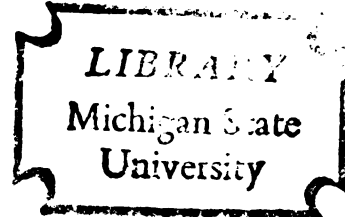


ANALYSIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE
FEASIBILITY OF THE APPOINTMENT OF
COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICERS

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
WILLIAM PETER KELLY
1969

THESIS



ANALYSIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE FEASIBILITY
OF THE APPOINTMENT OF
COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICERS

By

William Peter Kelly

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

School of Police Administration and Public Safety

1969

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ABSTRACT

ANALYSIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE FEASIBILITY OF THE APPOINTMENT OF COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICERS

by William Peter Kelly

This study deals with some problems faced by many of the larger police departments in this country. A rising crime rate has focused the attention of academicians and citizens on this public service. Some of these departments have had difficulty in recruiting the quality and quantity of manpower when positions are available. There is a need to recruit minority group members into police work for a variety of reasons.

The position of Community Service Officer has been suggested to alleviate some of these problems by creating a manpower source from which minority group persons may be recruited. The institution of this program may also permit the agency to perform more effectively in the high crime rate areas by relieving policemen from non-criminal type activities, and having the CSO perform these duties. This study was conducted to discover whether this position can accomplish these objectives.

The following three police departments which have active programs were studied: Chicago, Illinois; Flint, Michigan; and Detroit, Michigan. Each had a different approach to this position which allowed a comparison among them to discover what effect this difference had on the service performed. In the field studies in these cities, interviews were conducted with persons involved in the program and the persons who were to be effected. The material gathered as a result of these interviews is presented in an attempt to describe the success or failure of CSOs and the acceptability of this new technique by the community. It is believed that a larger number of interviews would result in a more precise evaluation of these programs.

Any police department which is interested in instituting a CSO Program would have to decide the main purpose of it; either as a recruiting source or an instrument of more effective service. From the material gathered and the author's experience it is not believed that the CSO can be utilized for both of these purposes.

The program in the three departments and the outline of the position from the introduction were compared and the differences between the ideal and the actual were noted. These differences resulted partially from the activities of the recruiting agencies, anti-poverty organizations.

More research in this area would be in the best interest of police agencies and the clientele they serve.

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G58369
10/22/69

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to the following persons and organizations:

To my wife, Annemarie, for her encouragement and patience which made this study easier,

To Professor Victor Strecher and Dr. John McNamara of the Police Administration faculty who were always available to give moral support and suggestions which are reflected in this effort.

To the Police Officers in Chicago, Flint, and Detroit who did so much and treated the author with such kindness and willing cooperation when he visited their cities,

Finally, a special thanks to the New York City Police Department and the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance which provided the financial support that made it possible to accept this fellowship and take advantage of the opportunity to continue my education at Michigan State University.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There has been an increase in the volume of crime as reported to the police especially in the urban areas of our country.¹ This increase and the recent turmoil in our cities have prompted the executive branch of government to appoint commissions to discover the underlying causes and suggest remedies.² This study concerns one of the suggested remedies, the inauguration of the Community Service Officer, a position instituted for the express purpose of involving ghetto residents in police work. The need for change in police departments has become more apparent in the last few years. Other disciplines have become interested in the criminal justice system. There has been a reaction in police circles to all this attention and some of it has been rather negative. The police who once operated without publicity in the ghetto have found new pressures from within

¹In its 1967 annual release of Crime in the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation said between the years 1960 and 1967 crime was up 89% while population increase was 10%. Violent crime rose 73% and crimes against property 91% for the same period.

²The Riot and Crime Commissions.

and without this community.³ One of the major problems facing the police is to recruit personnel, particularly members of the ghetto minorities.

The increase in crime has focused the attention of many persons on police service and those who perform this service. Social scientists have centered their knowledge and methods on the policeman and his problems, for the professed reason of understanding him and to advise his department of the improvements that can be made.⁴ The police have been discovered as a source of interesting material which is highly marketable as reading matter. These academicians have found something known for years by newspapermen—that many people are interested in the police. Some of these scientists make no suggestions on methods to improve relationships but level charges of many varieties against the present system. It is not a very difficult task to locate areas which are deserving of critical analysis but to offer constructive alternatives is a more demanding assignment.

³Lee Rainwater, "The Revolt of the Dirty Workers," Transaction, Vol. 5, No. 1, November, 1967, p. 2.

⁴J. Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); David J. Bordua (ed.), The Police: Six Sociological Essays (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967); Jerome Skolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966).

As a result of all this criticism many of those within police work have taken a defensive attitude.⁵ Rather than weighing the merits of the arguments advanced they lash out at the critics and their statements. Others avoid contacts with those who are not part of the occupation to insure that they will not be victims of these barbed statements. There are those who are convinced by this dialogue that they entered the wrong field of endeavor and are just marking time until they can retire. There is even a group who accept all the criticism without any evaluation on their part. This latter group usually contains many members who are assigned to administrative positions and can no longer project themselves into the situation that occurs on the street. Partially this is due to a long absence from the patrol activity and a resultant lack of knowledge about present practices and the radical changes in attitude and actions of portions of society.

Because of the growing political power of the minority groups, particularly Negroes, demands have been made that the police be more concerned with their perceived needs. Sometimes these minority groups complain about the lack of police service in the ghetto and on other occasions (or perhaps from other

⁵R. E. Anderson, "Are Our Large City Police Departments Being 'Neutralized'?", Police Magazine, Vol. 12, No. 6, July-August 1968.

factions in the minority groups) there are complaints of the "occupying army"⁶ impression that they receive of the police. These attitudes depend upon whether they happen to feel more like victims of the criminal element or police brutality. If there is a robber active in the community, especially one committing street muggings, then a 'hue and cry' goes up for more police protection. As soon as some 'community leader' receives a summons for a traffic infraction or other minor violation then the talk turns to the 'over policed' ghetto. Disgruntled and discouraged, these minority groups seem to harbor a smoldering resentment against, and a disinclination to cooperate with, the police. This explosive attitude may stem from the fact that these citizens rarely have contact with police except when they or their neighbors are embroiled in trouble or tragedy requiring affirmative police action. Due to emotional or personal involvement with the particular incident, to these persons the conduct of the police may appear needlessly aggressive, impersonal, or inconsiderate. Sensitivity of certain members of minority groups may sometimes deprive them of objectivity in evaluating police procedures-especially in time of emergency.⁷ However, common

⁶James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name (New York: Dial Press, 1962), pp. 65-67.

⁷Final Report by the Citizens' Committee to Study Police-Community Relations in the City of Chicago, Police and Public A Critique and A Program (May 22, 1967), p. 19.

sense dictates that there have been frequent occasions when the police were guilty of disrespectful, cavalier, unfair or unnecessarily rough conduct toward minority groups. People in general dislike controls upon their actions but this is even more pronounced in a country like the United States where every citizen deems it his right to question and criticize a policeman when the officer has caught him in some minor infraction. In this climate the officer must have great self-control but he must also have some psychological and sociological training if he is going to handle the myriad of persons and cases with which he is expected to deal.

Administrators in police work are under pressure from a variety of forces. The aforementioned social scientist may create a pressure which can be relatively mild, depending upon the political orientation of the city and its administration. In some cities which have progressive administrations, the writings of political and social scientists might have a major influence. In other cities where machine politics are still important, these works may be unknown or in any event not read by those who control the power structure.

The viewpoint of the minority and majority groups exerts a much stronger influence on the policies of the police commander whether civilian commissioner or chief. Pressure is also exerted rather strongly by the appointing authority--usually a mayor--and also from the rank and file

of the department. There are many possible combinations of these groups and the administrator can never be sure which coalition he may face across his desk when he enunciates policy. The members of the fourth estate play a crucial role since they are able to muster community support or opposition to the programs of the police executive.

The administrator's position with these forces is crucial to the possibilities that are open to him. If the commissioner has the full support of the appointing authority, he will be able to deal with the other forces from a position of strength. If he has strong support from a majority of the population he may even deal with the executive from a relatively powerful position. When the administrator is in a strong position then the kinds of changes he institutes can be more radical than if he has considerable opposition. The administrator can cultivate the support of all or any segment of the population that he feels it is important to have in his corner, but this does not necessarily mean he will gain it.

The support that the chief has in his department is important because policies in police departments must change. Our society is in a flux and if police work is to be acceptable to the clientele then it will have to change to suit the expectations and situations with which it is confronted. It must assume new relationships in a situation where crime

is rising and the citizenry is more interested than ever in what the police are going to do. Minority groups with more political power are severely critical of the old ways and are interested in making their opinion count as far as how the crime problem is to be dealt with. The social scientists are sometimes backed by a small but powerful reform element who are interested in a change in police methods and philosophy. The mayor is interested, since his chances for re-election or for his party to maintain power, are at least partially dependent upon the manner in which the police department is going to respond to these pressures. In some departments the administrator will do nothing for fear of criticism until a crisis forces the situation. Often the crisis will embarrass the department and lower the esteem in which the department is held by the community. A police agency is like any bureaucracy and contains more factors for inertia than for initiative or change. The members of this bureaucracy will resist change overtly or covertly depending upon their relative power and the threat perceived to their position. The administrator requires support and must be a person of high principles and strong character if he is to create a climate for change.

One of the most persistent problems in police work is the difficulty of recruiting personnel of a quantity and quality that this occupation requires. Some of the reasons for a lack of potential recruits are: (1) age requirements, (2) educational and physical requirements, (3) early retirement, (4) hours and conditions, (5) danger involved, (6) low salary in most areas, (7) relative prestige of the position.

One of the most troublesome areas of the recruiting dilemma is the requirement, in most states, that you cannot be a policeman until you have reached your twenty-first birthday. Thus those who fit the recruiting standard in most urban areas and have a high school diploma, must wait three to four years from graduation until they reach the mandatory age. Many of the more progressive police agencies have instituted the position of police cadet to attract the eighteen year old high school graduate.⁸ They give him clerical or non-enforcement duties to perform until his twenty-first birthday at which time he is given revolver training and sworn into the department. In the fall of 1967, the late Senator Robert Kennedy, recognizing this police problem proposed a program in which draft-eligible young men

⁸John L. Sullivan, Introduction to Police Science (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 26.

could elect service in municipal government and particularly in police service for five years instead of two years in the armed services in order to fulfill their military obligation.⁹

Quality of police personnel in regards to education is another major difficulty facing the police occupation.

Standards in some departments have risen so that in twenty agencies, most of which are in California, they are recruiting men with one to four years of college education.¹⁰ The requirement by most departments of a high school diploma as a minimum for a young man to qualify, may be an eliminator for many 'would be' applicants especially in the ghetto areas.¹¹ However, some experts recommend even more stringent educational standards in order to lift police work to the level of a profession.¹² Most departments require certain qualifications such as height, weight, vision and health history.

Another factor in recruiting is the large number of men

⁹News item in the New York Times, November 26, 1967.

¹⁰The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 109.

¹¹Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1968), p. 316.

¹²The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, loc. cit.

who joined police work after the Second World War and who have become eligible to retire within the last three years. This is due to the fact that many of the larger urban departments have twenty year retirement plans and there is a continuous loss of experienced personnel.

As the police perform a twenty-four hour, seven day a week service, their working hours are usually rotated. The requirement to work holidays, weekends and nights at regular pay can be a deterrent to applicants. They are, in time of emergencies, local or national, often called to work continuous hours and on other occasions, overtime without monetary compensation.

The element of danger, especially in high crime areas creates difficulty in recruiting as police injuries and deaths in the line of duty are widely publicized.¹³

In most communities the police service presently does not offer competitive salaries. If the police service is to be an attractive career opportunity, it must offer compensation that is competitive with other occupations or professions that seek men of education or ability.¹⁴ As stated by United

¹³Numbers of deaths and injuries of police appear in the Summary of the Uniform Crime Reports and these statistics are quoted in newspaper stories. Local police deaths and injuries are prominent news in the area papers.

¹⁴The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report-Police (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967).

States Senator Abraham Ribicoff:

We must make sure that we attract and keep the best men for the job. Simply stated, this means a decent wage for our policemen, and I think it is fair to say that our police need and deserve substantial pay increases.¹⁵

Often the police are not held in esteem but in contempt by part of the community. In surveys taken on people's opinion of different occupations, policemen were ranked with farmers and machinists.¹⁶

There is a definite need for recruitment of those within the ghetto area to bridge the gap between the community and the police. This paper concerns the Crime Commission's suggestion to alleviate the personnel problems of urban police departments--the institution of the Community Service Officer (CSO). The Commission outlined the qualifications for the CSO position as follows:

1. Be between seventeen and twenty-one years of age.
2. Possess aptitude, integrity and stability to perform police work.
3. Be accepted for the position though possessing a minor police record.

It also outlined duties and conditions of employment as follows:

¹⁵Address before the Northeast States Convention of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Hartford, Conn. September 17, 1966, p. 9.

¹⁶R. W. Hodge, P. M. Siegel, and P. H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States, 1925-63," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70, No. 3 (1964), p. 291.

1. He would be an apprentice policeman.
2. He would work under close supervision and in close cooperation with the police officer.
3. He would not be given full law enforcement powers or allowed to carry arms.
4. He would be a uniformed member of the police performing certain services and investigative functions on the street.
5. He would maintain close relations with juveniles in the neighborhood.
6. He might work in a store front or community service center.
7. He would perform service functions that inner city residents need intensely and which the police have so little time to perform.
8. Under the sponsorship and expense of the department, he would continue studies to qualify for a police position.

There was a lack of data regarding the effectiveness of programs instituted to fulfill the needs described above.

Cities in cooperation with Federal agencies have initiated projects and the present study is an attempt to discover the effectiveness of these programs.

Some of the questions to be answered by this study are:

1. Can a department solve some of its recruiting problems by instituting the position of CSO?
2. Can Community Relations with dissident groups be improved?
3. Can the law enforcement image be improved?
4. Can law enforcement efficiency be increased by instituting the position?
5. Will mutual understanding be improved between the police and the ghetto resident?

METHODOLOGY

Information for this study was obtained by a review of government documents, literature in the police field,

the personnel field and other writings. Visits were made to each of the cities studied and personal interviews conducted with police administrators, persons who recruit for the position, CSOs and ex-CSOs, people living in the ghetto community and Black militants. On these visits the author observed the CSOs in training or performing their service when this was possible. A review was conducted of the material that the cities had printed about their program.

Sources of information

This study is based primarily on library research of available documents and a review of the literature on the factual data and opinions expressed during the interviews described above, on the personal observations of the author and on the author's own experience and knowledge applied to interpret the data presented. The author's police experience includes assignment in Harlem for three years on foot patrol and three years of radio motor patrol. Three years were spent in a supervisory capacity engaged in Police-Community Relations in another Harlem precinct. Several months were spent with the Youth Division in another ghetto area and one year teaching recruits at the New York City Police Academy.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Rising crime rate

In their supplementary report for the period from January to June, 1968 the Federal Bureau of Investigation's figures show an increase in crime of 21 percent nationwide, in the seven categories reported.¹⁷ Though the author is sure that some part of this increase was caused by the civil disorders that occurred in the spring of that year, immediately after the assassination of Reverend Martin Luther King, it leaves a great deal to be explained. The economic and social costs of crime are cited frequently to support the contention that drastic action is necessary. Estimates of economic costs run as high as \$25 billion a year, but the elusiveness of the factors contributing to these costs makes such estimates of questionable usefulness. Although the size of the crime bill is uncertain the financial burden obviously is high. The social and psychological consequences of crime are further justification for concern; the fear of potential and actual victims, the effects of suspicion and hostility on relationships between citizens, the weakening of some individual's faith in moral values and the economic

¹⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, Supplement to the Uniform Crime Reports for the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. i.

insecurity created for families of victims and imprisoned offenders.¹⁸ The Federal Bureau of Investigation states that more than 3.8 million index crimes in 1967, were reported to or by local authorities--a 16 percent national increase over 1966.¹⁹ This information is well reported in the local press and mass media which means that the citizens are aware of these facts which increases their concern. Though the violent crimes make up only 13 percent of the total crime, these crimes are the type that most citizens fear. The mental picture of being yoked or mugged is so unsettling as to cause a natural increase in apprehension. If this concern could be transmitted into a resolution to act some real progress could be made by the police. As Elmer Johnson noted:

The average citizen is likely to regard delinquency and crime as "their" problem, rather than "our" problem. When emotionally aroused over a community crisis, he cries out that "somebody" ought to do something about it.²⁰

In a case in New York a few years ago, over twenty persons knew a crime was being committed and not one of them bothered

¹⁸The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op.cit., p. 52.

¹⁹Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports in the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 1.

²⁰Elmer Hubert Johnson, Crime, Correction and Society (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1967), p. 708.

to call the police. When questioned about it they stated, "I didn't want to be involved."²¹ It is difficult for the police when such incidents become common. Perhaps the depersonalization that occurs in the urban areas causes this attitude but it is in these areas that crime is rising fastest. In the preface of the Crime Reports, J. Edgar Hoover writes:

The passage of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 is the result of a national demand for public order. This far reaching Act, signed into law by the President, promises substantial financial and functional support to local and state law enforcement agencies.²²

One of the categories of assistance in this Crime Bill is for aid to communities which employ Community Service Officers. Apparently a majority of the Congress is convinced that this position has enough merit to warrant federal support.

Burglary is another crime which though not violent, has the elements which cause apprehension in the public mind. When a person returns home and discovers that a thief has been in his home, it has a dramatic effect upon him. The dwelling is one place where a person feels secure and

²¹Karl Detzer, "Crime-stop stops Crime", Reader's Digest, Vol. 94, No. 496, (November, 1966), 96-102.

²²Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports in the United States, loc. cit.

when it is illegally entered, the victim may be psychologically terrorized. Uniform Crime Reports state daytime burglaries of residences are up 187 percent between 1960 and 1967.²³ Perhaps there has been a terrific upsurge in the amount of crime but some factors must be taken into consideration.

As Elmer H. Johnson notes:

The major crime against persons was aggravated assault and other assaults. Larceny and theft were the major property crimes. The importance of motor vehicles in urban life as necessities and as status symbols is indicated by the third ranking of automobile theft among urban offenses.²⁴

A small amount of this increase may be the result of a growing bureaucratic system as pointed out by Skolnick and Woodworth.²⁵ A larger portion of the increase can be attributed to more efficient police reporting and a tightening of control procedures. In one year in New York City a change in the reporting procedure resulted in an increase of approximately 70 percent in all crime categories.²⁶ More important than either of these reasons is the change in the

²³Ibid.

²⁴Johnson, op. cit., 52-53.

²⁵Bordua (ed.), op. cit., p. 99.

²⁶The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 26.

relationship between the police and the ghetto resident. The minority group member expects more from the police than ever before and with this increase in expectations comes an increase in crimes reported by these people.²⁷ The Negro recently arrived from the south does not expect much in the way of police protection. But when he has been out of the south for a few years and comprehends his new political strength he finds he has demands he expects to see the system fulfill. He reports a crime because he expects the police to solve it.

Many of these crimes take a toll which cannot be counted in monetary terms. Many citizens don't attend evening social and religious activities due to a fear of pocketbook snatchers and muggers.²⁸ Also to be considered are the recreational facilities and parks of the urban areas which are unused due to the perception of the crime problem. These cannot be counted in terms of money lost but must be measured in the terms of the quality of life in our communities. Many people live in the city to enjoy the social and cultural activities offered and when they can't enjoy them they move to a place with a lower crime rate.

²⁷Final Report by the Citizens' Committee to Study Police-Community Relations in the City of Chicago, op. cit., p. 72.

²⁸The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 50.

This movement of the upper and middle class from the inner city complicated the problems of that area. The tax base of the cities is reduced at a time when they need more resources to deal with their problems. These people who leave are replaced by the economically underprivileged who place an added burden on the social resources of the municipal government.

The burden of crime falls particularly on those who live in the ghetto. The President's Commission on Crime found:

One of the most fully documented facts about crime is that the common serious crimes that people worry about most--murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault and burglary--happen most often in the slums of large cities.²⁹

and further on:

Nonwhites are victimized disproportionately by all index crimes except larceny \$50. and over.³⁰

Besides all the cultural and social problems facing those who live in the inner city, those least able to afford depredations on their person and property are most likely to be the victims. An explanation is evident for these conditions, the causes of crime are partially to be found in the environment of the ghetto or inner city. The disorganization

²⁹Ibid., p. 35.

³⁰Ibid., p. 39.

or life style of residents of this part of the city spawn criminals.³¹ This life style is partially a result of conditions in the ghetto. There are many aspects to this social problem as pointed out by the Commission. In advice to municipal government to alleviate this problem, the Commission recommends to cities the adoption of the position of Community Service Officer.

Police manpower needs

Police departments have not been successful in acquiring the type and number of men they need to perform their duties. Discussing this problem The Task Force on Police reported:

A survey conducted by the National League of Cities in 1966 disclosed that over 65% of the departments surveyed were understaffed: that these departments were 5,840 officers or 5% below authorized strength and were 11,864 or 10% below preferred strength.³²

From personal experience the author knows that the New York City Police Department has been undermanned since 1960. Since specialists i.e., detectives and their supervisors are taken from the patrol force there are no vacancies in these

³¹The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 60.

³²The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report-Police, op. cit., p. 134.

positions but the patrol force is depleted to a significant extent. This is the backbone of the department.³³ This practice directly affects the quality of police service. This decrease in patrol results in a situation in which the police cannot respond to calls for service as quickly as they would wish. They may perhaps not respond to some calls at all. The author has worked for nine years in the ghetto both as a patrolman and as a supervisor and has found that on a busy weekend, particularly in the summer, it was beyond the capabilities of both the communications equipment and the personnel on the street to answer all calls for service. This was a factor in the disorders of the last few years as discovered by the Riot Commission:

The problem of the adequacy of current police protection ranked with "police misconduct" as the most serious sore point in police-community relations..... When calls for help are registered, it is all too frequent that the police respond too slowly or not at all.³⁴

Since then the New York City Police Department which had seven frequencies up to the Spring of 1968 has added three more in the busiest divisions to make the facilities more capable of handling the volume of work.

We have outlined above two separate needs of municipal

³³Municipal Police Administration (Chicago, Ill., International City Managers Association, 1954), p. 255.

³⁴Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, op. cit., p. 308.

department in this part of our study: (1) to increase police manpower, (2) to decrease calls for service to the point where they can be handled by the patrol force. Another aspect is to increase police efficiency to a point where most of the citizens will feel satisfied by the service they receive.

The police have a need to recruit minority group members into the police service according to this statement by the Task Force on Police:

Police departments in all communities with a substantial minority population must vigorously recruit minority group officers. The very presence of a predominantly white police force in a Negro community can serve as a dangerous irritant.....³⁵

and further on in the same paragraph:

In neighborhoods filled with people suffering from a sense of social injustice and exclusion, many residents will reach the conclusion that the neighborhood is being policed not for the purpose of maintaining law and order but for the purpose of maintaining the status quo.³⁵

Though the police seldom have represented the population that they serve numerically, a serious attempt must be made to enlist more Negroes for police work. There are some problems presented which must be solved to accomplish this goal. There are three main reasons why large police depart-

³⁵The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report-Police, op. cit., p. 167.

ments cannot recruit Negroes.³⁶ First, written exams used by these departments to place men on Civil Service lists are often too difficult for the minority group member. This is due to the fact that the ghetto school usually is unequipped to deal with the problems caused by the environment in which it is located. This evolves into a circular problem where the pupil is not inspired by his parents or his neighborhood to succeed and the school cannot overcome this deficiency. The student is expected to fail and he does, though he may be pushed up and out of the school system, irrespective of the fact that he may be functionally illiterate. He cannot improve himself because of this deficiency and his children are not going to be inspired. Secondly, some of those who could succeed in passing the exam, are also highly sought after by industry and various government agencies and these young men prefer these jobs because there is no stigma. The Riot Commission noted this stigma when it said:

In a number of large cities, particularly the larger ones, police officials are not only willing but anxious to appoint Negro officers. There are obstacles other than discrimination.....Another obstacle is the bad image of police in the Negro community.³⁷

³⁶ Professor Victor Strecher, Lecture on "Police Administration" at Michigan State University, November 6, 1968.

³⁷ Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, op. cit., p. 316.

A Negro doesn't want to join an organization which is held in low esteem by the members of his race. Everyone is affected by what his peer group thinks. The Negro community holds the police in such contempt that young men who might otherwise become policemen are driven from it. This also has elements of a circular problem. One part of the Negro community calls for more Negro policemen and ascribes the fact that there are not more Negroes to discrimination. By repeating this charge of discrimination they lower the image of the police in their community and keep men who would be interested away from police service. Thirdly, it has become sort of a game and the attitude of some young men-'you didn't want us when we applied, now that you want us we will not apply!' These factors increase the problems for the police but they cannot throw up their hands in resignation but must endeavor to attract as many minority group members as possible. These are the problems faced by large city departments and perhaps the Community Service Officer concept would enable the police to recruit ghetto residents into police service.

Lack of research in this area

Extensive and thorough search of the extant police literature fails to reveal the existence of any research in

this area. Partially, this is due to the fact that the President's Commission on Crime was the group which highlighted this position and their report was made available in the early part of 1967. The Commission noted:

If the commission has an overall recommendation in the field of police operations, it is that research, in the form of operational experiments that are scientifically observed and evaluated, be conducted by departments in conjunction with universities, research centers, and other private organizations.³⁸

The Commission was taking cognizance that much of the research conducted in police organizations was not scientifically oriented. When an experiment is conducted in one area of a city some departments fail to leave control areas to properly measure the differences. Some research is conducted over such a short period of time that results cannot be properly validated and no allowance is made for the adjustments made by criminal population. It was noted that agencies in one area of the country haven't the vaguest idea what other departments are doing. This leads to a situation where resources could be wasted on field research which need not be performed. The only way, that organizations are made aware of experiments conducted, is when large agencies perform them and there is a greater possibility of adequate publicity. The large departments have the manpower and

³⁸The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 117.

facilities which allow them to answer inquiries and circulate their findings. These agencies are geographically situated so that they can enlist the assistance of universities which can aid in the advancement of knowledge. The review of the literature will reveal the fact that there is not much material regarding the Community Service Officer per se. There is, however, material on police cadets which is a position which the CSO program is supposed to replace.³⁹

Limitations and scope of the study

This research was undertaken to discover whether the position of the Community Service Officer is the answer to one of the serious questions facing police work, i.e., recruitment. It is possible for an agency to set up the position on an experimental basis to discover whether it is suitable for that purpose, but this requires a tremendous initial outlay in resources which might be put to better use elsewhere. Further, when a program of this type is instituted, there are vested interest groups which may obstruct its demise if it proves unsuccessful. Ideally one might set up an experiment of this type in one part of the city like New York, and evaluate it in relation to improved service

³⁹The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 108.

for that area compared to the service performed in other parts of the city. Studies of this type have been conducted in New York in the 'Operation 25' project which demonstrated that when enough manpower was assigned arrests increased and crime declined; the 'Sixteenth Division' project which disclosed the superiority of one man patrol cars under certain circumstances. The 'Twentieth Precinct' experiment was being conducted to discover whether new administrative techniques would increase efficiency. Some years ago, the department conducted an experiment on the 'Platoon Commander' concept and the sergeants did not want it to succeed. Under this plan the lieutenant who performed desk duty was sent into the field to supervise patrol and one of the sergeants was to take his place at the desk. The sergeants did not relish performing desk duty in relation to patrol and when they could they would be sure to criticize and obstruct the new method. The sergeants had a vested interest in the old method. Therefore, where cities already have a CSO program it is better to investigate their experience rather than initiating another program.

It must be pointed out that this study is being conducted as partial fulfillment of the requirement for a Masters Degree, and time limitations and financial considerations restricted the number of cities visited and the duration of the visits.

This study will concern itself with an investigation of the cities which have used the Community Service Officer and their experience with the program. It will also demonstrate the criteria used for the selection of men to fill the position; difficulties encountered in the inception of the program and its continued use; an evaluation of what can be accomplished through the program and the results that accrue to the cities who have placed it in operation.

Organization of the remainder of thesis

Chapter II is a review of the available literature in the field as it relates to the subject of this research.

Chapter III discusses the cities that have used the CSO and a report of their programs.

Chapter IV is a discussion of the interviews conducted and an analysis of these interviews in order to judge the value of the program.

Chapter V consists of the summary and conclusions drawn from the material gathered and recommendations as to further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Political and Social sources of CSO

For many years it was a widely held theory that poverty caused crime. Many novel and movie plots were written around this theme where the hero or heroine would steal or become a prostitute in order to keep the destitute family from starvation. The adherents of this theory have diminished in the last decade since the country has experienced a dramatic upsurge in the gross national product and an expanding social welfare service financed at all levels of government. Yet, reported crime continues to rise annually. It has been found that in the area of the city where most of the welfare money is spent and where health resources are supplied with no charge, the rate of crime rises faster than elsewhere.¹ Though no one has suggested that welfare and other social services cause crime, it has been found that the dependency that results from welfare and similar programs, may increase the strain on family relationships which adds to the criminal population. The Riot Commission remarks:

¹Johnson, op. cit., p. 710.

First, in most states benefits are only available when a parent is absent from the home. Thus, in these states an unemployed father whose family needs public assistance in order to survive, must either abandon his family or see them go hungry.²

Every individual is simultaneously a member of a family system and of a social class system. The relationships between the two systems have important implications for personality development of the child and, consequently, for our study of crime. The status of the family in the social structure affects the child's experiences and problems in his relationships outside the family. The family serves as a screen between the child and the extra-family environment. Family experiences shape the way the child perceives and evaluates the world and help determine his capacity to deal with the situation he encounters.³ Through the family the child is introduced to his culture and gains competence in living within its normative restrictions. The family is expected to inculcate respect for the rights and property of others and for the social conventions. Family life is supposed to gratify the child's need to be wanted, for recognition of his accomplishments, and for a secure economic and emotional place in the world. It was found that the welfare

²Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, op. cit., p. 459.

³Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Glencoe Free Press, 1955), p. 77.

regulations often forced a breakup in the family and that this destruction of family correlated strongly with social disorganization.⁴ When there is a broken home the male teenagers, without a father image, will most likely join a juvenile gang which may engage in antisocial activity. When deprived of a satisfactory family life and denied full community life by his deficient social status, the adolescent is more vulnerable to the influences which divert spontaneous playgroups into delinquency.⁵ This is one of the reasons many of those directly concerned with the present welfare system are recommending the guaranteed national income.⁶ Hopefully this will keep the family together and result in a reduction of crime. Poverty is no longer pictured as the sole cause of crime, new theories have evolved which state that lack of wealth is only one factor in the causation of antisocial activity.

It is felt that a strong relationship exists between work and crime. Naturally, a person with a job has much less time to become involved in criminal activities. From the Work Projects Administration program during the thirties up

⁴Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, op. cit., p. 459.

⁵The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 63.

⁶Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, op. cit., p. 466.

to the 'make-work' projects of the corporations financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, there has been an attempt to keep idle hands busy. These 'make-work' projects have produced disappointing results. Har-you Act in New York City found that the youths they were employing to clean up the back yards in Harlem, had no interest in the work but showed up at the office to collect their checks. They picketed these offices or disrupted them until they were paid. The work the Work Projects Administration offered was satisfying to those who engaged in them and more importantly skills learned could be put to other uses. Cleaning up yards did not appear to these young people to be useful and more importantly there were no skills acquired. The Crime Commission said:

Poorly educated, untrained youth from 16 to 21 years of age are becoming the Nation's most stubborn employment problem, especially in the large cities. Our current economy simply does not need the skills and personal attributes they have to offer.⁷

These youth commit a much larger proportion of the crime in our cities for which their numbers can account. The programs offered by vocational schools have not been the solution to this growing problem since the trades taught are usually outdated. Most of these schools are equipped with

⁷The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 74.

woodworking and metal shops but there is no longer much need for woodworkers since the introduction of automated equipment. There are jobs for metal workers but one must join a rather 'tight' union to be hired. Only those with relatives and friends in such a trade, usually can attain union membership. Since the minority group members have been discriminated against by unions for many years the number of them in these fraternal organizations is very small. The possibility of a minority group member becoming an apprentice in one of these unions is rather negligible.⁸

Those interested in dealing with the problems of crime and riots feel that improving job opportunities is the long term solution to the problems of the ghetto. Paul Jacobs in his book states:

"The first time in my life I felt like a man was when I was burning down that store," said one of the Negroes arrested during the 1965 upheaval in Los Angeles. And he had never felt like a man before because chronic unemployment denies access to one of the single most important routes to manhood in America.⁹

It is felt that employment opportunities will give the inner city resident pride and a stake in society. When the Negro youths have employment available to them there will be a reduction in tensions and crime in the cities of our country.

⁸ Progress Report of the New Detroit Commission (Detroit Metropolitan Fund Inc., 1968), p. 58.

⁹ Paul Jacobs, Prelude to Riot, (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 101.

The jobs that are offered cannot be of the dead-end variety but should offer opportunity for advancement and social status.¹⁰ These young people are not interested in holding menial positions but require jobs which will allow them to break out of the generational cycle of poverty. In a recent book the role of private enterprise was outlined:

What has to be done for Negroes right now requires jobs. Many large corporations eliminated discrimination in hiring years ago. In more recent years, many of them have gone further and actively recruited eligible Negroes. After the riots of 1967, it became clear to many businessmen that even this wasn't enough-that it was also important to hire and train ineligible Negro workers.¹¹

The Crime and Riot Commissions make clear their recommendation that both the private and public sector will have to train and hire deprived persons if these conditions are to be improved.

The Community Service Officer is an outgrowth of a search for jobs in the public sector to answer this need. Police work is one of the few occupations in city service that cannot recruit enough personnel. In New York the fire department has large numbers of potential employees from which to choose. The sanitation service also has plenty of recruits and further it is not the type of job these persons would be seeking. Actually police work because of the

¹⁰A Report by the Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 74.

¹¹The Negro and the City (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968), p. 156.

stigma noted earlier in this paper may not be a much sought after position by the inner city residents. The police unions have never been as strong or as powerful as the unions representing some other civil service practitioners. Perhaps those who suggest this program feel that anyone can perform police work and the occupation is filled with so many unsuitable people that the addition of substandard manpower cannot create a much more defective service. Those who advance this conception may feel that hostility between the police and ghetto residents can be ameliorated with a buffer of CSOs. Because the police is an agency that supplies service twenty-four hours a day, it is the ideal vehicle for transmitting the idea that the city is interested in the problems of this alienated section of the population.

Internship program. It should be considered whether police work is a profession since internships usually are associated with professional work. The hallmarks of a profession are: the control of the field of endeavor by members; gaining state licensing according to standards set up by the members; technical mystique or competence not available to general public; a strong code of ethics enforced by the state; control of the field of endeavor by the members. The medical and legal professions fit these standards. There are the "new-professional groups" i.e.,

teachers and nurses who fit some of the criteria laid out but who for lack of one or more of the factors do not truly fit all the requirements. In policing we have to advance further than the "new-professionals" to attain the status of profession. In relation to standards for admission, it varies from less than a high school education up through college training.¹² The inducement by the Federal Government to states to set up municipal training offices has advanced the occupation though minimal standards are sure to be set initially.¹³ This is a step toward state licensing which is cause for rejoicing. There is no firm body of knowledge in the field although some well tested guidelines do emerge which have nearly reached universal acceptance. There is no strong code of ethics and probably more important it is unsure whether consensus can be reached though the International Association of Chiefs of Police has done a great deal of work in this area. Since legislators write the laws and judges interpret them, it is impossible to foresee a time when the police will strongly or directly control their field of endeavor. Attempts to professionalize police work have been a reaction against corruption and political inter-

¹²The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 109.

¹³Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. Public Law 90-351, Sec. 201, (Washington, D. C.; Government Printing Office, 1968.)

ference.¹⁴ The traditions of political rewards have contributed to uncertainty of job tenure, inadequate standards for police recruiting, absence of a clear upward career route, and cursory training of personnel. Along with substandard salaries, these factors have prevented the development of the conditions necessary to attract career-oriented policemen in numbers sufficient to meet the need. The training that will be talked about here lies somewhere between internship and apprenticeship. As Williams has stated:

It takes intelligence to select the proper response for each situation. It takes common sense to do what is right even when the answer is not in the books. It takes flexibility to be a good law enforcement officer: it also takes knowledge.¹⁵

There are more than a few manual skills that are being discussed, and yet technical mystique is not part of the equipment. The police borrow from the fields of sociology, psychology, military science, political science, etc. to deal with the complicated human problems that require their services.

The Community Service Officer would practice an

¹⁴Professor Victor Strecher, Lecture on "Police Administration" at Michigan State University, October 23, 1968.

¹⁵E. W. Williams, Modern Law Enforcement and Police Science (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1967), p. 8.

internship in police service if the definition of Lucius is used:

Internship training refers to a joint program in which schools and business cooperate. Selected students carry on regular school studies for periods ranging from three to nine months and then work in some office or factory for a designated period of time, alternating in this fashion until the course is completed and the student ready to accept permanent employment. The training is usually conducted in connection with highly skilled or professional types of training.¹⁶

Police work would qualify here because the proficient patrolman is a highly skilled person, though there is the problem of identifying, describing, and cataloging these skills. The CSO would go to school to complete his high school education and also attend classes with the same type of curriculum as that offered to probationary patrolmen at the Police Academy. In Europe this is the method used to carry out apprenticeship programs with the student attending classes while he does some practical work in the field.¹⁷ In medicine, after classroom training, the young doctor goes to a hospital and under close supervision performs his service. It would be expected that the CSO would perform his duties under similar conditions. Hopefully, after formal training the Community Service Officer would perform under the close

¹⁶Michael J. Lucius, Personnel Management (New York: Richard Irwin, Inc., 1963), p. 26.

¹⁷Andrew Beveridge, Apprenticeship Now (London: Chapman & Hall, 1963), p. 11.

supervision of someone who had experience in police service so that he could be field trained in his duties. This is very similar to the apprenticeship programs of skilled crafts and trades. In some of the unions with which the author is familiar, the apprentice works for an extended period under a journeyman who demonstrates and corrects the student until he can properly perform the manipulations that compose the skill. He is expected at the end of this apprenticeship to have acquired all the technical information required by his position.

An internship or apprentice program has important side effects for those within the profession or trade. That is, they inculcate the student with the profession's or union's attitude toward the patient and public in the medical profession and toward management in the union's case. This opportunity to propagandize their future members is very important to these groups who use these programs since it allows them to control their occupation into the future. This was recognized by Patterson and Hedges when they said:

Apprenticeship is a thread of culture that leads back from the present to immemorial past.¹⁸

This training period gives the practitioners control over who will practice their occupation since in many of these situa-

¹⁸William F. Patterson & M. H. Hedges, Education for Industry (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1946), p. 46.

tions they have a direct voice in membership or by withholding knowledge or information from the student they can influence the outcome. The practitioners may also give the student false information to assure his failure. The training that the CSO will receive is different than an apprentice or intern would usually receive, since he will have to be brought up to standard by giving him a high school education. Actually the police agency in cooperation with educational personnel will give him a background suitable for the position. Usually government has not engaged in this pre-training as Kursch recognized:

In other words: the first purpose of government apprenticeship is to train people who will continue to work for government-which is an entirely understandable policy.¹⁹

But government as well as private industry is attempting to train people so they are employable. Minority group persons especially, are singled out for this treatment since they represent the hard core of the unemployed or underemployed.

In municipal police work. Many cities have initiated an internship program in police service which is known as the Cadet Program. The Cadet Program was apparently started in England prior to 1940 and was an outgrowth of the employ-

¹⁹ Harry Kursch, Apprenticeships in America (New York: W. W. Morton & Co., 1958), p. 168.

ment of "boy clerks".²⁰ By 1950 this program had become so well established that it was recognized by the Home Office which recommended the practice of employing cadets and giving them training in their duties. As these young men matured it was recognized in some departments that they were a valuable source of potential policemen. Their supervisors were familiar with their work and their personalities which gave the organization more information than it would have with a new recruit. The "boy clerk" was indoctrinated into the agency's approach and became familiar with some of its' functions during his period of employment. When he began formal training, some of the basic aspects of the work and the organization needed less explanation because of this experience. The City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin is thought to be the originator of the police cadet system in the United States.²¹ Since these first experiments in 1952, many major cities have adapted the program.²² The acceptance of this system can be

²⁰Roy E. Hollady, Cadet System President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. unnumbered.

²¹Ibid.

²²John L. Sullivan, Introduction to Police Science (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 26.

partially attributed to the fact that Americans marry young. Most American employers are quite cognizant of the problem of retraining successive waves of female clerks every two or three years. The female high school graduate who remains employed more than three years is the exception as most of these young girls will have married and left their positions. In police employment the young women hired as clerical help were no exception to this rule of attrition and new employees have been continually trained. As this fluctuation in personnel persisted, it was thought that hiring young men at the same salary would serve a double function. It was felt that the training invested in the cadet would remain with the department in his new capacity as patrolman.²³

Some of the basic objectives for the development of the cadet service are:

1. Source of future manpower,
2. To prevent these men from starting other careers between their eighteenth and twenty-first birthdays,
3. To attract talented high school graduates in competition with private enterprise,
4. To attract future leaders.²⁴

As discussed above police departments are having difficulty recruiting the number of men that they need and the cadet

²³V. A. Leonard, Police of the Twentieth Century (Brooklyn, N. Y.: The Foundation Press, 1964), p. 122.

²⁴Sullivan, loc. cit.

Program gives the agency another source. If a young man has to work at another job while awaiting his coming of age, he may get so interested in or attached to the position that he will not leave when he is eligible for a police assignment.²⁵ There are talented young men graduating from high school that the police can attract if the agency can offer the proper incentives. Some police organizations have encouraged or required continued education at the college level.²⁶ These agencies offer special arrangements to assist with education such as free tuition or department support for courses successfully completed. Hours for the cadet can be assigned which will allow him to attend classes. The cadet is kept interested in police work until he reached the age when he can be appointed as an officer. In departments which have patrolmen assigned to clerical jobs, the savings realized by replacing the officer with a cadet at nearly half the officer's salary, results in a substantial gain to the community.²⁷

Cadets in New York City receive the complete recruit training program when they are appointed--usually at eighteen years of age. When they reach their twenty-first birthday

²⁵Sullivan, loc. cit.

²⁶Ibid., p. 27.

²⁷Ibid., p. 25.

they are sworn in as patrolman and given some revolver training and assigned. If there is a long period of time between training and assignment the new patrolman may be sent to some of the more important classes for a refresher course. Much of the police training that the cadet receives under these circumstances is wasted. By the time an eighteen year old cadet is appointed as a patrolman he will have forgotten most of the material taught in the police academy. Direct entrants who finish training and are immediately assigned to patrol have difficulty remembering the volume of material taught in police academies. To expect a young man who is performing clerical duties to remember information and techniques he was taught more than two years before and which were completely foreign to his experience then, is to expect miracles. Those who are involved in training sometimes forget how new this material is to the recruit. Learning is supposed to be optimized when the instruction goes from the known to the unknown but in police work even the vocabulary is part of the unknown. The author believes that the training the cadet receives should be limited to that type that concerns the work he performs as a cadet. Just before or after appointment as a patrolman he should receive the regular recruit training.

The type of work assigned to a cadet has been fairly limited in the past. Chief Hollady feels that the assignment

of cadets to stultifying clerical duties is a poor practice.²⁸ There are other assignments in police work which would be more interesting to these neophytes and where they would release an officer for patrol. Duty in the radio dispatcher's office would be one of the assignments which would hold the interest of these young people. Another assignment that might be more challenging would be assisting in a detective office with clerical work. Though the duties would be similar, the cadet could acquire useful knowledge in a stimulating environment. Even handling the switchboard at a local police precinct would be more attractive than assignment to routine clerical work. In some cities cadets have been used in community relations work which is an important and demanding assignment.²⁹ Youth work might be another area in which a young man's time and talents may be more profitably employed than filing cards or copying records. The routine assignments may cause the loss of some of the cadets and must surely result in a blunted interest for the majority of those who go through the program. It will be a difficult task to resurrect this interest once the edge has been taken off it with dull assignments. This interest makes the difference between an effective policeman, and a man who wears the uniform but is as useful as a traffic stanchion.

²⁸Hollady, op. cit., pp. unnumbered.

²⁹The Chicago Police Department uses Cadets in Community Relations work.

Comparison of Cadet and CSO Program. There are many differences between the programs beginning with the reason for the position and the type of person who is to be recruited. Careful selection of those who were chosen as cadets is probably the rule. The cadet is selected because of his potential as a future leader in police work. In New York the man who is picked for this program comes from the top of the civil service list and generally has a higher intelligence quotient than the average recruit. The prospective cadets take a modified patrolman's test but then only the top twenty-five to fifty percent above the passing mark are selected for this duty.

In the CSO Program attempts are being made to give work experience to people who might not be able to pass a civil service examination. Some of these young men will be high school 'drop-outs' who have shown an aptitude for further study and who will be encouraged to continue their education at least to finishing high school. Other employers would not be enthusiastic about hiring these young people and giving them assistance in experience and education to make them employables. Persons who might not qualify either physically, mentally or regarding character, as disclosed by records, would be accepted in the Community Service Officer Program but not in the Cadet Program. To become a cadet you must fit the physical requirements of a police

recruit since you are expected to qualify for that position. A person recruited as a CSO does not have to meet the criteria though those who do fit the qualifications would be encouraged to prepare themselves for the examination.

Whereas cadets are recruited from the top of their graduating class or qualified highly on the exam, the candidates for the CSO Program will not have been high scholastic achievers but have shown some aptitude which may be developed. The cadet will be expected to have an exemplary background, i.e., no traffic violations or delinquencies, while the man interested in becoming a service officer would be accepted though he had a minor arrest record. The cadet would be the type of person that other employers would be interested in hiring while those recruited as CSOs will need work experience, training, and education to acquire the skills needed by private industry.

Yet each of these programs is an attempt to deal with serious recruiting problems. While the cadet is expected to be the college trained leader of tomorrow's police agency, the CSO is expected to be a bridge to greater understanding and a device to serve the ghetto community more effectively. Perhaps careful selection of CSOs and proper supervision of their performance may help identify people who would be most efficient as police officers.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CSO PROGRAM

This chapter consists of three case studies of the administration of the CSO Programs in localities which have initiated them: Chicago, Illinois; Flint, Michigan and Detroit, Michigan. The study of these programs was accomplished by visiting each city and questioning those concerned. Those who operated the program were interviewed, forms and other material were inspected. Some information was gathered about the city, its' police department and particularly the patrol activity. Since the CSO would assist in the patrol function it was felt that some data in this area would be helpful.

Some information was gathered on the method of selection for the program and some of the criteria used in the process. Important differences were noted regarding the amount of police participation in this selection process. The functions performed by the CSO were found to be somewhat different, explained partially by the personalities and political pressures brought to bear on those who fostered the program and their hopes for success. The training given to these young men ranged from a strictly 'on the job' field training to an elaborate program including lectures and an

exposure to the different departments of government. The supervision was usually handled by the sergeant in charge of the program who was assisted by a number of other police personnel under a variety of circumstances. All of the departments were satisfied with their own program and each was interested in what the others' experience had been. Copies of the information gathered will be given to these departments in appreciation for the cooperation rendered to the author.

Chicago, Illinois

Introduction. Chicago is the second largest city in the United States and the center of commerce and industry for the midwestern section of the country. The population is approximately three and one-half million and the city covers an area of two hundred twenty-four square miles. Chicago with its surrounding industrial cities, has enormous heavy industry and diversified manufactures. La Salle Street is second only to Wall Street, New York as a center for the financial industry.

Chicago's population includes an estimated non-white segment of approximately 31 percent, which represents an increase of 8 percent since 1960 when the last census was taken. Chicago suffers from the same problems outlined by

the Riot Commission report, i.e., besides an increase in the non-white population there is an exodus of the more stable middle class to the suburbs.¹ Decreases in the city's tax base, partially due to corporations abandoning the center city, while an increase in demands for service, places added burdens on the municipality.

The police and the patrol function. The Chicago police department consists of eleven thousand and five hundred sworn personnel. O. W. Wilson's eight year administration as Superintendent of this department has resulted in many changes and a complete reorganization of the patrol division and its procedures. There has been a tremendous increase in the use of civilian personnel since Wilson's ascension to leadership in 1960. He also reduced the number of local police facilities to twenty districts from which the patrol force operates. All patrol had been motorized during Wilson's tenure which results in the police losing informal contacts with the population. A recent attempt to reverse this trend has been instituted in which one officer, from each two man car, during the day watch is placed on foot patrol with a portable radio. This is an attempt to reintegrate the officer into the community that he serves and which it is hoped will result in

¹Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, op.cit., p. 21.

greater insights into the neighborhood's problems. The officer is expected to become acquainted with some of the people on his beat in the same way the 'old foot patrolman' did which resulted in greater understanding of both the officer and the neighborhood. Chicago's police patrol on the three platoon system which consists of tours 12 midnight to 8 a.m.; 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.; 4 p.m. to 12 p.m. There is also a tactical patrol which has fluctuating hours between 12 noon and 2 a.m., divided into two overlapping segments.

Selection. In Chicago the CSO is a cadet assigned to the District Office and works under the District Commander and his Community Service Sergeant. This cadet assists the sergeant who is in charge of the Community Service Program. The persons in the Chicago police organization who most resemble the CSO concept as advanced by the Commission, are the Community Service Aides, (CSA). There were two hundred aides hired last summer by Concentrated Employment Program of the Chicago Commission on Urban Opportunity. This anti-poverty corporation paid the salaries of the young men who were recruited to help the police department. Sargent Shriver, Jr., Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, when asked about these programs stated:

We're trying to give poor kids the kind of learning experience that other kids always have during the summer.....the experience of a job they wouldn't be able to get any other way.²

The corporation which did the selection last year will again choose from among youths between sixteen and twenty-one years of age for this year's program. The anti-poverty organization did not consult the Chicago police department in any way in the selection process. The young men who were chosen were not expected to qualify as police officers at a later time so that the criteria applied were not as rigid. As long as the applicants were never arrested for any serious crimes, they passed the character portion of their examination. The department did not feel that the work was critical in any way nor would the person in the position learn of any activity which would be considered classified, so character was a secondary consideration. The young men were given routine physical examinations arranged by the Commission on Urban Opportunity before their arrival at the police installation.

Functions. The Community Service Aide was hired to perform two main groups of duties when he was sent to the police department. When possible he would patrol his area and inspect for safety hazards, i.e., broken sidewalks,

²News item in the Chicago Sun-Times, May 8, 1967, p. 2.

abandoned autos, and other conditions which might prove a hazard to health. He would question youths and adults while he was on patrol and if he was informed of a safety hazard inside a premises he was to inspect that building. His other main duty was to assist the Community Service Sergeant and his cadets in their work which included the recruiting of young people for athletic and sports programs and the supervision of these programs. If he learned that some teenagers were loitering, he would attempt to contact them and see if he could interest them in some sponsored activity. He also supervised the youth when they were taken on outings or other activities sponsored by the police department. He attended Community Workshops with the sergeant or the cadets and listened to and acted upon complaints with which he could deal. These workshops became a source of information which he was expected to follow-up. If a party complained of an unsanitary condition or other problem which appeared on his inspection sheet, (see Appendix A) he inspected the location and turned in a report. His eight hours of duty were performed sometime between the hours of 8 a.m. and 12 midnight.

Training. In Chicago the Community Service Aide did not receive any formal training before assignment to a Community Service Sergeant at a District Office. When he

arrived at the district the Community Service Sergeant gave him a brief description of his assignment. He was then assigned to one of the cadets for a few days and this young man had the CSA accompany him on his duties while he explained the territory, the specific duties, and generally what was expected by the department. The cadet would introduce him to persons within his geographical area who might be of assistance. The cadet was assigned responsibility for familiarizing the aide with his report form (referred to above) and seeing that he was instructed in its preparation. The aide was also instructed by the cadet about the disposition of the report. If an emergency condition arose, he was to place only that condition on a form and forward it immediately through the sergeant. If the condition was routine, the aide was to place up to eight conditions on the form and turn them in at the end of the tour. Some of the CSAs training occurred when he asked questions of the sergeant or the cadets. Most training occurred on the 'trial and error' basis; the aide was corrected when he was discovered making a mistake or not handling some situation properly.

Supervision. The task of supervising the Community Service Aide was the responsibility of the sergeant. He accomplished this by direct supervision when this was

possible. When the CSA was assisting at an outing or other assignment at which the sergeant was working, he would observe the CSA directly. Also when the sergeant made his rounds of gyms, ball fields, and other recreational facilities within the district, he would supervise the aides who were assigned there. Street supervision of the CSA was difficult since they were not equipped with uniforms and when they were on patrol or making inspections it would be difficult to locate them. The sergeants recruited the cadets assigned to assist in the supervision of the aides. If the sergeant saw CSAs while he was on patrol, he would question them as to their activities and attempt to supervise them by this method. The sergeant or one of his cadets would question the aides at the end of their tours to see that they were performing properly. The reports would be questioned as to their content and completeness when submitted by the CSA.

Evaluation. It is difficult to compare the Community Service Aide with the program as outlined by the Crime Commission. When the commission recommended the position it was expected that those recruited would have an aptitude for police work, however, in this city this was not necessarily the case. Also, the Chicago Police Department never envisioned these young people as a source of recruits but rather as a summer work experience for the CSAs. Because the Community Service Sergeant found himself burdened with more work during the summer months, and in order to increase the

efficiency of their patrol force, the department accepted these young people. It was hoped that the community's opinion of the police would improve when it saw the number of ghetto residents hired by the police.

It is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of this program because of the limited time it has been utilized. Summer, 1968 was the first year of operation. Another factor making evaluation difficult is that the CSAs were obstructed in their work by tough street gangs who were 'territory' minded and resented anyone invading their area. This led to a situation in which the aide was threatened when he went about his duties without the sergeant or the cadets. This also gave a young man in the program a perfect excuse if he did wish to perform his duty. The officers in the 'beat car' were asked to keep an eye on the CSAs when they went on patrol to protect them from the street toughs. However, this was not very effective since the CSAs weren't uniformed and the officers generally did not know them by sight.

Flint, Michigan

Introduction. Flint, Michigan presently has a population of approximately 203,000 persons. It is a highly specialized center for the automobile industry, being one of the largest automobile assembly complexes in the world. Comprising thirty-two point eight square miles in area,

the city may be characterized as industrial in nature.

Flint's population includes a non-white segment of approximately eighteen percent, which represents an increase of eight percent from the ten percent this group represented in the census of 1960. The industrial character of the community attracts many families from the south who seek a better life, and who feel that the higher paying jobs in the automobile industry will help them achieve their goal.

The Mott Foundation in this city has been active for many years in an attempt to improve the quality of life. It has taken a particular interest in the educational system in which large sums of money have been expended to improve both the type and quality of education available. The Foundation has also worked in close cooperation with the police department and has donated money and executive ability in formulating programs in the field of Police Community Relations.

The police and the patrol function. The Flint Police Department consists of three hundred and thirty-six sworn personnel. The patrol coverage varies during each tour. Fifteen patrol sectors are in operation from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m.; twenty-two sectors are in operation from 3 p.m. to 11 p.m. and from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. In addition there is an overlapping shift which operates six additional patrol cars during the hours between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. Naturally all patrol is done by car and there are no foot patrolmen assigned.

The salary paid by the Flint Department is rather high for a city of this size. Three years ago after raising the salary to a competitive level, the department launched an extensive recruiting campaign which attracted men with experience from all areas of Michigan. The department has an extensive community relations program and works in close cooperation with the Board of Education to improve the police image.

Selection. In Flint the CSO is selected and salaried by the Neighborhood Youth Corporation, an anti-poverty organization which has been financially supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Mott Foundation has been active in its support and cooperation with this organization. The police department and the corporation have worked together in the selection of the young men for the CSO Program. The person in charge of the recruiting for Neighborhood Youth Corporation and the sergeant in charge of the program for the police have known each other for eight years and their relationship reflects mutual understanding.

The young men selected as CSOs since the program began in Spring 1968 are juniors and seniors in high school between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years of age and are accepted though they may have a minor arrest record. The author met a former CSO while on a visit to Flint and this

young man was a cadet studying at the Community College in Police Science.

This year the corporation has recruited sixteen young men and twelve young women for the CSO Program. The young women have been selected because the police and the corporation felt that they could perform needed services.

Functions. In Flint the CSO patrols or is assigned to a mobile City Hall. When on patrol he contacts businessmen and residents and inquires as to their needs. He introduces himself to people he contacts and gives them a brief explanation of his functions so that they will know what he is doing in the community. He is to recruit young people for the city's sports programs and for day trips sponsored by various civic associations. He takes care of safety problems such as abandoned autos, broken sidewalks, etc. which the motorized officer would not see. He has become involved in projects like mowing lawns and painting houses in cases where the owners were infirm or lacked funds to handle the job themselves. The female CSOs hired this year were expected to assist in domestic chores where the woman was ill or aged and could not perform the work herself.

The City of Flint has hired off-duty patrolmen to accompany the CSO on his patrols. They are expected to approach businessmen in their stores and residents on their

porches or working in the yard. After introducing themselves they might sit on the porch or stand in the store and discuss mutual problems regarding crime or street conditions. They would inquire whether there was any problem that this person would be interested in referring to the authorities. It was believed that this type of meeting would be a radical departure from an officer's normal contact in which the officer would feel impelled to resume patrol. This joint patrol by an officer and a CSO was authorized to increase contacts between them which it was hoped would result in increased understanding and respect. This activity was expected to give the officer a better understanding of the neighborhood where he was performing his patrol. The officers were encouraged to become familiar with the CSOs who were patrolling their area whether they participated in the joint patrol or not. The whole department was instructed on the program so that the CSOs would be utilized to the fullest extent. The Mott Foundation supplied the money for uniforms which were designed by the CSOs themselves.

Training. The CSO in Flint is subjected to a lengthy and thorough training regimen before being placed on the street. He receives an indoctrination on the police department and on the functions performed by different units. He receives lectures from personnel of the various city depart-

ments explaining their role in the operation of government. The CSO receives ten hours of training in first aid by the Red Cross which entitles him to a certificate for completing the course. CSOs are also required to fulfill assignments to the different agencies of government where they are employed as messengers and receptionists. This experience is thought to be important since it reinforces the information supplied at the lectures and gives the CSO a better understanding of the functions performed by the agencies.

He was instructed in the preparation of the referral form. (See Appendix A) When he receives a complaint of any type or takes any action, such as aiding a sick person he is instructed to prepare the form and turn it into the sergeant at the completion of his tour.

Supervision. The basic responsibility for the supervision of the CSO was placed upon the sergeant in charge of the program. The sergeant is assisted in this assignment by a patrolman who also acts as a resource person in acquiring material for some of the projects undertaken by the CSOs. The patrolman was responsible for obtaining paints and brushes for houses that needed painting and garden implements where they were needed. These two men accomplish supervision by direct observation in the field and by inspection of assignments given to the youths. Because the CSO wears a dark blue

uniform with a distinctive shoulder patch, his supervision is simplified. The officers on patrol were encouraged to contact these young people if they observed them while on patrol. The officers were asked to inquire about the youth's problems and to offer their assistance and encouragement.

The CSOs also attended Community Workshops with the sergeant. At these meetings the CSOs would answer questions as to street conditions which were the subject of complaints by persons attending the meetings. The sergeant could know whether the CSO was performing his patrol properly by his familiarity with these conditions.

Evaluation. This program is very similar to the one recommended by the Crime Commission. One of the more important differences noted was that in Flint the position is filled by young men who are juniors and seniors in high school. They are younger than the recommended age range. From among the young men participating in the program, the department might select those which it felt would make a better patrolman. Not only was the department selective in this matter, but it subsequently had experience with these boys upon which it could make a more reasoned judgment when choosing men to continue with the department.

As recommended by the Crime Commission the CSOs were encouraged to finish high school and continue their college education particularly in the Community College which offered

a program in Police Science. The type of duties assigned are even broader than those suggested by the Commission and result in more service for the community. The young men who left the program because they had graduated high school, had an experience with the police and city government which should be a positive factor for the future. These young men now knew the types of problems with which the police must deal. The police should have discovered through their experience with the CSO that young Negroes are very much like other young people with the same hopes and plans for the future.

Detroit, Michigan

Introduction. Detroit, Michigan presently has a population of approximately 1,600,000. It has been losing population since 1956 when it was 1,859,000. It is the largest city in Michigan and fifth largest in the United States. It is the world center of automobile manufacturing with tremendous rail and water shipping facilities. The opening of the Saint Lawrence Seaway has had the effect of increasing use of the port facilities. Besides manufacturing, this city is the industrial design capital of the world and the home of the world's largest designing firm. Detroit also has the largest architectural and engineering firm. Detroit is also the headquarters for some of the largest advertising agencies.

Detroit's population includes a non-white segment of approximately 36 percent which represents an increase from 29 percent of seven percent since 1960 when the last census was taken. Many families from the south have been attracted to Detroit because of the automobile industry and the high wages paid to persons with relatively little technical skills.

The police and the patrol function. The City of Detroit is patrolled by a police department consisting of four thousand and six hundred sworn personnel. This department is responsible for a little more than one hundred and thirty-nine square miles. The patrol force operates from thirteen police precincts spread over this area. The patrol force is divided into three platoons which man radio motor patrol cars during their tours. There are no foot patrolmen except a few traffic officers who direct traffic at intersections in the downtown business district. There is a tactical patrol force which patrols in radio cars during the hours from 12 noon until 2 a.m. This tactical patrol handles special events in the city and performs patrol in high crime rate areas.

The Commissioner of Police has instituted a program of scooter patrol in the city. The scooter is thought to combine the best features of both foot and auto patrol.

The officer on the scooter is not separated from the community the way that a man in the car is and yet the scooter gives him mobility that the foot patrolman lacks. The officer on the scooter is encouraged to stop and converse with persons within the confines of his 'beat area'. He carries a portable radio which gives him contact with the communications section.

Selection. The CSOs in Detroit were selected by the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources Development under the New Careers Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Committee at this point approached the police department to hire these persons as sub-professionals. A Civil Service classification was obtained for the position of Social Service Aides and the CSOs were required to pass a Civil Service Examination for the position. Eighteen men and four women passed the examination and were hired by the city at a salary of \$5,500. per year. The position, when a vacancy occurs, is for those between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine years of age. Some of the CSOs have expressed an interest in joining the department and have received encouragement, though the position was not created to act as a source of recruits. Persons recruited for the position may have a minor arrest record and are not required to be in the same condition of physical health as a

police candidate. Because these twenty-two persons were hired by the city, the police department's budget was reduced in the amount of salaries of fifteen patrolmen.

Functions. The CSOs in Detroit handle any matter which might be handled by the police except criminal matters. The CSOs have been very active in handling family disputes; an area in which much police time is spent and where little is accomplished to relieve the basic problems. The CSOs first attempt to calm the situation then refer the couple to professional counseling groups. They continue to follow-up the case to a successful conclusion. They have been active in referring young people to community and city sponsored sports and recreational activities. When there is a threatened gang fight or other tensions around a school, they patrol in the vicinity attempting to mediate the dispute or at least prevent assaults. The local officers know them by sight and allow them to handle the condition unless actual violence occurs. The police officers know the CSOs because they have introduced themselves at outgoing roll calls at the local precinct station house. The same men have been CSOs since September 1, 1968 and are a familiar sight in the community. Any other problems of youth in the precinct are also handled by the CSOs who have a good working relationship with the department's youth division.

The CSOs work from a store front in the community in order to encourage persons who might not wish to go to a police station. They handle such safety and health problems as street lighting, trash in alleys, abandoned autos, etc. During the holiday season last year they solicited gifts from neighborhood businessmen and distributed hundreds of Christmas baskets which included food and toys to needy persons in the precinct.

They have been active in the employment area for the last six months. CSOs contact neighborhood businessmen and personnel departments of large corporations such as General Motors and Michigan Bell Telephone Company. They receive a list of job openings and the requirements for each position. They attempt to find people in the neighborhood to fit the positions. This has become such an active area for them that many persons in the community believe that the CSO office is an employment organization.

Recently the CSOs have become active in another area. One of the officers was approached by a group of teenagers who was interested in working on a program against narcotics. The officer contacted an organization in California called the Smart-Set Incorporation which has been active in this program for years. The California group sent literature, posters and other paraphernalia which gave directions for organizing such a group. "The Detroit Teenagers Against

Narcotics" is now actively participating in a program to educate young people and adults about narcotics. The organization's motto is "peddle hope not dope."

The CSO generally works a day tour, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. However, when required to supervise a dance or other evening activity he receives compensatory time off. The CSO in Detroit is not uniformed.

Training. Detroit's CSOs received the most extensive training expended in the programs studied. They attended academic training for a full year including courses in mathematics and English. They received lectures from persons employed by the agencies of city government. These parties explained the services performed by their agency and its position in relation to other agencies. They also received lectures from many private organizations active in performing services for the citizens of Detroit. Groups such as the League of Women Voters lectured on the benefits of having all segments of the population interested in voting.

They received extensive training in report writing, so that they would be able to keep a proper record of services performed. The female CSOs, and the men who were interested in it, were given training in typing and stenography. These persons were also trained in modern office procedures so that they would be able to organize their work.

Supervision. When the program was initiated on September 4, 1968 supervision of the CSOs was delegated to the sergeant in each precinct in charge of the Community Relations Program. This was found to be unproductive partially because of the number of duties performed by these men. The more important reason for the failure of supervision was that these sergeants did not know enough about the program and this lack of knowledge resulted in a loss of direction. Beginning January 1, 1969 the program was placed under the direction of the sergeant from the Seventh Precinct who had worked with the CSOs before they had become civilian employees of the police department. Though this man was very busy he took an active interest in the program and gave it direction and scope.

The sergeant makes visits to each CSO office at least once each day to inspect the records kept at the store fronts. When a new activity is tried in one of the offices and found to be successful, he transmits the information to the other three offices for their adoption. He has encouraged the CSOs in their duties and has made himself available at all hours for their consultation.

Evaluation. The program in Detroit is similar to the program recommended by the Crime Commission. Some of the personnel placed in the program were high school drop-outs and were required to take college level courses under a

special agreement with Wayne State University. The types of services performed by these CSOs were those that the Crime Commission thought they should handle. The CSOs have a positive opinion of the police and this is communicated to the community they serve.

One of the greatest difficulties with the Detroit program is the supervision of the assignments. Though the sergeant who supervised the CSOs was diligent, it is impossible for one man to supervise twenty-two people spread over four precincts. In contrast to the Crime Commission's suggestion the people selected for the position were from an older age group.

Table I on the following page is a graphic presentation summarizing some of the information on CSOs in the three cities.

TABLE I
A COMPARISON OF CSO PROGRAMS IN THREE CITIES

	Chicago	Flint	Detroit
Population	3,500,000	203,000	1,600,000
Sworn Police	11,500	336	4,600
Number of CSOs	200	28	22
Percentage of non-white population	31%	18%	36%
CSO			
Minority group member	yes	most	yes
High school graduate	no	no	no
Selection	Police not consulted	Cooperation between police & Anti-poverty Corp.	Police not consulted
Organized training	none	yes	yes
Close supervision	none	some	none
Functions			
Patrol	yes	yes	no
Youthwork	yes	yes	yes
Attend meetings	yes	yes	no

CHAPTER IV

SYNOPSIS OF INTERVIEWS IN THREE CITIES

The author spent a few days in each of the cities discussed in the previous chapter. Interviews were conducted in an attempt to understand the programs and the opinions of those expected to be assisted or affected by the CSO.

Supervisors and administrators comprised one of the groups questioned about the CSO and the work he was to perform. Their attitude and opinions were considered significant since they would be involved in the orientation of the person filling the position, and policy formulation as to the duties and limitations. The attitude of the immediate supervisor was considered crucial since he had the ultimate responsibility for how and what was done on the street. If the sergeant was enthusiastic about the program and expected the CSOs to perform in an efficient manner then there was more possibility that the program could be successful. If, conversely, the sergeant had low expectations for the program or regarded the assignment as a burden, then this would be communicated and it was hypothesized it would produce disappointing results.

Persons employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity who had done the actual recruiting were questioned to obtain

their impression of the program. Since they were doing the recruiting it was believed that their approach to the program would have some importance. They might mislead these young men to believe they were going to perform a different type of activity than was actually planned for the position. For instance, these young men might expect that they were to engage in typical police activities rather than service functions with the resulting thwarting of expectations when the actual program was described by the sergeant. The frustration that resulted might not be overcome by the CSO and he may perform his duties in a desultory manner.

Persons in training as CSOs and those actually performing the job were questioned. Their opinion would allow for an evaluation of the success of the program particularly in the case of the ex-CSO. The young man who was no longer employed by the city would not feel apprehensive concerning his position. It was thought that interviewing the ex-CSO would also give an indication of its success as a program to increase understanding between the young people and the police. The CSO was queried to discover whether he thought the position was useful and the ways it might become more meaningful to the community. Since these young men were contacted through the police department there was a possibility that they would be more favorable to the concept than those

whose names and addresses the author was not given. As in most interviews, the subject responds in a manner which he feels would please the interviewer.

Citizens in the inner city were questioned to discover whether they had heard of the program through newspaper articles or other means. Another purpose for questioning these people was to learn why they thought the new position was inaugurated. Their opinion as to the kinds of jobs the CSOs should perform was solicited since it might indicate which types of assignments the citizen thought most important. Perhaps the resident has different ideas of what can be done to improve life in his area of the city rather than the suggestions of the Crime Commission. The persons queried in Chicago and Flint might not believe that the CSO could accomplish what was expected of him because of his young age and lack of maturity. Contacts for interviews were made in an informal manner by approaching citizens in the ghetto and requesting their cooperation for this study.

Since one of the purposes for the suggestion of this program was to understand and reduce tension, 'Black power' separatists were asked for their thoughts on the scheme. It was hypothesized that if this group thought the program would be or was successful then a great deal might be accomplished. Their thoughts on what would make the program more useful were solicited since if their goals could be reached the

cause of these radicals might be made untenable. The militants were contacted by the author visiting their local 'hang-outs and clubs' and interviewing those who were willing to participate.

Open ended questions were used in the interviews because the level of the research was exploratory. It was believed that more information could be gathered though structuring the answers became more difficult. The use of a tape recorder was considered but rejected because of its inhibiting effect on a free flow of information. Since the author could not take shorthand it was necessary to jot down pertinent phrases during the interview. After the conclusion of the interviews, the author noted his impressions at the first opportunity.

Interview questions

A list of the questions asked and the reasons for their inclusion in the interviews follows:

Who is the Community Service Officer?

This first question was asked to discover if the specific CSO had become well known in the ghetto though he had been active only a short time. It would also clarify whether the job received adequate publicity when it was inaugurated. The publicity received might result in an improvement in Police-Community Relations since the Negro would learn the police department was interested in his

problem. It was theorized that if the CSO and the program were effective it would be the subject of conversation within the community.

What is the purpose of the position?

The second question was formulated to discover if those interviewed knew the object or end to be attained by the initiation of such a program. It was believed that its intention could be easily misinterpreted. It could be surmised that these youngsters were being recruited as 'future' policemen and when this didn't materialize tensions could be increased rather than diminished.

What type of duties should he perform?

The third question was offered as it was thought there might be a variance between the tasks actually performed and those expected. Information was needed as to the inner city residents' desires regarding services to be performed by the CSO. The question of whether the CSO would be more useful as a social worker or a police contact in the ghetto might be answered by the replies.

What is your opinion of the position?

Question number four was included to obtain reactions to the entire concept of a CSO. An attempt was made to learn if it was thought that the CSOs were training to be policemen. It could be supposed that the subject could prefer two additional policemen rather than twenty CSOs or

vice versa. Therefore, it was considered relevant whether the project was thought of as worthwhile and successful or conversely, and if it was known or acknowledged at all.

Can he accomplish the job assigned to him?

The last question was included to see whether the subject believed that the person assigned to these tasks could successfully carry them out. Due to the average age of the CSO, it would be difficult in obtaining cooperation from various segments of the ghetto such as landlords in a housing dispute. In addition, it would be suspected that it required more maturity, wisdom and experience than these young people would possess in order to handle family disputes.

Detailed material gathered as a result of these formal consultations appears as Appendix B. Because of the repetitive nature of the report, it was decided to include the following material, which is a digest of the interviews, in this chapter.

Police personnel. In Chicago the police official interviewed emphasized the work experience aspect of their CSA program. The District Commander thought the program was aimed at renewing the relationship that had existed when the police department had utilized foot patrolmen. The man on foot knew the people in his area and as the Crime Commission stated:

The foot patrolman knows who has an equity in the neighborhood, i.e., home owner, businessmen, etc. who will generally be glad to assist the police.¹

Though they are only summer employees the CSA can engage in face to face dialogue which should result in better relations. Both of the officers felt that the sergeant needed some help in contacting the youth in the community because there were so many of them spread over a large area. The problem of youth gangs preventing CSAs from performing their patrol duties was mentioned. They believed that the money given by the Office of Economic Opportunity to the 'Blackstone Rangers' had caused an increase in the number of gangs in this community.

The members of the Flint department stressed the community relations aspect of the CSOs functions. For a department of this size, they seemed to place a great reliance on this type of activity. Their force had many joint programs operative with the cooperation of the Board of Education. Apparently it was believed that if the attitudes of young people could be changed then the department's image could be changed. The CSO performed some tasks that no agency of government was equipped or assigned to operate. The assignments were diverse enough that a young man would not be bored with the job. Recruiting was not as an

¹The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 117.

important purpose for the program as the author had thought in his early interviews and conversations. Calls received from the community about the CSO appeared to be an important measurement of the success of the program in Flint.

The Detroit officers felt that the main purpose of the CSOs was to relieve policemen of some of the duties performed by them which did not relate to crime and investigation. The author understands that in the neighborhoods where the CSOs are active the police do not respond to family disputes but refer most cases to the storefront. This approach should result in a more efficient utilization of the trained police officer. The police relied upon the CSOs understanding of the community which was probably justified because of their maturity. Building a good police image among the inner city residents was also mentioned as a goal of the program. Due to an unfortunate error, the officers felt that an arrest made by the CSOs in 1968 was a tragic mistake on their part, since it created the suspicion that they were police operatives and it would take a long time for this suspicion to subside. The sergeant felt that the newness of the program was also keeping it from getting the results required. He felt that as time and word of mouth recommendations spread news of the storefront, it would be utilized to its capacity.

Recruiters. The Chicago recruiter put emphasis on the work experience portion of the program. He explained that

the youth were recruited first and then an attempt made to find a position that they could fill. The police department had been gracious to accept so many of these young men according to this Office of Economic Opportunity employee. When the program was started again for this year he felt that selection of these young men to work in their own neighborhood would alleviate somewhat the problems with the gangs. He believed that a local youngster would have some kind of relationship with these gangs and so wouldn't be in as much danger as strangers might be.

The Neighborhood Youth Corporation worker in Flint believed that the police department was attempting to recruit young people into police work through the CSO. He offered a few reasons why there was only one Negro member among the sworn personnel of that city's police agency. Since he worked closely with the Board of Education and the police he accented the other school orientated portions of the Police-Community Relations Program. As would be expected this recruiter emphasized the social service aspects of the work particularly the mowing of lawns and painting of houses for persons unable to accomplish this work. He was very enthusiastic about the results of this program.

The administrator from the Human Resources Development Committee in Detroit who had done the recruiting, felt his program was aimed at training unemployables. After a lengthy

training period jobs were sought in the private and public sectors which resulted in these people being placed with the police department. He stressed the importance of these sub-professionals acting as resource persons for people with all types of problems. A reduction of the tensions in the community logically should result when people realize that the police department is interested enough to hire persons who will work for the citizen's best interests.

CSOs and ex-CSOs. The ex-CSA in Chicago knew the position was a 'make-work' project but he thoroughly enjoyed the experience. He felt he had received new insights into the police department and the individual policeman's problems. Because of his experience with the gangs' threats, he could understand why the police would lose some enthusiasm when they met with hostility so often.

The ex-CSO in Flint knew that he wasn't hired in an attempt to recruit him for police work but only to work with youths and do some patrol activities. During his time in the position he noticed a change of attitude on the part of the policemen with which he worked and met. He felt they were suspicious at first but came to appreciate the good will expressed toward them because the department had hired the CSO. He emphasized the fact that it had increased his self-confidence and ability.

The positions in Detroit were filled by men who could handle people with problems. Because they were adults they could discuss family problems with a husband and wife and make progress in these cases. The CSO interviewed had gone to the Welfare Center with a woman and assisted her in having her case processed. Though many of the cases almost defied solution, he was enthusiastic about the work. The CSOs had developed a good relationship with other government and social agencies over the nine months they had been operating. Young people were especially suspicious of them since they had made the aforementioned arrest. However, it was believed that when the program was understood it would be wholly acceptable to the community.

Citizens. A person interviewed on the street in Chicago thought the position should be that of an apprentice policeman. He emphasized the danger in his neighborhood and that these young men might lessen it. The Crime Commission noted that fear of crime may be the worst effect of these violations of law.² He was also interested that the police department have foot patrolmen who would be familiar with the neighborhood people. A citizen of the Chicago ghetto thought the reporting of safety and health hazards were the most important function to be performed. Neither party in Chicago knew about the program and this may mean either the

²President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, op. cit., p. 50.

program was not receiving enough publicity or that it was ineffective on the street.

A male Negro questioned in Flint didn't know about the position or its purpose. When he understood the program he believed that the areas to be handled by the CSO had been neglected by the city government. This person felt that crime fighting should be one of the tasks assigned to these young men. A female interviewed on the street in Flint knew about the program and felt that improving the neighborhood by cleaning yards, etc. was useful work for the CSO.

A male subject questioned in Detroit knew about the program but also about the arrest and he was very suspicious of their activities. He was also of the opinion that if they were going to do police work he could give them a good assignment for he had his own complaint about young 'punks'. A female resident of the ghetto queried in that city also knew about the CSOs and had high praise for what they could do. She felt that any problem that wasn't involved with a crime could be taken to their storefront and it would be handled.

Black militants. The militants in Chicago who were queried about the program were unfamiliar with it. The first man interviewed stressed the CSA teaching racial pride especially to the Black children. Another idea expressed

was an indoctrination program for these children in the inner city which would be propagated by these city employees to teach the children that the White man was not to be trusted. The second man interviewed thought that discipline should be taught to Negro children and the position of the CSA should be used as the vehicle for this instruction. He felt that the program was useful as long as these young men worked in the ghetto community to help Blacks.

One of the 'Black power' separatists interviewed in Flint believed the CSO in that city should be armed because he could protect his people better if he was carrying a pistol. This African Nationalist felt that separation of the races was one of the immediate goals of his groups and that if the CSO improved relations between the races he would be working counter to that position and against his community. The Black Muslim questioned in Flint thought that the young people in the CSO program were being manipulated by the power structure. He also stressed the need for a separate community which has long been a tenet of the followers of Elijah Mohammad.

The African Nationalist who was interviewed in Detroit believed that nothing could be accomplished by working with the police since they were viewed as in the employment of the 'White power' structure. He felt that resistance to the police would effectively free the Negro from this

inferior position. The other man questioned in Detroit who stated he was a Black Revolutionary characterized the CSOs as spies for the police. He placed reliance on the ghetto dweller standing on his own feet and defending himself with whatever was at hand.

Evaluation. Because so few were interviewed in each city it is difficult to make an evaluation on the information. Yet the purpose of the interviews was to collect data to determine the directions that the programs are following; whether the departments are accomplishing what they had anticipated; and whether anything can be learned from their particular experiences.

The members of the three police departments emphasized different orientations toward the use of this position. In Chicago it was a make-work project; in Flint, public relations; and in Detroit CSOs relieved patrolmen. The District and Precinct Commanders in Chicago and Detroit and the Chief in Flint were all enthusiastic about the work being performed. The sergeant in Chicago was too busy to give the program more than cursory attention. The resultant lack of direction in the Chicago CSA Program must have caused a failure of the program at the service performance level though they had more personnel than the other departments.

The recruiters agreed with the police administrators on the purpose of the project, except in Flint, the Neighborhood Youth Corporation employee believed he was recruiting potential members of the police force. This did not seem to affect the quality or quantity of work performed by the CSOs in Flint. Both the CSO in training and the ex-CSO were enthusiastic about the work and both knew that the purpose was not to recruit them. The ex-CSO had been particularly anxious to perform the duties in an area where he could do more and where the work would be more challenging. In all three cities the employment of these persons seemed to result in an increased understanding between youth and police--particularly in Chicago and Flint.

Neither of the citizens questioned in Chicago knew about the program, and both in Detroit had a definite knowledge about their city's CSOs. The citizens appear to divide into two equal groups; some believing the CSO should be performing police functions and others stating that the social functions had importance. Surprisingly not much question was raised regarding age and maturity of those performing the assignment, possibly because the needs are felt so strongly that any attempt to help is appreciated.

The militants generally believed the young men would not succeed unless their role was changed. Emphasis was placed on teaching such matters as racial pride, self defense, and discipline to the inner city's children.

Apparently the methods used by those engaged in the program would not reduce tensions with dissidents, yet as one of the militants stated that if the CSO was successful in his work, the effect in the general community would be a reduction in tension. This man realized that the drastic change which was expected to increase the power of militants, would not occur if improvements in social conditions and race relations were developed.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contains two sections: the first will review the information obtained from the literature and from the visits and interviews conducted. The second section will contain the conclusions arrived at based on this study and recommendations for further research.

I. SUMMARY

Summary of the literature on the Community Service Officer. A strongly felt relationship was found to exist between work and crime where a person with a meaningful job was thought to be less apt to engage in antisocial activities. Youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years of age were seen as becoming the nation's most stubborn employment problem. The young people of this same age were viewed as being responsible for a larger percentage of the crime than their numbers in the population should account for. The youth of the inner city are arrested for crimes more often than any other segment of the population. The position of Community Service Officer is an outgrowth of a search for jobs for these young people in the public sector of our economy.

The CSO was believed to be a position in which the

incumbent is practicing an internship for police service in which training and experience would make him a suitable candidate, according to the concept advanced by the Crime Commission. The CSO who was a high school drop-out would be required to attend school so that he would qualify for the position of police officer.

Many cities have programs for internship in police service called the Cadet System. A number of differences between the Cadet and the CSO concept were discussed and it was believed the CSO would fill a role that the Cadet could not.

Analysis of the field data. This study illustrates the wide variety of practices which are followed within municipal police departments though all are presumably creating the same position. Each program was substantially different though the purposes were supposed to be about the same. In Chapter III it was shown that each city and the organizations within them had moved from the basic concept of CSO and decided different answers as to what, who, and how the position did develop. This diversity is advantageous since it allows the reader to decide which of the three concepts he could use or which combination of characteristics would suit his locality.

The Crime Commission's program and the programs found in the three cities are compared below:

Qualifications:

1. Be between 17 and 21 years of age-

In Flint the CSO was 17 or 18 years of age, in Chicago 16 to 21 years, and in Detroit he or she was 18 to 29 years of age.

2. He would possess the aptitude, integrity and stability to perform police work-

Since none of the departments used the position as a recruiting source these three factors received minor consideration and then not by the police but by anti-poverty organizations which did the recruiting.

3. He would be acceptable though possessing a minor criminal record-

In the three cities this was the case.

Duties and conditions of employment:

1. He would be an apprentice policeman-

This was not the case in the cities studied.

2. He would work under close supervision-

This was not the case in any of the cities.

and he would work in close cooperation with a police officer-

This was not the case in Chicago but had some role in the position in Flint and Detroit.

3. He would not be given full law enforcement powers or allowed to carry arms-

This was true in all cities studied.

4. He would be a uniformed member of the police performing certain services and investigative functions on the street-

Uniformed in Flint only.

5. He would maintain close relations with juveniles in the neighborhood-

In all the cities this was attempted.

6. He might work in a store front or community service center-

In Detroit a store front was utilized and in Flint, a mobile City Hall.

7. Perform service functions that inner city residents need so intensely and which the police have so little time to perform-

In Detroit the CSO performed more functions that were varied and challenging compared with the other two cities.

8. Under the sponsorship and expense of the department, he would continue studies to qualify for a police position-

In none of the cities was this the case though Detroit did have a plan for CSOs to attend Wayne State University.

It is impossible to state whether a department can solve its recruiting problems by utilizing CSOs since none of the departments attempted to use the position for this purpose.

Relations cannot be improved with militant dissidents

using CSOs according to the interviews conducted for this study. The militants appear to be interested in other things some of which are diametrically opposed to improving Police-Community Relations. Apparently the militants feel that as conditions of life are improved in the ghetto by such programs as the CSO, the possibility of cataclysmic division which would bring them to power is lessened.

The image of law enforcement can be improved in the ghetto by putting this position into effect according to interviews and other information gathered for this study.

Law enforcement efficiency can be raised by instituting a program of CSO. The program in Detroit should have this result since the police no longer respond to certain calls for service and this should allow the department to concentrate its manpower on crime.

Mutual understanding was improved by the schema in all three cities in which it was used. In Flint new appreciation was expressed for the department by those assisted including parents of the youths who were involved in the program. Also in Flint the ex-CSO expressed increased understanding and stated the police had changed in their attitude toward the position during the course of his experience. The young man in Chicago expressed new insights into the problems of the police and the difficulties they encountered.

II. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A police agency that has an interest in sponsoring a CSO Program in its community should decide the purpose of the position first. When the intent is to create a pool of manpower from which future police officers will be selected then the Crime Commission's age recommendations should be followed. When the agencies purpose is to relieve policemen from service functions and non-criminal activities then it should seek applicants for the position among more mature persons.

The agency should consider the type of activity that the CSO is going to perform because when youth work is one of the assignments, he should not be expected to engage in law enforcement activities. Detroit's experience demonstrates this factor. Because of their CSOs' making an arrest, suspicion among young people created a roadblock to their working with youth. The program should include enough diverse activities to keep interest from flagging. Investigation of dog bite cases, for instance is not dangerous and yet requires the use of simple investigative devices such as questioning persons, etc.

When deciding whether to operate from a police station or store front, certain factors should be given consideration. Operating from a police facility makes supervision less difficult but if relations are such that those in the

community may be reticent to enter the police building then a store front may be more suitable. The distance from the community to be served to the police installation is another consideration.

Selection of personnel should partially depend on factors discussed above and the purpose of the position. The Crime Commission's advice should be followed regarding the candidate's aptitude, integrity and stability suitable to police work. Aptitude is the most important of the three, since if the CSO does not have a genuine interest in the work when he is recruited, he will not accomplish the job. Though the person in the position would work under close supervision, he would still be performing his duties alone and just as all patrol work depends on initiative so the CSO would have to be a self-starter. Integrity is important though the Commission recommends hiring persons with minor arrest records. The author would prefer hiring a youth who had stolen an automobile than one who had picked a pocket. It would appear that the latter act takes more nerve, professional skill, and criminal intent while many young people steal a car as their only transgression of law.

Supervision was a problem in all three departments studied though Flint had the best ratio, with two supervisors (the sergeant and patrolman) for the sixteen young men. The author feels that this is not enough to supervise

this number of workers when they are inexperienced and particularly if they are young. Perhaps having some of the young men assigned as 'crew chiefs' would make the program more manageable. During the training period the supervisor could identify those young persons in the group who could act as assistants to the boss. On foot patrol, one leader to each group of five workers, would seem to be the highest ratio to maintain effective control.

Recommendations. Further research can be conducted to discover whether the position of CSO in the City of Detroit does result in more manpower being available to handle criminal type activities which require the presence of a patrolman. At the conclusion of Summer, 1969, a survey should be taken in that city to discover whether response time has been reduced. Since the program is not utilized in the entire city, the effectiveness of service in areas covered by the program might be measured against those areas without CSOs. Naturally, the areas matched to investigate effectiveness must be comparable as to population, crime and other factors.

In both Flint and Chicago the program has only been in effect for a short period of time. With all the normal complications involved in initiating a program, a study should be conducted at the conclusion of the second year. Interviews should be conducted with many more persons than

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covered in this study to discover whether these programs are reaching the community. A larger number of the same segment of the population should be questioned and this should produce data that would be more representative of these populations.

This study reveals that much more information must be gathered before it can be decided that the Community Service Officer does any or all the things hoped for the position.

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APPENDIX

DISTRICT COMMUNITY SERVICE
PROGRAM/ CHICAGO POLICE

INSTRUCTIONS: FOR ROUTINE CONDITIONS, CHECK THE ROUTINE BOX AT RIGHT.
LIST BELOW THE SPECIFIC LOCATION OF EACH CONDITION
NUMERICALLY.
FOR EMERGENCY CONDITIONS, CHECK EMERGENCY BOX AT
RIGHT AND LIST THIS ONE CONDITION PER FORM.
TURN ALL COMPLETED FORMS INTO THE DISTRICT COMMUNITY SERGEANT

☐ ROUTINE
☐ EMERGENCY

AT ☐ A.M. ☐ P.M. , 19 , I OBSERVED THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

SPECIFIC LOCATION OF CONDITION

-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-

INSTRUCTIONS: PLACE THE NUMBER ASSIGNED FOR EACH CONDITION FROM THE SPECIFIC LOCATION INFORMATION ABOVE
IN THE BOX LOCATED IN FRONT OF THE CORRECT DESCRIPTION BELOW.

STREETS AND ALLEYS

ABANDONED AUTOS		IMPROPER TRAFFIC SIGN
BROKEN BENCH		LAWN DAMAGE
BROKEN CATCH BASIN		LEAKING FIRE HYDRANT
BROKEN CURBSTONE		LEAKING WATER PIPE
BROKEN ELECTRICAL OR TELEPHONE LINE		LIGHTS OUT-TRAFFIC SIGNAL
BROKEN GLOBE		-RED
BROKEN FENCE		-GREEN
BROKEN MANHOLE COVER		-AMBER
BROKEN SIDEWALK		-STREET LIGHT
BROKEN TRAFFIC SIGN		-ALLEY LIGHT
BROKEN TRAFFIC SIGNAL		-OTHER
DANGEROUS FENCE		MISSING MANHOLE COVER
DANGEROUS POLE		REFUSE (GARBAGE, BROKEN GLASS, FALLEN BRANCHES, ETC.)
DEAD ANIMAL		ROAMING DOG OR DOG PACKS
DEFECTIVE SEWER		RODENTS AND VERMIN
FALLEN TREE		SIDEWALK OBSTRUCTION
FOLIAGE OBSTRUCTING TRAFFIC SIGNS OR SIGNALS		TREE NEEDS ATTENTION
GUARD RAIL DAMAGED		OTHER
HOLE IN STREET		

BUILDINGS

ABANDONED BUILDING		DANGEROUS STORAGE OF MATERIALS
BROKEN WINDOW		DEFECTIVE AWNING
DANGEROUS CONDITION OF BUILDING		DEFECTIVE FIRE ESCAPE
DANGEROUS CONDITION OF SIGN		UNPROTECTED EXCAVATION
DANGEROUS CONSTRUCTION		OTHER
DANGEROUS DEMOLITION		

FIRE

FIRE HAZARD		PRAIRIE FIRE
INADEQUATE FIRE EXTINGUISHER		OTHER

VACANT LOTS

DANGEROUS WEEDS		OTHER
REFUSE (GARBAGE, BROKEN GLASS, TIN CANS, ETC.)		

PERSONS REQUIRING AID

INDIGENT PERSONS IN NEED OF RELIEF		TRUANT GRAMMAR SCHOOL CHILDREN
LOST CHILD		UNATTENDED PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN
OLD OR INFIRM PERSONS REQUIRING CARE		OTHER

**COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER
REQUEST FOR SERVICE**

NO. _____ DATE: _____ TIME: _____

LAST NAME

FIRST

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE

OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION

PROBLEM: _____

SERVICE REQUESTED: _____

REFERRED TO:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| ☐ CITY CLERK | ☐ HEALTH DEPARTMENT | ☐ POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS |
| ☐ CIVIL SERVICE | ☐ JUVENILE BUREAU | ☐ TRAFFIC BUREAU |
| ☐ DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEV. | ☐ MODEL CITIES | ☐ TRAFFIC ENGINEERING |
| ☐ DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS | ☐ PARKS AND RECREATION | ☐ WATER DEPARTMENT |
| ☐ FIRE PREVENTION BUREAU | ☐ PATROL BUREAU | ☐ OTHER |

WHITE TO P.C.R.
BLUE TO SERVICE DEPARTMENT
YELLOW TO C.S.O.

REQUESTED BY: _____

RECEIVED BY: _____

REQUEST FULFILLED: _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS

This appendix is an account of the personal interviews conducted in Chicago, Flint, and Detroit. Those questioned in each city included police administrators, recruiters, CSOs and/or ex-CSOs, citizens, and Black militants. Although the same questions were asked of each individual it is evident by the answers that either the questions or the terminology was misunderstood at times. It was difficult to continually elicit answers to the specific questions so in some cases an attempt was made to include impressions which the author felt pertinent to the matter. The following questions were asked:

1. Who is the Community Service Officer (CSO)?
2. What is the purpose of the position?
3. What type of duties should he perform?
4. What is your opinion of the position?
5. Can he accomplish the job assigned to him?

Police Administrators

Chicago. When asked about the position, Sergeant McMikel in Chicago stated that he considered the CSA as a young man hired to work in the ghetto during the summer months. He felt the work experience was the primary purpose of the job but to be considered was his need for help in recruiting other young people and running organized sports activities, outings, etc. As regards to CSAs duties, the sergeant felt that besides recruiting others, these aides could report conditions that should be handled by the police and other city agencies. He felt that the CSAs had become indispensable insofar as it had been difficult to reach all neighborhood youths. Due to the presence of active neighborhood gangs in Chicago, the possibility of using 'kids' from other areas was problematic. Whether the CSAs can accomplish their work is dependent on the way they are accepted by the gangs in their particular area.

Due to the discontinuance of foot patrolmen, the District Commander in Chicago felt that the CSAs were hired specifically to assist the police in that category. The Community Service Sergeant needed help which these young men adequately supplied. He stated that the purpose of the program was to give skills and improve communication between the police and the community. He felt that the present work

assignments such as reporting conditions in the neighborhood and contacting community youths were sufficient. His opinion was that it is a worthwhile program which allows the police to reach a maximum number of people. The District Commander felt that the CSAs had performed needed services last summer and that they would do as well this year.

Flint. Sergeant Rutherford in Flint described the CSO as a young man sixteen or seventeen years old employed by the Neighborhood Youth Corporation to assist in patrol activities. He felt that the purpose of the position was to increase understanding between the police and youth and the community and the police. The sergeant thought the CSO should be entrusted to handle chores the police wouldn't be called upon to do and assignments which the regular officer could spend only limited time on, such as, leisurely conversation with citizens, etc. He felt that the program in Flint was an outstanding experience for these boys and an enlightenment to the men in the department witnessing the CSOs working on the street. Sergeant Rutherford was sure these youths were doing an excellent job as there were numerous calls from the community thanking the police for hiring the CSOs.

Chief Rutherford stated he thought the CSO was a young man hired to work in minority groups sections of the city and to perform work with youngsters. The purpose of the job

was to give these young men a chance to be employed, improve Police-Community Relations and perform services that might be neglected otherwise. According to the Chief, the types of work the CSO should be assigned to were described as youth work and assisting people with yard and painting chores. He also felt they could assist with minor investigation like those involving the search for a lost child. When queried whether the assignments could be accomplished, the Chief stated that an excellent job had been done so far and he expected that it would continue.

Detroit. When asked for the definition, the sergeant from Detroit stated that the CSO was a person between eighteen and twenty-nine years who was recruited to care for any non-criminal matter. In his reply to its purpose, he stressed relieving the patrolmen of service functions and performing the type of service that the patrolmen could not. The CSO could follow-up the case which would be impossible for the policemen. Concerning the type of assignments given to those in the job, he felt that as ghetto residents the CSOs could perform specific jobs better than the police and therefore should be allowed to do so. When his knowledge of the community would be useful, he should be called upon for advice and assistance. The young people in the ghetto were especially suspicious and the sergeant felt it would take a

long time before they could be convinced that the CSOs were not 'spies' for the police. It would take a great deal of hard work and time to gain the confidence of those they were serving.

The Detroit Inspector when questioned about the position said that the CSO assisted the police in their service function. He outlined the purposes as: services to the community, improved police image and prevention of further deterioration in relations between the police and the community. The type of work performed should be non-criminal (in order to free the police from this activity), helping youngsters to remain within the confines of the law, and involving them in organized sports. He thought the position filled a useful purpose and could increase understanding and allow the police to do a better job. His answer to whether they could accomplish the job was that he believed it would take time for them to build up the confidence of the community but when this was accomplished they would be able to do a great deal for the community and the department.

Recruiters

Chicago. The person from the Neighborhood Youth Corporation who had done the recruiting in Chicago stated that the CSA was a young man hired to acquire work experience

and assist the police. The purpose was to acquaint these young people with the experience of working and earning some money. Mr. Lowe stated that the CSA was to locate hazards in the ghetto and report them to the police. He was also to assist in youth work. This recruiter felt that in his opinion the position would result in more meaningful communication between the police and youth.

Flint. The representative of the anti-poverty program who had assisted in the selection of the CSO in Flint felt the CSO was an attempt to introduce young people to police work. He stated that the purpose of the program was for the police agency to recruit young Blacks. He stated that the police had difficulty in recruiting because of competition with the nearby auto factories and due to the fact that it was difficult for Negro policemen to be promoted. An attempt was made to change the attitude of school children concerning the police image. He felt that a great deal could be accomplished by the performance of community services, e. g. mowing lawns, etc. It would aid in informing people about their government and he was of the opinion that it was one of the finest positions created by the City of Flint. He was optimistic about what these young people could accomplish in the way of changing attitudes on the part of police and the community involved.

Detroit. The administrator from the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources Development in Detroit stated that the CSO was to be a sub-professional employee of the police. The purpose of the position was to increase service performed by the police department in the ghetto areas of the city. The recruiter felt that the CSO should be handling family problems and act as resource persons for members of families who couldn't afford professional assistance. He thought it was an outstanding program for the Detroit Police Department to undertake and a definite asset to them. He felt the CSO had the training and ability to handle diverse social cases and the opportunity to continue his education according to the law providing for his position.

CSOs and those who had held the position

Chicago. There were no CSAs in Chicago at the time of the author's last visit in May because it was only a summer program. One of the ex-CSAs was contacted. This young man stated that the CSA assists the police by recruiting young people and reports conditions that effect health and safety. The purpose of the program he said was "to spread some money around and give a young fellow something to do." The CSA should help at the playgrounds to organize sports and check on conditions in the neighborhood. When asked his opinion of the position he stated that he had "lots of fun helping

other kids and found that the cops weren't such bad guys." He felt the biggest obstacle to the accomplishment of the job was the threat of bodily harm by the gangs.

Flint. The ex-CSO from Flint stated that, "We were hired to patrol and contact young persons and involve them in sports." The purpose of the position is to act as liaison between police and the community and handle problems when people didn't know whom to contact. He felt there was a change in attitude on the part of the police. The CSO should be allowed to perform duties in areas where they could do more and so feel more useful and self-satisfied. He was convinced of the usefulness of the program when it was formed but he was more enthusiastic as it progressed and he gained confidence in himself and his ability.

The CSO who was in training stated he thought that he was provided with an opportunity to work with the police and accomplish something for the community. The purpose was thought to be bringing young people and police together and would result in better service for the problem areas. The CSO should help people with their problems, get 'kids' to join sports activities and perhaps work on some crimes. He said, "....it was a wonderful opportunity to make a few dollars and help the police and the people of the city." He thought that the Community Service Officer could perform all the assignments given him.

Detroit. In Detroit all those who had started with the program were still with it and there were no ex-CSOs to interview. The CSO in Detroit stated, "The position was for a person who was interested in taking a hand in some serious problems." The purpose of the job was to assist persons in particular neighborhoods by keeping families together, referring persons to community agencies, etc. He stated the CSO should handle anything of a non-criminal nature and assist persons in the community by obtaining help for them as the position is really needed in the ghetto because so many don't know where to turn for help. He thought he could accomplish the assignments as long as he had help from other organizations to which he would refer his cases. He stated, "The program needs more publicity in order to succeed."

Citizens

Chicago. A male ghetto resident interviewed in Chicago didn't know who the CSOs were or what was their purpose. After being given an explanation of the plan in Chicago, he stated, "The CSO could keep an eye on people who are doing the mugging and report them to the police." He also thought they could keep children from getting into 'mischief.' When asked about his opinion of the program he felt that more policemen were needed but if that was impossible then he would have to settle for these young men. He

would especially like to see a policeman on foot patrol who would know the people of the neighborhood. When asked whether the young man could accomplish the job, he stated, "I think he could report the abandoned cars and other things that make the neighborhood look bad." He stated that the youngsters in the playground need help because the older boys come around and taunt them and cause them to leave.

A female subject questioned in Chicago didn't know about the CSO or its purpose. The program as it operated in Chicago was explained to her. She thought the work that was described to her was something that needed to be done. She felt that a job of that kind was useful because it kept many of the young folks busy for the summer. The CSO could accomplish the job assigned if he received the cooperation of the people in the neighborhood. For instance, vacant lots could be cleared of trash through the efforts of the CSOs and the neighborhood could cooperate by keeping them that way.

Flint. A resident of Flint stated that he didn't know what the CSO was or what the purpose of the position was. He was given an explanation of the program in that city. When asked what type of work the CSO should be given, he replied, "The work you described sounded like some of the things that had been neglected by the city." He also stated that "maybe

the CSO could handle the young toughs who stand in front of the local candy store because people are afraid to go by there." When asked his opinion of the position he stated he was glad the city had hired them and that they could use more Black police. He thought the CSO could accomplish his job to make the streets safer and help some people with their problems.

A woman in Flint who lived in the inner city was interviewed and she stated that the CSO was a young man in uniform who works for the city. His purpose was to assist people with their problems. She had heard that they had helped clean up a widow's yard and she thought that was admirable as the yard was an eyesore. She thought that it would be a good idea if the CSOs would clear the debris from a few streets too. When asked if they could accomplish the job, she stated they looked like fine young men who could do a lot of work.

Detroit. A young ghetto resident in Detroit stated that he knew that the CSOs were 'finks' from over in the storefront. When asked about the purpose he stated that they are working for the police and had 'locked up' someone who was innocent. When questioned about the type of work the CSO should perform, this teenager stated that the police should be reported when the CSO sees them 'picking' on some-

one. "They could also straighten out some of the 'punks' who hang out at the corner smoking reefers," he stated. In his opinion if the CSO wasn't trying to 'lock up' people, he could do a lot of good around the area. As far as accomplishing his job, this young man felt he would be unsuccessful as long as he was 'locking people up'.

A female subject who was interviewed states she knew the CSO as someone who helps out when there is some trouble and he was connected with the police. Regarding the purpose she stated, "When you have a problem you can go to them." It seemed to her the CSOs would be glad to give you help anytime you needed it. She had called the police concerning a complaint of some boys and was connected with the CSO office. They came and talked to the troublesome youths and the problem had diminished somewhat. When asked about the type of work they should be doing, she stated that what was needed was more police in the area. Because of thieves, it was necessary to hide her purse or wallet when she went shopping. When asked about her opinion of the CSO she stated, "...that she thought they could help police catch some of these young kids who are doing the stealing because streets are not safe." As far as accomplishing the job these men seemed to her to be able to handle these delinquent boys and that was necessary as the boys are allowed to roam the streets all day and no one cares about them.

Black Militants

Chicago. A man belonging to an African Nationalist group called the "Three Heads", was interviewed in Chicago. He was unfamiliar with the program and its purpose. An explanation was given of the Chicago CSA. This person stated, "The CSA should be instilling Black pride in the children that he works with in recreation programs and should also be teaching these youngsters to know their enemy 'the White man'." He believed that if the young men in the program did the things he described that the plan would work. If they didn't, he felt they would be the worst kind of 'Uncle Tom' fronting for the police. If they didn't instill Black pride, they would be failing their people and therefore not accomplishing the job.

Another man interviewed in Chicago stated he believed in Black power but refused to state if he belonged to any organization. He didn't know who the CSA was or what was the purpose of the program. He was informed of the Chicago plan for using CSAs. This man stated, "They should be organizing Black children into clubs and teaching them discipline." The answer as to his opinion of the program was that it sounded to him as if the CSA could help the Blacks in the community. He thought the CSA could teach the children he came into contact with all about racial pride.

Flint. In Flint a man was interviewed who stated he was an African Nationalist but didn't belong to any particular organization. He was unsure of the position or its purpose. The Flint scheme was outlined for him. He thought the types of assignments should include CSOs carrying guns because they are Black and can better protect their people. His opinion of the program was that there was a need for more Black 'cops' in preparation for the day when the Negro has his own police force. "The White racists could never understand the Black man," according to the militant. When asked about the CSO accomplishing the job this person stated there must be complete separation of the races after reparation is made for past injustice. He felt that perhaps it was better not to improve race relations because chances for separation were lessened.

An older man who was identified as a Muslim follower was interviewed next. The CSO was described by him as a young man working for the police. The purpose was thought to make 'flunkies' out of the young people. Work assignments should be helping people in his own community who have been abused so long by the 'devils'. When asked his opinion of the program he stated that this experience would be useful when the Negro (so-called by the White man) receives his own community. As far as accomplishing the job this man stated, "They (the CSO) would learn that if they stand on their own

feet, the White man will not give them any trouble since the White man is a coward."

Detroit. On the visit to Detroit a twenty year old man who stated he belonged to the African Corps was interviewed. This man did not know who the CSOs were or the purpose of the position. An explanation of the Detroit scheme was given to him. He was asked about the type of work they should be given and replied that they couldn't do any good working with the police, since their job was to hold the Blacks down. He stated, "They should be organizing people on a block-by-block basis to resist the police so that when the 'pigs' come on the street they will know that the people are united against them." When questioned about his opinion he stated he thought the CSOs were being 'used' by the city because there was plenty to be done in the neighborhood without working for the White man. In answer to the question regarding the CSO accomplishing his job, he felt, "they could work with the Nationalists in getting rid of the White man." He believed all businesses in the ghetto should be operated by Blacks.

Another man in Detroit who stated he belonged to a group called the Black Revolutionary Association was interviewed. The CSOs are the people in the storefront who are working for the police. The purpose was thought to be to

act as spies for the police while pretending that they are there to help people. What the CSOs should be doing is, "Teaching the youngsters how to defend themselves against the police when the police harass them," according to this revolutionary. He also felt the CSO should be telling 'it like it is' to the people he comes into contact with. The CSO should help the ghetto residents protect themselves rather than expecting someone else to help them. His opinion of the program was that they are just working for the police and there is no need for more spies. This man felt they couldn't accomplish anything by their present activities.

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