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Community policing and leadership : perceptions of urban police chiefs

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COMMUNITY POLICING AND LEADERSHIP: PERCEPTIONS OF URBAN POLICE CHIEFS

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ABSTRACT

Community Policing and Leadership: Perceptions of Urban Police Chiefs

Statement of the Problem

This study investigated police chiefs' understandings of the organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation as they related to the societal environment and the police and community as one entity. The exploration of the extent to which these police chiefs understood how collaborative leadership related to the interdependent elements of community and policing was designed to shed light on the problem of implementing community policing.

Procedures and Methods

A qualitative research design was used to explore this study's research questions. The participants were five current California police chiefs from urban police departments. Data sources for this study included semi-structured interviews, copies of documents from their departments that they used and believed were relevant to community policing and completed participant background questionnaires.

Complexity theory was used as a methodology. Its strength was in its potential to best explain how and why community policing and leadership trends occurred. In particular, this complexity science-influenced methodology helped expose historical and political contexts and appeared to be better suited than a linear quantitative process in understanding organizations and social phenomena as those of human relationships.

Findings

Findings suggested the chiefs struggled to embrace the new model while still employing old tools. For example, they were far more tactical than strategic when problem solving with the community. In regard to leadership, little from the data suggested that they could articulate coherently the complex nature of leadership or, for that matter, link the relationship between the characteristics of a complex adaptive entity and the street level leadership necessary to accomplish community policing.

It was also found there was a lack of organization-related material reflecting the need for community policing. This suggested a lack of awareness on their parts when it came to the need for establishing a formal and institutionalized cultural identity regarding leadership and community policing. They relied instead almost entirely on an oral, informal, occasionally tacit understanding of its need.

Conclusions

Police leaders better understanding the relationship between collaborative leadership, organizational structure, communication and problem solving skills and community policing, could lead to the innovation and creativity needed for enabling line staff to successfully practice community policing.

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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One day in 2002, while I was serving as Captain of Park Police District in San Francisco, Dr. Dan Israel, the Director of the St. Mary's College Masters in Leadership Program, visited my office. He was there to promote his program to San Francisco Police officers. I was immediately struck by his energy and a shared passion for teaching. Soon after the meeting I accepted an offer to teach in his program. Under Dr. Israel's tutelage I grew personally and professionally. It was because of his encouragement and confidence in me to pursue a higher level of personal and professional development that I entered the doctoral program in organization and leadership at the University of San Francisco. For this I am eternally grateful to him.

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Laurie, and three wonderful children, Ryan, Chrystine, and Kathryn. They are my life and love. The fruits of this labor are because of their patience, love, and support. They were my inspiration to contribute to a body of knowledge that in its entirety could improve the condition of mankind.

I have the deepest respect for the men and women who serve their communities as peace officers. I was honored to have studied the perceptions of five remarkable police chiefs in the state of California who provided leadership to the women and men in their police departments. Without their willingness to spend precious time in their hectic schedules, this study would not have been possible. I will never forget the passion, and commitment they brought to their work.

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CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

My experiences as a police leader and instructor have included developing and facilitating professional training seminars for law enforcement officers of high rank. During these workshops, I heard these officers speak of their experiences of not only fighting crime, but also of motivating their staff, attending to other needs of the community and instituting their long-held community policing goals. They shared consistently with me their frustrations about being tasked by their superiors merely for receiving directives as opposed to something more concrete and useful. That they had a great deal to contribute and were ignored agitated them. They were capable of creating their own directives and wanted greater cooperation from other divisions and the heart of the community at large. Facing challenges such as these was common for law enforcement officials trying to keep their neighborhoods safe. The core of the problem may rest with police leadership failing to comprehend meaningfully what the community policing model was, what its implications were and how to implement it effectively given the historical context in which it developed. These frustrations suggest an underlying tension that threatens to preclude law enforcement from deciding judiciously how best to police.

Three decades of research, from the 1950s through the 1970s, indicated the inadequacy of crime fighting alone (Moore, 1992). Although a new community policing model was introduced nationally to address this problem during the 1970s, 1980s and

1990s, community policing research conducted since then has illustrated increasingly that, although researchers believe that it represents a positive paradigm shift from crime fighting to problem solving (Seagrave, 1996), police leadership may lack the tools it needs to accomplish its new mission (Adams, Rohe, & Arcury, 2002). Other researchers (Maguire & Katz, 2002) studied the apparent conflict between community policing reforms and traditional policing and found that the conflict threatened the internal power structure of police organizations.

One might conclude that, like many of society's organizations, police and the communities they serve are inextricably linked and interdependent (Stacey & Griffin, 2005). This notion has been recognized as collaborative policing, or, as used in this study, community policing (Moore, 1992; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988). One might hypothesize that because of this interconnectedness, as implied by the application of complexity science theory to the social sciences, a more collaborative police leadership style might result in greater success. The rates at which crimes are prevented and solved, as well as the perception about how safe a given neighborhood is by its residents, might all improve.

Of course, the nature of community policing requires collaboration. While it may seem uncomplicated to the outside observer, achieving this connection requires great effort. Many police chiefs, now longtime veterans, ascended the ranks of their respective departments at a time where hierarchy and autocracy defined the field. It was a structure they navigated with great dexterity and, at this point in their careers, has become embedded deeply into their professional lives

(Moore, 1992). Accordingly, while they may preach a more progressive, inclusive model of policing, internally they may be practicing the antiquated, hierarchical yet entirely familiar form of policing with which they are more comfortable. Police struggle to reconcile these incongruities (Maguire & Katz, 2002). The phenomenon suggests a lack of internal and external connectedness and presents significant challenges to their ability to achieve their community policing goals. Crimes go unsolved, crime prevention efforts are stymied and, most troublingly, the community feels disconnected from its officers. From there it is easy for citizens to feel both less protected and valued.

In a *San Francisco Weekly* newspaper article, Russell (2008) reported that in San Francisco, most homicides are unsolved, leaving both the officers and community members demoralized. Besides that, the esteem in which the citizens may have held the officers erodes exponentially. Russell suggested that the chief's non-participatory and non-collaborative leadership style was mostly to blame.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore urban police chiefs' perceptions about the relationship between leadership and community policing. It investigated also the extent to which police chiefs implicitly understood their organizations as complex adaptive entities and examined their understandings of the organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation as they related to the societal environment and the police and community as one entity. The exploration of the extent to which these police chiefs understood how collaborative leadership related to the interdependent elements of

community and policing was designed to shed light on the problem of implementing community policing.

The study utilized a qualitative method based in complexity science theory. Participants in the study were five police chiefs in urban police departments across California. Data sources employed in this study included semi-structured interviews, police department memos and orders and training materials regarding leadership and community policing.

Background and Need for Study

Since the 1970s, policing in the United States has undergone significant change. The police mission and administrative functions have been redefined by the community policing movement (Moore, 1992). The United States Department of Justice's (2009) vision for 21st century policing reads in part:

Community policing focuses on crime and social disorder through the delivery of police services that includes aspects of traditional law enforcement, as well as prevention, problem solving, community engagement, and partnerships. The community policing model balances reactive responses to calls for service with proactive problem-solving centered on the causes of crime and disorder. Community policing requires police and citizens to join together as partners in the course of both identifying and effectively addressing these issues. (U. S. Department of Justice, ¶ 3)

Police departments nationwide have developed department-unique vision statements. For example, the San Francisco Police Department's vision statement indicates that "SFPD employees are expected to exhibit hard work, ingenuity and

resourcefulness" (Police Executive Research Forum, 2008, p. 183). An organizational assessment of the San Francisco Police Department in 2008 found four major themes in their vision statement that were consistent with the Department of Justice's. They were: (a) Expanding community policing, problem solving and community engagement to prevent and control crime and improve the quality of neighborhood life; (b) creating and maintaining a workforce and an organization that reflected the city and its values; (c) ensuring accountability and transparency and; (d) building leadership and developing personnel. (San Francisco Police Department, p. 10)

Moore (1992) and Greene (2000) identified two predominant philosophical models, that which valued fighting crime and that which preferred community policing. The success of the crime fighting model was most often measured by arrest statistics, while the success of the community policing model traditionally measured the community's perception of safety in its neighborhoods. This same research did not conclude they were mutually exclusive. In fact, the United States Department of Justice's (2009) vision statement for 21st century policing included traditional crime fighting law enforcement techniques as well as "prevention, problem solving, community engagement and partnerships."

However, one researcher in particular (Ponsaers, 2001) found that organizational models within police organizations, such as the crime-fighting model, and community-policing model clearly reflected the values, norms and objectives of the community in which they existed. His findings also suggested that the models could change from one to

another over time but often overlap, the differing elements of the models resulting in conflicts between the two.

Other researchers (Moore, 1992; Seagrave, 1996) studied whether community policing represented a paradigm shift. Moore (1992), Seagrave (1996) and most others studying the phenomenon argued that this new model represented a dramatic departure from crime fighting to problem solving. Other studies explored the benefits of community policing to the community itself. Skolnick and Bayley (1988) identified three: (a) improved crime prevention, (b) greater public scrutiny of police activity, and (c) greater police accountability to the community. The benefits to police included grassroots support from the community, consensus building between police and the community and an uptick in police morale.

Witte, Travis, and Langworthy (1990) as well as Moore (1992) sought to describe a dominant police leadership style. They submitted that it was autocratic, hierarchical and non-collaborative—one often associated with the military. More accurately, however, the true military model "was not the top down, centrally controlled monolith that many traditional police managers cherished and forward-thinking police progressives decried" (Cowper, 2000, p. 231). Other researchers (Maguire, 1997; Hodgson, 2001; Ponsaers, 2001; Adams, Rohe, & Arcury, 2002) analyzed police leadership styles through the prism of community policing. Since 1988, researchers have often asked whether police leaders have had a true understanding of the complex relationships between the police and the community (Moore, 1992; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Pino, 2001). Some recommendations resulting from an organizational assessment of the San Francisco

Police Department (2008) were summarized as: (a) Teaching skills enabling all personnel to better collaborate with the community in efforts to thwart crime, must be a dominant theme in all classroom and field recruit training (p. 15); (b) community policing, or crime prevention by means of collaborative problem solving with the community, and crime fighting expertise, must be a requirement for career advancement, and (p.16); (c) in order to improve the department and achieve community policing goals, a professional development program must be developed to cultivate future SFPD leaders at all levels: line, supervisory, management and executive (p. 24).

This extensive 2008 organizational assessment of a large urban police department lent support to the problem statement of this study and, with its recommendations, implicitly affirmed its need. The assessment clearly identified the interdependent relationships between police, police leadership and the community by linking the success of a police organization to its focus on four key themes including community engagement, crime fighting, community policing and collaborative problem solving. Additionally, the assessment suggested strongly that the four themes be considered during the selection and training of police leaders. With respect to how those police leaders understood the interrelationships between those key themes, more study was required.

This research study shed light on the perceptions of urban police chiefs and their understandings of leadership, community policing and relationships between the police and the community. It investigated, too, the extent to which police chiefs understood their organizations as complex adaptive entities as well as what their understandings of the

organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation were as they pertained to the societal environment and the police and community as one entity.

Theoretical Rationale

The theoretical rationale for this study was based on complexity and leadership theories. Goodwin's (2001) contribution to the theoretical rationale included his application of complexity theory to evolutionary theory and the internal and external interactions of organisms. Contributors to the complexity theory rationale also included Griffin and Stacey (2005), who applied complexity theory to the social sciences and viewed organizations as processes of human relating, and Bloch (2005), who identified common characteristics of complex adaptive entities. Contributors to the leadership theory rationale included Rost, who described a new post-industrial leadership paradigm and Lee P. Brown, who, as a New York City Police Commissioner in the 1990s, popularized a new leadership approach to community policing.

Complexity Theory

Stacey's and Griffin's (2005) work entitled *A Complexity Perspective on Researching Organizations* suggested that organizations could be processes of human relating, and that everything organizational happened in these everyday, consensual, yet ultimately conflicted and competitive dealings. They further suggested that the everyday processes of communication, relations of power and choices people made influenced their abilities to cope with the uncertainty and complexity associated with organizational life. During this process, future interactions were constructed—and in real time. This concept acted as the foundation for this exploration of police leadership and community policing.

Further foundation for this exploration came from the work of Goodwin (2001). In his text *How the Leopard Changed Its Spots*, he suggested the need to build on Darwin's work and look not only at its genes but also at the entire organism and how it interacted internally and externally. Organisms were not only competitive but also cooperative; they appeared to achieve, adapt and survive through both. This rationale supported this study's purpose of identifying how the chiefs' understandings of the synergy between the community and police emerged from their discussions about community policing and leadership. Complexity science has led to what Goodwin suggested was a science consisting of qualities that may help us understand how organisms interact both physically and socially. This study applied Goodwin's concept to the complex adaptive entities of police and communities.

Bloch (2005) identified twelve qualities or common characteristics of complex adaptive entities. Her work helped answer the inquiry, "To what extent are the following twelve characteristics understood by police chiefs as applied to the intrinsic interdependence of police and the community?" Organizations such as police departments and community groups, have the ability to maintain life and adapt to change (*autopoesis)* by means of self organization. This process of sustaining life is maintained by an *open exchange* of energy from outside the entity. In this exchange of energy complex adaptive entities are segments of *networks* in which these entities are linked in a web-like fashion, both internally and externally. Complex adaptive entities share self-similarity, although they may have different shapes. This quality is known as *fractality*. *Phase transitions* occur during a dynamic exchange of components and energy as

complex adaptive entities move between chaos and order. During phase transitions, opportunities exist for complex adaptive entities to experience creativity and the retention of life by means of the *emergence* of new configurations. As well complex adaptive entities naturally seek *fitness peaks.* A fitness peak is a point in which a complex adaptive entity has the best chance of evolving and surviving. When transitioning between chaos and order, complex adaptive entities experience multiple factors internally and externally from multiple network relationships. This is described as *nonlinear dynamics.* Because complex adaptive entities behave in a nonlinear way, changes of equal sizes do not always produce equal effects. The degree of change is dependent on the *sensitive dependence* or the initial condition in which change finds a complex adaptive entity during a phase transition. During transitions complex adaptive entities may experience limitations of change and growth as influenced by *limiting attractors.* Some of the attractors that seem to limit growth and change are described as point attractors, pendulum attractors, and torus attractors. A complex adaptive entity influenced by a *point attractor* is drawn repeatedly to one state. A complex adaptive entity formed by a *pendulum attractor* swings back and forth between two distinguished conditions. Lastly, a complex adaptive entity drawn to a *torus attractor* moves around and around in a circular way. Conversely, *strange attractors* produce complex adaptive entities that move through transitions and emerge changed or in a new form. Another characteristic common to all complex adaptive entities is their inseparability and interconnectedness. When the unity that all complex adaptive entities experience, is experienced by people, it is often considered an aspect of *spirituality.*

In summary, these elements represented connection, change, adaptation, openness and lack of total control. Moreover, they were abundantly relevant; they described the tensions between police and community networks. They described also how those tensions resulted in leaders and networks adapting or not adapting to new paradigms like that of community policing.

Stackman, Henderson, and Bloch (2006) suggested that by gathering information about specific entities, researchers could uncover patterns to help them understand how organizations self sustained as complex adaptive entities. This study employed this very rationale by asking chiefs to share stories reflecting on how they perceived and guided community policing models. Finally, Gladwell (2002, 2005) and Taleb (2007) each popularized complexity science by applying some of the same elements of complex adaptive entities as Bloch (2005) discussed to understanding better social organizational dynamics.

Leadership Theory

Rost (1991) believed that, contrary to the industrial leadership model (Taylor, 1911), a new post-industrial leadership paradigm would emerge and value more collaboration, critical dialogue, substantive justice and consensus building. He described four essential principles comprising this new leadership paradigm; he argued all, not some, needed to be present if real leadership existed. Rost outlined his theory as follows:

1. The relationship was based on influence.
    a. That relationship was multi-directional.

b. The influence was non-coercive.

2. Leaders and followers were the key parties involved.

a. Each was active.

b. Two or more followers were required. One or more leader was preferable.

3. Leaders and followers intended real changes.

a. Intended meant that the leaders and followers purposefully desired certain changes and acted in accordance with bringing them to fruition.

b. Real meant that the changes the leaders and followers intend had to be meaningful and transformative.

c. Leaders and followers needed not produce change for leadership to happen. The intended changes were enough. If they transpired at all, they would be in the future.

d. Leaders and followers intended several changes at once.

4. Leaders and followers developed mutual purposes.

a. The mutuality of these purposes was forged in the non-coercive influence relationship.

b. Leaders and followers developed purposes as opposed to goals.

c. The intended changes reflected, as opposed to realized, their purposes.

d. The mutual purposes became common purposes. (pp.102-103)

Rost (1991) viewed the industrial leadership model as problematic. He saw the traditional leadership theories such as the great man, trait, behaviorist, contingency and situational models as reflections of the industrial leadership model. Non-participatory, autocratic and leader-goal driven were all accurate adjectives when discussing them. He

suggested that this model was not conducive to 21st century organizational demands. As opposed to describing leadership, he attempted to explain how it happened. He defined leadership as "an influence relationship among collaborators who intended real changes that reflected their mutual purposes" (pp. 102-103). Notably, his theory suggested the possibility that there were certain characteristics of leadership that allowed leaders and followers both to achieve mutual goals.

Rost's (1991) theory appeared consistent with the complexity theory premise in that it implied complex adaptive entities were essential for an organization to survive and thrive. The two theories appeared to converge within the rationale for the significance of networking and the interchange of energies. Rost alluded to the importance of human relationships and networking when he described relationships between leaders and followers as mutually active, multidirectional, non-coercive and mutually purposeful. This reasoning appeared consistent with the characteristics of complex adaptive entities' participation in networks and dissipative structures or open exchange. Rost appeared also to take a non-linear approach when he speculated that the intended changes of leaders and followers reflected, not realized, their purposes and that other factors altogether affected whether change occurred at all.

Lee P. Brown, a popular New York City law enforcement leader, community policing theorist and practitioner during the 1990s (Webber, 1990), embraced the leadership concepts described in Rost's (1991) leadership theory. Brown reflected the conventional wisdom of contemporary community policing and leadership researchers (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Rost, 1991) when he suggested that problem solving with the

community (rather than random patrol and emergency responses) was a more effective means of crime prevention. In writing about Brown's concepts, Webber (1990) suggested that Brown believed that, as a leader, it was his job to empower officers such that they were collaborative, trustworthy, creative and reflective—and therefore far more effective at community policing. Brown's approach to changing the then-dominant law enforcement model appeared grounded in Rost's notion that a leadership relationship was based on influence, was multi-directional, was non-coercive and that leaders and followers and participants developed a common purpose to achieve it.

Research Questions

This study investigated the following research questions through qualitative data collection and analysis:

1. What were the urban police chiefs' understandings of community policing?
2. What were the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing?
3. To what extent did urban police chiefs understand the world as being complex and policing as a complex adaptive entity?
4. What were the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and their police organizations as complex adaptive entities?
5. To what extent did organization-related documentation reflect the community-policing mission?
6. To what extent did organization-related documentation reflect an awareness of

the police as a complex adaptive entity?

7. To what extent did participant background information suggest a relationship between urban police chiefs' perceptions regarding leadership and community-policing?

Limitations

This research was a qualitative study designed to explore the perceptions of California urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing. The participant chiefs sampled represented only five of many hundreds of urban chiefs around the state. The San Francisco Bay area was represented by two chiefs of police, the Sacramento, San Joaquin River Valleys were represented by two chiefs, while Southern California, with a larger number of urban police chiefs, was represented by only one.

Although the sample number of five was sufficient for this type of qualitative investigation, the findings could not be applied across the larger populations of police chiefs. Being able to generalize based on the information accumulated, however, was not the goal of this qualitative inquiry. Although my background and experience in policing provided a firm and comprehensive platform for the study, I made every effort to identify consciously any biases I had while interviewing participants and analyzing subsequent data.

Significance

This study provided insights into urban police chiefs' understandings of their roles in leadership and community policing and shed some light on the challenges of accomplishing crime problem solving goals within the community. The study identified also some patterns of urban police chiefs' understandings of leadership and the relationship between leadership, organizational structure and the achievement of community policing goals.

This study also revealed the extent to which these police chiefs understood their police departments as complex adaptive entities and how they understood the relationship between the characteristics of a complex adaptive entity and street leadership and community policing. The chiefs understanding of characteristics of a complex adaptive entity shed light on the significance patterns of repetition, adapting to changing environments, the free flow of ideas and information, embracing complex and unpredictable outcomes, and the point at which change occurs figures into their actions as leaders.

Additionally, this study helped recognize how police chiefs navigated their ways through current leadership and organizational models, thereby enabling educators to develop programs designed to help police, civic and community leaders to better understand the synergies necessary to accomplish community policing goals. In particular, the understanding of these synergies could have significant import to law enforcement trainers who are largely responsible for developing and delivering leadership

training programs to future law enforcement leaders. Further insights could benefit greatly police chiefs around the country.

Lastly, this study is significant in that it used complexity science as a theoretical rationale. In the history of social science research, the application of complexity science is relatively new. Although there have been a few studies relating leadership to complexity science, there are fewer that have related complexity science to police. This study provided another piece to an emerging and growing application of complexity science to the social sciences.

Definition of Terms

Chief of Police: the top administrator and visionary of a local urban governmental police department. The Chief of Police was usually appointed by the top municipality executive or top legislative board of a municipality.

Community: for the purpose of this study, it will refer to an interacting population of various individuals in a common location (Webster, 1981).

Community Policing: the philosophy that imposed a new responsibility on police to devise appropriate ways for engaging the public. This included active outreach, a reallocation of officers from emergency response mode to proactive crime prevention mode, notation of public feedback and collaborative work to solve other, perhaps less apparent, problems plaguing the neighborhood. Lastly, it included a decentralization of police command such that each area's needs were met accordingly and in a timely fashion. (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988).

Complex Adaptive Entities: from a biological sciences perspective, complex adaptive entities were all living creatures, from single-celled animals to infinitely complex humans. As applied to the social sciences, complex adaptive entities were informal organizations (such as crowds) and formal organizations (such as universities or police departments). Complex adaptive entities shared a set of characteristics, whether they were being described as systems in physics, biology or the social sciences. The twelve identified characteristics shared by complex adaptive entities were: attractors that limit growth, strange attractors, autopoesis, dissipative structures or open exchange, emergence, fitness peaks, fractals, networks, non-linear dynamics, phase transitions, sensitive dependence, and spirituality (Bloch, 2005).

Police: local urban governmental law enforcement departments concerned with the maintenance of the health, safety and public order of their communities.

Sheriff: the top law enforcement executive of a sheriff's department, otherwise known as a county law enforcement agency. In most cases, the sheriff was elected to office in a countywide election. The next chapter addresses this study's literature review.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore urban police chiefs' perceptions about the relationship between leadership and community policing. It investigated also the extent to which police chiefs implicitly understood their organizations as complex adaptive entities and examined their understandings of the organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation as they related to the societal environment and the police and community as one entity. The exploration of the extent to which these police chiefs understood how collaborative leadership related to the interdependent elements of community and policing was designed to shed light on the problem of implementing community policing.

The review of the literature was structured to provide the reader with a summary of studies and research on community policing, leadership and complexity theory. The main themes were addressed in the following order: (a) community policing; (b) public sector and law enforcement leadership, both practice and theory; (c) organizational models and community policing and (d) complexity theory and leadership.

There was a wealth of information available regarding this new concept of policing. The literature review sub-divided into two, more specialized themes, linked by the specific nature of the studies' purposes, and was presented in the following order: (a) community policing defined and (b) the implementation of community policing and its efficacy.

The review of literature on public sector leadership and law enforcement leadership practice and theory was sub-divided into two, more specialized themes, linked by the specific nature of the studies' purposes and was presented in the following order: (a) public sector leadership and (b) law enforcement leadership practice and theory.

The literature review on organizational models and community policing focused on organizational and leadership changes during the community policing era. These studies were all linked by their focus on the relationship between the community, the contemporary community policing model and police leadership within the crime fighting model.

The final review of literature highlighted studies and theories linked by their discussion of complexity theory and leadership. All studies within the themes and sub-themes were presented in chronological order to provide historical and developmental contexts.

Community Policing

The following review of literature on the community policing theme was divided into two, more specialized themes. The first included literature on the definition of community policing. The second included literature on the implementation of community policing and its efficacy.

Community Policing Defined

This section identified research on the community policing phenomenon. Researchers identified explored it and shed light on its core, purpose and efficacy.

Community policing, as originally represented during the 1970s, suggested a more generalized approach to addressing social ailments rather than a specific program approach. Soon after the emergence of the new community policing model, researchers attempted to reveal the most accurate description of community policing as managerial and organizational as opposed to programmatic.

Moore (1992) reviewed over 90 sources of literature to explore theories and research on the value and promise of problem solving and community policing as a "means to reduce and prevent crime, to protect and enhance the quality of life in urban America, to secure and strengthen police acceptance of legal and constitutional values, and to achieve heightened accountability of the police to the communities they serve" (p. 100). He realized that he needed first to understand what the problem solving and community policing models were, as well as how, if at all, they were to alter fundamentally policing. Moore's findings suggested that the two decades of research in this area revealed that the crime fighting model was unsuccessful in addressing society's crime problems. Moore found also that community policing appeared to be a viable and sustainable alternative to the crime fighting model and that, to ensure its success, external and internal accountability mechanisms needed improvement and restructuring. Organizational changes such as flattening the hierarchical structure and hiring more resourceful officers were needed to cite two examples. Moore's research provided a good foundation for other studies.

Seagrave (1996) realized that to better understand a movement as compelling as this one, researchers needed to know how stakeholders, academics, police officers and

the citizenry itself all defined the subject. He started from the beginning by simply defining relevant terms and researching varying interpretations associated with community policing. As he familiarized himself with the terminology, he noted that five general categories arose. Subsequently, he conducted one to two hour interviews with 32 police leaders and 144 police officers from one Canadian province. After recording and transcribing them, he analyzed the responses and applied them to the five categories. He discovered that, while each reported as a central characteristic "closer" ties between police and the community, there was no singularly accepted definition. Moreover, he concluded each subject ignored a critical component—that organizational change was an integral way to achieve those closer ties. Nineteen percent expressed cynicism about it and more struggled with what it entailed. Seagrave concluded the officers had never formally been told what the department's idea of community policing was. Studies following his examined the extent to which community policing practices were actually implemented over the last few decades.

In 1998, Oliver and Bartgis researched community policing to better comprehend it and its origins. They wanted to use their findings to create a theoretical framework for future researchers interested in studying community policing. They collected and reviewed the most current literature on the criminal justice system, crime and politics and analyzed how community policing had evolved from an experimental model to an accepted and practiced one. They found that the majority of studies focused on two theories, namely the broken window theory, geared toward addressing the problem while it was still in its embryonic stages, and the problem oriented approach theory, which

focused on treating not merely the symptoms found in the problem's advanced stages, but its roots more importantly. The authors found also that external forces like crime, politics and prevailing social norms of the time were all major influences. Oliver and Bartgis found a clear connection between the philosophy of community orientation and the advantages of participatory (versus hierarchical) police management. Oliver and Bartgis characterized their findings as no less than a revelation of a double-loop learning model that focused on connectivity, the influences of external and internal environments and the need for non-linear analysis of the community-policing phenomenon.

The Implementation of Community Policing and Its Efficacy

Skogan (1994) explored whether citizens wanted closer contact with the police. He reasoned that, although definitions of community policing included the principle of collaborative problem solving, he was unsure how active citizens were in the problem solving process or whether the community even wanted the closer contact with the police that this required. Skogan used telephone survey interviews to conduct his research. The numbers came from a combination of those listed in the directory and were randomly generated from the areas in which the prototype community policing programs had been implemented. Ninety citizen organizations were studied in the Chicago area, 58 in Rogers Park and 45 in Morgan Park. Notably, the surveys were conducted both before and after the program was implemented. The purpose was to assess any change in how aware the citizenry was of the program. Questions probed how much, if any, knowledge they had of the community policing program, if they had attended any meetings pertaining to it, who, if anyone, took the opportunity to participate and if anything had come of the

meetings. Skogan found that the public's degree of awareness was not significantly higher in the prototype areas and revealed why there was such an insignificant increase in citizen participation overall. It turned out the meetings did not conform to community policing model at all. Officers sat in the back, disengaged and participated only begrudgingly; there was a readily apparent distrust between the police and citizen advisory committee. Lastly, both favored and were more familiar with the traditional enforcement model.

Skogan (1996) conducted another study in Chicago in which he explored what impact community policing had on a variety of community problems and if crimes were actually prevented or were merely pushed to other parts of the city. Skogan used a quantitative study in which 1,506 people were interviewed by telephone. They were surveyed once before the program was implemented in targeted communities and then fourteen to seventeen months after. Households without phones were not surveyed. The method was limited in that it underrepresented the poor, the less educated and those who rented versus those who owned homes. Such a limit was significant; the underrepresented groups generally held inauspicious views of the police. The survey focused on crime victimization, perceived quality of police services and a fixed number of problems in each area. Evaluators at Northwestern University chose the four biggest problems identified by respondents in each of the five prototype districts and then examined the impact of the community policing program on those problems. They examined also index scores combining clusters of similar problems. When possible, they compared survey results to crime statistics. Skogan discovered that crimes declined significantly in

the community policing prototype districts. Fifty percent of all problem categories showed significant improvements. Regarding the displacement question, the study concluded that there was not one. In fact, a diffusion of benefits to the adjacent districts was possible.

In 1997, Kessler and Borella researched whether community policing worked and how to evaluate its efficacy. They focused their study on its specific programs in Birmingham, Alabama. These programs were composed of a number of activities such as community and church meetings, during which they would discuss neighborhood problems, road blocks, saturation policing, door to door contacts and neighborhood cleanups. They measured the Birmingham Police Department's calls for service data before *and* after implementing the programs. They tested also the differences in odds that the calls would report a violent act as a result of the four interventions.

Restricted to one police district, the study could not collect and analyze data from the entire municipal jurisdiction, thereby limiting the conclusions its authors could draw. Keeping that in mind, Kessler and Borella found that community policing programs, even limited like they were in the Birmingham experiment, did, in fact, have a positive impact. Remarkably, there was a 41% drop in weekly calls requesting police service. There was also a similar decline in calls reporting crimes of violence. An interesting discovery revealed that, although calls for service initially increased after community policing programs were introduced, this phenomenon was only temporary. The study revealed that problems subsided after the initial rise in large measure because of the new relationship the police department forged with its citizens.

Jesilow's, Meyer's, Parsons', and Tegeler's 1998 study asked whether crime statistics, which were the traditional way of measuring police success, could effectively reflect community policing efficacy. The purpose was to measure success using another barometer besides crime statistics. They posited that successful community policing programs decreased the public's complaints about crime. They used this theory as a framework to conduct a three year quantitative study of a newly formed community policing district in Santa Ana, California. In 1990 and 1992, using phone and face to face interviews with the neighborhood participants to measure the success of the community policing program, they created a variable that consisted of the total number of complaints listed after a participant was asked about what they liked least about where they lived. They then used the complaints as a predictor of negative attitudes toward police and applied this variable to each of the six police districts before and after the introduction of the community-policing program.

Jesilow, Meyer, Parsons, and Tegeler found that community-policing programs decreased citizen complaints. The researchers acknowledged, however, that local economic conditions could not be discounted as having significant influence on the results. Moreover, complaints dropped dramatically in some categories, such as vehicle speeding and traffic violations. Interestingly, they did identify difficulties with the community policing model. They found that the rights of some could be trampled because local standards for law enforcement could result in unequal enforcement citywide. Also, regular beats and more autonomy could result in more corruption.

Ultimately, however, their study found that community policing had an overall positive effect on the community.

In 1999, Zhao, Lovrich, and Thurman conducted a quantitative longitudinal study using existing data that was collected from 201 United States police agencies in 1993 and then again in 1996 in order to confirm whether there was widespread implementation of community policing. Using data obtained from a nationally-mailed survey sent every three years since 1978 by the Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University, the researchers examined how many police agencies used community policing models and whether their implementation rose over a three year period. The surveys included questions about the use of bike and foot patrols, community newsletters, fixed assignments of officers to neighborhoods, block meetings and victim contact programs.

The researchers found that 86.6% of the surveyed agencies reported increases in community policing activities over the three years, with 80.6% of the agencies characterizing the increase as highly valuable. Community policing programs increased from 8.95% in 1993 to 9.72% in 1996. Such an increase was hardly a statistical anomaly; quite the contrary, it was common, substantial and noteworthy. The researchers found also that the term "community policing" begat much confusion. Police unions resisted it because they perceived it as a threat to their professional model. However, police executives rated these impediments as no more than slight obstacles. Officers trained more in solving problems continued to be a deficiency. Furthermore, while the study noted an increase in community policing programs, some officers, reticent to comply,

continued to justify traditional, harsher law enforcement models under the guise of community policing. The research indicated additionally that community policing was still in a trial and error phase with respect to organizational change and program policy adjustment.

In 2001, Pino explored variables that could further illuminate determining the success of community policing. In particular, he was interested in whether the variable social capital (connections made between individuals) was so important that, without it, community policing would be doomed. He posited that social capital was hard to quantify, but that networks and organizations were objective and observable. He therefore used a qualitative method involving convenience sampling surveys of neighborhood focus groups and convenience sampling interviews of police officers and administrators in a small Iowa city. There were four focus groups made up of twelve neighbors, all of which were comprised of Caucasians excluding one Latina. The semi-structured interviews involved a police captain, two community-policing officers, patrol officers and the liaison between the community and the police. Both the neighborhood groups and officers were asked to comment on crime, fear of crime, disorder, community policing and relationships with the police.

Pino (2001) found in both the focus groups and interviews that social capital was wanting between the two. There was a lack of trust among officers working the community policing jobs and other non-community-policing jobs and between police and neighborhood groups. Citizen community policing expectations were unmet. As a result of off duty irresponsible conduct on the parts of the officers (infidelity, drunk driving and

drug dealing to cite three examples), they had hardly earned the public's respect. The neighborhood actually trusted the police department *less* after engaging it. Pino detected a profound failure of leadership in the police department that, predictably, led to ineffective community policing.

Maguire and Katz (2002) found ambiguity in the community policing concept and so explored how police departments interpreted their roles. They attempted to shed light on whether law enforcement's interpretations were consistent with the concept of community policing. Using one of their previous quantitative studies conducted in 1993, Maguire and Katz mined data from the responses of 1,600 police officers and sheriffs who were surveyed to determine how they interpreted community policing. They focused on activities that were performed by four entities including citizens, patrol officers, police managers and police organizations. They used two concepts from organizational theory, namely loose coupling and sense making, to frame their understandings of how community policing was being applied in American law enforcement agencies. To determine how closely the various agencies' general and specific community police claims were associated, they first asked participants whether their agency had implemented community policing at all and then asked a number of questions about whether they participated in specific activities that could be characterized as community policing. They determined that the agencies' general claims that they practiced community policing were reasonably consistent with the specific community policing activities that were purportedly performed.

Section Summary

Although there was some confusion among the police and the community as to what community policing meant, as well as what officers' roles were in implementing community policing, each party understood mutual cooperation was key. Community policing programs were implemented by police nationally during the last three decades of the 20th century and appeared to be a viable alternative to the crime-fighting model because it had the support of the public. However, this same research made no findings that the two models were mutually exclusive. In fact, the United States Department of Justice's vision statement for 21st century policing included as effective methodology both traditional crime fighting law enforcement "as well as prevention, problem solving, community engagement and partnerships."

Moreover, although the methodologies varied, the findings did not contradict one another. There were, however, subtle differences in the way some researchers described the level of success each model had with regard to public awareness and efficacy. One researcher found that the level of awareness and participation was not significantly higher than in prototype areas. However, in this same study, he found that participation and awareness were not significantly higher because the neighborhood problem-solving meetings did not meet the community policing guidelines and both entities gravitated toward traditional crime fighting techniques. This finding appeared to confirm the importance of a truly collaborative problem-solving process. This same researcher, although finding crime problems declined significantly in community policing prototype

districts, questioned whether the improvements in the neighborhood addressed meaningfully each of the crime problems.

This led to the still unanswered question of whether community policing could solve the crime issues plaguing so many American neighborhoods. Collaborative problem solving seemed to be at the core of community policing, but one did not know whether that was enough to both reduce crime and challenge fundamentally some of the public's perceptions. A key question remained unasked, namely that, although police could generally understand the significance of collaboration in community policing, how were they rationalizing their roles as leaders in facilitating the collaborative process?

Public Sector Leadership and Law Enforcement Leadership Practice and Theory

The review of academic literature regarding leadership suggested that a universal definition of leadership remained debatable (Rost, 1991; Wren, 1995; Northouse, 2003). This section identified reviews of literature about public sector and law enforcement leadership practices and theories and identified studies that shed light on public sector and law enforcement leaders' perceptions of the necessary skills needed to perform effectively their roles. The following review of literature was divided into two, more specialized sub-themes. The first pertained to public sector leadership while the second related to law enforcement.

Public Sector Leadership

Van Wart (2003) explored public sector leadership theory and pondered how the mission, organizational culture, structure and types of problems all complicated studying contextual leadership. He reviewed approximately 123 sources of literature on general

and public sector leadership. Thereafter, he compared them to literature he studied about the private sector. Van Wart found that external constituencies and the common good were the fundamental foci of public sector administrators. He noted also that it employed less sophisticated technology. Moreover, studies in leadership ethics provided little more than admonitions about being honest, responsive, courageous and prudent. Lastly, it tended to be more humanistic in orientation and less reliant on directive styles. Van Wart found that mainstream literature on the subject was multidisciplinary and dominated by business administration models and psychology, while detailed dynamics of public sector leadership were largely lacking. Lastly, he concluded that there was little to no research examining public sector leadership models that defined relationship competencies in different environmental contexts.

Law Enforcement Leadership Practice and Theory

Witte, Travis, and Langworthy (1990) wanted to find out whether police employees accepted the concept of participatory leadership. To answer this question, they distributed surveys to 14 very small, small and medium-sized police agencies in southwestern Ohio. For the study, a very small department was comprised 4 to 15 officers, a small department was comprised 16 to 45 officers and a medium department was comprised 80 to 120 officers. Researchers received 153 questionnaires. The low (54%) response rate as well as the lack of sex and ethnic diversity were cause for some concern regarding the ability to generalize results. More specifically, the researchers wanted to know if police personnel saw value in participatory leadership, to what degree police leaders used participatory management and if leaders and line officers shared

perceptions regarding participatory management. Witte, Travis, and Langworthy found that all survey respondents found value in participatory management. However, few believed their departments were adequately participative and cohesive. Only those in leadership from small departments were satisfied with their current levels of participatory leadership. They found also that, although high level police leaders believed they were using participatory management, line officers believed the opposite and, because police leaders were generally drawn from the ranks of police officers within the same agency, there was very little opportunity to develop new and innovative leadership styles.

Anderson (2000) researched leadership literature and conducted surveys to create an overarching model for police, justice and public safety leadership development. To accomplish this, he surveyed all police supervisors and managers in public safety justice organizations in British Columbia and San Diego; he inquired about what they thought the necessary skills needed to perform effectively in their leadership roles were. He assumed that American and Canadian law enforcement agencies were very similar in culture and purpose; therefore, he submitted Canadian results and conclusions could reasonably be applied to American departments. He found that the leadership skills the supervisors and managers identified appeared to mirror a more rigid and non-participatory leadership style, one more aligned with the post industrial model in the business sector and the crime fighting model in the law enforcement sector. Anderson found also that there was an 80% similarity in results of the survey compared to similar surveys conducted with a business audience.

Drodge and Murphy (2002) explored police leadership from a human emotions perspective. They reviewed 61 literature sources related to leadership as an emotional process and then applied their findings to a police leadership developmental context. Drodge and Murphy found that varied challenges and opportunities arose, all of which helped enable emotionally aware, transformational leaders emerge. More specifically, "police leadership was defined by the emotional orientation of the organization, the wider culture, and the interpersonal relationships that permeate both." (p. 421)

Wuestewald, Steinheider, and Bayerl (2006) studied the effects of implementing a representative form of participative management in a municipal police department. The study transpired over a two year period in the Broken Arrow Police Department in northeastern Oklahoma. The police department was staffed by 171 full time employees and served a metropolitan community of 92,000. In 2002, a union-initiated survey was conducted among all sworn personnel; it assessed officers' attitudes toward the general administration of the police department. In 2003, a 12 member cross-functional leadership committee made up of police administrators, supervisors and officers-as well as union representatives-was created. Eighteen months after the implementation of the leadership committee, a survey using the same questions asked in the 2002 survey was conducted. Fifty-nine out of 100 officers returned the 2002 questionnaire.

The same survey was conducted again in 2005, when 91 out of 103 sworn officers and 38 out of 68 of the civilian employees returned the questionnaires. In addition to the 2005 survey, 28 police officers and civilian employees of the department participated in 20 minute to one-hour tape recorded qualitative interviews. Participants were asked about

perceived changes since the implementation of the new leadership committee. Recurrent themes and concepts were analyzed in order to support or invalidate findings from the quantitative data. Arrest and Cleared Investigation data were also collected to assess officers' performance from January, 2004 to January, 2006 as well as from 2002 to 2003. Wuestewald, Steinheider, and Bayerl found that participatory leadership in police departments could have a significant impact on police officers' positive attitudes toward community policing as well as their positive perceptions of empowerment and of the police chief's vision and leadership. Lastly, they discovered that participative leadership improved police officers' perceptions of their work conditions and labor management relations—a particularly interesting fact for union officials.

Schafer (2008) wanted to better understand leadership in American police departments. He asked the following questions: (a) what was effective leadership in policing, (b) were police leaders born or made and, (c) what were the barriers to the expansion of effective police leadership? To help answer these questions, he conducted a convenience survey of 1,000 police command level leaders over a one year period while attending the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy. The police leaders surveyed included lieutenants, captains, commanders and chiefs. They represented the current and future police leadership of the country and represented police organizations large and small alike, from every corner of the United States. There was a 75% return rate on the surveys. In them, the author asked participants to describe effective leadership, discuss effective measurement of it, suggest how to develop it and identify traits and habits of good police leaders. In addition to the surveys, Schafer (2008) interviewed some

of the participants individually and in groups. The results of this study identified six traits of effective police leaders. Based on the responses of these command-level leaders, a good leader: (1) set a proper example and demonstrated trustworthiness; (2) considered input from others; (3) accepted responsibility and admitted to mistakes; (4) made informed decisions based on appropriate research and study; (5) treated all employees fairly and with dignity and (6) allowed subordinates to handle duties commensurate with their skills and level of authority (p. 18). There was no mention of collaborative or participative leadership.

Section Summary

Common to the literature on public sector and law enforcement leadership and practice was the theme of rigid, non-participatory leadership skills; it pervaded the private sector, too. Other commonalities were found such as a lack of understanding and commitment to its actual application in the current police hierarchy.

The literature reflected a conflict between studies on the public sector and police leadership from a prescriptive versus a descriptive perspective. In researching leadership for the purpose of prescribing leadership characteristics, researchers likely limited their capacities to uncovering other environmental, social and emotional factors involved.

Whether effective leadership was the same for both the private and public sectors remained unanswered. Other questions regarding whether there was a consensus about what defined effective leadership and if it could be taught persisted. How police leaders understood participatory leadership and how they understood their relationship between participatory leadership and organizational structure continued to confound.

Organizational Models and the Community Policing Era

This section revealed active research that studied police organizational structure as it related to community policing in the 1980s and 1990s. Studies in this section explored also the impact organizational structure had on the ability of leaders to apply effectively the police community policing model.

Maguire (1997) examined the effect the community policing movement had on altering the organizational structure of large municipal departments over a six year period from 1987 to 1993. He mined data from five national survey sources: three years (1987, 1990 and 1993) of the Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistic Series produced by the Bureau of Justice Statistics; the national survey of community policing conducted by the Police Foundation in 1993 and another national survey of community policing at Michigan State University and the Federal Bureau of Investigation Behavioral Science Unit in 1993. He studied patterns of change in structural variables, such as functional differentiation, which were the degree to which organizational tasks were deconstructed into functionally distinct units; vertical differentiation or hierarchy, which was the distance between the top and bottom of an organization; occupational differentiation, which measured the degree of civilianization and formalization degree, which evaluated the extent to which an organization was governed by formal written rules and policies. After close scrutiny, Maguire found that large metropolitan agencies failed at modifying their existing structures. Only two of the five variables changed significantly, one of which exacerbated the situation. This study revealed two important findings about community policing and structure in police organizations. It supported

what most scholars suspected, namely that police agencies' claims about implementation of community policing were tenuous and that there were no structural differences between agencies that claimed to practice community policing and those that did not.

Lewis, Rosenberg, and Sigler (1999) examined the attitudes officers of the Racine, Wisconsin Police Department had toward the community policing model using a sampling survey. A questionnaire was given to all 209 officers. One hundred and sixty-seven, or 80%, of the 209 questionnaires were returned. The independent variable was community policing and the dependent variable was the attitude toward community policing. The six attitudinal sub-components were the extent of support for: (1) organizational structure (decentralized vs. authoritarian); (2) four community policing sub-stations; (3) supervisors and subordinates; (4) community policing concepts such as problem solving and collaboration with the community; (5) the community policing unit and (6) specific community policing programs such as the Neighborhood Watch. They controlled for demographic variances and used a Likert scale in the measurement design.

They discovered a relationship between recruiting and selecting individuals with a community policing philosophy and the success associated with implementing community policing programs. The researchers found also that command staff favored decentralization of command. Supervisors, on the other hand, did not. This was understandable, of course, because they would be the most likely to lose their positions if such a structure took hold. Participants reported that the department was too top heavy. The researchers discovered that job satisfaction and community policing were linked inextricably to participatory leadership and a department-wide program.

Greene (2000) examined what impact community policing had on communities, police organizations, workers and officers. To do so, he reviewed 135 criminal justice books and studies reported in criminal justice journal articles. He reviewed, too, studies on traditional policing and community policing, market pressures for community policing and problem-oriented policing, and policing through networks and partnerships. In analyzing the research on organizational change, he employed three levels of scrutiny. The first level evaluated whether police organizations had adopted community policing. He found that not all agencies defined it similarly—a finding consistent with Seagrave's (1996) research. The second level evaluated whether there had been any structural and organizational changes to reflect community policing; he found evidence of little. This was consistent with Maguire's (1997) research. The last level evaluated whether the way intelligence was collected and decisions were made actually reflected the implementation of community policing.

Greene found that police lacked problem-solving skills; they kept resorting to crackdowns and arrests. This conclusion, of course, was supported by earlier studies (Skogan, 1994; Zhao, Lovrich, & Thurman, 1999). Greene found also that major obstacles to overcoming implementation of successful community policing were primarily organizationally related. One of the obstacles illustrated by Greene's work involved organizational resolve. Because traditional policing was response oriented and did not involve organizational resolve for long-range planning, the chances of implementing successfully community policing were significantly diminished. Greene

found, too, an implicit cause and effect relationship between the police organizational structure and its leadership.

Halsted, Bromley, and Cochran (2000) explored relationships between community policing sheriff deputies' work orientations and their job satisfaction. They founded their methodology on the premise that community service was a critical ingredient of community policing. The researchers hypothesized that those deputies involved in community policing would exhibit a strong service orientation and would have higher job satisfaction rates, while crime-oriented deputies would tend to be less satisfied. They used a quantitative study with a convenience sampling of 88 participants of a suburban sheriff's department in Hillsborough, Florida. The two variables measured were service orientation and higher job satisfaction, with dependent variables being job autonomy, personal growth, pay benefits and supervision. A 149 item questionnaire was distributed to 64% of the department, or 88 participants. Thirty-six percent of the department was unavailable because of days off, vacation, illness or court duty. Additionally, it was distributed to sworn deputies of all ranks. It was limited, however, by the small sampling group, as well as by having no comparison to deputies who did not practice community policing.

Halsted, Bromley, and Cochran (2000) discovered that their first hypothesis was confirmed. Service orientation was related substantially to job satisfaction. They could not confirm, however, their second hypothesis. There was no discernable relationship between crime control oriented deputies and job satisfaction. Interestingly, this study found that service-oriented deputies were more satisfied with personal growth and

development, pay and benefits while crime control oriented deputies were more satisfied with supervision. Lastly, they found that the deputies surveyed appreciated more autonomy.

Paoline, Myers, and Worden (2000) examined whether the sex, race and education of the officers and their exposure to community policing related to their occupational attitudes. To examine this, they collected and analyzed data from two police departments for the Project on Policing Neighborhoods. They surveyed officers from the Indianapolis, Indiana Police Department and the St. Petersburg, Florida Police Department respectively in 1996 and 1997. In Indianapolis, 398 of 426, or 93%, of the officers were interviewed. In St. Petersburg, 240 of 246, or 98%, of the officers were interviewed. Trained interviewers used a structured interview to determine officers' personal characteristics, training, education, work experiences, perceptions of their beat and attitudes toward their roles. They concluded that, contrary to popular beliefs about police culture, many officers believed their roles extended beyond aggressive patrol, arrests and containment of disorder; they extended in their minds, in fact, to problem solving and community collaboration. Twenty five percent disagreed and 50% somewhat agreed with the implementation of aggressive patrolling and selective enforcement models. The researchers found further that this divergence from the traditional depiction of police culture was not influenced by officers' sex, race, education, length of service, training or assignment.

Connors and Webster (2001) examined what happened when police organizations attempted transforming to community policing models. To accomplish this, they

conducted case studies at four police departments acknowledged as leaders in organizational transformation. The departments were located in San Diego California, Portland Oregon, St. Petersburg Florida, and Tempe Arizona. They visited each site seven times, during which they reviewed various documents, took rides observing community policing and conducted focus group interviews with selected police personnel at all levels and key leaders from the local government and the community. This included patrol officers, supervisors, commanders, civilians and community members. In addition, they distributed to 449 law enforcement executives who had implemented community policing a specially crafted survey. Three hundred thirty-seven questionnaires were returned, of which 2/3 were from police chiefs and 1/3 from sheriffs. In analyzing the returned surveys, the researchers looked for affirmative answers to questions about change in collaborative problem solving with the community, human resources policies and procedures, organizational chart schemes, strategic planning and benefits derived from community policing.

Connors and Webster (2001) found that the environment had a profound impact on organizations, and that to transform police organizations to community policing centers was to change the department's very culture and institutional practices. They found also that in a number of the case studies, much, but ultimately inadequate, community policing information was shared with the employees. Most organizations surveyed invested heavily in training and less on revising job descriptions and the promotional process. In this four-department survey, not one made significant changes in all areas of human resources policy. There was little decentralization of detectives and

little elimination of ranks. However, there was much success in pushing decision making to lower ranks. Their study was significant, lastly, in its finding that participatory, collaborative and transformational leaders were integral to the successful implementation of community policing.

Ponsaers (2001) explored different police organizational models by conducting an extensive literature and research review. He assessed 58 academic works by social scientists in the criminal justice field. Sources included books and studies published in journals. By identifying distinct values and norms, he identified four police models. They included: (1) military-bureaucratic; (2) lawful policing; (3) community-oriented policing and (4) public-private divide policing. He created clear comparative tables, distinguishing each model from the other and found that social scientists who studied police models assessed them in terms of crime reduction, though there was no research that clearly identified a relationship between crime reduction and any one model. He found also that these models could evolve and sometimes overlap, resulting in conflicts between values, norms and objectives. Another finding suggested that police models reflected clearly the values, norms and objectives of the community in which they existed.

Adams, Rohe and Arcury (2002) explored how community oriented police training and officer designations were associated with attitudes toward community oriented policing principles, support for community oriented policing and job satisfaction. To accomplish this, they studied six small to mid-sized North Carolina law enforcement agencies in 1996. The police departments surveyed were those serving

Asheville, Greensboro, Lumberton, Whiteville and Morehead City and Forsyth County. A self-administered questionnaire was developed; it included questions regarding perceived community policing efficacy, training needs, support for community oriented policing and job satisfaction. Five hundred and nineteen were distributed in all the departments to non-supervisory officers, of which 285 were completed and returned. Adams, Rohe and Arcury conducted also 60 semi-structured interviews with both police and civilian employees in each department. They concluded that the vast majority of officers surveyed agreed with the basic concepts and goals of community policing. Additionally, they found that sex, race and length of service had no significant impact on their attitudes and that the community oriented officers were more accepting of alternative policing strategies, were more satisfied and more likely found a greater sense of autonomy than traditional officers. One of the most significant findings of the study revealed that officers who perceived their departments as having a participatory leadership structure were more positive about community policing and more satisfied with their jobs. This was consistent with other police leadership related research (Witte, Travis, & Langworthy, 1990; Wuestewald, Steinheider, & Bayerl, 2006).

Section Summary

The review of literature on organizational models and community policing era was consistent in suggesting that historically, as police models changed, they often overlapped, creating conflict and tension within the organization between values and norms. This could explain why police agencies, while attempting to transition to a more collaborative, problem solving, community policing model, have continued to resort to

crackdowns, arrests and selective enforcement, all of which were more reflective of the older crime fighting model and why organizational resolve lacked when implementing the organizational changes needed to accomplish the community policing mission.

Researchers agreed that the nature of police work did not necessarily determine the culture of police departments and that organizations could very well have the power to influence their cultures as they changed from one model to another. However, other findings suggested strongly that police models clearly reflected the greater society's values and norms and that there were links between community policing, participatory leadership and organizational-wide community-policing programs. What remained unanswered was what complex relationships existed between society, the organization, participatory leadership and the nature of police work; answering that question could explain far better the dynamics behind police organizational change.

Complexity Theory and Leadership

This last section of the literature review identified conceptual papers studying the application of complexity science to the social sciences and police departments as complex adaptive entities. It also identified case studies investigating the application of complexity theory to leadership.

Marion and Uhl-Bien (2001) researched how complexity theory informed the role of leadership in organizations. More specifically, they explored how complexity theory could help illuminate the emergence of fitness, structure and innovation in organization. To accomplish this task, they conducted a review of literature of 90 books and journal articles related to complexity theory as applied to organizations, organizational theory

and leadership theory. Their review led them to believe that leaders created conditions for innovation rather than innovation itself. This concept correlated with Simpson's (2007) idea of process thinking, the examination of evolving dynamic organizations and Boal's and Schultz's (2007) conceptual complex adaptive entity model (where creative and unexpected behaviors occurred without the necessity of centralized control). Similar to Boal and Schultz, Marion and Uhl-Bien made comparable findings indicating leaders created opportunities to interact and network, and catalyzed rather than controlled. Their findings suggested also that the possibility of change increased in organizations that embraced the idea.

Dietz and Mink (2005) examined a police department as a comprehensive systems model. Because both had been associated with the police department in Austin, Texas, they chose it for their case study. They recognized police departments as complex adaptive systems primarily because they nested within other complex systems. Based on their experiences with the Austin Police Department, Dietz and Mink constructed their analysis on four foci: Context, valid information, relationships and shared meaning. Context was the social perspective and consisted of the culture of the organization and those institutions and people surrounding it. Valid information in an organization was considered to be valid facts and feelings. Relationships existed both within the department and community. Exchange of valid information between those involved lead to a shared understanding of events, patterns and new attractors. The success of an organization in dealing with the strange attractors that influenced it depended on how the organization identified and understood how the four foci interacted together. Dietz and

Mink saw the Austin Police Department's relationship with the community as an example of the friction that occurred between organizational and systems boundaries as well as an example of how, when two organizations or systems interact, they do so to address common attractors. Dietz and Mink found that some police departments' controlling political bodies dictated operations rather than set policy, or, encouraged decision making and problem solving. A police department using a standard response to attractors could very well be unable to meet the needs of its community.

Simpson (2007), like Marion and Uhl-Bien (2001), explored how complexity theory could be applied to understanding leadership and organizational dynamics. Key was the explanation of the theoretical difference between systems thinking and process thinking. He suggested that "systems thinking describes the configuration of an organization in its context and tends to focus on the conditions required for improved performance and the changes required to move to that state" (p. 466). Process thinking, on the other hand, examined the evolving dynamics of relationships that create and recreate organizations." Simpson evaluated a two-day residential exercise involving 20 people engaged in a treasure hunt in a rural area covering over 12 square miles. He wanted to observe how the group operated. He took notes while observing the exercise and then analyzed the events in terms of Stacey's (2003) complex responsive processes theory (that consisted of self-organizing patterns of communicating). Leaders as participants, anxiety management and diversity were all key issues. Simpson's findings suggested that a leader was a participant who engaged the learning process. Furthermore, he determined that relationships had more to do with organizational design than with the

leaders' decisions. Although unable to apply these findings to the general population, Simpson's findings seemed in line with Stacey's (2003) theory that emergent self organizations were the result of narrative themes, not necessarily key leaders, and that successful leaders could embody those themes. Simpson implied that the theory of complex responsive process allowed one to describe more fully the dynamic interaction within an organization.

Boal and Schultz (2007) were interested in applying complexity theory to strategic leadership. Specifically, they explored strategic leadership through the prism of complex adaptive entities, in particular, attractors, fitness scapes and tags as information flows. They were interested, too, in how organizational life stories and organizational stories (as subject to the evolutionary process) impacted strategic leadership. To accomplish this, they conducted a review of academic literature including books and journal articles from 75 sources. They reviewed topics on complex adaptive entities, strategic leadership, epistemology and hermeneutics and concluded that complex adaptive entities could produce emerging, creative and unexpected behaviors without the "necessity of any centralized control." (p. 412) This matched Simpson's (2007) premise that factors besides key leaders may have more to do with organizational behavior and design than anything else. Although Boal and Schultz and Simpson (2007) also appeared to agree that conversations and relationships were important factors in organizational behavior and design, Boal and Schultz argued any leader influence was affected by the relationship he or she had with the organization. The findings suggested that strategic leaders pushed an organization to the brink of chaos, where possibilities for innovation

and evolution blossomed. They suggested also that strategic leaders pushed toward innovation when they guided interactions between members, transferred resource flows, created bridges between the past, present and future, made sense of and gave meaning to the challenges presented to an organization from within and without and provided vision-enabling organizational evolution. The stories leaders told helped members of the organization develop some consensus that defined the organization.

Section Summary

Key findings gave support to the notion that leadership is more about creating the opportunity for change, rather than controlling change. These studies illuminated the importance of learning and transformational organizations as fertile environments for success. Within these conceptual organizations, narratives, relationships and shared meaning were all important concepts. Leaders were portrayed as participants as well as influencers and facilitators, each with the goal of learning, adapting, innovating and transforming. Such a description departed greatly from that which embraced command and control. The importance of future qualitative research was evident in the existing literature and lent credibility to this study.

Summary of the Review of Literature

The aforementioned reviewed studies guided this proposed study with regard to the perceptions of urban police chiefs about the relationship between leadership and community policing and urban police chiefs' understanding of the interdependence of policing and the community. This summary blended the findings from the review themes – community policing, public sector and law enforcement leadership practice and theory,

organizational models and community policing and complexity theory and leadership – and related it to this study. Thirty years of community policing literature found common agreement among researchers on the nature of the American police system. Although studies confirmed that this new community policing model offered many benefits to the police and the communities they served – such as fewer calls for service, better relationships between police and the community, more job satisfaction by police and perceptions by the communities that their neighborhoods were safer – the findings were inconclusive as to whether problem solving with the community solved the crime problems any better than the old crime fighting model did. It triggered as well questions as to its disadvantages including increased potential for corruption and unequal enforcement of the law.

Nevertheless, research supported the notion that community policing, though hard to transition to, had become the dominant model. Police leaders were challenged by philosophical and organizational contradictions created when that model clashed with the former. Researchers also described the key differences between them. Where problem solving with the community was at the heart of the new model, arrests were at the core of the old. Similar research described problem solving and the relationship between the police and the community as collaborative and interdependent by nature.

Public sector and law enforcement leadership practice and theory literature provided a clearer picture of the impact leadership had on police culture and the implementation of community policing. Some of the researchers' findings suggested the need for prescribing successful leadership characteristics and constructing rigid skill sets.

In contrast, others lent import to the descriptive nature of leadership and this study's complexity theory rationale by suggesting that leadership was a participative and adaptive process where relationships and shared meaning had more impact than command and control. This current literature, influenced by complexity theory, called for more research into the complex responsive process as it applied to leadership and provided some further insight into a different way of imagining leadership.

Researchers described police culture and organizational structure as inextricably intertwined. This suggested that to transform a police organization to a community policing model was to change the department's very culture and institutional practice and supported the importance of understanding to what extent police chiefs saw leadership and organizational structure as an impediment or advantage to achieving the community policing mission. This helped illuminate their sense of complex adaptive entities and understanding of the interdependent nature of the police and the community. Law enforcement leadership practice and theory literature, police organizational literature, complexity theory and leadership literature all supported this idea, too.

Clearly these combined studies confirmed the need for greater understanding of how police leaders reconcile the complex nature of the relationship between differences in the two historical police models, police organizational structure, police leadership skills, and the successful implementation of the new community-policing model. As suggested by this literature review, the importance of perceptions formed by personal experiences, narratives, communications and individual relationships and a consensus among some researchers that there was a gap in qualitative research added support to the

methodology of interviewing urban police chiefs. None of the studies found in the review researched to what extent urban police chiefs understood the key concepts of complexity theory and to what extent their implicit understanding related to leadership and community policing. This study shed some light on the process of these understandings and the analysis of these interviews and added to the body of knowledge surrounding these complex issues. The next chapter addresses this study's methodology.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Restatement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore urban police chiefs' perceptions about the relationship between leadership and community policing. It investigated also the extent to which police chiefs implicitly understood their organizations as complex adaptive entities and examined their understandings of the organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation as they related to the societal environment and the police and community as one entity. The exploration of the extent to which these police chiefs understood how collaborative leadership related to the interdependent elements of community and policing was designed to shed light on the problem of implementing community policing.

Research Design

I used a qualitative research design to explore this study's research questions. The information-rich interviews I conducted provided an opportunity for significant learning about a phenomenon and opened up new territory for further research (Patton, 2002).

The participants were five current California police chiefs from urban police departments. Data sources for this study included semi-structured interviews, copies of documents from their departments that they used and believed were relevant to community policing and completed participant background questionnaires.

Using qualitative methods in researching organizations was a credible technique; specifically, the benefits of the complex responsive process abounded (Stacey & Griffin, 2005). This process involved the researcher's narration of ongoing experiences combined

with contemplations on significant themes "emerging in stories of their own experience of participating with others to create the patterns of interaction that are organizations" (Stacey & Griffin, 2005, p. 2). The researcher was separated but involved. The concept was clear when I related it to the 39 years of policing and leadership experience I had.

To describe what emerged from the exploration into the police chiefs' perceptions without imposing a false order was quite the challenge. What helped was the reticence to prescribe. In fact, it described the phenomenon and added to the rigor of the study. The strength in using complexity theory as a methodology was in its potential to best explain how and why community policing and leadership trends occurred. In particular, this complexity science-influenced methodology helped expose historical and political contexts and appeared to be better suited than a linear quantitative process in understanding organizations and social phenomena as those of human relationships. It was also intended that, as a result of this exposure, there become a better understanding of how the processes of communicating and interacting influenced people's ability to cope with the complexity of organizational life.

Participant Recruitment

I chose a convenience sample of 5 current California police chiefs. Specifically, I identified those who led urban departments of varying sizes. The populations of the localities ranged from 100,000 to 800,000 and reflected entirely different experiences and settings. I believed this diversity would better illuminate police cultural and organizational factors surrounding community policing and leadership. I believed also

that the chiefs I knew would be more willing to share openly with me their thoughts and perceptions.

First and foremost, I chose chiefs as participants because of the significant impact they have in formulating vision statements enabling them to accomplish their stated goals. Additionally, I felt they, rather than other executives like sheriffs, had the advantage of ascending through the ranks of their departments over the course of years (Halsted, Bromley, & Cochran, 2000). I believed these experiences informed adequately my understanding of community policing and leadership. Although I risked researcher bias, the benefits of my experiences included a pragmatic understanding of police culture and the dynamics and tensions that formed the perceptions urban police chiefs had about community policing and leadership. Being separated from but attached to the process guided my analysis.

I telephoned the assistants to five police chiefs with whom I had relationships. I was advised to send my request by e-mail. Attached to each request was a letter outlining the basic construct and purpose of this study (Appendix A). In it, I requested their help in three ways: (a) permission to obtain copies of documents from their departments that they used in their work and that they believed were relevant to community policing, (b) permission to interview the chiefs (Appendix B) and (c) completion of a short participant background questionnaire (Appendix C). Three on my original list did not respond to my e-mail or follow up call. I subsequently added two based on the recommendations of the two who agreed to participate. The third, who did not respond to my requests, retired in early summer of 2009; shortly thereafter, she was replaced. While meeting the new chief

in October, 2009 regarding another matter, I took the opportunity to ask him to participate in the research for this study. He agreed. I asked that at the first interview they provide me with copies of documentation from their departments that they used in their work and believed were relevant to community policing, the signed letter of consent (Appendix B) and the completed participant background questionnaire (Appendix C).

Description of Participants and Sites Visited

To protect participant anonymity, I gave each an alias, and they are listed in the order I interviewed them: Chief Sarah Goleman, Chief Brad Simpadian, Chief Bill Doan, Chief Lawrence Sousa, and Chief John Villareal.

Chief Goleman

Chief Goleman was a chief of a mid-sized police department in a city of approximately 100,000 people. Located in Northern California, it boasted a diverse population within a mostly residential setting. Demographic data from 2008 described the city's ethnicity as approximately 66% White, 16% Hispanic, 15% Asian and 3% African American. The 2008 median household income was $85,124. Business establishments within the city included the light industry, hotels and restaurants, entertainment, retail and high tech. The crime level was considered moderate to low when compared to the state as a whole.

The police headquarters was approximately a year old and located on a one by one city block area in an office park about 3 blocks from a major freeway. Non-traditional structure, two-thirds of it was built in the round and the other one-third in the rectangular. The building was 2 stories high, sand colored and appeared inviting and

pleasant to the eye. For security reasons, the garage area was restricted to police personnel only.

The reception area, too, was non-traditional. It was open, well lit and was punctuated with a few desks, each staffed by support staff. The receptionists were exposed to the public unprotected. In most police department lobbies, receptionists, clerks and officers are located behind a counter protected with thick bulletproof glass. The chief explained later in the interview the structure was meant to welcome. Clerks seated behind the desks were concerned about their safety, so a blueprint design included hidden compartments in which they could find shelter from potential threats.

Friendly, bi-lingual staff greeted visitors by showing a traditional glass display case adorned with old police photos and trophies. All administrative and investigative functions were located behind locked doors and required an appointment and escort for entry.

The chief's office was neat, uncluttered and, other than a computer on the desk, somewhat void of paper and texts. Dressed in civilian attire, she met with me at a small table located a few feet in front of her desk. Pictures of her family lined the few shelves and cabinets.

I have known Chief Goleman for over twenty-five years, the last five of which we have both served on a university associated law enforcement leadership educational institute advisory board. Although a petite 53 year-old Caucasian woman, her positive energy, dynamism, affable character and intelligence made her a towering figure. Out of the last 25 years she has spent in public service, 16 years were spent at another major Bay

Area urban law enforcement agency. It took her a mere 16 years to achieve the rank of captain in this previous agency. This was unusual considering she was a progressive female Jewish police officer in a very traditional, non-progressive police department. Soon after this meteoric rise in rank, she left the organization to become chief of her current police department and has served there for nine years.

She expressed excitement and interest in participating in the process, appeared to savor the possibility of sharing what she knew and seemed to expect to learn from the exercise. An afternoon meeting with community leaders cut the interview to 90 minutes. I deduced from her schedule she tried to accomplish the greatest amount possible in the least amount of time.

Finally, she was accommodating. Despite having the flu, she conducted our follow-up phone interview. Her illness did not detract from her attention to detail and enthusiasm.

Chief Simpadian

Chief Simpadian was the chief of a mid-sized police department in an internationally known city with a population of approximately 143,000 located in Southern California. Demographic data from 2008 described the city's ethnicity as approximately 39% White, 33% Hispanic, 14% Asian and other and 14% African American. The 2008 median household income was $57,796.00. Considered a scientific and cultural center in the San Gabriel Valley, it was a mixed use environment. Tourism, entertainment, science and technology and retail were prominent industries. The city

received national exposure twice a year because it hosted two high profile events. Property and violent crimes ranked as average compared to California as a whole.

Police headquarters was a handsome, mission style structure with signature bell towers. Three stories high and approximately one half block by one half block in size, it was well kept and located in the heart of downtown, across from the public library and other civic buildings. The Spanish tile-floored lobby of the building was open, airy, cool and rose in a 3-story atrium; it was not an average police lobby. A community service officer indicated the chief would soon return from a meeting across the street. While waiting, many uniformed and non-uniformed staff re-entered after attending the same meeting. It was a very diverse group that appeared to mirror the ethnicity and sex demographics of the city it served. Their uniforms and civilian attire were clean and they engaged politely in what appeared to be casual conversation. Security in the lobby was not obtrusive, but access to the investigative and administrative offices was restricted.

The chief's office was large, comfortable and well furnished. He was dressed in uniform and we met at a small table in a lounge area, 5 to 8 feet from the desk. I have known Chief Simpadian for approximately 5 years. We both served on a university associated law enforcement leadership educational institute advisory board. He is 60 and, although he did not note his ethnicity in the background questionnaire, appeared Caucasian. He had 36 years in the field, 22 of which he spent at his first police agency, 1 year at the second and 13 years in the department he served as chief. He had also served in the Coast Guard Reserves for 28 years.

The previous two departments in which he served were also located in Southern California and, although they were not as large as the one over which he currently presided, they were similar in demographic make-up and crime rates. He was cordial, forthright and noted that he, too, was earning a doctorate degree. His demeanor during the interview was generally stoic and reserved with the occasional display of emotion. He appeared respectful of his profession and, like Chief Goleman, was eager to know whether line staff had the same understanding and commitment to community policing as he did. Perhaps because he was slightly older than my other participants, I felt he was acutely aware of the transition between the traditional model and the community one.

Chief Doan

Chief Doan was a chief of police of a Central California city with a population of 476,050 people. Demographic data from 2008 described its ethnicity breakdown as approximately 37% White, 39% Hispanic, 16% Asian and other and 8% African American. The 2008 median household income was $40,134.00. The economy was centered mostly around agriculture, and, at the time the interview was conducted, the unemployment rate was near 15%. Although the crime rate was higher than the average for major California coastal cities and the nation, it was comparable to other California central valley cities.

Patrol staff wore traditional blue police uniforms while investigators wore suits. Police headquarters, the location of the interview, was a 2-story brick facade building approximately 25 yards wide by 1 block long and was situated in the heart of downtown. Other civic buildings, including the public library, were nearby. The architecture

appeared to be from the 1970s. The immediate landscaping and building appeared poorly maintained.

The lobby was the classic late 20th century police lobby kind with a vestibule bordered by service counters that were protected by thick bullet-proof glass. Behind the glass were female clerks who spoke to customers through speaker holes in the glass. It resembled a waiting room at a county jail. An armed officer stationed at a desk near the bottom of a staircase that led to the second floor checked in visitors cautiously. Visitors received a pass to stick to their clothing. The inner area housed the investigative and administrative offices.

While I waited approximately 20 minutes for the chief, who had been delayed at a meeting at City Hall, to arrive, 3 female clerks and 1 police sergeant who worked in his office engaged me. They spoke of how they enjoyed working for him and how much respect they had for his leadership and vision. When we finally met, we conducted the interview in his office at a small table about 4 to 5 feet from his desk.

Chief Doan was personable, well mannered and eager to participate. He was not rushed and seemed to savor the opportunity to share his perceptions. He was Caucasian, of average height, physically fit, looked younger than his 50 years, was dressed in uniform and had the enthusiasm of a rookie officer. He spent his 30 year police career in the same department, working his way up the ranks. He stated that he had no intention of looking for a similar position in a different department and in all likelihood would end his career in law enforcement in the same police department.

He devoted time throughout the year to ride in a radio car with different patrol officers and responded to calls for service. He wished to do all that his staff did. He valued greatly and pursued doggedly violent crimes by arresting those who perpetrated them yet was also adamant about respecting the rights afforded to them constitutionally.

Chief Sousa

Chief Sousa was chief of police of a Central California city with a population of 463,794 people. Demographic data from 2008 described the city's ethnicity as approximately 41% White, 22% Hispanic, 21% Asian and other and 16% African American. The 2008 median household income was $50,958. The economy was centered around government and agriculture. It was plagued with the second highest crime rate per capita in the state.

The police building was a non-descript, two-story structure located in a strip mall in a mixed middle to lower class residential and retail area approximately 5 miles south of downtown. The 1 by 1 block area building was well kept and closely resembled the other central valley police department headquarters I visited.

The first floor reception lobby area was marked by individualized cubicles, each of which was protected by thick safety glass. Parking, traffic and other police-related issues brought by the public were addressed by staff housed in these cubicles. An armed officer who issued visitors passes was stationed at a desk immediately inside the locked door leading from the lobby to the interior administrative.

Once inside, the atmosphere differed drastically. It consisted of an attractive patio decorated with old police department artifacts and was even landscaped with living

plants, flowers, trees as well as tables and chairs. Natural light illuminated the area thanks to a large skylight. The rectangular patio was surrounded by 2 stories of individual offices, all with glass walls and doors facing the patio. Located in these offices were the different administrative and investigative offices. The architectural style appeared to be old western, befitting the rich history of this city of nearly 500,000 people

Chief Sousa, a 49 year-old Caucasian male, was tall, physically fit, gregarious and youthful in both appearance and demeanor. He was dressed in slacks, a long-sleeved button-down shirt and tie. Having earned a post graduate degree in Communications, he spent his entire 30 year career in the same department, and, like Chief Doan, expressed no desire to advance his career in another department. Though excited, he spoke articulately and concisely of his 21st century vision of law enforcement.

The interview was characterized by his comprehensive analysis of what was a department clearly in transition. He referred often to the private sector when discussing the ideas upon which he drew for efficiency, leadership and development and it was clear that his vision was embedded in his belief in the importance of communication and its application to change.

Chief Villareal

Chief Villareal was chief of police of a Northern California city with a population of 808,976 people. Demographic data from 2008 described the city's ethnicity as approximately 44% White, 14% Hispanic, 34% Asian and other and 8% African American. The 2008 median household income was $73,798.00. The city's economy was

centered around tourism, financial institutions, technology, health research, education and the light industry. This city experienced some of the highest crime rates in the state.

Its police department, in particular, was challenged by multiple factors, not the least of which included tradition, community mistrust, a politicization of various agendas, parochialism and resistance to change. I believed this study would be significantly informed by the participation of the leader serving a city at Ground Zero in a region considered to be on the cutting edge of socio-scientific issues.

Police headquarters was a multi-storied, 2 block by 1 block building located in the heart of the city. All visitors were required to go through a magnetometer and have their bags checked before entering. The floor housing the chief's office had a locked glass door at the entrance to the suites containing the top police administrators. An officer assigned to the reception area of the chief's office opened remotely the glass door. The hallway walls leading to his office were covered with pictures of both recent and historic moments capturing uniformed officers executing their various duties. They reflected the great pride the department had in its rich history. The chief's office was staffed by an articulate, well spoken officer who served as one of his assistants as well as a civilian clerk who served as his scheduler.

Chief Villareal is a 55 year-old Hispanic male who spent 31 years in police work. During that time, he worked at 3 police agencies. The first, in which he served 28 years, was in a major city in Southern California. He left this department as a high-ranking administrator and took a job in a mid-sized city out of state, in which he served for 3 years as chief. At the time of the interview, he had been chief for four months. Chief

Villareal was only the second chief from outside the agency to be selected in its 160 year history. I entered his office understanding that interviewing a chief only a few months into the job could provide invaluable insight into the perceptions of a leader who was in the discovery process.

His office was similar to the offices of the others excluding how obvious it was he had just moved in. The shelves were largely empty and he had not yet made it his own space. He appeared fit and was dressed in civilian dress pants, a long-sleeved dress shirt and tie. His demeanor struck me as balanced, confident and undaunted by the challenges he faced. He was affable and open to contributing to the study as best he could. When first appointed chief, newspaper accounts detailed repeatedly the high expectations attributed to him. Community and civic leaders hoped he would transform the department shortly after his appointment.

Human Subjects Approval

For this study I obtained approval from the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco. (Appendix F) After receiving approval from the IRBPHS, I obtained full informed consent from the 5 California urban police chiefs (Appendix B).

Instrumentation

Three instruments were created for this study. They were a participant background questionnaire (Appendix C); Interview 1 protocol (Appendix D) and Interview 2 protocol (Appendix E).

Participant Background Questionnaire

I used demographic information collected from the participants' background questionnaires. The purpose of this information was to enrich my understanding of their perceptions (Appendix C).

Interview 1 Questions

I asked standard, open-ended questions (Patton, 2002) that best probed their perceptions regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing. The research questions for this study were used as a foundation for the prepared interview questions I asked each (Appendix D). I asked leadership and community policing related questions during the first interview as well as questions that elicited fuller responses about characteristics common to complex adaptive entities as explored in this study.

Interview 2 Questions

During the second interview, I inquired about themes that had emerged from the participant background questionnaire, interview 1 and the review of the copies of materials the participants used in their work that they believed were relevant to community policing. Most of the questions developed for the second interview were designed to clarify statements made by the chiefs in the first. Because of the paucity of documents provided by the chiefs, only one question was developed from the analysis of these documents. This question helped further qualify Chief Sousa's perceptions regarding community policing and leadership. The question was, "In the text *Cop Talk*, there was a quotation that communication was the foundation for cooperation, coordination, collaboration and change." Beyond that, it says, "It is important to start

communication early in the community policing implementation process." I asked that they describe how they envisioned the process including when and how it began.

The Researcher as Instrument

It is necessary to consider the importance of the researcher in this study. My interest in the subject was strong, and grew over nearly four decades. Of those years, I spent 15 in mid to upper level police leadership and 37 years teaching. Of those 37, 30 of them were at the college level. I directed training at a regional police academy for 5 years, have been an instructor of police science at a community college for 30 years, have commanded a major urban police district for 2 years, taught a course in a Master's in Leadership Program at a four year college for 3 years and, lastly, have been the chief of a public safety department at a major urban university for 7 years. My experiences are extensive and inform my analysis at every level.

During my doctoral studies in the Organizational and Leadership Department of the University of San Francisco, I completed a qualitative research course in which I conducted a small research study similar in context to this proposed study. In the research course, I conducted observations and semi-structured interviews, analyzed data, synthesized findings and presented the results in a final paper. Although limited in nature, it gave me the confidence I needed to accelerate my studies.

Moreover, I gained extensive experience in conducting structured and semi-structured interviews. As a police detective, I interviewed victims, witnesses and suspects in addition to entry level police applicants, veteran officers interviewing for promotions and prospective police chiefs and public safety directors.

Data Collection

Data collection began with the participant background questionnaire and the copies of materials the participants used in their work that they believed were relevant to community policing. After receiving verbal approval from the participants and prior to the first interview, I sent an introductory letter (Appendix A) explaining the study in more detail and asked participants to complete the questionnaire and collect current samples of documents they used regularly that they believed were relevant and useful to my inquiries. In this letter I asked the participants to have the documents ready for collection at our first interview. I planned to collect this material at the time of the first interview so that I would have time to review the material and use it to develop questions for the second. In the same introductory letter (Appendix A), I asked the participants to agree to two interviews. After securing their agreements, I scheduled the first by telephone or e-mail. The two-interview process allowed me to collect taped interviews, probe the participants' perceptions and understanding of leadership and community policing and then, between the first and second interviews, analyze each of the themes that emerged. The time between the two interviews varied depending upon the participants' schedules and the amount of data retrieved from the first interview. I made every effort to conduct the second interview as soon after the first as possible.

Participant Background Questionnaire

Most of the participants did not have the letter of consent and the background questionnaire completed when I arrived for the first interview. Anticipating this, I brought a copy of both with me. Completing them took only a few moments.

Interview 1

The participants all agreed to the two-interview format. I scheduled the first by telephone and e-mail with each of the participant's personal assistants. The first interviews were in person and lasted approximately 75 minutes. The dates, times and locations coincided with what worked for them; flexibility was key given their schedules. Each interview was memorialized by an audio digital and tape recording as well as word for word transcript. Transcripts of the taped dialogue of the first interviews were prepared as soon after the first interviews as possible and before the second interviews. However, in 4 of the 5 cases, the transcripts from interview 1 had not been prepared prior to the second interview. I also took hand written notes during the first interview.

Interview 2

The second interviews were conducted by telephone and were scheduled by e-mail, telephone or in person with the participant's scheduler. One scheduled both simultaneously. The others scheduled theirs at the conclusion of the first interview or soon thereafter by telephone or e-mail through their assistants. I made every effort to conduct the second interview as soon after the first as possible. With three of the chiefs, about two weeks passed between interviews. However, for Chief Goleman, family commitments and a particularly packed schedule accounted for an uncharacteristic 8 week gap. For Chief Villareal, a very tight schedule accounted for a 5 week gap. Each of the second interviews lasted approximately 15 minutes and was used to clarify any questions that arose as a result of the first. Additionally, each interview was

memorialized by a digital recording and a back up audio tape recording. I also prepared word for word transcripts and took hand-written notes during the second interview.

Documents

Only four documents were collected during the research process. A textbook, and an organizational chart were collected at the first interview stage. I received the textbook co-authored by Captain Rick Braziel and Dr. Virginia Kidd entitled, Cop Talk: Essential Communication Skills for Community Policing (1999), at the beginning of Chief Sousa's first interview. I received the organizational chart from Chief Goleman mid-way through the first interview and requested copies of a leadership document and department newsletter she mentioned. Because she had neither on her person at the time, her assistant e-mailed them to me after the second interview.

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data in two stages. The first data I analyzed included the completed participant background questionnaire, the transcripts of dialogue from the first interview, my written notes and documents the chiefs provided me with that they believed were relevant to my study. During the second stage, I reviewed the same data but with the information from the second interview to enrich it.

Participant Background Questionnaire

As planned, I analyzed the participant background questionnaire between the first and second interviews. My analysis involved reading the completed questionnaires twice while taking notes and triangulating data collected in the interviews and the organizational documents, and searching for themes and patterns (Creswell, 2005).

Although this analysis did not contribute to the creation of questions for the second interview, it did show me a possible relationship between some of the background factors and the chiefs' perceptions of community policing.

Interview 1

After conducting the first interview, I immediately began my analysis using notes and tapes as I awaited the transcripts. The time it took me to analyze each set of data varied on how much I collected. I listened twice to the digital recordings, taking copious notes each time. After they were transcribed, I read them twice, also while adding notes on both columns of the hard copy.

My analysis involved coding data, finding patterns, identifying themes and creating category systems (Patton, 2002). Using the research questions as a guide, I used the constant comparison procedure in which I noted key concepts and themes while rereading the interviews and comments and looking for reoccurring regularities and more formal and systematic categories (Creswell, 2005). While analyzing the first interview, I created a catalog system to triangulate the background questionnaire information, interview 1 data and organizational documents. The information from this process served as a source for some of the questions I used in the second interview.

Interview 2

I used the same process when approaching the second set of data. A key difference, however, was that I discovered I needed to add a step to the data analysis instrument after reviewing repeatedly the transcripts. I realized that the subjects rarely used the terms "leadership" and "community policing" in the same sentence. Clearly this

was noteworthy so I reviewed the materials once more in the hopes of finding instances where they were used together.

The following outlines a more detailed description of the five step process I used to analyze the data from both interviews (Kvale, 1996):

1. I read the entire interview through to get some sense of the whole.
2. I determined what "natural meaning units" meant as expressed by the participants.
3. I stated as simply the theme that dominated the "natural meaning unit" by attempting to read the participant's answers without bias and then creating a theme from the participant's view point as I understood it.
4. Subsequently, I questioned the "natural meaning units" in terms of the specific purpose of the study by using the research questions.
5. In a descriptive statement, I then stated the essential non-redundant themes of the entire interview by condensing the expressed meaning into increasingly essential meanings.

In step 1, I read the entire interview through to get some sense of the whole. I then proceeded to step 2 where I identified "natural meaning units." I did so by labeling in the left hand margin of the transcript each "natural meaning unit" in numerical order (i.e., Natural Meaning Unit #1, etc.). Also in the left hand margin I used a hand written parenthesis mark extending the entire length of the identified "natural meaning unit." A "natural meaning unit" was a theme or pattern. The "natural meaning units" varied in length from one half of a page to two pages.

In step 3, I created a simple theme for each "natural meaning unit," keeping in mind the importance of representing without bias my understanding of the participant's viewpoints. These simple themes were hand written in the right hand column adjacent to the numbered "natural meaning unit." For example, on page 30 of Chief Simpadian's transcript, adjacent to "Meaning Unit #26" in the right hand margin, I noted the simple theme "Participant 2's perception regarding the best way to problem solve a confusing and complicated issue: shared values between the police and community had to be identified and the community had to share in the responsibility of solving the problem."

For quick reference, I created a hand written reference form using 8 ½ by 11 yellow-ruled paper. The heading of the form located in the top center of the page identified the participant by number and below that, the number of the interview. Below that, still, I used the title, Step 3, to designate this stage of the analysis process. On the far right margin adjacent to the heading was the date on which I completed the form and its contents. Below that, I created 3 columns, two narrow columns on the left side of the page and a wider column on the right. Above the left margin, I created a heading called "Research Question." Below that, in the column, I wrote the numbers and descriptions of the research questions. This correlated to the interview questions numbered and described with the meaning units and page numbers in the column adjacent to the right. The heading above this column was entitled "Meaning Unit." I entitled the heading of the column to the right of that "Dominant Theme." I then copied the information I noted on the transcripts to this easily referenced form.

Likewise, I created a similar form for interview 2. I numbered each of the forms used for interview 1 in order and each of the forms used for interview 2 in order starting at 1 again. I averaged approximately 6 hand written pages for interview 1 and 2 hand written pages for interview 2.

In step 4, I questioned the developed themes of the "natural meaning units" in relation to the research questions by using the same form. The only difference between the form in step 3 and step 4 was the stage of the analysis process noted by step 4 below the "Interview Number" and the far right column where I addressed the simple themes in relation to the research questions. For example, in Chief Goleman's interview analysis, research questions 3 and 4 were related to interview question 5, (meaning units 19-20, pages 27-28 of the transcript) and as stated in my theme, hand written in the far right column, "theme emerges that suggests participant 1 to a great extent understands the world as complex and policing as a complex adaptive entity and the relationship between leadership and her organization as a complex adaptive entity when she described the importance of creating an environment where staff is comfortable to be flexible, adaptable, and understanding of social evolutionary principles." In Step 4, I combined both interviews 1 and 2 and listed them in numerical order. These handwritten notes averaged approximately 4 pages in length.

Lastly in step 5, I created a descriptive statement or a synthesis of the condensed non-redundant themes of the entire interview. Again, I created a simple form using 8 1/2 by 11 yellow-ruled paper. I placed the heading at the top of the page that included the participant number, interviews 1 and 2 and, immediately below that, the heading, step 5.

Along with each of the participant's folders where I kept the audio tapes, background questionnaire, signed consent form, documents submitted and the above described notes, I also created and kept for my records a hand written checklist where I noted in numerical order the 5 steps in the analysis and the dates they were completed.

Documents

I analyzed two documents before the second interview stage. The first was a book from Chief Sousa. I reviewed it twice, taking notes, detecting patterns and identifying central themes. (Creswell, 2005) This process allowed me to construct a question for interview 2 that elicited a response from Chief Sousa that helped further clarify my understanding of his perceptions regarding community policing and leadership. I analyzed a second document, an organizational chart, submitted to me by Chief Goleman mid way through her first interview. I read it twice, taking notes and attempting to find patterns and identify themes. (Creswell, 2005) There were no questions developed for the second interview from this analysis.

I analyzed another two documents, including a newsletter and leadership document, both of which I received via e-mail, after her second interview. I read the leadership document and newsletter twice, taking notes and attempting to find patterns and identify themes. Although this analysis could not be used to formulate follow up questions for the second interview, the themes in it that emerged helped inform my findings regarding research questions 5, 6 and 7.

Reliability and Validity

I addressed reliability by using a four stage process. First, I used the triangulation method, which involved corroborating data by means of using multiple sources such as documents, interviews and participant background information in order to identify themes (Creswell, 2005). Second, I determined interpretive validity – that is, how accurate my interpretations of the chiefs' perceptions were – by corroborating evidence obtained in the interviews with documents collected or not collected at each of the five police departments. In doing this, I examined each source of information that provided evidence to support a specific theme (Creswell, 2005). Third, I ensured theoretical validity by guaranteeing "the questions related to the topic of the interview, to the theoretical root of the study, and to the subsequent analysis" (Kvale, 1996, p. 129) by frequently revisiting the theoretical rationale and research question sections of this study (Guba, 1978). Fourth, I countered selective perceptions (Kvale, 1996) by searching for disconfirming evidence and rechecking all data within the project at large, keeping and reviewing research memos, which therefore helped me maintain consistency throughout the process. I was also aware of the fluid nature of this process and that these steps overlapped and converged; this afforded me a more organic, non-linear, yet thorough perspective.

The strategy of convenience sampling in this study allowed for an in depth understanding of what were rich personal experiences and perceptions. Completed participant background questionnaires qualified the richness of personal experiences and perceptions by identifying the participants' sex, age, ethnicity, years in police work,

number of police agencies where employed and the number of years served at each police agency. The next chapter addresses this study's findings.

CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore urban police chiefs' perceptions about the relationship between leadership and community policing. It investigated also the extent to which police chiefs implicitly understood their organizations as complex adaptive entities and examined their understandings of the organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation as they related to the societal environment and the police and community as one entity. The exploration of the extent to which these police chiefs understood how collaborative leadership related to the interdependent elements of community and policing was designed to shed light on the problem of implementing community policing.

This chapter described the findings in terms of the seven research questions posed in Chapter 1. The findings were patterns and themes that crystallized from the analysis of data mined from the interviews and documents collected. The research questions were:

1. What were urban police chiefs' understandings of community policing?
2. What were the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing?
3. To what extent did urban police chiefs understand the world as being complex and policing as a complex adaptive entity?
4. What were the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and their police organizations as complex adaptive entities?

5. To what extent did organization-related documentation reflect the community--policing mission?
6. To what extent did organization-related documentation reflect awareness of the police as a complex adaptive entity?
7. To what extent did participant background information suggest a relationship between urban police chiefs' perceptions regarding leadership and community policing?

Chiefs' Understanding of Community Policing

The research question was, "What were urban police chiefs' understandings of community policing?" Based on their responses, the following 5 themes emerged: (a) the chiefs' understanding of the definition of community policing; (b) the chiefs' understanding of the practice of community policing; (c) the chiefs' understanding of the behavior of officers practicing community policing; (d) the chiefs' understanding of the challenges of practicing community policing and (e) the chiefs' understanding of the history and future of community policing.

Definition of Community Policing

The police chiefs' understandings of the definition of community policing differed. Some defined it as philosophy while others defined it as a service. All of them were more tactical than strategic in their definitions, although Chief Villareal acknowledged the need for police to be more strategic when practicing community policing. This section began with three of the chiefs' quotations that reflected their understandings of the ambiguous nature of community policing, while at the same time

accepting it as a viable policing model. Following that were findings that identified some chiefs' perceptions of community policing as a philosophy and others as a service and findings that revealed the chiefs' perceptions of the tactical nature of community policing.

> …I think if you had 50 chiefs in a room and you said how many of you are practicing community policing, every hand would go up. But if you asked each of those chiefs to write down what it means, you would probably get 50 different answers. (Chief Simpadian)

Chiefs Doan and Villareal respectively had nearly identical initial responses to addressing the definition of community policing.

> …I think a lot of people have a lot of different definitions for what community policing truly is. (Chief Doan)
> …Well, community policing is one of those terms that sometimes is significantly misunderstood, and it has different meanings to different people. (Chief Villareal)

Community Policing as a Philosophy

The differences in understandings were reflected in their descriptions. Both Chiefs Simpadian and Doan used the term "philosophy" when discussing the matter. Chief Doan understood this "philosophy" to involve being "visible in the community and treating people with respect" and Chief Simpadian defined this "philosophy" as "not being a project or a foot patrol" but a service. Chief Doan cited examples like "foot and bicycle patrols, and officers attending community events such as barbecues and faith-based events" to provide added clarity. Of course, these were considered programs and projects and appeared to be in conflict with Chief Simpadian's understanding.

Chief Villareal's understanding of community policing suggested another approach. His description differed from those of Chiefs Simpadian and Doan.

…. [I]n order to have an effective community policing structure within the organization, you have to be willing to be open to the community, and you have to work together in a way that it fosters partnerships and it fosters the development of problem solving mechanisms that are shared by both the communities that you are serving and the police department. (Chief Villareal)

Community Policing as a Service

In explaining the "service" theme, Chief Simpadian's perception that community policing involved identifying the needs of a community and then providing services accordingly emerged, and was shared by the other participants. Chief Goleman represented a similar perception when she said,

… I think community policing is really responding… responsiveness to community's needs, delivering resources.

Chief Sousa went further in his description of community policing to include service to the internal community (divisions and units within the police department itself) as well as the external community.

…Community policing is all about identifying your customer … we have multiple customers both internal and external… identifying what the customer's expectation is, what they expect of you, and then delivering that product, delivering that service.

Community Policing as a Tactic Versus a Strategy

Clearly, when defining community policing, the chiefs were less strategic and more tactical. These tactics involved crime strike forces, foot patrols and traffic monitoring. Chief Villareal seemed to acknowledge that police needed to be more strategic when practicing community policing. He suggested that police, when making public safety decisions, for example, should consider the impact their decisions have on the community, other than reducing crime, that is.

…I think that another way to put [it] is greater awareness of strategic thinking. We [police] are very good tacticians. We deal extremely well with the here and now. I sometimes think we lack the foresight to develop strategic thinkers that can think about the greater role of the interaction between policing and all these other sections of the community… (Chief Villareal)

During his first interview, Chief Villareal took a unique position in defining community policing, not tactically, but strategically. He introduced the concept of the police as educators.

…So I think that effective community policing requires the sharing of information and the sharing of responsibility with the people that we serve. We have to recognize that what causes crime and fear of crime is driven by many external forces that are not necessarily controlled by the police department. And therefore, ownership for the solutions has to be shared ownership. We are certainly an important component of dealing with crime and the fear of crime, but I think we sometimes overstate our case, and I think sometimes we lead people down a path that creates a lot of problems for us because we develop unrealistic expectations. And I think the beauty of community policing is that the more that you educate the people that you serve and the more access that they have to you and the more access you have to them, the greater the understanding and the sharing of responsibility it becomes…(Chief Villareal)

Other chiefs discussed the need to provide the community with a realistic understanding of the availability of resources, however, using the phrase 'educating the community' implied an intentional effort by the police department to identify for the citizenry the social dynamics, causes of criminality and process of problem solving they used. This suggested a different way of looking at community policing. The following findings informed the second research question.

The Practice of Community Policing

The terminology used by most of the chiefs to describe community policing differed from the terminology they used to describe how their police departments *practiced* community policing. "Collaborating" and "problem solving" were terms not normally used by the chiefs to define community policing, but were more commonly used when describing how their police departments *practiced* community policing. Findings suggested the chiefs' understandings of the practice of community policing meant meeting with the community to identify crime problems and discuss solutions. All of the chiefs spoke of creating positive relationships with the community in order to meet effectively its needs. Chiefs related listening to the needs of the community and providing services when defining community policing. The following were findings that revealed the importance relationships and partnerships and how problem solving played into the chiefs' perceptions of how their police departments practiced community policing.

Creating Relationships

Although the chiefs understood the most contemporary description of the practice of community policing to include partnerships, collaboration and problem solving, there appeared to be a lack of certainty amongst participants regarding how to create relationships and how far with the community they should extend. Chiefs were more comfortable identifying and meeting the community's needs than they were participating actively with the community.

This was evident based on how they engaged the community. Those resulting from meetings did not always involve a distribution of responsibilities. While the results looked similar, such as the creation of community advisory boards, key differences emerged regarding how they explained the attendant culture and depths of those relationships.

For example, Chief Doan discussed the importance of community and trust, and although communication was also identified as a way his agency practiced community policing, it was clearly only one way; there was no mention of partnerships or problem solving. Communication appeared to mean explaining to the public why police behaved how they did and why, perhaps, they could not behave in a manner the community preferred.

> …Number one: Organizational philosophy. We stress the importance of community, the trust of the community. The second thing is that we've continually stressed to the officers the importance of communication, explaining why we do what we do and why we can't do certain things. (Chief Doan)

Partnerships and Problem Solving

"Partnership" and "problem solving" were two terms identified by the other four chiefs as ways in which they practiced community policing. In qualifying relationships, partnerships and problem solving, the chiefs' perceptions differed in practice. Chief Goleman spoke of projects and programs that were directed at the community while Chief Villareal spoke of strategizing with the community. Chiefs Simpadian and Sousa focused on systemic changes to the police culture, which focused on creating relationships with the community and furthering the development of partnership and problem solving possibilities.

The following findings were organized by the different ways the chiefs perceived partnerships and problem solving: (a) partnerships and problem-solving as response teams; (b) partnerships and problem-solving as strategizing with the community and (c) partnerships and problem-solving as changing police culture.

Partnerships and Problem Solving as Police Response Teams.

Chief Goleman spoke of geography-based, problem-solving response teams.

> …And then we came up with what I think right now is a very good model for us which is geographically based delivery of services with responsibility for recognizing and addressing repeat problems in partnership with the community.…A couple of problem-solving teams for the hot spots crime suppression unit, Neighborhood Response Team, special investigations bureau, so that you can put some specialized units out there…

Partnerships and Problem solving as Strategizing With Community.

When reporting findings regarding the chiefs' perceptions about how to define community policing, Chief Villareal acknowledged the need for police to be more strategic. He went on to describe the practice of community policing as a proactive, strategic effort.

> …[O]ne of the [consultant] recommendations, creating a very structured problem-solving model where people actually go through a process of identifying problems, identifying – prioritizing those problems, identifying strategies to deal with the problems and hopefully solving them; and that's a process now that is being uniformly [implemented] citywide. (Chief Villareal)

Partnerships and Problem solving as Changing Police Culture.

When describing how their agencies practiced community policing, Chiefs Simpadian and Sousa suggested the importance of changing police culture first.

> …Community policing [as practiced] in [City] today is values based, is a values based problem-solving model. The idea is that the officer's job is not to be bound by official process nor is it to be paralyzed by the rule book, but rather to determine what is the right

thing to do in this situation. And the guidepost is the organization's values rather than the organization's policy manual. (Chief Simpadian)

The organization's values, as identified by Chief Simpadian, included fairness, excellence, integrity, service, a personal touch, a proactive mindset and innovation, but did not include collaboration, problem solving, partnership or trust.

Chief Sousa's first response as to how his agency was practicing community policing detailed changing the selection, training and promotion of his officers.

> …[W]e teach it [community policing] in the academy, we test for it in our promotional exams, we hold our field training officers accountable to do problem solving; and we really, really, really reward people that do it, talk about it, talk about it at meetings, congratulate people when they do good problem solving, help people if they are weak in that skill. But it really has become a culture for us, but it took a long time. It wasn't something you just say we're going to do it tomorrow…(Chief Sousa)

Chief Sousa went on to describe how his department re-evaluated the way the academy selected and trained its recruits, how he attempted to change civil service rules to increase diversity in the officer selection process and how his department researched a unique new concept which involved the creation of a public safety academy, a veritable boot camp for 6th through 12th graders interested in becoming police officers and firefighters.

Behavior of Officers Practicing Community Policing

The following findings revealed how chiefs perceived the behaviors of officers practicing community policing. They did not specify which behaviors were objectionable so I probed further. I explained this was important so I could explore how they perceived the requisite skills needed to create various relationships—all of which was integral to

community policing. Chief Villareal provided below a detailed description representative of all the chiefs.

> …I think that the officers that understand the importance of community policing and what it means are the officers that generally would take the time to stop and talk to people on their beats, will question people, will ask questions as to what are the things in their beat that are working and what are the things that are not from a public safety stand. Will explore how he or she can solve some of those issues, how he or she can partner with the people that they are serving in order to come up with some solutions to the problem. Sometimes it could be as simple as a foot beat officer in a commercial area spending time with local merchants, finding out what are the things that are concerning them identifying what are some of the problems, and then trying to on a very basic level between that officer and some of those community members coming up with some solutions to those problems and going through and working and bringing in other stakeholders, maybe other city agencies. If you are talking about quality of life issues or maybe it could be community-based organizations, chamber of commerce. It's just that interaction, the very basic interaction that a good officer when he or she has the discretionary time to do this should be doing it. (Chief Villareal)

The Challenges of Practicing Community Policing

Two other overlapping themes emerged from the data collected. They related to the chiefs' certainty about how well or poorly they could engage the community. The first suggested they felt a major impediment was insufficient staffing.

And a second underlying theme emerged. It concerned more what they did not articulate. Nothing they said indicated they knew or understood that a deficit of certain skills could create substantial challenges to their sincere efforts to police the community.

In the following quotation, Chief Villareal summarized the frustrations associated with inadequate staffing. At the same time, he identified the need to develop certain skills necessary to effectively practice community policing. Although, to his credit, he was the only participant to identify this need while responding to the community policing related questions, he did not identify what these skills entailed.

> …The challenge, quite frankly, for people like me is two thing[s]. Number 1 is try to create a configuration for deployment that allows the officer to have the discretionary time to do this [create relationships and problem solve with the community] and while running from call to call [responding to calls for service]. And then the other part of it is driving down the importance of this type of policing [is] providing people with the training and the tools in order to do it. Because again, this is stuff that may come natural to some, but, for most people, this is something that has to be discussed, the training has to be provided, and it continuously has to be reinforced and evolve. (Chief Villareal)

The Chiefs' Understanding of the History and Future of Community Policing

These findings illustrate how the chiefs understood the history and future of community policing. In describing community policing, most offered their views on its evolution. Implicit, of course, were their understandings that it was a work in progress and would look differently and (presumably) become more effective as the years passed.

When speaking of the definition and philosophy of community policing, three of the chiefs presented a snapshot of its evolution. Chief Doan's idea reflected a more traditional way, one that emphasized visibility and politeness on the part of the officers. Chief Simpadian's understanding was more pragmatic and represented the second phase of the evolutionary history in which listening to the community's needs and then providing services accordingly were the goals. Chief Villareal's description represented the more contemporary partnering and problem solving description of community policing.

Other historical themes emerged as the interviews progressed. Both Chiefs Doan and Goleman reminisced about the early days of problem based community policing; back then, specialized community relations officers carried the brunt of the responsibility. Chief Goleman spoke of this structure bluntly.

…So they [police departments] went through the specialist model of CPOP [Community Problem Oriented Policing] where it was just several officers who did it, so everyone else kissed off their problems to them. And then we went to everyone did it. But what does that mean when no one is responsible to do it? And then we came up with what I think right now is a very good model for us which is geographically based delivery of services with responsibility for recognizing and addressing repeat problems in partnership with the community. (Chief Goleman)

Another historical perspective suggested by Chief Villareal indicated that police officers had always practiced community policing and that it had been only recently that the best of those practices were documented formally.

…[W]e [police] have talked about a lot of these concepts [community policing] for many years…I think a lot of officers informally but consciously are engaging in their own way of community policing by dealing with neighbors, dealing with neighborhood groups, meeting with merchants in their areas where they patrol. And it's something that's been going on for generations of policing. I think it's just now we are getting into generations where people do this, and they are also probably more conscious and actually this has a definition and it has a name. (Chief Villareal)

Chief Simpadian had a unique perspective because it addressed the past, present and future of community policing. The terms "continuum" and "evolution" figured prominently in his analysis.

…For me personally, and therefore hopefully for the organization, it has – I think community policing is a spot on a continuum that has continued to evolve. I think it was born out of community relations it morphed into community policing, and ultimately it will probably morph into community governance and into what I call values based policing, which is this business of interacting with the community and making those enforcement decisions. (Chief Simpadian)

Chiefs Simpadian and Sousa represented a police futurist perspective. Chief Simpadian spoke of community policing continuing to evolve. Chief Sousa identified a unique and new program his department was researching. It involved the development of a youth boot camps for those interested in law enforcement and would emphasize the

acquisition of certain skills like collaboration, networking, communication and problem-solving.

On the last point of the historical theme, while the participants varied in their perspectives, none questioned the efficacy of community policing as a valid crime prevention and fighting technique. Each subscribed to its fundamental validity. The following findings informed the second research question.

Leadership and Community Policing

The research question was, "What are the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing?" From the chiefs' responses, the four following themes emerged: (a) the chiefs' understanding of leadership in their departments; (b) the chiefs' understanding of leadership behavior; (c) the chiefs' understanding of leadership as defined by rank and (d) the chiefs' understanding of the relationship between leadership and community policing.

Leadership In Their Departments

The chiefs spoke freely of leadership; they moved seamlessly from the present to the future when describing the outreach efforts of their respective departments. Strikingly, they each seemed uncomfortable about how their patrol officers, sergeants and lieutenants understood leadership. Chief Simpadian spoke for his peers when he said he was unsure about the overall state of leadership in his department. For him, it was inextricably tied to departmental values.

> …And so I think the real question for how is leadership in this department – I'm going to tell you what I think it is, but I'm sure that I [don't] necessarily [have] the right answer. Because, in fact, we are getting ready to do a survey through the Josephson Institute to measure our adherence, [that is] the organization's [all police and civilian staff] perceived

adherence to values, and I have already been warned by Michael Josephson that police chiefs are often disappointed… (Chief Simpadian)

Generally, the chiefs characterized leadership by citing specific actions leaders took. Two themes arose. The first reflected a model represented by Chiefs Goleman and Sousa and suggested that "service" was what leaders did within the confines of their department. The others suggested leadership involved setting good examples and behaving as proper role models.

Service

Chiefs Goleman's and Sousa's descriptions of leadership in their departments reflected a managerial perspective. They were concerned with providing resources such as equipment and training—all of which facilitated providing various services.

…[W]e really set the tone that leadership is really serving, enabling, and empowering the very best in every member of this department. And whether that be through training, education, accountability and skills augmentation, whatever it took. From equipment to ensuring that they had the highest levels of expectations, we were going to identify what that was and ensure that we delivered it so that each of those folks who does actually deliver our services …be the very highest level they could be. (Chief Goleman)

…Leadership in the organization right now is transitioning and doing a very good job of looking at more of a customer base. Who is our customer? What the product we provide and what is the service we provide? And focusing on providing that service, not just to do it well, but to do it exceptionally well. (Chief Sousa)

Role Modeling and Setting Examples

Chiefs Doan, Simpadian and Villareal emphasized role modeling and example setting when defining leadership. Chief Doan's response reflected that immediately and intuitively.

…When I think about what leadership is in the [City] Police Department is, number one, individuals that have put themselves in position where they set the example. Meaning that

their life is a consistent in that they are directing their people to do or expecting their people to do are things that they in fact have done or are willing to do…(Chief Doan)

Chief Simpadian's perception echoed that of Doan's when he said,

…I would like to think that leadership in this organization models how I want the men and women driving the radio cars to treat the public.

Although Chief Villareal's four-month tenure informed his perception that leadership in the department was under siege and motivated by self-preservation, he spoke of a leadership he hoped to see in the future. He implied it involved role modeling when he said,

…I like leaders that understand that you cannot lead from the rear. You have to be up front. What that means to me is that you cannot ask people to do the things that you are unwilling to do or that you haven't done if you want to be effective. (Chief Villareal)

Most chiefs needed to be prompted for further elaboration. The following themes emerged when they did.

Leadership Behavior

As was the case when describing specific behaviors associated with community policing, the chiefs tended not to volunteer information on specific attributes associated with the practice of leadership. Therefore, I asked. Their responses focused on character. Chief Doan said,

…Well, for me personally, what I want our culture to be in the [City] Police Department in terms of leadership are people that have character…

Chief Goleman responded similarly when she said,

…I think it's [leadership] based on ethics and character…

Defining good character, however, presented its challenges. Citing examples was more helpful. Through those examples, certain common traits including trustworthiness, courage, altruism, solid work ethic, competency and a sense of equity emerged. Chief Doan spoke of trustworthiness, fidelity and honesty when he gave the following example.

> …[I]t's like when you're a supervisor in the organization and you are married and your troops know that you are married, and if they know you are involved in an affair, and they know you are cheating on the most important person in your life, then where does that put them as an officer. Will the supervisor violate their trust also? (Chief Doan)

Chief Villareal linked courage with not being afraid of failure and altruism with sacrificing for the organization at the expense of self.

> …I think the kind of leadership that I would like to foster and what I would like to see in the organization is one where, first of all, people are not afraid to make mistakes. You can't be an effective leader if you are afraid to make mistakes…I think that the other part is that as a leader you have to understand that, generally speaking, it's not about yourself. It's about the organization. It's about the people you serve. (Chief Villareal)

Chief Sousa described leadership attributes differently; creativity was key for him. He also said he thought leaders tended to be problem solvers but never elaborated on what that meant.

> …[Leaders] look for creative ways to solve problems and identify issues and problems.

The chiefs did not use leadership behavior language to describe behaviors most likely to make successful community policing. This will be addressed further when discussing the findings about the chiefs' perceptions regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing.

Leadership at Different Rank Levels

Findings strongly suggested the chiefs understood leadership in terms of power and authority and that it manifested itself through ranking. Chief Simpadian

suggested in the following quotation that those with high rank were leaders and had to model to patrol officers proper engagement with the public.

…I would like to think that leadership [those with rank] in this organization models how I [Chief] want the men and women driving the radio cars to treat the public.

Placing into context the following quotation, the leadership described by Chief Goleman was related to those staff with high rank. She restricted the notion of leadership to herself and her top administrators and command staff.

…So my philosophy [regarding leadership] has always been I can't ask anyone to do anything that I wouldn't do. I work as hard as everyone else to set the tone, and every member of our command staff …hold[s] others accountable to deliver the same kind of service.

However, she later appeared to have two understandings of leadership, one for staff with high rank and one for all others. She suggested also that leadership had special significance when it came to police work. In that sense, she perceived all officers as leaders.

…[T]here [are] leaders at every level and everywhere in the organization. If you come at this from the understanding that you need to develop every leader. I mean, certainly especially in police work, every officer is a leader, every dispatcher is a leader. They are making decisions every day that lives depend on. So if you don't recognize and treat them as adults that you're asking them to be out in the world, then I think that you are really limiting their potential. So leadership does not necessarily mean rank and excelling and promoting. It really means the potential, developing the potential of every member of the organization. (Chief Goleman)

Chief Doan appeared also to perceive leadership as relating more specifically to high ranking. When describing leaders as role models, he related the two and spoke directly of leaders as "*up* in the organization."

…So for me, that's leadership. I think when you get into trouble in an organization is when you have people in higher places that appear to be hypocrites…

He further connected the two when describing leaders with character, a strong work ethic, compassion and effective communication skills. He described them in the following manner:

…If we have those things in place [character, work ethic, etc.], not only are the troops [those of lower ranks] going to know we [leaders in higher ranks] care about them, that we are frequently communicating with them, taking into consideration their concerns and in turn keeping them [staff] informed of where we [command staff] are heading in the organization. (Chief Doan)

Chief Sousa took a more egalitarian approach when he related, rather emphatically, leadership to all staff, irrespective of rank. "Front line personnel" for him included patrol officers on the beat as well as detectives and civilian staff performing clerical duties.

…[We] started teaching what we call front line leadership in house. …we run them through a multi-month [supervisory leadership course] for our line employee[s] saying that every one of you is a leader in the organization. So let's show what leadership is and show you that you are a leader in the organization and empower you to make change in the organization. …[we tell them] you are a police officer, you are a leader in this organization. Just because you are an entry-level employee with no formal rank, you are still a leader…(Chief Sousa)

Relationship Between Community Policing and Leadership

After analyzing the interview digital recordings and written transcripts, I realized the chiefs did not discuss leadership and community policing in the same breath. As a result, I re-read the transcripts hoping to be proven wrong. In fact, my initial observation was on point. The closest I came was identifying the phrase "leaders in the community" whose meaning clearly was not the same. There was no data suggesting that they perceived a special relationship between leadership and community policing, although

Chief Sousa briefly referred to community policing problem-solving skills when describing leadership.

> …So I was able to transfer a lieutenant who was a phenomenal POP [community policing] sergeant, one of our problem-oriented policing sergeants who lives his philosophy [community policing]…he just lives problem solving.

Chief Sousa used also the word "leadership" when describing community policing. He spoke of how his lieutenants were empowered to make community-policing decisions at the mid-management level and referred to this as "leadership development."

Another finding revealed that the chiefs' responses to the interview question asking them to describe ideal qualities needed by a police department to successfully affect change were quite different from those responses to the question asking them to describe leadership. Regarding the first inquiry, they spoke of flexibility, accountability, adaptability, openness, intellectual sophistication and creativity. As Chief Villareal said,

> …I think first you need to have …a quality work force, you need to have a workforce that's intelligent….as an organization, you have to be flexible. You have to be comfortable with ambiguity.

Chief Goleman echoed this perception when she described these qualities as adaptability, flexibility, a clearly iterative process, relentless follow up and accountability.

But interestingly, they did not use these same terms when describing leadership which have been linked to effective community policing. Instead, when describing community policing they used phrases like "collaborative

problem-solving," but this phrase was rarely used when describing leadership or ideal qualities needed to reflect to enact change. The following findings informed the third research question.

Complexity of the World and Policing

The research question was, "To what extent do police chiefs understand the world as being complex and policing as a complex adaptive entity?" As defined in Chapter 1, complex adaptive entities from a biological perspective were all living creatures, from one-celled animals to humans and the systems within animals such as digestion, circulation and emotion. As applied to the social sciences, complex adaptive entities were informal organizations (such as crowds) and formal organizations (such as universities or police departments). Complex adaptive entities shared a set of characteristics, whether they were systems in physics, in biology, or in the social sciences. Twelve identified characteristics (Bloch, 2005) shared by complex adaptive entities were: (a) attractors that limit growth; (b) strange attractors; (c) autopoesis; (d) dissipative structures or open exchange; (e) emergence; (f) fitness peaks; (g) fractals; (h) networks; (i) non-linear dynamics; (j) phase Transitions; (k) sensitive dependence; (l) spirituality. Evidence of these characteristics was sought in the chiefs' comments. From these two comments the following themes emerged: first the chiefs' understanding of the complex nature of the world and the degree of interdependency; and second the chiefs' understanding of characteristics that identified policing as a complex adaptive entity.

Complex Nature of the World and Degree of Interdependency

There was some evidence that suggested the chiefs understood the world as complex or comprised of intricately related elements. Generally, they understood this within the context of relationships. For example, a few expressed the need for a close relationship with the community, but how they perceived its extent as well as its interdependent nature varied.

Findings suggested that they knew well that the neighborhoods they served were the ones with whom they had relations. Chief Villareal, however, was more explicit in his understanding of the world as complex; that is, for him, the world was made of up of intricate, interdependent elements.

> …We [police] have to recognize that what causes crime, and the fear of crime, is driven by many external forces that are not necessarily controlled by the police department. And therefore, the ownership for the solutions has to be a shared ownership. (Chief Villareal)

Although generally the chiefs understood "intricately related elements" to mean relationships, they varied how they perceived the depth of interdependency. The following findings shed light on their comprehension of policing as a complex adaptive entity.

Characteristics of Policing as Complex Adaptive Entity

There was evidence that suggested they understood the importance of what comprised a complex adaptive entity; how much they understood depended on the specific chief. Generally it involved a form of creativity, non-linear thinking and adaptability.

Findings suggested a few of them acknowledged the importance of a some of the characteristics of a complex adaptive entity, such as autopoesis, phase transitions and sensitive dependence. Terms they used to describe complex adaptive entities included "flexibility," "adaptability" and "innovation."

When asked what qualities were needed to construct a department that could enact positive change, Chief Goleman appeared to have acknowledged her understanding of police as a complex adaptive entity in her response.

> …[T]he idea of team, the idea of community within the department, and then the idea of a collective shared culture that we are all responsible for. And then the recognition that times are changing and that we need to both respond to and adapt and be flexible to the changes that are needed from us and from our organizations to be a 21st century police department. (Chief Goleman)

Her comments reflected a belief that successful departments adapted to change and were elastic in their response, autopoesis in short.

Chief Villareal, when responding to the same question, spoke of being comfortable with ambiguity and open to new ideas in order to bring about successfully change. He believed that, as opposed to viewing them as periods of turmoil, they could be used as periods of innovation and creativity phase transitions in short.

> …[As] an organization, you have to be very flexible. You have to be comfortable with ambiguity. Because reengineering change requires the willingness to live in a world with a great deal of ambiguity. I think innovation would be the result of the flexibility, and the willingness, and the commitment. (Chief Villareal)

In another quotation, Chief Villareal suggested an understanding that multiple causes from multiple relationships created data integral to understanding—nonlinear dynamics in short.

> …[W]e are part of a much larger universe, and what we do or don't do and how we do it can have a tremendous impact either in a negative or a positive way, and understanding these interconnections [with the community], our role has an incredible impact on the fabric of our community. (Chief Villareal)

In the final example, Chief Villareal, while explaining his new tenure as chief, spoke of an organization ripe for change and acknowledged his installment may have been the catalyst to initiate this change-sensitive dependence in short.

> …I have seen a tremendous willingness to embrace new things more so probably that I would have seen in other organizations that people might deem more progressive. So, I don't know. Maybe it's just – maybe it's timing, maybe people were just ready for something new…(Chief Villareal)

Chiefs' understanding of the world as complex involved interconnected relationships with the community that they perceived as necessary to effectively practice community policing. Their understandings varied but acknowledged generally the importance of flexibility and ability to adapt to change. The following findings informed the fourth research question.

Leadership and Police Organizations as Complex Adaptive Entities

The research question was, "What are the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and their police organizations as complex adaptive entities?" The following themes emerged from the analysis of the interviews: (a) formal and informal leadership development as structures supporting the organization and (b) relationship between leadership and police organizations as complex adaptive entities.

Formal and Informal Leadership Structures Supporting the Organization.

Findings suggested that the chiefs understood leadership development as involving informal mentoring and civil service testing for promotions. All mentioned the

need for more leadership development, especially at the mid-manager and line levels. Chief Villareal echoed the need for this when he connected leadership development to ranking, and spoke of the dearth of formal structures and opportunities for leadership development.

> …[T]here isn't a clearly organized, formalized leadership [development] in this organization. I think at this point we have been doing the bare minimum whatever the state requires in order to comply with POST, which is, quite frankly, extremely basic and not enough. So the reality is that we currently do not have a well thought out structure to provide leadership training for the various ranks, and that's an area that I am very concerned and it's an area we are going to start addressing. At this point, really the leadership training that's available is those schools that are required by POST, depending on rank, and then you have individuals that on their own sometimes they may attend other schools, but that's really an individually driven process. It's not an organization driven process. (Chief Villareal)

Although they generally equated leadership development with a formal promotions structure, they identified also informal modeling and mentoring as critical. Chief Simpadian represented this theme with the following quotation:

> …I periodically get requests to implement a formal mentoring program. And I have consistently refused to do that because I believe that it is everybody's obligation to develop two classes of people. One is to find somebody and train them to take over their job, and secondly is to simply be responsive to anyone who might be interested in [getting] help or use some advice on what [they] could do better. (Chief Simpadian)

Chief Goleman echoed this sentiment when she said:

> …So leadership to me is ensuring that at every level, not only are we developing and looking at them (staff) as leaders, but at the level above them they take responsibility for making that happen. So it's the whole organization has to be mentoring and nurturing and developing. It can't be just me. (Chief Goleman)

Chief Doan related leadership and leadership development to the formal promotional process when he discussed an officer's labor association seminar he attended—an environment in which he advanced his vision.

…[T]he Police Officers Association puts on promotional seminars, and I speak at all of those and really tell them what I am looking for [in a supervisor]…we want people in the organization to know that this is the type of leaders we want to promote. (Chief Doan)

Relationship Between Leadership and Police Organizations as Complex Adaptive Entities.

As discussed earlier, the participants did not generally define leadership with the same words they used to describe the characteristics of complex adaptive entities. There was little evidence to suggest they perceived a link between their organization as an interdependent and interconnected entity, and leadership. Although they expressed their understanding of the importance of leadership and leadership development, both concepts appeared to be close ended, rank restricted and strictly relegated to the tactical aspects of police work. Leadership and leadership development were generally unrelated to the vision or mission statement of the organizations. Moreover, they were unrelated to creativity, innovation or collaboration.

Although some departments created leadership development matrices identifying desired 'supervisory' skills, the skills through or process by which they completed the leadership matrix plan were not evaluated in the promotional process. Chief Simpadian represented this theme when, during the interview, he recalled the need to evaluate candidates' leadership matrix program completion in an upcoming promotional exam process.

…In fact, just having this conversation reminds me that one of the things we have been doing is a matrix [leadership development] for two years, so probably by next year's promotional cycle,…that should probably be part of the application process is which things have you [the applicant] done on the matrix, if you want to be a sergeant, and we've told you that there are these five things that you should do, how many have you done? (Chief Simpadian)

Chief Simpadian stated that this interview served as a reminder to him to include the leadership development matrix into the next promotional process. The following findings informed the fifth research question.

Community Policing Mission Documentation

The research question was, "To what extent does organization-related documentation reflect the community-policing mission?" The chiefs provided no organizational documents. One support document was offered by Chief Sousa. Written organizational materials could have included police department created policies, directives, vision, mission or values statements or training materials. The support document was a non-organizational created book about communication skills for community policing.

Organizational Documents

The chiefs did not provide any written organizational documents that reflected the community policing mission. There was no evidence suggesting that those mission or vision statements existed in any written form. However, I made an important observation as a result of a comment Chief Sousa made during his first interview. Although the police department's mission statement document was not presented prior to the first interview, Chief Sousa mentioned it during the interview, saying that core community policing values were included in it. After the interview, I researched all five departments' mission statements. Chief Sousa's contained the terms "partnership" and "problem solving," implying each was synonymous with community policing. It stated that the police and community were partnering to address various problems. It read:

The mission of the [City] Police Department is to work in partnership with the Community to protect life and property, solve neighborhood problems, and enhance the quality of life in our City.

Research of the other four revealed they included the terms "trust," "partnering," "problem solving" and "mutual priority setting." But none stated clearly that the community and police worked jointly.

Support Documents

At the start of the first interview, Chief Sousa submitted a book entitled, *Cop Talk: Essential Communication Skills for Community Policing* (Kidd and Braziel, 1999) as required reading for all officers receiving their first promotion. He suggested that the text would help them cultivate the skills they needed to practice better community policing. Review of the text revealed specifically identified skills they needed. It addressed also the system in which they could develop and master them. They included two-way communication, interpersonal communication, conducting work group meetings and community meetings, public speaking and developing problem-solving techniques. The following is the introduction to the text that included a definition of community policing.

> Community policing is a philosophy and organizational strategy that promotes a new partnership between people and their police. It is based on the premise that both the police and the community must work together to identify, prioritize, and solve contemporary problems such as crime, drugs, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay, with the goal of improving the overall quality of life in the area.(Kidd & Braziel, 1999)

This introduction was consistent with the mission statement of Chief Sousa's police department. The following findings informed the sixth research question.

Police as a Complex Adaptive Entity Documentation

The research question was, "To what extent does organization-related documentation reflect awareness of the police as a complex adaptive entity?" The chiefs provided no organizational documents. Since there was no material, there was no analysis. The following findings informed the seventh and final research question.

Participant Background Information, Leadership and Community Policing

The research question was, "To what extent does participant background information suggest a relationship between urban police chiefs' perceptions regarding leadership and community policing?" Collectively the chiefs accumulated 152 years of police work and 35 years as chiefs. The average number of police departments each served was 1.6. Two spent their entire careers in one department, two served in three police departments and one worked in two departments. One served for a few years as chief in an out of state police department. The others spent their entire careers in law enforcement in California.

Four of the five chiefs were male. Three were white, one was Hispanic and one did not address the race issue at all. Their ages ranged from 49 to 60 with the average being 53.4. Four of the five began their careers in the mid to late 1970s. One began hers in 1984.

Ranking the chiefs by their community policing support posed a challenge because all appeared committed to their construct. Chiefs Sousa and Simpadian understood the importance of changing the culture in their police department while Chiefs Goleman and Villareal understood the success of programs as the true test of

effective community policing. Overall, Chief Sousa, among the younger chiefs, seemed most effective at implementing the concepts of community policing in all functions and levels, as well as understanding the police as a complex adaptive entity.

This data suggested that the chiefs' perceptions may have been linked to their ages. The community policing model was introduced in the late 1970s, at or around the time the chiefs entered the field. Less autocratic leadership gained popularity in the 1980s and 1990s; police were forced to consider social justice when performing their duties. The chiefs spoke of collaborating with subordinates to solve problems and all favored creating more positive relationships with the community. Chief Villareal, in particular, spoke of the need for the police to consider social justice when performing their duties. Lastly, neither sex nor ethnicity appeared to be influencing factors regarding a chief's perceptions of leadership and community policing.

Summary

Key findings developed from the chiefs' interviews regarding their perceptions about the relationship between leadership and community policing informed this study, as well as its implicit understanding of the characteristics of a complex adaptive entity as it relates to interdependency and collaboration between police and community. Essential meanings that emerged from data analysis substantively described the chiefs' understanding of community policing as the predominant contemporary policing model defining their leadership efforts.

From these themes and meanings emerged, too, a finding that suggested the chiefs understood the health and viability of their policing model was connected to the external

and internal communities. The degree of connection varied depending on the chief. To the chiefs in general, community policing represented a viable crime suppression tool. Practicing it involved listening to the community express its needs and then acting accordingly. Others understood community policing to be an evolving model that represented cultural change rather than a program or tool. This new culture was driven by values requiring police to consider community while decision making.

Regarding connectivity and interdependency, the chiefs described community policing as a value that was fundamentally defined by officers creating mutually respectful relationships with the community; of course, the express purpose of these relations was to prevent and solve crimes. They understood relationship building as involving greater engagement with the public and treating respectfully its members. While each chief knew this was an integral component of community policing, the depth to which they understood it differed. At one end of the spectrum was listening to residents voice their complaints. At the other end was actively creating relationships with them to solve the problems about which they complained. Each finding suggested, however, that the chiefs were far more comfortable identifying the community's needs and attending to them on their own.

There was less clarity about their ideas involving the community's empowerment in the problem-solving process. A key finding suggested they were far more tactical than strategic when problem solving with the community. They therefore perceived the tactical burdens as belonging to them, though one provided evidence of the community

bearing some of this responsibility as well. Her example involved the deployment of interested neighborhood residents to problematic traffic areas.

Some chiefs believed community policing was complex and evolutionary and required openness, collaboration, problem solving and relationship building. They believed police departments needed to be flexible, innovative and creative and suggested a keen understanding of the importance of some characteristics descriptive of a complex adaptive entity. Others, however, suggested through their commentary that they did not recognize fully a police department as a complex adaptive entity. They proved this when they appeared to equate leadership with power, authority and rank. They did this while simultaneously expressing frustration and regret that the internal hierarchy was an impediment. Moreover, they did not see a link between leadership and the qualities of flexibility, accountability, adaptability, openness and creativity. Instead, they connected it more to trustworthiness, courage, selflessness, competency and fairness.

In informing the chiefs' perceptions of leadership, little from the data suggested that they could articulate coherently the complex nature of leadership or, for that matter, link the relationship between the characteristics of a complex adaptive entity and the street level leadership necessary to accomplish community policing. Although they each knew the differences between training and education, and supported enthusiastically the development of leadership education promoting skills conducive to more effective community policing practice, the reality remained that there was a lack of formal leadership education related to community policing and understanding of the complex nature of leadership and its resulting relationship to complex adaptive entities.

So, too, was there a lack of organization-related material reflecting the need for community policing in the mission or vision statements. This suggested a lack of awareness on their parts when it came to the need for establishing a formal and institutionalized cultural identity regarding leadership and community policing. They relied instead almost entirely on an oral, informal, occasionally tacit understanding of its need.

Participant background information provided some data suggesting a possible link between the age of the chiefs and their perceptions regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing. Four entered the field when the model was first introduced. Although none articulated a perceived conflict between the two models, the contradictions sprinkled in their opinions spoke to the internal conflict trying to manage the two can cause. They struggled to embrace the new model while still employing the old tools. The next chapter addresses how the findings related to this study's literature review as well as the implications for future action and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study and discussion of the findings by major theme gleaned from the data presented in Chapter IV. It discusses also the implications for action and recommendations for further research. The chapter is structured in the following way: the overview provides a summary of the problem, the purpose statement, research questions, and review of the methodology. Under discussion, findings by major themes are addressed as they related to the literature, and conclusions are discussed as findings supporting prior studies and findings not addressed in prior studies. The final section discusses the implications for further action and recommendations for further research.

Summary

This section provides a brief synopsis of the problem, the purpose statement, research questions, and review of the methodology.

Problem

The problem was the extent to which police leadership understood and utilized the community policing model in light of the prominence of the historical hierarchical model of police leadership. The demands of community policing suggested a need for leadership that enabled collaboration and connection between the community and police in order to solve successfully various problems. Because most chiefs of police ascended through the ranks of a system that valued hierarchy and autocracy, they struggled (Moore, 1992). Consequently, while they preached leadership, and meant genuinely to implement it, they

practiced leadership in concert with a hierarchical, autocratic model. Reconciling the contradictions presented a significant challenge for them (Maguire & Katz, 2002). More importantly, it suggested a lack of cohesion between internal and external processes, which ultimately threatened implementation of the community-policing model. Crimes went unsolved, crime prevention efforts were stymied and the community felt disconnected from its officers. Unsurprisingly, citizens perceived the degree to which they were protected as inadequate and therefore regarded those who served with less esteem.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore urban police chiefs' perceptions about the relationship between leadership and community policing. It investigated also the extent to which police chiefs understood implicitly their organizations as complex adaptive entities and examined their understandings of the organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation as they related to the societal environment and the police and community as one entity. The exploration of the extent to which these police chiefs understood how collaborative leadership related to the interdependent elements of community and policing was designed to shed light on the problem of implementing community policing.

Research Questions

This study investigated the following research questions through qualitative data collection and analysis:

1. What were urban police chiefs' understandings of community policing?
2. What were the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing?
3. To what extent did urban police chiefs understand the world as being complex and policing as being a complex adaptive entity?
4. What were the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and their police organizations as complex adaptive entities?
5. To what extent did organization-related documentation reflect the community-policing mission?
6. To what extent did organization-related documentation reflect awareness of the police as a complex adaptive entity?
7. To what extent did participant background information suggest a relationship between urban police chiefs' perceptions regarding leadership and community policing?

Review of Methodology

This study utilized a qualitative method based on complexity science theory. Participants in this study were five police leaders who served as chiefs of urban police departments in California. Data sources employed in this study included semi-structured

interviews and a review of police department memos, orders and training materials regarding leadership and community policing.

Data was collected in two stages, and analyzed in two stages. After being collected, documents, taped dialogues and participant background questionnaires were analyzed. I analyzed the interview data (Kvale, 1996) by identifying the themes, then questioning these themes in terms of the specific purpose of the study by using the research questions.

Discussion

This section is divided into two sub-sections. The first sub-section relates findings to the four major sections of the literature review. This section is entitled Discussion of the Findings by Major Themes. The second sub-section is entitled Conclusions and condenses and summarizes findings as they related to the support of prior studies, and condenses and summarizes findings that were not addressed in prior studies. None of the findings contradicted prior studies.

Discussion of the Findings by Major Themes

This section addresses the major themes that emerged from this study and how these themes related to prior research. They are as follows: (a) community policing; (b) values based policing; (c) leadership; (d) organizational hierarchical structure; and (e) police organizations as complex adaptive entities.

Community Policing

The following are sub-themes within the theme of community policing: the meaning of community policing; the practice and effectiveness of community policing; community policing officers as strategists; and community policing skills and concepts.

The meaning of community policing. Themes emerging from this study supported literature that found, the community policing definition was confusing (Zhao, Lovrich, & Thurman, 1999). There was some general agreement amongst the chiefs however, that community policing meant listening to the community, allowing them to voice their complaints, and interacting with the community in a non-enforcement mode. It was also found that this study supported literature that suggested that the vast majority of police agencies in the United States accepted the fundamental premise of community policing (Zhao, Lovrich, & Thurman, 1999). This fundamental premise had to do with responding to the community's needs and collaborating and sharing responsibilities for problem solving. However in their comments, two chiefs represented the others when they suggested that there was very little agreement amongst their peers as to how to go about responding to the community's needs and collaborating and sharing responsibilities for problem solving.

The practice and effectiveness of community policing. Findings affirmed the literature (Moore, 1992) that suggested that the traditional police model, where the number of arrests was an indicator for success, did not seem to work at crime solving. One chief addressed specifically this point when she suggested that arrests simply did not bring about long lasting crime reduction results. There was also agreement that

community-policing concepts, although confusing, needed to permeate the entire organization in order for the application to be effective. Findings also affirmed Skogan's 1996 study that found that crime declined significantly in community policing districts, Kessler and Borella's 1997 study that suggested community policing programs were successful, and Jesilow, Meyer, Parsons, and Tegelers 1998 study that found that community policing programs decreased citizen complaints. All five chiefs cited examples of increased community satisfaction and crime reduction. Two in particular stood out, however. Two chiefs spoke of two very successful programs in their cities, one of which had received national recognition. They reduced dramatically crime and changed positively the conditions of the community.

Community policing officers as strategists. The chiefs spoke both of the police and the community's focus on arrest stats and the solving of criminal cases. One chief in particular said that police were good at tactics but not at strategy. This seemed to substantiate Greene's (2000) findings that police were unskilled at problem solving and therefore resorted more to arrests. In responding to the question, "How do you change the culture in a way that will foster the development of community-policing skills?" one chief suggested that officers needed to be put into community problem-solving situations repeatedly. Doing so, she argued, would force them to create partnerships with the community, and with practice, arguably would be better strategists.

Community policing skills and concepts. Findings not addressed in prior studies involved police chiefs' perceptions regarding the deficiency of skills such as communication, facilitation, and follow through that are necessary to effectively practice

community policing, and police chiefs' perceptions regarding the insufficient cohesiveness in applying community policing concepts to the recruitment, selection, training, evaluation and promotion process. Although mentioned by the chiefs as important, there didn't appear to be a sense of urgency in correcting these deficiencies.

Values Based Policing

Several chiefs referred to a new concept and practice emerging from the community-policing model. Values-based policing is a concept that appeared to have gained traction with these five chiefs over the past few years. The concept is roughly defined as the development of community and department values of shared meaning with the purpose of using the values to direct the actions of the police in providing crime and safety related services. Values determine policy. Old policy is questioned and possibly changed, and new policy is created. A theme of less policy is better than more also emerged from the interviews. Basing policy on values gave the officers directly working with the community the ability to be more flexible and creative in problem solving. This suggested a dramatic change from the command and control structure, and appeared to be conducive to collaborative leadership and community policing concepts. One chief described it as "choosing the best possible outcome" and another described it as "should I do this, not can I do this." Although these same chiefs suggested that the values based policing concept will guide the evolution of community policing, this finding was not addressed in prior studies.

Leadership

The following are sub-themes within the theme of the meaning of leadership: leadership traits, leadership and community policing, leadership in the ranks, and leadership and education.

Leadership traits. This study confirmed Schafer's (2008) research. He identified six traits of effective police leaders as gleaned from surveys he conducted with participants in the FBI National Academy for police leaders. These traits included setting an example and being trustworthy; considering input; accepting responsibility and admitting mistakes; making informed decisions based on research and study; treating employees fairly and with dignity and allowing subordinates to handle duties commensurate with their skill levels and degrees of authority. Each chief used similar terms when defining effective leadership. Although this study also found the five chiefs valued collaborating with command staff, forthrightness and elasticity and being problem-solving oriented, they never spoke in precisely those terms when discussing either community policing or leadership. When asked, "How would you describe the ideal qualities needed by a police department to successfully affect change?" the chiefs interestingly used the words "adaptable," "flexible," "compassionate" and the phrase "thinking outside the box." Each seemed important, but none was ever applied to the question, "How would you describe leadership in your department?" The absence of the terms in the context of that specific question was noteworthy. This suggested that the chiefs may not have linked these terms to leadership at the lieutenant, sergeant, and patrol officer levels.

Leadership and community policing. This study found that the chiefs did not articulate a direct link between leadership and the practice of community policing, and there were no prior studies found that explored the understanding of chiefs of police and other police leaders about the relationship between leadership traits conducive to community policing and the practice of community policing. Ironically it was found that the chiefs appeared to value role modeling and felt it was conducive to helping facilitate community policing. Although, they perceived they were less than successful at role modeling effectively for their own internal community, much less that outside of it. This contradicted my hypothesis suggesting top leaders would not model leadership conducive to community policing. Although they may not have verbally made the connection between leadership traits and the practice of community policing they were practicing collaboration and to some extent participatory leadership.

Leadership in the ranks. This study's findings confirmed the challenges of changing long-held practices as found in both Moore's (1992) and Witte's, Travis's, and Langworthy's (1990) studies suggesting that the biggest challenge in changing behavior was within the ranks themselves, from lieutenants to sergeants and patrol officers. Each chief expressed the importance of altruism and the need to both trust and respect their subordinates if they were to foster a collaborative environment, which they could then replicate in the community at large. Yet they were unsure if this message had filtered down, and were therefore unsure of the current conditions of police leadership in their departments at the officer, sergeant, and lieutenant levels. One chief expressed this by suggesting that sergeants and lieutenants in particular confused power and authority with

leadership, and their motives are not likely reflecting an unselfish interest in the welfare of the community or their subordinates.

Leadership and education. It was also found that the chiefs in general understood the importance of education over training, but were frustrated with the current selection and training process of police leaders. The chiefs called for more leadership education and training in order to improve interpersonal skills such as communication and problem solving, especially for recruits, patrol officers, sergeants, and lieutenants. Ironically they described leadership in a traditional present tense (Schafer, 2008), yet they described leadership training in a non-traditional future tense. Still there was no connection of the non-traditional (flexible, adaptive, collaborative) leadership description to the effective practice of community policing. These findings were not addressed in prior studies.

Organizational Hierarchical Structure

The following are sub-themes within the theme of organizational hierarchical structure: crime fighting and community policing models; organizational changes; philosophy and policy changes; and participatory organization.

Crime fighting and community policing models. Findings from this study affirmed those conducted by Maguire and Katz (2002), suggesting that police in general struggle to reconcile the incongruities associated with the police hierarchical structure as it relates to the crime fighting model and community policing model. Chiefs generally agreed that their departments continued to struggle reconciling the two models. One chief perceived that hierarchy was defined by the greater culture (Drodge & Murphy, 2002) and that change could not occur without informal organizational support. She believed also that

this was a fair representation of the majority when discussing traditional police culture and how it had to evolve into a more participatory, democratic one.

Organizational changes. Findings in this study appeared to support studies conducted by Maguire (1997), Lewis, Rosenberg and Sigler (1999), and Connors and Webster (2001) indicating that agencies claiming to practice community policing had not always made the changes within their organizational structures necessary to do it successfully. Moreover, although much community policing information was shared between members, there was not enough information on how their roles would change. Despite the chiefs' focus on the decentralization of investigative functions and some changes in the organization, rank and structure, little had changed; community policing concepts had not been inculcated into the recruitment, staff developmental and promotional processes. One chief expressed this frustration when he suggested that the hierarchical structure of the police organization did not allow for effective communication. Another chief believed that mistrust and defensiveness created by autocratic, inflexible, non-creative methods of engaging the community needed to be eliminated in police organizations. The chiefs appeared to understand the importance of collaboration and flexibility, but failed to articulate how to go about implementing in a traditional hierarchical structure. Ironically, one of the chiefs supported the traditional organizational hierarchy when he suggested that there was still the need to respect and leave untouched the rank structure. This finding that suggested chiefs failed to identify means in which to successfully introduce collaboration, flexibility, and participatory leadership in a traditional hierarchical structure was not addressed in any prior studies.

Philosophy and policy changes. Although the chiefs mentioned an informal process of verbally advising command staff and presenting these notions at seminars, they gave no reason to think that the job descriptions, for example, had been changed in accordance with this new philosophy, or that the civil service entrance and promotional exams had been altered to reflect the influence of community policing. This appears to further support studies conducted by Maguire (1997), Lewis, Rosenberg and Sigler (1999), and Connors and Webster (2001) that making important organizational structure changes was not being done. Chiefs did report that, where possible, community policing skills were assessed in the oral components of the exam and, when not restricted they selected candidates they believed were most skilled at community policing. No organizational written documents were presented or identified in the interviews that would suggest a formal institutionalization of community policing. It is fair to say that, as a general principle, they acknowledged these shortcomings. Despite being challenged by civil service policy, they made efforts to address those inadequacies accordingly. For example, one chief applied an acceptable re-interpretation of civil service policy in order to increase recruit officer retention. This chief had observed that some recruit officers that possessed community oriented skills were being released from the recruit-training program because of antiquated and inflexible civil service rules.

Participatory organization. Findings from this study also affirmed studies conducted by Adams, Rohe, and Arcury (2002) suggesting that most officers agreed with the concepts and goals of community policing, and that the more participatory and flexible the organizational structure became, the more positively officers felt about it. The

chiefs believed that, when presented with a greater opportunity to participate at all levels of the policing process, the officers likely felt more engaged in and fulfilled by their work. One chief in particular was explicit in her description of officers who she believed showed greater energy and passion when given more room to contribute to the community-policing model.

Police Organizations as Complex Adaptive Entities

The following are sub-themes within the theme of police organizations as complex adaptive entities: leaders creating conditions for innovation, self organization and organizational design, and innovation and creativity.

Leaders creating conditions for innovation. This study gave some validation to Marion and Uhl-Bien's 2001 study that found leaders created conditions for innovation rather than creating innovation itself. The chiefs seemed to understand that resources, vision and motivation were what successful leaders provided their organizations and, as a result, members of the organizations were sufficiently empowered and able to do their jobs in creative and innovative ways. One chief understood this as a form of experimentation that required room for the periodic failure. He qualified this by suggesting that an organization comfortable with ambiguity was one more capable of change. Another chief spoke of innovation and evolution when he compared how his organization embraced new suggestions and ideas from the rank and file as opposed to his overwhelmingly fruitless experiences with merely volunteering an innovative idea when he was a young police officer. At that time, the response he received was a

disheartening one; it was tossed aside without discussion during a brief meeting with a supervisor.

Similarly, this study's findings correlated to the research by Boal and Schultz (2007) that suggested when leaders pushed, wittingly or unwittingly, their organizations to the brink of chaos, that it was precisely then when innovation and change could take hold. One chief's work represented an increasing effort to bring about that change purposefully. She appointed non-sworn female personnel to two positions held previously by sworn police officers. This was not initially accepted well by sworn staff, but within a short period of time staff came to understand the benefits that came about to their police agency and the community as a whole.

Self-organization and organizational design. This study also supported Simpson's 2007 study that suggested emergent self-organization was the result of narrative themes, not necessarily key leaders. The chiefs clearly represented that in their organizations, informal, and unstructured communication was a common vehicle through which officers learned. Because of this understanding the chiefs used this as the primary vehicle by means of which they introduced community-policing concepts. Two chiefs told of telling stories to their command staff and the rank and file that they heard at community meetings. The purpose of repeating these stories to staff was to expose staff to the community policing and leadership qualities, the chiefs believed were needed to practice effective policing. However, in this particular case, change appeared evident only in the higher rank levels of the organization. Another chief appeared to further support Simpson's suggestion that emergent self-organization was the result of narrative themes,

and not necessarily key leaders. This chief appeared to implicitly understand that the informal conversations and stories of distrust and frustration of the organization shared amongst staff over decades actually had more to do with the change that was occurring in his department, than his leadership. He noted that perhaps change had more to do with timing and factors such as the informal culture that related to the readiness of the department to change.

There was further support of Simpson's 2007 study that found conversations and relationships had more to do with organizational design than they did with the decisions a given leader made. One chief described the way in which the organizational design and structure of the department influenced the conversations and relationships within her department and ultimately the way staff was valued. She created a new civilian supervisor structure in which some female civilian supervisors could replace sergeants as unit supervisors and enjoy equal value in the traditionally male-oriented organization as a result. This, she discovered, posed great challenges; during the meetings debating the matter, she could not get, as hard as she tried, her fellow female supervisors to speak, much less support the notion. Later, they explained why; they believed that, because of the way the organization was structured, that the units would have no value unless they were represented by sergeants—a disproportionate number of whom were male. That experience taught her any success would emanate from a better understanding of the efforts needed to address the influence organizational design has on the formal and informal conversations and narratives of the staff.

Conclusions

This section condenses and summarizes findings as they related to the support of prior studies, and condenses and summarizes findings that were not addressed in prior studies.

Findings Supporting Prior Studies

Findings from this study supported by prior research suggested chiefs: struggled with the non-congruency of the two police models; struggled with applying traditional leadership to the new community policing model; and were aware of the challenges of understanding, practicing and implementing community policing organizationally.

Although community policing appeared to predominate in the minds of the chiefs, its definition and implementation remained unclear. The proof was that the chiefs reverted often to the traditional crime-fighting model with which they were more familiar and which they understood with greater clarity.

The findings from this study suggested that the traditional view of leadership remained an impediment when trying to implement the newer model community policing represented. For example, the chiefs' perceptions of leadership were qualified by their understanding of traditional leadership training.

This study also supported prior research that suggested there had been little success at integrating community policing concepts at every level. The chiefs wished lower level officers could experience what they did, forcing them to contemplate newer, fresher options involving the community at large. While they spoke proudly of how each of their departments did, in fact, practice community policing, they noted that although

patrol officers were encouraged to create relationships with the community, empowerment to take action and affect change rested primarily at the lieutenant level. Their goals of building on well-constructed relations with the community had not been integrated into their departments.

Findings from this study appeared to support prior complexity studies that suggested that conversation and relationships had more to do with organizational design than with key leaders. Four of the chiefs questioned whether their leadership visions, as reflected in their respective mission statements and culture changes, resonated with members of the police department beyond the immediate command staff. They appeared to question the relationship between their leadership and their police department's organizational design. This ambiguity suggested a vicious cycle in which organizational structure (hierarchy and rank) influenced conversation and relationships that, in turn, influenced organizational design.

Findings Not Addressed in Prior Studies

Findings not addressed in prior studies suggested chiefs were frustrated by the rejection of some neighboring police agencies of the community policing model; there was little evidence of understanding of the significance of selecting officers possessing community policing skills nor the nexus between leadership, and community policing; there was frustration with training resources; there was frustration with a perceived lack of authority of the state's police training and education standards agency; and there was little evidence to suggest that there was an understanding of the significance of the relationship between qualities of a leader and qualities that are best

suited to enable a police agency to fulfill change.

Findings from this study suggested that, although research found communities would benefit from a collaborative problem-solving police department, and that most communities and police departments had embraced the community-policing model, there was the belief some communities and their law enforcement agencies rejected this model for political and philosophical reasons. This often caused confusion and concern in their street level staff.

Although there was an understanding of the importance of training, there was little said about the specific leadership skills training needed to practice effectively community policing at the line level. Although there was expectation line officers were to partner and problem-solve crime issues with the community, there was little to suggest they acknowledged the significance of selecting officers possessing the requisite skills to do just that. Also, there was little evidence to suggest their recognition of the relationship between leadership skills, community policing skills and the development of communication and problem-solving skills at the line level.

Also found by this study was a strong desire on the part of some chiefs to learn more and try new ways of implementing the new community policing model. Still, they needed clarity on what community policing and leadership entailed exactly. For example, they believed quality education and training addressing community policing and leadership were made available by the California agency Police Officers Standards in Training (POST) and other law enforcement training organizations, but that the availability and actual application of the training, for a litany of reasons, was inconsistent

at best. Although the chiefs understood there was quality training addressing community policing and leadership available, there still wasn't a clear understanding of the nexus between leadership and community policing. Special POST leadership training, called Command College and considered to be best at addressing community policing and leadership issues, was merely optional and available mostly to the highest ranking officers within a department. The chiefs expressed a need for greater availability of seminars such as these and for recruits to be trained from the start on the importance of community, mutual respect, trust and the forging of lasting relationships with the community.

Furthermore, this study's findings suggested institutions setting police officer standards for selection and training, such as POST, were hindered by a lack of authority and resources to mandate the type of leadership training at all levels necessary for police departments to select, educate and train officers to a competency level necessary to practice community policing. The chiefs, explicitly in some cases and implicitly in others, suggested that their experiences told them that this problem was further exacerbated by departments not availing themselves to what training was made available by POST and other institutions. They suggested that the financial resources necessary to fund this training always lacked. In a lethargic economy like the one we continue to navigate presently, the funding simply is unavailable.

A significant finding relating to how conversations and relationships influenced organizational design, not addressed in prior research, revealed that the chiefs struggled to reconcile how the qualities that best enabled a police department to successfully affect

change related to the qualities leaders employed to fulfill that change. The findings that revealed they generally did not use the same language and narrative in describing leadership in their departments as they did when describing ideal qualities needed for their departments to successfully affect change suggested an obstacle that could be explained by the extent to which leadership understood and utilized the community policing model in light of the historical hierarchical model of police leadership. In particular, the traditional rank, file and organizational structure were not seriously questioned by the chiefs. There was confusion as to what the relationship between behavior, leadership and community policing was all about. It was clear the chiefs wanted their citizens to feel the crime situation had improved but that was the extent of it.

Implications and Recommendations

This section presents the implications for actions and recommendations for further research, and has been divided into four sub-sections: implications for police chiefs and police departments; implications for leadership education; recommendations for further research; and concluding remarks.

Implications for Police Chiefs and Police Departments

The transition from the traditional law enforcement crime fighting arrest and control model to a community policing service one has been difficult. The best of both models must somehow be incorporated into the vision of 21st century policing. Neither model alone could possibly address the crime problem. However, the collaborative problem-solving success stories told by the five California police chiefs are too compelling to ignore. With challenging economic times threatening the resources needed

to enable the police and the community to solve problems together, now is the moment to develop law enforcement strategies aimed at policing the community as effectively as possible.

Community learning environments where the police and the community can go to understand the characteristics of complex adaptive entities are key. There were California police chiefs who understood well the importance of open interaction between police departments and the community they serve. There were attractors, however, preventing both from positively engaging each other. When challenged by persistent crime, the more familiar yet hierarchical and autocratic crime-fighting model usually triumphed. More prisons were built to accommodate the increased number of convicts, thereby increasing the likelihood such a regression continues. Paradoxically, chiefs expressed a desire for community policing but retreated from this model immediately when challenged. They continued to define leadership as autocratic while at the same time acknowledged the importance of openness and two-way communication. Traditional police hierarchical organizational structures remain the same impenetrable obstacles to empowerment, accountability and growth now as they always were.

Community leaders and local elected government officials who support law enforcement officials look toward increasingly creative and innovative ways to engage the community for purposes of reducing crime. Although state agencies such as POST do not have the authority to mandate the creation of police organization learning environments, their efforts should be focused on conducting research into creative ways of doing so and then sharing this information with local police administrators who are

then empowered to initiate positive change. The following are more specific recommendations outlining how to better police the community.

Findings from this study suggested that the creation of an educational roadmap for police leaders to follow that clearly identifies effective theories and research detailing the relationship between collaborative leadership, organizational structure, communication and problem solving skills and community policing would enable police leaders to more effectively implement the community policing philosophy. Including supporting testimonies from additional chiefs may help guide the process in its embryonic stages. It may enable as well the police and community to evolve more naturally and allow for opportunities for creative problem solving to emerge.

The biggest challenge, however, will be finding a way to empower line officers to act. The traditional police hierarchy remains the biggest obstacle to accomplishing this task. All five chiefs expressed little desire to challenge the traditional, autocratic, rank authority. While they emphasized the importance of leaders at each level listening and working collaboratively, they tended not to embrace mutual governance models when pushed to. Dismantling the hierarchy and creating a learning environment in which innovation and creativity are encouraged would require immense effort but appears to be worth doing.

The same may be said about the level of community participation and accountability in community policing. The chiefs varied regarding how they perceived the level of community involvement and accountability. One chief trained willing community members in the operation of speed tracking devices (radar guns) and engaged those

members in the active monitoring of traffic speed in targeted neighborhoods. They were then invited to attend strategic traffic enforcement meetings with the police. Clearly community members must be actively involved in problem solving for community policing to succeed. Traditionally, civilians assumed the role of advisory board members; these roles brought about little discernable change. A community achieved far better results when civilians were engaged actively as they were in monitoring traffic speed in targeted neighborhoods. With regard to crime prevention, for example, involving the community in its three phases, advisory, strategic and tactical, tended to bring about better results as well. In the end, under the community policing model, the community had an obligation to share both the department's triumphs and defeats.

Many more benefits may be reaped if the emphasis in police training from control and command shifted to trust and collaboration, and from officer safety to relationship building. This by no means suggests the deletion of officer safety and control. It simply means that the overall tone of the training at entry level would incorporate heavily relationship building. The reapportionment of hours would reap positive results including officers who were more well versed in and, committed to engaging their respective communities as effectively as possible, thereby increasing the likelihood that community policing could be implemented meaningfully and comprehensively.

Another suggestion involves creating opportunities for leaders and their organizations to understand the importance of incorporating community policing into their actual mission statements. The degree to which mission statements are valued is profound. If

community policing became a part of each vision of the mission statement, denying community-policing techniques (purposefully or not) would become less acceptable.

Taking this idea a step further, and based on a new concept that appeared to resonate amongst the chiefs, it is further recommended that values based policing be integrally incorporated into law enforcement training, organizational goals, as well as written mission statements, directives, and orders. The practice of the community and police department mutually developing law enforcement and safety related values of shared meaning appears to represent an evolution of the key principles of community policing.

Lastly, with respect to policing, leaders should educate their citizens as best they can about what was entailed with community policing. Although its benefits were obvious to some, the access, trust, openness, interconnectedness, accountability and mutual responsibility that were common factors to its effective implementation would need to be pointed out to others. One chief crystallized this concept when he spoke of working with the community to create more realistic expectations about crime prevention and enforcement. He believed that a more fluid two-way conduit between police and the public would create naturally more possibilities for collaborative work, thereby decreasing the number of crimes committed.

Implications for Leadership Education

Findings from this study also have implications for the education of leaders beyond police departments. There was found to be a dearth of studies in complexity and leadership as well as complexity and policing. This is not unexpected given the relative youth of the application of complexity science to the social sciences. Nevertheless

programs focusing on organization and leadership, as well as research and debate on the characteristics of complex adaptive entities and how they evolve, adapt, grow, thrive and die would benefit from further study. Directing and viewing this research and discussion through a non-linear, complex lens could better inform aspiring leaders regarding leadership's role in an organization's evolutionary process, more specifically, the influence of culture, communication, relationships and formal and informal structures within the organization.

Recommendations for Further Research

Findings from this study suggested that surveying rank and file would reveal how leaders have tried changing their respective department cultures. In particular, surveys with line level staff (beat officers, sergeants and lieutenants) would be helpful. Data from this study clearly suggested that the five chiefs understood that the successful implementation of community policing was in the hands of the beat officers, sergeants and lieutenants.

In addition to surveying rank and file, and just as important, great benefit would result from further research into police leaders' (from all ranks) understanding of the traditional law enforcement organizational structure as it relates to creative, adaptive, and innovative leadership. More specifically, how do police leaders understand creative, innovative, collaborative, and participatory leadership as it relates to the practice of community policing.

Further research into how narrative, conversation, and relationships influence the organizational design of police departments is also highly recommended. Results from

such research may identify methods by which to address incongruities between current police organizational structure and the future vision of the community-policing model.

Findings from this study identified also the need to research police department policy, vision and mission documents in order to better understand whether these documents reflected accurately the department's purported commitment to community policing.

This study has helped bring to light other phenomena that need further study. It remains unclear of the willingness and commitment the community and other civic agencies have in better understanding community policing and their roles in working collaboratively with the police department to achieve crime prevention efficacy. It is recommended that further study be conducted to better understand how the community and other civic agencies see their role in community policing. The results of these studies would inform officers and community leaders of what methods they needed to develop to provide the community with the greatest degree of protection and engagement possible.

Concluding Remarks

This research was a culmination of my lifetime interest in leadership. The topic was a part of my work and play for decades. At 17, while experiencing the joy of new and old friendships alike, I understood the importance of connecting with other people viscerally and emotionally. Because I connected with people, I became exposed to both my own strengths and weaknesses; understanding and accepting these strengths and weaknesses would help me develop further my strengths and overcome my weaknesses. I found this helped me achieve mutual goals in concert with one another.

Over time, and often accompanied by much pain, I learned how emphasis on my own ego could sabotage my relations with others as well as the goals I had set for myself. Surely, I was not alone. I watched others, all bright and with great skills to offer, suffer from the same paralysis. Employees at the places where I worked became hamstrung by inflexible organizations run by egoists as well. My interest in this topic, rarely off my mind, led me to inquire how best I could tackle the issue. That is why I enrolled in this doctoral program. Though it triggered many more questions, ultimately through this study I was able to address some of my key concerns about what constituted leadership and effective community policing. I was surprised to find that the chiefs I interviewed were unsure of whether leadership at the street level (officers, sergeants, and lieutenants) was effectively practicing community policing. More specifically they weren't certain whether the community-policing model was being accepted by the rank and file. The chiefs were exasperated by what they perceived as the newer generation of officers being far too preoccupied with power and authority represented by the gun, star, and uniform, rather than the purveyors of values based problem solving and social justice.

I concluded that the selection, and training of police officers continues to be focused on crime fighting rather than problem solving, although problem solving is a key component in the practice of community policing. This appears to be true as the organizational structure, and leadership, especially at the mid level continues to reflect traditional law enforcement values. In closing, I hope that my research contributes to the study of community policing and leadership, and therefore improves the quality of lives not only of the brave officers who wish to serve their communities but also the residents

themselves.

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APPENDIX A: Introduction Letter

Date:

Dear ,

I am a doctoral student writing to ask you to participate in a research project that I will conduct this summer and fall. The research will be in fulfillment of the requirements for completion of a doctoral program in organization and leadership at the School of Education at the University of San Francisco.

Through this project, I am interested in exploring the perceptions of police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing.

Given my focus, I am requesting your help in three ways: 1) permission to obtain copies of materials you use in your work and that you believe to be relevant to community policing; 2) permission to interview you; and 3) completion of a short participant background questionnaire.

There will be two interviews. The first interview will be in person and last approximately two hours. The second interview will last approximately forty-five minutes and will be in person or by telephone. I will ask you follow up and clarification questions that may arise as a result of my review of the first interview as well as my review of the documentation you provided that you believe relevant to community policing. The interviews will occur at a mutually convenient time and place. I would like to tape the interviews. I am hoping that at the first interview, you will be able to provide me with the completed participant background questionnaire, the signed letter of consent,

and copies of materials you use in your work that you believe are relevant to community policing. You may withdraw from the project at any time, should that prove necessary.

Part of my course requirement includes writing about and discussing with my adviser and committee members what I learn about your perceptions. In doing so, I will protect your identity and that of your institution by using pseudonyms rather than real names. While I will quote directly from interviews, documents, and observations, I will be attentive to protecting confidentiality.

I appreciate very much your generosity in facilitating my learning more about your perceptions about the relationship between leadership and community policing. If there are ways I can give something back to you for the help you provide me, I hope you will let me know. In addition, I am willing to share the findings from my study with you, if that is desirable.

If you have questions about the project, please feel free to ask them. My work number is (415) 422-2396 and my cell number is (415) 559-6422. You may also email my adviser, Dr. Deborah Bloch, Ph.D., at bloch@usfca.edu.

Sincerely,

Daniel L. Lawson

APPENDIX B: Informed Consent Letter

I, Chief _____, have discussed with Dan Lawson his doctoral research project, focused on perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing, and I agree to participate in it. I understand that Dan will obtain police department documents that I believe are relevant to community policing, used at the _____Police Department. I also agree to participate in interviews and complete a participant background questionnaire. I understand that all efforts will be made to protect my identity and confidence. If necessary, I may withdraw from the project at any time.

_____ (signature)

_____ (date)

APPENDIX C: Chief of Police Participant Background Questionnaire

Name:

_____

Age:

_____

Ethnicity:

_____

Sex:

_____

Years in Police Work:

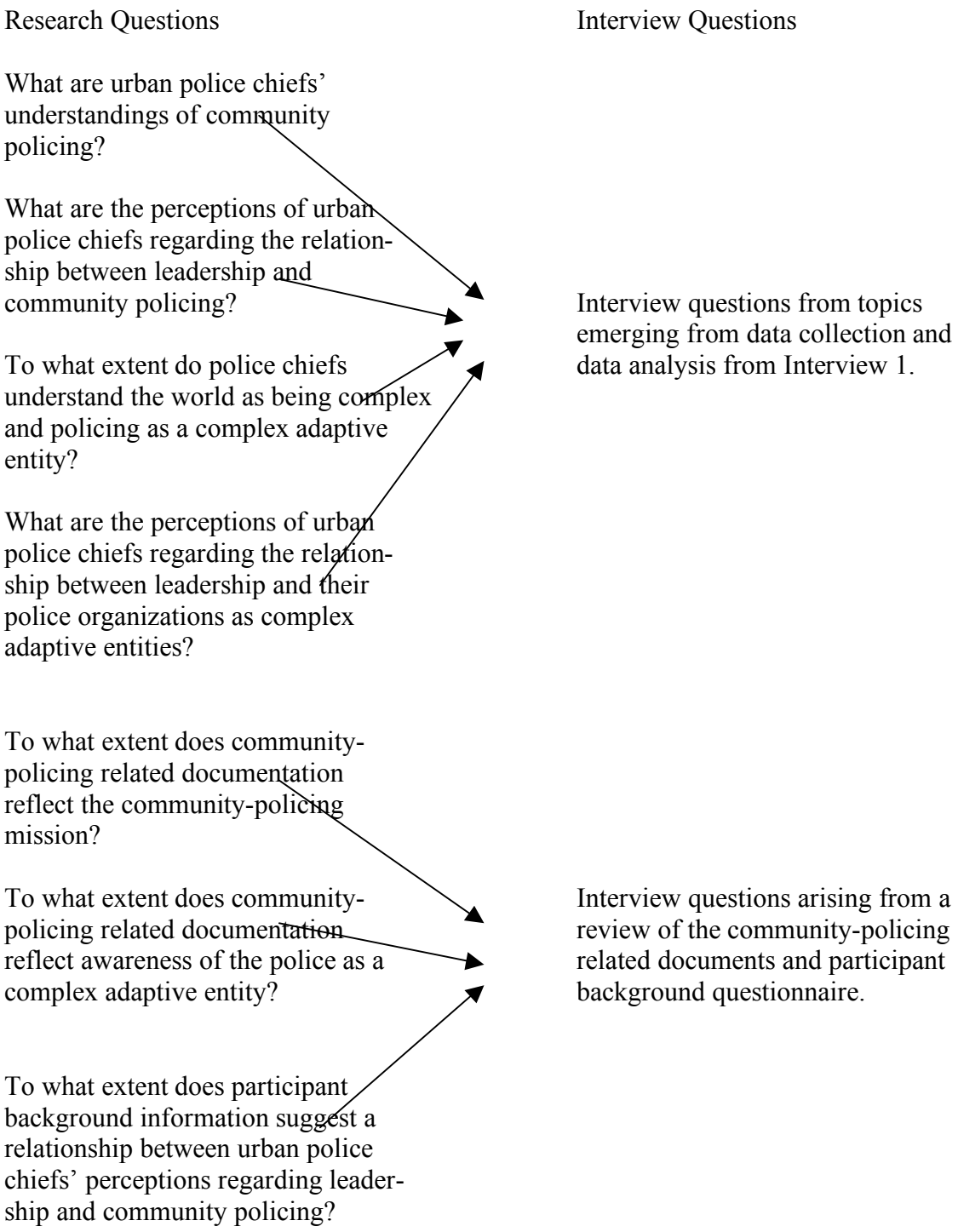
_____

Police Agencies	Years Served at Each Police Agency
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

APPENDIX D: Interview 1 Guide

Research Questions	Interview Questions
What are urban police chiefs' understandings of community policing?	How would you describe community policing? Can you describe how your agency practices community policing?
To what extent do police chiefs understand the world as being complex and policing as a complex adaptive entity?	Can you describe your experience dealing with change in your police department? How would you describe the ideal qualities needed by a police department to successfully affect change? How would you describe the ideal way in which your police department would interact with the community to address a confusing and complicated problem? Please describe what you would change about your police department if you could?
What are the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and their organizations as complex adaptive entities?	How would you describe leadership in your department? Describe leadership development in your police department.
What are the perceptions of urban police chiefs regarding the relationship between leadership and community policing?	

APPENDIX E: Interview 2 Guide



APPENDIX F: IRBPHS Approval

June 11, 2009

Dear Mr. Lawson:

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco (USF) has reviewed your request for human subjects approval regarding your study.

Your application has been approved by the committee (IRBPHS #09-047). Please note the following:

Your assigned reviewers suggests that you add the IRB phone number and email to your consent form.

1. Approval expires twelve (12) months from the dated noted above. At that time, if you are still in collecting data from human subjects, you must file a renewal application.

2. Any modifications to the research protocol or changes in instrumentation (including wording of items) must be communicated to the IRBPHS. Re-submission of an application may be required at that time.

3. Any adverse reactions or complications on the part of participants must be reported (in writing) to the IRBPHS within ten (10) working days.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRBPHS at (415) 422-6091.

On behalf of the IRBPHS committee, I wish you much success in your research.

Sincerely,

Terence Patterson, Ed.D, ABPP

Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

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IRBPHS INITIAL APPLICATION

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Project Title: Perceptions of Police Chiefs Regarding the Relationship between Leadership & Community Policing.

1. Background and Rationale See attached for 1 – 11.
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Signature of Applicant Date

Signature of Advisor Date

IRBPHS INITIAL APPLICATION

1. Background and Rationale:

Research from the 1950s through the 1970s shows crime fighting has not been successful in solving society's crime problems (Moore, 1992). Since a new community policing model, which represented a positive paradigm shift from crime fighting to problem solving, was introduced during the 1970s through the 1990s, research suggests police leaders may not have the tools to accomplish the new community policing mission (Adams, Rohe, & Arcury, 2002). The demands of community policing suggest a need for leadership that could enable collaboration and connection between the community and police in order to successfully problem solve. But because most chiefs of police ascended the ranks over a decades-long developmental process, hierarchical and autocratic leadership has been inculcated into their professional beings (Moore, 1992).

As a result, police leaders may be preaching leadership conducive to community policing but may be practicing and modeling leadership conducive to the old crime fighting model. Police struggle to make sense of these incongruities (Maguire & Katz, 2002). The problem is the extent to which police leadership understands and utilizes the community policing model in light of the historical hierarchical model of police leadership. This phenomenon suggests a lack of internal and external connectedness and

presented significant challenges to the ability of the police to achieve the community policing mission. Crimes go unsolved, crime prevention efforts get stymied and the community feels disconnected from its police department. As a result, the members of the community perceive the status of their safety and well-being negatively.

This study explores the perceptions of urban police chiefs about the relationship between leadership and community policing. It investigates also the extent to which police chiefs understand their organizations as complex adaptive entities and their understanding of the organizational characteristics of interdependence and adaptation as they relate to the societal environment and the police and community being one entity. Exploring the extent to which these police chiefs understand how collaborative leadership relates to the interdependent elements of community and policing may provide some light on the problem of implementing community policing.

2. Description of Sample:

a. I will choose, by means of convenience sampling, five California police chiefs. Specifically, I will identify police chiefs who are leaders in varied-sized urban police departments. I believe selecting chiefs from different-sized departments that reflect different urban experiences and social and environmental settings, and who trust me with the collection of their thoughts and perceptions, will provide a richer description of police cultural and organizational factors surrounding community policing and leadership. Both sexes as well as multiple ethnicities will be represented. The ages of the 5 chiefs will range from the 40s through the 60s.

b. First and foremost, I have chosen police chiefs as participants because of the significant impact a chief has on creating the vision necessary for police departments to accomplish goals and objectives stated in the police mission. I have selected police chiefs rather than other executive law enforcement leaders for a number of reasons. In contrast to a sheriff's department, where the top leadership executive is elected and may or may not have spent decades coming up through the ranks, police chiefs are appointed by the top executive or top legislative board of a municipality and, in most cases, have spent their entire careers in the same police department or one very similar in culture (Halsted, Bromley, & Cochran, 2000). My reason for choosing urban police chiefs is also influenced by what I believe to be similar urban police leadership experiences that have informed my understanding and perceptions of community policing and leadership (Wuestewald, Steinheider, & Bayerl, 2006).

c. I have become familiar and worked with, on different levels, the police chiefs in the state of California whom I will be interviewing. Some I have worked with as patrol officers, some I have taught and some I have served with on law enforcement advisory boards.

d. – f. N/A

3. Recruitment Procedure:

a. & b. I will contact in person, by telephone or e-mail, five police chiefs I have maintained some relationship with during and subsequent to my career in municipality police work. If I am unsuccessful in the first attempt, I will make a second attempt to acquire their agreement to participate. After getting their consent to participate, I will

send a letter outlining the basic construct and purpose of this study (Appendix A). In the letter, I will request their help in three ways. First, I will seek permission to obtain copies of documents from chiefs' police departments that they use in their work and that they believe to be relevant to community policing. Second, I will seek permission to interview the chiefs (Appendix B). Third, I will seek completion of a short participant background questionnaire (Appendix C). I will ask that, at the first interview, the chiefs provide me with copies of documentation from their police departments that they use in their work and that they believe are relevant to community policing, the signed letter of consent (Appendix B) and the completed participant background questionnaire (Appendix C).

c. & d. N/A

4. Subject Consent Letter:

a. N/A

b. Informed Consent Letter (Appendix B).

c. – g. N/A

5. Procedures:

a. I will conduct two interviews with the five chiefs. The first interview will be in person and last approximately two hours. The second interview will be in person or by telephone, will last approximately forty-five minutes and will be used to clarify any questions that may arise as a result of my review of the first interview as well as a result of my review of the documentation provided by the chiefs. The time between the two interviews will vary depending upon the extent of the documents submitted by each of the chiefs and the amount of data retrieved from the first interview. I will make every

effort to conduct the second interview as soon after the first as possible. I will ask standardized open-ended questions (Patton, 2002) that will best probe the perceptions of urban police chiefs with regard to the relationship between leadership and community policing. The research questions for this study will be used as a foundation for prepared questions that will be asked of each participant (Appendixes D & E). I will ask leadership and community policing-related questions during the first interview as well as questions that will elicit elaborative responses about characteristics common to complex adaptive entities as explored in this study (Appendix D). Some interview questions will also arise from a review of the organizational documents and interviews as a result of topics emerging from data collection and data analysis (Appendix E). These questions will be asked in the second interview. Both interviews will involve questions designed to stimulate participants to respond at three levels: personal, their organization as it is, and their organization as in the ideal.

b. Many of the interview questions that the participants will hear and respond to during the course of their participation are listed in Appendix D. Any questions that are asked during the second interview will reflect data analysis of written documents provided by the participants and interview transcripts from the first interview (Appendix E).

c. – d. N/A

6. Potential Risks to Subjects:

I expect subjects to experience minimal discomfort from the questions asked. The participants may experience some discomfort if they believe there to be right and wrong

answers to the questions. There is also the potential, although minimal, that there will be a loss of confidentiality. Chiefs of police are usually high-profile local government officials who are always under public scrutiny. Their responses to the questions, if they became public, could result in public embarrassment.

7. Minimization of Potential Risk:

To minimize the risk of participant discomfort regarding the interview process, I will be clear on the purpose of the study and explain that there are no right and wrong responses, only the purpose of getting their perceptions of existing conditions. I will address their concerns about the risk of loss of confidentiality by explaining to them that I will assign them code names and will not publish any information that will link them to this study.

8. Potential Benefits to Subjects:

There may be a benefit to the participants, if as a result of the interview process, they come to better understand their leadership as it relates to community policing.

9. Costs to Subjects:

There will be no monetary costs to the participants. The participants will be asked for two to three hours of their time. The participants will decide whether that time will be used during their work hours or during their non-work hours.

10. Reimbursements/Compensation to Subjects:

There will be no reimbursements or compensation given to the subjects as a result of this study.

11. Confidentiality of Records:

Interview data collected will not be anonymous in my notes nor will it be in the completed participant background questionnaire found in Appendix C. The researcher will have knowledge of the participant's names, addresses, and phone numbers. However, none of this information will be mentioned in this study. All written data, including the participants' names, addresses, and phone numbers, will be stored in a locked cabinet and any electronic data containing this information will be protected by a password.