensity to affect all United States citizens if not addressed.

Cleveland, Ohio. Cleveland is a United States city located in Northern Ohio with both a diverse and declining population. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2014a), over the past two decades, the population has decreased by over 100,000 while at 389,521 in 2014. The city is very ethnically diverse: 37.3% are white, 53.3% African American, 10% Hispanic or Latino and 1.8% Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). In 2014, the city came under fire for its police

department's aggressive policing tactics. This ultimately led to an open investigation conducted by the United States Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division. They stated:

We opened our investigation after a series of incidents of potential excessive force revealed a rift between CDP and certain segments of the communities it serves.

An investigation into one of those incidents by the Ohio Attorney General concluded that the incident was the result of a "systemic failure" by CDP.

Numerous leaders and organizations in Cleveland called on us to open an investigation into CDP, including a member of the U.S. Congress, leaders of several different religious communities, civil rights and community groups, and ultimately you, Mayor Jackson. Our investigation found that the concerns rose by community members, civic leaders, and other law enforcement agencies are well founded. (DOJ, 2014, p. 1)

The United States Department of Justice identified the abuses of the Cleveland police Department as: "unnecessary and excessive use of deadly force; unnecessary, excessive or retaliatory use of less lethal force; excessive force against persons who are mentally ill or in crisis; and the poor and dangerous use of tactics. (USDOJ, 2014, p. 3). However, negligence was also identified throughout the policing tactics.

The use of unnecessary and excessive use of deadly force took the form of shootings and assaults to the head with collision weapons such as batons, night sticks and similar weaponry. The DOJ's (2015) investigation found that Cleveland police officers engaged in shootings of people who were proven not to pose immediate threat to themselves or others. An example of this instance is illustrated in the court case of Officer Michael Brelo as explored below.

In 2012, 13 officers fired over 130 rounds into a car containing two individuals, while Officer Brelo stood on top of the car firing an additional 15 rounds at the victims after the initial exchange of fire (Smith & Southall, 2015). The incident occurred after a high-speed chase, which elicited the aid of over 100 officers. Once the chase ended with the car cornered, officers fired without properly distinguishing whether or not the suspects were armed. It was later revealed that neither man was armed (Smith & Southall, 2015). Despite this incident, the notion that every shooting by a CPD officer is unwarranted might be egregious. However, the DOJ found that many shootings were poorly executed (USDOJ, 2014). Coupled with this issue is the use of unnecessary force by police officers.

The officers of the CPD were accused of using unreasonable force on civilians that expressed little to no threat, as well as the mentally-ill or persons in crisis. According to the Department of Justice, “CPD officers also use lethal force on people who are handcuffed or otherwise subdued and pose little or no threat to officers” (USDOJ, 2014, p. 20). These measures included head and body strikes, the use of electroshock weaponry, and pepper spray. An example of the use of unnecessary force was demonstrated through an incident that occurred in 2011 involving Edward Henderson. Mr. Henderson, a mentally ill man, was involved in a high-speed chase that resulted in his apprehension (Beres & Golston, 2015). However, while in custody, police officers reportedly “punched and kicked him” while threatening to “blow his head off” (Beres & Golston, 2015, para. 11).

Another issue that was uncovered during the investigation of the CPD was their involvement in tactical miscalculations that endangered both officers and community members (USDOJ, 2014). Using poor tactics, such as accidentally or carelessly firing handguns, can place both officers and innocent bystanders at risk. This is demonstrated in the Tamir Rice case, where

two police officers fatally shot the 12-year-old for brandishing a toy .45-caliber replica in front of a recreational center (Neuman, 2015). Despite the miscommunication, the child didn't receive proper medical care for over 14 minutes and died as a result of his injuries (Neuman, 2015).

Another issue facing the CPD was “systemic deficiencies and practices [leading to] cause or contribute to the excessive use of force” (USDOJ, 2014, p. 2). Throughout the investigation, it was revealed that police officers didn't report their use of force, the internal investigations of use of force were ineffectual, officers weren't held accountable for wrongdoings, and there was a failure to investigate complaints of misconduct (USDOJ, 2015). The CPD also failed to establish and implement an appropriate training methodology in order to address these issues. The lack of accountability often perpetuated the occurrence of the incidents mentioned above (USDOJ, 2015).

Finally, it was found that the Cleveland Police Department wasn't properly implementing community-policing tactics within the division (USDOJ, 2015). Although these tactics weren't fully integrated into the department's framework, initial policies had been established. These policies included: “holding community meetings, encouraging officers to get to know residents, working with the city council and other government entities” (USDOJ, 2014, p. 52). However, there still remained an inherent distrust of the police from minority communities and a lack of structured communication between the two (USDOJ, 2014). In order to create trust, there might need to be wide-scale communicative strategies between police and key community demographics.

Chapter 3: Proposed Application

Despite the existence of numerous studies and extensive data supporting the creation of community policing initiatives, there remain many policing practices that potentially create

distrust amongst the community. There are, however, several departments that have implemented policies that promote a more positive and trusting relationship between the police and the communities they serve. Using the positive and negative examples of policing strategies drawn from the case studies of Ferguson, Cleveland, Portland, and Colorado Springs, as well as personally developed initiatives, I have created a guidebook for police departments to use as reference when implementing changes to their community policing strategies.

The strategies provided throughout the presented guidebook are designed to take a holistic approach, rooted in developmental ideology, to policing that includes and addresses the potential needs of both the officers and community members, while focusing on a more cohesive relationship between the two. The guidebook is composed of suggested initiatives, some borrowed from research explored in the presented literature, while others were personally created. The topics introduced vary from the establishment of neighborhood committees and neighborhood liaison officers, to community advisory boards and group therapy sessions that attempt to alleviate or prevent diagnosable stress conditions in police officers. While some of these suggested initiatives are co-dependent of one another, the overall structure of the guidebook was designed in such a way that the programs could be picked and chosen based on interests. It is ultimately created for police departments that wish to restructure or introduce additional community policing endeavors that focus on community-police relations as well as the psychosocial needs of both entities. However, the guidebook should also be considered by citizens belonging to a community where community members possess the latitude to introduce topics such as these to their local governing officials and police departments for discussion.

Chapter 4: Discussion

The purpose of this research is to establish the notion that law enforcement officers aren't merely enforcers of the law, but through successful community policing endeavors, development actors as well. Influencing this notion is Sen's (1999) thesis on Development as Freedom. Central to this thesis is Sen's paradigm that suggests the idea that all societal functions are interrelated, arguing the case that if the stability of policing's infrastructure deteriorates, then it has the propensity to effect other societal functions as well. In an effort to establish an effective policing strategy that precludes these issues, I have created a guidebook. This guidebook was created through the analysis of policing strategies, both good and bad, while also considering what it means to be a development actor within a community.

As explored throughout the literature, the institution of policing has been found to bear similarities to development organizations' strategies through community policing initiatives. Touched upon during Chapter 3, development organizations react to their targeted issue in a holistic and problem solving manner, addressing several concerns that may directly or indirectly influence the particular problem at hand. An example of this would be the United Nations' response to HIV/AIDS. HIV is the problem, and can be viewed as the core. However, the UN targets the outlying issues such as: community awareness, education, distribution of precautionary items, and finally, treatment (UNAIDS, n.d.). Another example would be ICRC's response to their humanitarian aide's well-being, noting that their mental and physical health must be recognized in order for them to provide adequate need to those in need (ICRC, 1992). Their response highlights the notion expressed by Sen (1999) that could be applied to many things, that many functions are interrelated with many others, having the propensity to affect one

another. The same is argued here for policing, where community policing can have positive effects on a population through community development.

Although fighting crime may be inherently reactionary, as it takes an offense in order to utilize policing resources and detain a criminal, community policing offers preventative ideologies that fight and deter crime, while also engaging community involvement (Sozer, 2008). As explored throughout the literature, and case studies, community policing, if done correctly, might portray community development within a population. Like development organizations, some community policing initiatives can be seen as using problem-solving techniques to combat a particular issue in a holistic manner. The Portland Police Department created advisory committees that gave racial and sexual minorities a platform to educate the public and police about the unique struggles that they face (Maguire, 2009). The Colorado Springs Police Department developed a nationally acclaimed partnership with DVERT, in order to better target domestic violence (Maguire, 2009). The CSPD also implemented a training program that instilled a problem solving approach to handling crime into their new recruits (Sheingold, n.d.). These cases show that community initiatives extend beyond reactionary measures, but into the community, engaging recognition, participation and partnership. Through this form of policing, community development might be evident, and is why the creation of a guidebook was necessary – to further the researched paradigm and offer strategies that will provide police departments with suggested community policing initiatives that will further engage community-police relations. However, as the research showed, not all departments were advocating this rhetoric, and researching both positive and negative policing tactics helped shape the development of the guidebook.

The research presented has found that, while there are departments that engage in positive community-police relationship building, there are also departments whose practices have resulted in distrust within their communities. Both the Cleveland and Ferguson Police Departments lacked a relationship hospitable for trust to develop with their communities, especially among minorities. In Ferguson, this distrust was, in part, due to the department's priority of generating revenue over serving their community. This can be demonstrated by the department's evaluation and promotion guidelines. The relationship between the department and the citizens is highlighted by the Department of Justice: "Partly as a consequence of City and FPD priorities, many officers appear to see some residents, especially those who live in Ferguson's predominantly African American neighborhoods, less as constituents to be protected than as potential offenders and sources of revenue" (DOJ, 2015, p. 2).

The Cleveland Police Department created distrust amongst their citizens due to their frequent use of excessive force. The DOJ found that the CPD engaged in several negligent practices culminating in hazardous conditions for both the citizens and policemen. These practices included: "unnecessary and excessive use of deadly force; unnecessary, excessive or retaliatory use of less lethal force; excessive force against persons who are mentally ill or in crisis; and the poor and dangerous use of tactics" (DOJ, 2014, p. 3).

These examples of negative community policing demonstrate the implications of police-citizen distrust. Although distrust might not be the only cause of some of these policing issues, it may be a contributing factor. Looking to police departments that have successfully implemented measures to generate a more symbiotic relationship between departments and communities might provide effective solutions. In the cases of Cleveland and Ferguson, it could be beneficial to consider strategies that result in safer and more cohesive relationships between the public and the

police department. One way this might be accomplished is to look at initiatives that have been successful in other cities.

When considering cases of effective policing, initiatives that contributed to the success of the department can be examined and applied to areas that portray unsuccessful strategies and contain similar social settings (demographics, socioeconomic classes, drug culture, etc). The Colorado Springs and Portland Police Departments showed a willingness to cooperate with all community members, generating a recognizable trust with the population. This came in the form of a variety of community oriented initiatives: advisory groups, neighborhood officers, and a community oversight committee (Maguire, 2009; Sheingold, n.d.). Implementing some of these initiatives could potentially reduce civil rights violations and exploitative practices.

The Portland and Colorado Springs Police Departments also both implemented community advisory committees. These committees built relationships with underserved or underrepresented populations within the community. The committee boards were designed to work closely with the police departments in order to highlight the needs of marginalized populations, while also forming relationships of trust between the community and police through collaboration. Implementing measures such as these into governance methodology can potentially deter negative relationships from forming between the citizens and police departments.

Portland implemented Neighborhood Liaison Officers (NLO) in order to better address the needs of the city's neighborhoods. The NLO officers were designed to meet the needs of Portland's 95 neighborhoods. The PPD assigned an officer to every neighborhood with these goals: work with neighborhoods to address needs, guide the community through the city's bureaucracy when the needs couldn't be met, and patrol the neighborhood when not addressing

community problems (Maguire, 2009). The NLOs fostered familiarity and trust between citizens and the police department. If NLOs are implemented in cities where there is mistrust between communities, and police trust is absent, then they may be able to begin to build trust through establishing relationships on a community level.

Despite the success of Portland's community policing initiatives, they also had issues including using excessive force with individuals experiencing mental crises. The United States Department of Justice issued an investigation due to reports of excessive force (USDOJ, 2014). As a result of the investigation, Portland agreed to the creation of a Community Oversight Advisory Board (COAB). This committee has the jurisdiction to supervise, counsel, and make suggestions based on the agreement of the DOJ and City of Portland (City of Portland, n.d.). Although this model was forcefully instigated, voluntary implementation of a COAB in cities that have tense dynamics between citizens and police officers may be another way of establishing common ground and reducing misconduct cases.

These successful community-policing strategies can potentially create more cohesive relationships between communities and police departments. However, there are a few weaknesses in some of the proposed suggestions throughout this thesis.

Limitations

The first limitation to this proposed guidebook is the financial burden of community policing initiatives. Implementing community-policing strategies are quite costly. According to the Tulalip Office of Neighborhoods (n.d.), "Administrators keep looking for ways to pay for community policing instead of developing innovative ways to accomplish it" (p. 1). The organization continues to argue the practicality of the strategy, pointing out that while grants

exist, many police administrators don't have the ability to directly control the flow of available funds (Tulalip Office of Neighborhoods, n.d.).

Another hindrance to community policing initiatives is the increased funding needed to offset high gas prices (Bikel & Spence, 2008). Bikel and Spence argued that fuel prices will become a long-term challenge for community policing institutions countrywide, as increased community strategies require more officers on the streets. While there are methods of addressing this issue, a universal solution has yet to present itself, and initiatives involving community policing become subject to the highs and lows of the oil industry. Indeed, considering the diversity of the 18,000 state and local law enforcement agencies, while one solution may alleviate the constraints of fuel prices in one area, it might not have the same effect on another. However, with the downward trend of fuel prices in 2008, from an average of \$4 a gallon to \$2.40 as of January 2, 2016, this limitation may only show that the issue of fuel costs is something that is in a state of constant flux (Meinero & Rooney, 2008; Garcia, 2016).

Another challenge of implementing these proposals into already existing policing strategies could be practicality issues. Some of these proposed suggestions could take significant time. Portland was only able to create and implement an NLO because the city already had pre-established neighborhood committee boards. In order to replicate this initiative, the participating city would have to first create a neighborhood infrastructure that would have the ability to sustain the program. This could take a lot of money and even more time.

A fourth limitation of this proposal is that these suggestions are given based on the success of initiatives of the police department that they originated in. There are not enough case studies to confirm or deny that these initiatives will be successful in every city. While these

proposals are only viewed through their original successes, they may have the potential to fail in other cities.

A fifth limitation is the possibility of an inaccurate snapshot that comes with the limited number of case studies used within the literature. The body of this research relies on four case studies: Ferguson, Cleveland, Colorado Springs and Portland. While these studies may provide useful information, they also only provide a brief snapshot of the issues reflected throughout the literature. Only using these four case studies may prove to be a limitation in that the solutions created to appease them might not be applicable everywhere.

Another potential limitation of this research is the possible disconnect between department and officers when considering the transition or implementation of the culture shifts within law enforcement dynamics. While the police department might be considered the developmental agency responsible for implementing community-focused practices, it ultimately depends on the compliance of individual officers. Even if change occurs within the department structure, it is possible that it might not translate well to individual officers that are on the street interacting with community members. In light of this, there may need to be further research on how to influence officers to implement this theoretical approach.

Lastly, there is a possible selection bias existing among the chosen case studies. The cities of Ferguson and Cleveland are fundamentally different than the cities of Colorado Springs and Portland. Factors such as history, demographics, city culture, or other factors all combine to form a city's dynamic and no two cities are the same. Solutions suggested for one city might not be readily transferable for application in another city. However, the arguable benefits of implementing these suggested changes may outweigh the challenges, as will be discussed below.

Expected Significance

The first potential benefit of implementing these reforms is to decrease the likelihood of unconstitutional policing. As research has indicated, there are several issues that have been identified within practiced policing strategies throughout the United States. In the case studies of Ferguson and Cleveland, there were numerous instances of civil rights abuses. Although these cases portray policing in a negative light, there are departments that have implemented unique approaches to better aid the populations they are serve. The departments of Colorado Springs and Portland are examples of these efforts. By cross-analyzing negative policing strategies with successful strategies and addressing additional challenges found within the research, the proposed guidebook is designed to provide solutions to prevent issues from reoccurring.

Another benefit of these proposed solutions is the potential to increase relations with key community members. The Colorado Springs and Portland Police Departments both implemented their own forms of neighborhood committee coalitions. These allowed for dialogue to take place between various community members and the police officers. In Portland, oversight went a step further by creating advisory committees serving specific race and sexual orientation/identity communities in order to advise the department on concerns that they have identified. Through the creation of these neighborhood, minority, and sexual orientation/identity committee coalitions, the police departments were able to address unique issues that affected vulnerable populations while creating a mutually beneficial relationship with those involved.

Another benefit of implementing these proposals into policing strategies is the potential for sustainability. Through implementation of the Police Training Officer (PTO) Program created by the COPS office of the United States Department of Justice, officers are taught problem solving skills through the assessment of real-life scenarios. Theoretically, these training strategies equip officers with the knowledge to utilize effective solutions to a diverse range of

issues. In a general sense, this training encompasses the foundational philosophies of community policing. If these strategies are taught to the officer in the beginning of their career, it may serve as a reference point for the duration of his/her employment.

Recognizing police officers as development practitioners opens up the opportunity to explore alternative methods for incorporating community support strategies into law enforcement strategies. In order to create a paradigm shift in policing practices that encourage community involvement, police departments can look to development agencies and their guiding principles and methodologies. In considering this new paradigm, the possibility of new and advantageous initiatives could arise that may promote a greater cohesion between those whom represent and enforce the law and those whom are subject to it.

As touched upon earlier, development organizations recognize that there are typically peripheral problems facing the target population in addition to the main focus area of the strategy organizations are trying to implement. Similarly, developmental entities combat their targeted issues by exploring the peripheral problems that also contribute to the issue. The UN targets HIV through mobilizing the community around the issue, education, distributing preventative measures and influencing basic human rights, while USAID targets extreme poverty around the world by also influencing human rights, democracy and food security in foreign countries (UNAIDS, 2016; USAID, 2016). When considering community policing, there are similarities to this approach. As already explored throughout the literature, some departments have already begun implementing strategies that bring the community and police closer together, contributing to crime reduction. This can be seen in Portland's Neighborhood Committees, Neighborhood Liaison Officers, Community Advisory Committees and Community Oversight Advisory Boards that were explored throughout the literature, where unique issues facing facets of a greater

population are uncovered and recognized (City of Portland, n.d.; Maguire, 2009). Although policing's central focus may target crime, community policing, as viewed throughout this presented paradigm of police as development actors, might be seen to focus on strengthening community-police relations, creating an environment where there is unity and solidarity between citizens and the police – preventing crime by establishing a positive relationship with the law.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This research paper was designed to explore the two key notions. First, components of a society's governing infrastructure have the propensity to negatively or positively affect one another. Secondly, this thesis argues that police should be considered as development practitioners. Sen's entire thesis established the paradigm that society is governed by five governance elements: political freedoms, economic capacities, social opportunities, transparency assurances and protective security (Sen, 1999). Each of these components are interconnected and have the propensity to negatively impact the remaining if one fails or becomes corrupt. This is highlighted by Transparency International's (n.d.) statement: "Corruption corrodes the fabric of society. It undermines people's trust in political and economic systems, institutions and leaders. It can cost people their freedom, health, money – and sometimes their lives" (Transparency International, n.d. para. 8). The cases studies of Cleveland and Ferguson offer concrete examples of this statement.

The Department of Justice investigated both Ferguson and Cleveland's police departments and concluded that there were egregious tendencies that created a hazardous environment for both the police and citizens (DOJ, 2014; DOJ, 2015). The Cleveland Police Department was accused of using force that wasn't in balance with the mitigating circumstances. This excessive force included "unnecessary and excessive use of deadly force; unnecessary,

excessive or retaliatory use of less lethal force; excessive force against persons who are mentally ill or in crisis; and the poor and dangerous use of tactics” (DOJ, 2014, p. 3). While examples presented in the literature illustrated the effects of negative policing tactics and hazardous strategies, Ferguson showed that some of these unconstitutional practices could affect other governance structures.

The DOJ’s investigation of Ferguson uncovered many unconstitutional practices that exploited and violated citizens’ rights. The police department and court system were found to engage in revenue based policing. The police department collaborated with the courts in an effort to generate revenue for the city. This in turn perpetuated distrust amongst the citizens, officers, and officials (DOJ, 2015). To reinforce the link that Sen proposed, protective security became corrupt, creating an economy based on civil rights abuses and exploitation. The research presented here attempted to connect these links in an effort to create solutions through recognizing officers as development actors. In doing so (recognizing police officers as development actors), the notion of solving issues through a preventative strategy by targeting core issues can be applied to the creation of community-development driven initiatives.

Although the notion that police officers are development actors is central to this research, there has been very little academic research that has already presented this idea. Existing research showed the importance of partnerships with community members and local businesses; however, it did not present the idea of officers as development actors themselves. To establish this correlation, this paper examined how development organizations target issues. To achieve success in their mission, NGOs and other development organizations implement unique strategies that specifically cater to each issue. USAID focuses on specific country’s transition between conflict and long-term development. They achieve this by addressing agriculture,

democratic institutions and health system needs (USAID, 2015). Oxfam, another development organization, focuses on poverty and inequality. They achieve their success by investing in gender justice, natural resources, saving lives and sustainable food (Oxfam, n.d.). Similarly to these development strategies, police officers also implement uniquely tailored activities to solve a variety of problems. As seen in the positive case studies, this is apparent through the creation of minority advisory groups, partnerships with local businesses, and the creation of special unit officers.

Police departments and officers can also be considered as development actors through their willingness to work with specific community members in order to develop more comprehensive strategies. Both the Colorado Springs and Portland Police Departments helped create community advisory committees that represented minority populations. The committees gave a voice to the concerns of community members that are most vulnerable, and the police departments and officers were and remained at the forefront. Through this initiative, the police force empowered the community, opened itself to restructuring, and bridged the interests of the public with the duties of the law.

Another way that police departments/officers might be considered as development actors is through the development of partnerships with community organizations to establish strategies that uniquely combat crime that affects them. One example of this is CSPD's partnership with the Domestic Violence Enhanced Response Team (DVERT). The CSPD developed a special interest in decreasing domestic violence cases and, in the mid-1980's the department received a grant in order to further their agenda (Sheingold, n.d.). Years later, the CSPD helped create the DVERT program, while also combining their efforts in order to address domestic violence more

effectively (Sheingold n.d.). The National League of Cities Innovations in Policing later honored this partnership for its innovation and success.

A third way that policing entities can be viewed as development actors is through their creation of special units to better assess community concerns. In an effort to better serve communities, the Portland Police Department created Neighborhood Liaison Officers (NLO). Each neighborhood was assigned their own NLO that addressed the unique issues recognized by the community. If these problems can't be addressed by the NLO, then the officer is tasked with guiding them through the bureaucracy of the local government. This partnership formed a cohesive relationship that was able to address specific issues afflicting neighborhoods throughout the city (Maguire, 2009). Another gap found throughout the research were implications of stress on an officer's effectiveness.

While there are a number of cases that highlight the success of community policing, research also identified a gap in how to identify and address the impact of stress on officers. As examined in the literature review, Burke (1994) highlighted issues that were considered to produce stress in an officer. However, there remains minimal research that links an officer's stress to either his/her individual performance, or to the performance of the department that he/she works for. MacEachern et al. (2011) touched upon this issue, stating that there isn't enough research on the subject. Nevertheless, it may be possible that police officers and humanitarian aid workers have similarities in terms of stress. Through comparing these two careers and highlighting research on humanitarian workers' secondary traumatic stress, research may be able to be applied to police.

Research shows that, due to persistent dangers of the career, humanitarian aid workers experience specific forms of stress that may result in inefficiency. As previously stated, Kristalina Georgieva, the European Commissioner for International Cooperation, suggested that

humanitarian work is one of the most dangerous careers in the world (European Commission, 2012). The ICRC (1992) recognized that humanitarian workers often experience either proactive or severe stress. Proactive stress allows for the person to manage the external factors of their job while remaining effective. However, in response to traumatic conditions, severe stress highlights a state of exhaustion that impairs the person's effectiveness. Due to the secondary nature of the stress, it can contribute to the stress of others, having the potential of causing a domino effect on those surrounding the afflicted individual. This can cause a decreased quality of life and work performance (Saakvitne & Pearlman, 1996). When considering policing as a career with similar external threats, acknowledging STS is an important element in boosting effectiveness within a police department. Although resolving all issues that face police officers may be challenging, restructuring the way crime is fought might be a good way of better serving both the officer and population. After all, as this research has shown, policing has undergone many transformations.

Throughout the history of the United States, policing has undergone almost constant reformation. In the beginning, the country's policing infrastructure was modeled after England, then, after years of slave traders, watchmen and night watch, it slowly became the reality that is today – a force of 765,000 full-time, sworn-in officers from over 12,000 police departments across the country (Dempsey & Forst, 2012; Dralla, 2010; Potter, 2013; Reaves, 2015; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011). In 2003 alone, 58% of these officers had experience with community policing, wherein the research conducted throughout this thesis considers the practices to have the potential to develop a community.

The research found community policing that engaged the community's involvement created an environment of positive community-police relations. In doing so, it was found that some police department's efforts resulted in the discovery of unique issues facing several facets

of the population that could then be targeted (Maguire, 2009; City of Portland, n.d.). This relationship highlighted the similarities of development organizations' such as ICRC, Oxfam, USAID, and United Nations' approach to developmental challenges, validating the notion that officers have the potential to be recognized as development actors through positively received community policing practices. Paired with this notion that police officers have the potential to be considered as development officers, and central to the creation of the guidebook, is Sen's (1999) thesis that explores society through societal pillars, or "freedoms." These freedoms were found to be interrelated, having the propensity to affect one another; one of which is protective security (Sen, 1999). Research has shown that in some cases a population's protective security deteriorated to a point that citizen's civil rights were violated and exploited, as seen in Portland, Ferguson and Cleveland (USDOJ, 2014a; USDOJ, 2014b; USDOJ, 2015). So, in an effort to prevent these issues from reoccurring, while paying homage to developmental ideologies and methodologies, a guidebook was created. This guidebook explores programs whereby police officers are considered as development actors, while utilizing ideology and methodology from developmental organizations. Considering the argued notion of police officers as development actors, this thesis illustrates the perceived benefits of recognizing officers as such, while also exploring why there needs to be a creation of new research methods that better appropriate community-police relations and community policing.

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Appendix 1

Guidebook

The research presented in the thesis “Law Enforcement as Community Development” found community policing to engage the community’s involvement, creating an environment of positive community-police relations. In doing so, it was found that some police department’s efforts resulted in the discovery of unique issues facing several facets of the population that could then be targeted¹². This relationship highlighted the similarities of development organizations’ such as ICRC, Oxfam, USAID, and United Nations’ approach to developmental challenges, validating the notion that officers have the potential to be recognized as development actors through positively received community policing practices. Paired with this notion that police officers have the potential to be considered as development officers, and central to the creation of the guidebook, is Sen’s thesis that explores society through societal pillars, or “freedoms.” These freedoms were found to be interrelated, having the propensity to affect one another; one of which is protective security³. Research has shown that in some cases a population’s protective security deteriorated to a point that citizen’s civil rights were violated and exploited, as seen in Portland, Ferguson and Cleveland⁴⁵⁶. So, in an effort to prevent these issues from reoccurring, while paying homage to developmental ideologies and methodologies, this guidebook was created. This guidebook explores programs where police officers are

¹ Maguire, E. (2009). Implementing community policing: Lessons from 12 agencies. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

² City of Portland. (n.d.). Frequently Asked Questions

³ Sen, A. (1999). Development as Freedom.

⁴ United States Department of Justice. (2012). Investigation of the Portland Police Bureau.

⁵ United States Department of Justice. (2014a). Investigation of the Cleveland Police Department

⁶ United States Department of Justice. (2014c). Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department

considered as development actors, while utilizing ideology and methodology from developmental organizations. It should also be noted that the suggestions presented here were created for larger departments that have the ability to allocate the appropriate funds and officers required to implement the initiative. However, any department wishing to use this guidebook as a reference for smaller scaled initiatives are welcome to these suggestions as well.

Although some of these suggestions are intertwined, it is not required that all must be implemented. The listed order is dictated by level of importance and potential impact per the research and author opinion.

Suggestion 1: *Implement Police Training Officer (PTO) Program*

Perhaps the most important recommendation for building trust between police officers and the communities in which they serve is to implement a post-academy police-training program uniquely sponsored by the recruit's department. This proposal highlights the need to embed standardized philosophies and principles that are consistent throughout police departments. In order to sustain these new tactics, new officers should be trained to uniquely and specifically represent this effort. When the Colorado Springs Police Department implemented this program, new recruits used the problem-solving strategies learned in their PTO program to increase their service capacities and decrease their reliance on supervisors during problematic circumstances. Further research regarding the project has noted similarly positive results.

Research generated by the University of Illinois Center for Public Safety and Justice found that PTO resulted in the following outcomes:

- New officers were better able to think creatively, act autonomously, and solve problems within their communities.

- New officers were empowered and demonstrated a higher level of confidence immediately upon release from the PTO post-academy program.
- Officers frequently completed their duties – going beyond the basics to follow-up with members of the community to continue a dialogue, identify and solve problems proactively – instilling community confidence in their local police department.
- There was a higher level of post-academy retention of Knowledge, Skills, and Abilities (KSA).
- Officers were empowered to ask questions and search for non-traditional solutions, knowing they had the latitude to do so.
- PTO post-academy was found to also instill leadership capacities⁷.

The national United States Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) office, founding entity of the widespread community policing philosophy, created the PTO Program as a method of introducing problem-solving policing to new recruits. The PTO program is conducted through 4 three-week phases:

- Integration Phase
- Phase A: Non-Emergency Incident Response:
- Phase B: Emergency Incident Response:
- Mid-Term Evaluation
- Phase C: Patrol Activities:
- Phase D: Criminal Investigation:
- Final Evaluation

⁷ Rushing, P. (2010). A New Strategy for Training Police Officers – the PTO Program

Each phase establishes these core competencies expressed in the phase subject by approaching these topics:

- Police Vehicle Operations; Conflict Resolution; Use of Force, Local Procedures, Policies, Laws, Organizational Philosophies; Report Writing; Leadership; Problem-Solving Skills; Community-Specific Problems; Cultural Diversity and Special Needs Groups; Legal Authority; Individual Rights; Officer Safety; Communication Skills; Ethics; and Lifestyle Stressors/Self-Awareness/Self-Regulation.

While training, officers are also required to complete: Coaching and Training Reports (CTRs) at the end of each week of training, problem based learning exercises (PBLEs) given at the beginning of each phase and completed by the end of the same phase, and Neighborhood Portfolio Exercises (NPEs) also given at the beginning of each phase to be completed before the end of the same phase⁸.

Implementing this initiative can better equip an officer with problem solving skills to better combat crime and serve the community.

Suggestion 2: *Create Neighborhood Committees*

The City of Portland, Oregon has 95 neighborhood districts. Each community has their own unique committee that addresses the neighborhood's special needs and concerns.

Implementing similar neighborhood committees in participating cities has been shown to provide a successful deterrent to crime through establishing a cooperative community network⁹. Creating

⁸ COPS. (2001).

⁹ Maguire, E. (2009). Implementing community policing: Lessons from 12 agencies. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

neighborhood committees builds trust and gives community members a voice in their safety.

Please note that this second suggestion is a necessary requirement for executing suggestion three.

The steps to incorporate this initiative into a city or town are as follows:

1. Create foundation of initiative
 - a. Design mission
 - b. Establish goal
 - c. Legitimize initiative
 - d. Create pamphlets
2. Hold city or town meeting to present the idea to the community
 - a. Present idea during local city or town hall meeting, inviting all community members to an official meeting.
 - b. Distribute fliers
 - c. Host meeting designated solely to the initiative
3. Schedule follow up meetings to outline neighborhood boundaries
 - a. Deliberate with community members and city officials on parameters of neighborhood outlines:
 - i. (e.g. Will the neighborhoods be classified through preexisting boundaries? If new boundaries are to be implemented, how will they be determined? What will be the basis for determining the amount of neighborhoods per committee? Etc.)
4. Work with established neighborhoods to form committees

- a. Once neighborhoods jurisdictions are created, work with community members of the location to solidify the details of the community's committee
 - i. Determine:
 1. How many committee members
 2. Will they be elected, appointed, based on volunteering, etc.
 3. The duration of each committee
5. Establish logistics
 - a. Determine:
 - i. Location
 - ii. Meeting frequency
 - iii. Meeting duration

Throughout the research that led to the creation of this guidebook, a theme of unity is present. Improving community-police relations, aligning enforcement standards and instilling a collective foundation of need-based initiative creation would be difficult to achieve without a sense of unity between the public and law enforcement representatives. Creating these committees will improve community participation in the discussion of governance dynamics, while also creating a strategic avenue for the local population to use for issue recognition or resolution.

Once a community network is established, the city can proceed to the next suggestion of assigning a Neighborhood Liaison officer to each district.

Suggestion 3: *Implement Neighborhood Liaison Officers*

After you have created Neighborhood Committees, the third suggestion is to introduce the position of a Neighborhood Liaison Officer (NLO) into existing community governance. In Portland, Oregon, the NLO was created and introduced into the city's pre-existing community network. Each neighborhood was assigned a single and permanent NLO to address the concerns of the neighborhood, offer guidance through the city's bureaucracy when he/she cannot address the problem himself/herself, and patrol the area when there are no immediate concerns/needs to address. This strategy will, ideally, establish a familiarity between the police department and local communities, promoting and encouraging a more sustainable and successful relationship¹⁰.

The implementation of the Neighborhood Liaison Officer (NLO) should be introduced only after neighborhood committees are in place. Each neighborhood would receive a permanent officer(s). Once the officer is assigned his/her position, that officer would work with the neighborhood committee to establish the logistics either weekly, bi-weekly or monthly meetings.

After these relationships are established, strategic partnerships aimed at deterring specific crime can be assessed and created through a collaboration of police departments, city officials and organizations as explored in the next suggestion.

Suggestion 4: *Construct strategic partnerships*

Another recommendation for police departments is to develop partnerships with specific organizations to target specific issues. The Colorado Springs Police Department enacted a partnership with DVERT, an organization designed to specifically target and decrease instances of domestic violence. The partnership is revolving and provides the department with effective strategies to better serve the community members that are affected by the issue. Governance can

¹⁰ Maguire, E. (2009). Implementing community policing: Lessons from 12 agencies. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

be enhanced through partnerships with organizations that are created for special interests, which can lead a positively lasting impact, by opening up the crime fighting procedure to organizations that are versed in certain areas of the process. To develop these strategic partnerships, the department should follow the following steps:

1. Identify a specific crime to address:
 - a. Which issue(s) will be combatted through proposed initiatives?
 - i. (eg. Domestic violence, substance abuse, DUI's, etc.)
2. Research and identify organizations working on the issue:
 - a. Are there organizations currently working on the same or similar issue(s) locally, regionally, or statewide?
 - b. If so, create list of organizations per issue
 - c. If not, consider creating a list of national organizations or organizations within another state.
3. Propose partnership:
 - a. Using the list created from step 2, contact organizations suitable for partnership in combatting targeted issues.
4. Identify and determine logistical information:
 - a. Number of officers involved:
 - i. Once the targeted issue and proposed partnership is solidified, assess the magnitude of the project.
 - ii. Deliberate on the needed number of officers per project
 - b. Length of partnership:

- i. Once targeted issue and proposed partnership is solidified, deliberate on project timeframe.
- c. Budget:
 - i. Once targeted issue and proposed partnership is solidified, work with organization and city to orchestrate an approved budget.
- d. Establish partnership
 - i. Create memorandum of understanding

In addition to this initiative, the department could also create and implement detachment of department for researcher. This additional step would elicit the aid of an independent researcher that would assess both the department's trend in crime prevention and those of criminal activity. Implementing a researcher into the department's law enforcement strategy could produce viable information that may have been overlooked. In return, this information could be used to equip the department with the necessary knowledge in creating strategies to better address the challenges facing the community.

While there are several ways a department could implement a researcher into their department, the process can be visualized through these steps:

- Create foundation of research program
 - a. Design mission
 - b. Establish goal
 - c. Legitimize initiative
- Determine logistics
 - d. Budget
 - e. Frequency of assignment

- i. (e.g. Research conducted monthly, bi-monthly, weekly, etc.)
- Hire professional researcher
 - f. Explore local researchers within the area
 - i. Consider opening the position to university students for internships
 - g. Contact researchers and introduce topic and/or list job availability on website
 - h. Hold interviews
 - i. Select preferred candidate
- Collaborate with researcher to produce results
 - j. Inform the new hire of the initiatives mission and goal
 - k. Provide access to records, reports and databases
- Access results

Police departments are tasked with the enforcement of the law and protection of a population's citizens – a task that is vast in all proportions and sometimes justifiably difficult. Organizations and civil society associations aren't tasked with all of these responsibilities and have advantages in targeting single issues. Establishing partnerships with organizations such as these can better serve the public by broadening the capabilities of the police force.

Suggestion 5: *Create Advisory Committees*

Both the Portland and Colorado Springs Police Departments implemented Community Advisory Committees in an effort to better identify issues facing minority community members. These Advisory Committees included: African American committees, Hispanic and Latino committees, Asian committees, and sexual minority committees. The creation of these advisory

committees contributed to a better understanding between officers and minority populations, while generating trust in these communities as well as an assurance that their issues would be addressed. The creation of advisory committees could be implemented through the following steps:

1. Develop theoretical framework:
 - a. Establish mission of the initiative.
 - b. Establish goal of the initiative.
2. Collaborate with neighborhood committees to identify minority populations:
 - a. Introduce the initiative in neighborhood committee meetings.
 - b. Inquire of organizations that represent minority groups on whether they have members that would be interested in joining the initiative. If so, the department and participating organization can decide on representatives as well as identifying leaders within the community that might also be interested in joining the committee.
 - c. Create list of those agreeing to join the advisory committee
 - d. Create list of potential candidates inherited from pre existing neighborhood committee members
3. Establish network of targeted populations:
 - a. Using the lists created in step 1, contact those volunteering for the advisory committee and those who were identified through word of mouth.
 - b. Collaborate with those volunteering to co-create the mission and expected outcomes of the initiative.

- c. Create list of those agreeing to participate in the initiative
4. Create group:
 - a. Using the list of those agreeing to participate in the advisory committee, solidify the initiative.
 - b. Develop reoccurring meeting schedules.
 - c. Collaborate with group to assign representative of police department and community member to co-chair meetings.
5. Use information from meetings to create new policing strategies:
 - a. Identify tangible issues impacting minority communities that can potentially be addressed by police.
 - b. Deliberate on possible measures that can remedy these issues.

Through the creation of advisory committees, the police force will be advised on the unique challenges, concerns and interests of minority members throughout the community. Better serving these individuals better serves the community by empowering them through recognition as well as providing better support of issues affecting them. This brings valuable input to the process of creating and implementing new policing standards and campaigns.

Suggestion 6: *Create Community Oversight Board*

A Community Oversight Board was established within the Portland Police Department to oversee and track the department's community policing efforts. The Community Oversight Board charged community members with the responsibility to make recommendations, oversee and track progress, and advise the department of community concerns. Collaboration at this level may generate a more profound sense of trust and cohesiveness between the police and

community members. Ideally, this relationship would produce a standard of priorities when handling crime. A Community Oversight Board can be created by following these steps:

1. Create vision:
 - a. Establish mission of board meetings:
 - i. (e.g. To advise department of community concerns, to ensure the department is conducting tasks inline with the mission of the bureau and community, to oversee community-police relation initiatives, etc.)
2. Define the board characteristics through addressing these questions:
 - a. How many board members?
 - b. How many of these board members will be community members?
 - i. Will the participant(s) be elected or appointed?
 - c. How many of these board members will be current/previous officers?
 - i. Will the participant(s) be elected or appointed?
 - d. What authority do they have?
 - e. What authority don't they have?
 - f. What are their limitations?
 - g. What will be their responsibilities?
 - h. What training will be provided to citizens?
 - i. (e.g. Will there be a short course to educate members on trainings, procedures for violent situations, procedures for non-violent situations, etc.?)
3. Inform officers of department

- a. Ask for their feedback
4. Create board:
 - a. Name the board
 - b. Mandate location and time for meetings

The Community Oversight Committee initiative, first implemented in Portland, Oregon, is an attempt to align community-police standards of law enforcement. Although many aspects of the law may be distinguishable from city to city and state to state, there remain anterior facets that would be better left to the specific population to determine. This could involve determining whether standards are/were met during a particular altercation, whether or not complaints were recognized or addressed, how community initiatives should be conducted, etc. In doing so, the laws enforced will mirror the culture of the location, better serving the population and police force.

Suggestion 7: Evaluation—*Create and distribute surveys for evaluation and recommendations*

Both the Portland and Colorado Springs Police Departments created and distributed surveys to a variety of community members and institutions. These surveys were circulated throughout the community to receive feedback on current programs in order to develop better standards and goals. These surveys were distributed to high schools, local businesses, and other community establishments. The feedback provided by this initiative can potentially serve as a transparency measure, generating a deeper sense of trust amongst community members. Here is

a link where research can be assessed following the distribution of these surveys in Portland, OR.¹¹ This initiative can be implemented through the following steps:

1. Create a public survey system designed to elicit constructive feedback from community members:
 - a. Design survey questions that assess the police department:
 - i. Overall police performance, perception of trust, community safety, etc.
2. Distribute surveys to strategic community organizations:
 - a. Encourage participation from all levels of the community.
 - i. (e.g. Target diverse locales like high schools, local businesses, hospitals, nonprofits, etc.)
 - b. Dispense surveys
3. Analyze survey data, highlighting trends:
 - a. Identify commonalities of strengths and weaknesses.
4. Create new standards based on community insight:
 - a. Using the themes identified in step 3, compile a list of standards that the department can incorporate into its enforcement methodology.

The surveys created within this initiative will provide police with feedback, in an effort to assess and evaluate the community's perception of local police department effectiveness. In doing so, the department can create policing standards that are aligned with the community that they represent and serve. This initiative is designed to engage and empower local citizens by

¹¹ - <http://www.co-cl-coab.org/sites/default/files/Portland%20Police%20Community%20Relations%20Survey--00199--September%202015.pdf>

allowing their participation in the organizational structure of their police force, while also boosting community-police relations and morale.

Suggestion 8: Dialogue—*Structured facilitation meetings between officers and repeat offenders*

Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that one in every four offenders will repeat criminal offense (Eith & Durose, 2011). In an effort to deter this recurring behavior, the eighth suggestion of this guidebook implements a structured facilitated dialogue between officers and repeat offenders. This program would be introduced for several reasons: to highlight mitigating circumstances, such as social misinterpretations of perceived motivations, in order for police to recognize and create strategies to further address them; to address miscommunications and false perceptions; and to encourage the civilian to participate in internal crime deterring community activities.

This program could be established via the following steps:

1. Hire a professional facilitator:
 - a. Create a list of able facilitators
 - b. Conduct interviews
 - c. Hire preferred candidate
2. Work with hired facilitator to develop dialogue:
 - a. Construct themes of officer-violator misinterpretations of one another that explore:
 - i. (eg. What are the duties of officers, what is expected of an officer during a conflict, why force is sometimes needed, etc)
 - b. Advise the facilitator on the proposed dialogue

- i. (e.g. Convey normative behavior of aggressive or confused offenders, communicate any questions based on officer's daily feedback, converse about any confusions, nuances or frustrations when dealing with the public, etc.)
3. Work with court system to create and implement a benefit to repeat offenders willing to participate in the program:
 - a. Introduce measure with court officials
 - b. Negotiate incentive for repeat offenders to take place in initiative:
 - i. (e.g. Reduced sentence for certain criminal activities, time served option, reduced legal/court fees, etc. – all dependent on severity of crime.)
4. Work with the facilitator to establish group logistics:
 - a. Establish:
 - i. An agreed budget
 - ii. Meeting duration and frequency
 1. (e.g. 30 minutes, an hour, two hours? Once a month, twice, more?)
 - iii. Location
5. Incorporate themes expressed into further policing strategies:
 - a. Use insight discovered in facilitated dialogue sessions to consider alternative mechanisms to deescalate altercations.
 - i. (e.g. John tells officers and facilitator that he always feels threatened when police approach him, making him defensive.

Considering this to be a common psychological response that citizens have of police officers, one could approach the individual using friendly, non-aggressive and safe verbal and non-verbal communication.)

As stated before, this suggested initiative is to combat the statistic that one in every four offenders will repeat an offense, as well as distilling misconceived perceptions that occur between officers and the public. Through a facilitated dialogue, this strategy is designed to uncover core perceptions and motivations behind the thought processes of officers and offenders, humanizing one to the other in hopes of an established common ground and/or a dismantling of preconceived biases toward each other in hopes of deterring future altercations. If successful, misconceptions are found and clarified, bringing a sense of understanding to all involved, and hopefully deterring future offenses, through dialogue, while also strengthening relations.

Suggestion 9: Therapy—Recurring group therapy sessions for the prevention of secondary traumatic stress or post-traumatic stress

Although common themes exist between development agencies and the actors that work within them, there is a specific type of development actor that shows a variety of risk-similarities to the police officers of the United States.

Humanitarian aid workers are a unique group of development workers that have relatively similar challenges to police officers within the United States. This type of development actor is responsible for providing humanitarian assistance to populations that are experiencing crises that poses immediate physical danger that requires an immediate and urgent response. The World Food Programme, the world's largest humanitarian agency fighting hunger, describes their role as a humanitarian organization, stating: "In emergencies, we get food to where it is

needed, saving the lives of victims of war, civil conflict and natural disasters. After the cause of an emergency has passed, we use food to help communities rebuild their shattered lives¹².

Although their task may be rewarding, the personal challenges that aid workers face are pressing.

According to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), humanitarian aid workers face a significant amount of stress due to their diverse workload in dangerous settings¹³. Kristalina Georgieva, the European Commissioner for International Cooperation, stated:

Humanitarian work is one of the world's most dangerous professions.

Kidnappings, shootings and death threats are all too often part of the job description in places blighted by conflict such as Sudan, Syria, and Somalia. Aid workers are increasingly exposed to risk while maintaining a lifeline to the victims of conflicts and disasters around the world. It is unacceptable that they are subject to harassment, abduction or even murder while serving humanity¹⁴.

In light of this, the ICRC has identified two specific types of stress that they believe encompass aid workers' difficulties. According to the ICRC, protective stress "enables a person to cope with trying conditions of a difficult job, while remaining effective¹⁵." Severe stress, however, "leads

¹² World Food Programme. (n.d.) About: Fighting hunger worldwide. *World Food Program*. Retrieved from <https://www.wfp.org/about>

¹³ International Committee of the Red Cross. (1992). "Humanitarian action & armed conflict: Coping with stress." Geneva, Switzerland.

¹⁴ European Commission. (2012). Memo: Statement by EU Commissioner Kristalina Georgieva on World Humanitarian Day 2012. *European Commission*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-623_en.htm?locale=en

¹⁵ International Committee of the Red Cross. (1992). "Humanitarian action & armed conflict: Coping with stress." Geneva, Switzerland.

to exhaustion and impairs performance¹⁶. Additionally, aid workers' families are adversely impacted as well. The stress of humanitarian actors is transferred to those immediately around them, impacting the community structure attached to them¹⁷. Although slightly different, this highlights the philosophy that Sen proposed within his Development as Freedom thesis, in that a hazardous job that produces lasting psychological stressors not only effects the actor (worker), but the community as well. The consequences of negating a fundamental piece of society's infrastructure, in this case governance, could be severe.

Another issue that could preclude officers from being the proposed practitioner and development actor of justice and civil rights are effects of external factors hindering their ability to carry out responsibilities. Similarly, humanitarian aid work relates to policing through comparable dangers of the job. One way of addressing these dangers might be to acknowledge how these threats can lead to a psychologically oppressive environment, and examine how that could impact the effectiveness of the individual to carry out an expected duty.

The ninth suggestion is reinforced by the notion that active duty officers may experience mental distress due to the unique circumstances of the job. The consistent exposure to traumatic events may cause an officer to experience forms of stress portrayed by a victim, involved in a case, through what is known as Secondary Traumatic Stress (STS). As discussed in chapter 3, this form of stress may result in decreased quality of life, while also reducing an individual's effectiveness in the workplace. This suggestion requires police departments to recognize that officers are susceptible to this condition. Implementing measures to prevent and address STS

¹⁶ International Committee of the Red Cross. (1992). "Humanitarian action & armed conflict: Coping with stress." Geneva, Switzerland.

¹⁷ International Committee of the Red Cross. (1992). "Humanitarian action & armed conflict: Coping with stress." Geneva, Switzerland.

promotes a healthy working environment that can, in return, correlate to how officers respond in the field.

This strategy can be implemented through the following steps:

1. Create foundation of initiative
 - a. Design mission
 - b. Establish goal
2. Hire a professional therapist skilled in trauma:
 - a. Research local therapists within the area
 - b. Contact therapists and introduce topic
 - c. Hold interviews
 - d. Select preferred candidate
3. Work with therapist to create rubric:
 - a. Following the pre-established mission and goal, collaborate with therapist to create details of the initiative, such as, but not limited to:
 - i. What will be acceptable
 - ii. What could become a liability
 - iii. Appropriate interaction
 - iv. HIPAA standards
 - v. Confidentiality procedures
 - vi. Location preference
 1. Assess the comfort level of officers participating in the initiative within the department or in a setting outside of it.

4. Work with therapist to identify if STS or PTSD is evident within the department:
 - a. Provide therapist with any assistance required to fulfill his/her task.
5. Create groups based on stress levels:
 - a. Distinguish group types:
 - i. Group portraying STS symptoms
 - ii. Group portraying PTSD symptoms
 - iii. Group not portraying symptoms
6. Assign weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly sessions:
 - a. Collaborate with therapist to determine the appropriate frequency of sessions.
 - b. Create schedule and implement into working timeframe.

This initiative is designed to address the psychological needs of police officers. Police officers are faced with very demanding, dangerous and stressful situations on a day to day basis. This initiative is based on the notion that these stressors play an affect on the psyche of the officer. If left unaddressed, the officer's ability to perform his/her job effectively may be at risk. With the implementation of this program, the mental health of individual officers will be assessed, and potential issues recognized and treated, ultimately boosting the morale of the individual, department, and the community.

Suggestion 11: *Create and implement officer etiquette standards.*

Once police officers begin their career and enter the community as a representation of the law, there needs to be an established etiquette that is representative of the department and community's moral and ethical standards. Little information regarding etiquette training post

police academy exists. When considering a community's diverse makeup, there are many different viewpoints, cultures, and mindsets – responses to certain social or societal issues may be different depending on the person. As a police officer, there needs to be a collective and shared foundation of etiquette standards created by the community and/or police department.

This training program could be implemented following these steps:

1. Create standards and/or principles to be used as a foundation of etiquette:
 - a. Establish code of ethics as a guiding factor
 - b. Determine moral and ethical dimensions of acceptable and appropriate behavior.
 - i. (e.g. Acceptable and unacceptable language [verbal/non-verbal], acceptable and unacceptable displays of aggression [tone, rhetoric, speech, etc], acceptable and unacceptable interaction parameters [how a typical interaction should occur – provide examples for diverse scenarios], etc.)
 - c. Use the information above to establish standards
2. Implement etiquette training into program
 - a. Determine logistics:
 - i. Duration?
 - ii. Pre or post academy training?
 - iii. Training existing officers

The premise of this program is to communicate to officers that once they are members of the police force that there are legitimate social standards that are required of them. As with any

public official, there is a face that has to be shown to the public, and it is important that it is respected during all situations.

Suggestion 12: *Implement “Stop and Shake” initiative.*

“Stop and Shake” is a community driven initiative designed to dismantle the socially perceived distance between citizen and police officers (Rose, 2016). Following recent concerns of profiling initiatives like “stop-and-frisk”, community member Hector Santiago and Yonkers Police Department launched a new campaign called Stop and Shake. The goal of the campaign is to encourage everyday citizens to approach officers, and vice versa, resulting in dialogue while also addressing the perception that police officers are unapproachable. Ultimately, the campaign was designed to bring community members and local law enforcement officers closer together, resulting in a safer and stronger environment for those residing in Yonkers.

The initiative can be implemented in a variety of ways; here is one example:

1. Create vision:
 - a. Establish mission
 - b. Design goals and outcomes
2. Create limitations:
 - a. When the initiative is/isn't appropriate
 - i. (e.g. During an investigation, during an altercation, during an emergency etc.)
3. Announce the initiative to the community:
 - a. Disperse fliers, and brochures to community organizations and hotspots
 - i. (e.g. Churches, schools, gyms, etc.)
 - b. Broadcast information over radio and/or news stations

4. Hold a Stop and Shake event:
 - a. Invite the community to a disclosed location to shake the hands of local police officers and engage in dialogue.
 - b. Inform the public that the initiative is a two way system that should be conducted and initiated by both citizens and police officers

This initiative is based entirely on strengthening community-police relations. Although it is perhaps a small gesture, the proximity that it requires creates the groundwork for dialogue, where misconstrued perceptions can be combatted and positive relationships can be developed.

Concluding Remarks

As mentioned before, these suggested initiatives are based on graduate research of a holistic and developmental approach to policing within a community. While combatting crime is most important, it might be equally important to consider a paradigm shift in the success of this task. Addressing the potentially underexplored needs of the police, community members, and department could empower both the officers and locals alike, producing an environment that is more suitable for improved community-police relations (engagement, participation, partnerships, etc), and crime reduction as a result. Through the implementation of these measures, a department could even better serve the population that it seeks to protect.