DESIGNING MULTIDIMENSIONAL POLICING STRATEGY AND ORGANIZATION: TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS OF PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY POLICE MODELS

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ABSTRACT

In this article we analyse professional police and community policing in view of professionalism, strategy and structures. We aim to find ways for synthesizing these models that are usually seen as incompatible. Unlike many earlier studies of police organizations or strategies, we view strategies in the organization at the corporate, functional and operational levels, and argue that by combining them with functional and divisional principles of structuring, it is possible to place professional strategy at the core of policing, while using the community policing strategy mainly as a component part of the strategy in the framework of divisional organization. This way it is possible to avoid the risk of alienating police from the community and to ensure the successful implementation of corporate strategy through providing professional police units that perform the narrow functions, with quick and adequate information from the community.

KEYWORDS

INTRODUCTION

In this article we analyse professional police and community policing with the aim of finding ways for synthesizing these models of police strategy and organisations, which are usually seen as incompatible. At least four interrelated points could be highlighted for illustrating the pertinence of this possible synthesis in the context of advanced democracies of the last decades where the police operate in increasingly complex institutional environments[1] with contradictory pressures at the local, national and supra-national levels[2].

First, crime itself has become more variegated and insidious than it used to be. New patterns of crime are much more "invisible" and cause extensive economic damage (e. g. economic crimes, corruption, drug and human trafficking) and distrust. These new patterns are less linked to concrete spaces and scales: globalizing crime is becoming linked with the local social context (like organized cross-border crime) and vice versa. As a result specialized units are created in many organizations for dealing with crimes whose detection should exceed the limits of national borders or which presume increasingly a network type of organization.[3]

Second, the need for resources at the disposal of public agencies has rapidly increased while at the same time there is a pressure to diminish the overall scope of public sector. As a response new public management as an ideology for organizing public sector and police have postulated individual performance and immediate unit-output efficiency as core mechanisms for spurring efficiency.[4] This has resulted in pressures to increase the role of functional or professional-bureaucratic patterns of police organization on the one hand and the close cooperation between public and private security-provision actors on the other.[5] Since professional police strategy entails profound functional specialization and narrow focus on the reduction of crime rates, the policing at the grass-root level becomes more strictly subordinated to the priorities and standards set at the

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[1] Nils Brunsson and Johan P. Olsen, *The Reforming Organization* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

[2] Garth den Heyer, "Shape or Adapt: The future of Policing," *Salus Journal* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2013): 46.

[3] Trevor Jones and Ronald van Steden, "Democratic Police Governance in Comparative Perspective: Reflections from England and Wales and the Netherlands," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* Vol. 36, No. 3)(2013); Rutger Leukfeld, Sander Veenstra, and Wouter Stol, "High Volume Cyber Crime and the Organization of the Police: The Results of Two Empirical Studies in the Netherlands," *International Journal of Cyber Criminology* Vol. 7, No. 1 (2013).

[4] Norman Flynn, *Public Sector Management* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2012).

[5] Adam Crawford, "Networked Governance and Post-Regulatory State? Steering, Rowing and Anchoring the Provision of Policing And Security," *Theoretical Criminology* Vol. 10, No. 4 (2006); Sabine Hotho, "Professional Identity – Product of Structure, Product of Choice: Linking Changing Professional Identity and Changing Professions," *Journal of Organizational Change Management* Vol. 21, No. 6 (2008): 725; Mark Bevir, *Democratic Governance* (Princeton University Press, 2010).

national level.[6] This has contributed to both the detachment of the police from the community and the declining of its legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens.[7]

Third, effective crime control has been achieved partly due to streamlining of (professional) police organization. Crime rates have started to decline especially in certain environments (city-centres, private spaces and middle class communities).[8] However, new sources of conflict and deviant behaviour characteristic to post-modern societies have started to determine the subjective feeling of safety[9]: the structure of security threats and the variables of safety in the eyes of median citizens have become different from the core priorities of policing of detecting serious crimes. Policing at the community level has started to require special attention in policing the societies of late modernity.[10]

Fourth, as a response to the weaknesses of professional police, the community police focuses on handling community members' safety by putting the root causes of deviant behaviour as well as subjective sense of safety at the forefront of police-work[11]. This is rather different from the professional policing strategy. Community policing is pro-active and presumes a decentralized and open organization and reliance on patterns of cooperation with community actors in networks or new governance. Therefore, these two strategies and organizations of police are increasingly seen as incompatible. Different projects of police's community-orientation have not managed these challenges effectively enough, and currently community policing is giving way to the priorities of traditional professional policing.[12]

In this article we discuss the issue of whether and how professional and community policing strategies that are in many respects considered contradictory could be used simultaneously in the same organization for reducing the weaknesses of professional police's strategy and organisation. More specifically we address the questions: how can the police develop effective community-oriented policing in view

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[6] Gordon Hughes and Adam Edwards, eds., *Crime Control and Community: The New Politics of Public Safety* (Willan Publishing, 2002).

[7] Adam Dobrin, "Professional and Community Policing: The Mayberry Model," *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* Vol. 13, No. 1 (2006): 20-21.

[8] Sacha Darke, "The Enforcement Approach to Crime Prevention," *Critical Social Policy* Vol. 31, No. 3 (2011).

[9] Hans Boutellier, "The Convergence of Social Policy and Criminal Justice," *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* Vol. 9 (2001).

[10] Gordon Hughes, *Understanding Crime Prevention* (McGraw-Hill International, 1998).

[11] Wesley G. Skogan, "The Promise of Community Policing"; in: David Weisburd and Anthony A. Braga, eds., *Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jack R. Greene, "Community Policing in America: Changing the Nature, Structure, and Function of the Police," *Criminal Justice* Vol. 3 (2000).

[12] Gordon Hughes and Michael Rowe, "Neighbourhood Policing and Community Safety: Researching Instabilities of the Local Governance of Crime, Disorder and Security in the Contemporary UK," *Criminology and Criminal Justice* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2007); David Alan Sklansky, "The Persistent Pull of Police Professionalism," *New Perspectives in Policing* (March, 2011).

of its increasing need for centralization, and specialization?[13] A similar dilemma of how to synthesize the traditional Weberian bureaucracy and citizens-centred public administration is also the focus of the relatively new conception of neo-Weberian state.[14] In addition we seek to address the question: how to ensure further professionalization of police in view of the contradictory pressures (centralization/decentralization) from its institutional environments? Because providing conclusive answers to these questions would require empirical studies of the consequences of various organizations and their reforms, we can here only take a preliminary glimpse of the theoretical-methodological choices at stake in designing both those studies as well as the possible reforms. Though we support our claims by various data and models based on empirical research from criminology, policing, organizational studies, and power analysis, our paper is overwhelmingly theoretical-methodological: we attempt to provide conceptual tools for grasping a phenomenon—a viable synthesis of professional and community policing practices—that is more or less at its stage of emergence.[15]

More concretely we argue that in order to synthesize different strategies and organisational configurations that are derived from contradictory institutional pressures and administrative doctrines,[16] it is necessary to shift some paradigms of interpreting the strategies and organisation of police and public law enforcement organisations in general. There are several things that public organisations should and should not do in order to manage post-modern issues of social order and individual behaviour, especially at the community level. First, they should not extend their mission and engage in various related activities that can draw them away from their core mission. Instead they should become open organisations and rely heavily on network-type arrangements where public, private and community actors are involved. Second, the extended understanding of power and authority found in post-structuralist theory should be applied for developing possible tools for maintaining public order and compliance with the law. Those tools rely not only on direct enforcement and detection but on disciplinary and normalizing technologies. The latter are largely based on formation and control of community's meaning space, empowerment of actors and redesigning of the infrastructure of action (the deterrence strategy).

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[13] Clifford Shearing and Monique Marks, "Being a New Police in the Liquid 21st Century," *Policing* Vol. 5, No. 3 (2011): 211.

[14] *See* Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouckaert, *Public Management Reform A Comparative Analysis - New Public Management, Governance, and the Neo-Weberian State*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[15] For similar analysis of an emergent phenomenon of "reassurance policing" *see* Martin Innes, "Reinventing Tradition? Reassurance, Neighbourhood Security and Policing," *Criminal* Justice Vol. 4, No. 2 (2004).

[16] *See* Christopher Hood and Michael Jackson, *Administrative Argument* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1991).

The structure of our article is as follows. After comparing professional and community policing strategy and organization as mainly contradictory models, in the last section of our paper we turn to the issue of synthesizing them, by considering possibilities for combining different types of professionalism, power techniques, strategies, and forms of organizations.

1. COMPARING PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY POLICING STRATEGY AND ORGANIZATION

Police scholars have developed various typologies of police models and strategies appropriate to them.[17] In this section we analyse professional and community policing models whose integration into a coherent system continues to cause tremendous conceptual and practical problems.[18]

1.1. SOURCES OF VARIATIONS IN STRATEGY AND STRUCTURE

Figuratively speaking organizations' strategies function as "epistemic lighthouses" to which the members of the organization turn to when designing everyday action. Strategies are important concentrates of organizations' missions, goals and general principles of their implementation[19] and general directions framing our "plan[s] for interacting with the competitive environment to achieve organizational goals"[20]. Strategies are substantially influenced by: (1) constantly changing and ambiguous environment; (2) organizational inertia and bureaucracy that irrespective of environmental challenges tries to stabilize the activities of the organization; and (3) the already established management system.[21] When navigating in complex environments the organization and its different parts should have different lighthouses to follow in the space enlightened by a general lighthouse. Due to the complexity and ambiguity of institutional environments and organizations' own multiple identities most organizations must combine different strategies in forming their activity patterns.[22] At the same time it is necessary to make reflective choices in different contexts regarding the relevance of one or

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[17] *See*, for example, James Q. Wilson, *Varieties of Police Behaviour* (Harvard University Press, 1978); Allan Y. Jiao, "Factoring Policing Models," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* Vol. 20, No. 3 (1997).
[18] Gordon Hughes and Adam Edwards, *supra* note 6.
[19] David J. Hall and Maurice A. Saias, "Strategy Follows Structure!" *Strategic Management Journal* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1980): 151.
[20] Richard L. Daft, *Organization Theory and Design,* 10th ed. (Mason: Cengage Learning, 2010), 65; Lawrence R. Jauch and Richard N. Osborn, "Toward an Integrated Theory of Strategy," *The Academy of Management Review* (1981): 492.
[21] Henry Mintzberg, "Patterns in Strategy Formation," *Management Science* (1978): 941.
[22] Claude Michaud and Jean-Claude Thoenig, *Making Strategy and Organization Compatible* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 9.

another strategy.[23] Their combination should be considered a separate task of design and management.

As Brunnsson and Olsen[24] demonstrate, strategies that become acute through pressures from external environment frequently follow the logic of fashion or other mechanisms of institutional isomorphism.[25] They may contradict the strategies which are derived from organization's own mission and logic of conduct. This controversy is characteristic especially of public sector organizations which are frequently responsive to and dependent on controversial constituencies and sponsor groups[26].

Finally, in complex organizations strategies should be formed to at least three different levels[27]: first, the corporate or macro level determines organization's overall mission and directions; second, the functional or mezzo-level strategies should define how different branches and parts of organization should operate and fit with other branches and parts to meet overall goals and directions of corporate strategy; and third, the operational strategies which define the actual implementation patterns of units. While at the corporate level various sub-strategies should be well synthesized and at the mezzo-level effectively coordinated, at the operational level there could be large diversity of strategies and action plans which must first of all fit with specific task environments. Hence, the issue of structure of an organization becomes an important variable in combining and synthesizing strategies.

There is a generally accepted understanding of sources and forms of diversity of organizations,[28] among them those in the public sector[29]. Organizations focus on the standardization of working procedures or skills to produce relatively standardized outputs presumes as its priority the process improvement and functional, centralized configurations. An organization's dependence on its environment presumes decentralized organizations whose structure should fit to the complexity and ambiguity of challenges from the environment, and hence, presumes autonomy of its units in promoting its specific ends. From this

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[23] Hal G. Rainey, *Understanding and Managing Public Organizations* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 148; Fred R. David, *Strategic Management: Concepts and Cases* (New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc., 2011), 137.
[24] Nils Brunsson and Johan P. Olsen, *supra* note 1.
[25] Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[26] Torben Beck Jørgensen, Hanne Foss Hansen, Marianne Antonsen, and Preben Melander, "Public Organisations, Multiple Constituencies, and Governance," *Public Administration* Vol. 76 (1998).
[27] Gerry Johnson, Kevan Scholes, and Richard Whittington, *Fundamentals of Strategy* (London: Prentice Hall, 2009), 7-9; Fred R. David, *supra* note 23, 137.
[28] Henry Mintzberg, *Structure in Fives. Designing Effective Organisations* (Prentice Hall, 1993); Robert E. Quinn, Sue R. Faerman, Michael P. Thompson, Michael R. McGrath, and Lynda S. St. Clair, *Becoming a Master Manager: A Competency Framework* (New York: Wiley, 2011).
[29] Hal G. Rainey, *supra* note 23, 148; Torben Beck Jørgensen, Hanne Foss Hansen, Marianne Antonsen, and Preben Melander, *supra* note 26.

perspective the police should make choices between elements of professional-bureaucracy and divisional organization.

1.2. PROFESSIONAL POLICE STRATEGY AND ORGANIZATION

Professional police emerged as a response to the pre-professional police,[30] which were characterized by interest groups' struggle for controlling the police, leading to high corruption in the latter.[31] Besides fighting crime, pre-professional police were involved in rather different community serving activities.[32]

The origins of professional police are in the military. However, the early police claimed a status akin to the free professions[33], while the lower military officials were not categorized as professionals, but rather as unskilled workers. Nevertheless, the police strategy that dominated most of the twentieth century was based on the bureaucratic-functional pattern of internal arrangements which enabled the neutrality and efficiency of police in the law-enforcement. It was hoped that through more bureaucratic organization the intra-organizational accountability of patrol-officers would increase[34] and that the hitherto wider conception of police tasks would be focused more narrowly on fighting crime[35]. According to Vollmer,[36] a pioneer of the conception of professional police, the most significant trend of the latter is the centralized effort to suppress and deter crime. This is apparent in the specialization of police training, centralization of communication-system, traffic regulations, and the growth of the scope and integrity of governmental police organizations. The central elements of the professional police strategy and organization are:[37]

(1) attention to crime control and detection as the central mission of the police;

(2) insulation from political and community groups' influence;

(3) domination of functionally-based organizational units and centralized organization;

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[30] George L. Kelling and Mark Harrison Moore, "The Evolving Strategy of Policing," *US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice* (Washington DC, 1988); August Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (1933); Paul Ponsaers, "Reading about 'Community (Oriented) Policing' and Police Models," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* (2001).
[31] Jeffrey A. Schneider, *In Pursuit of Police Professionalism: The Development and Assessment of a Conceptual Model of Professionalism in Law Enforcement*, PhD Thesis (University of Pittsburgh: 2009).
[32] Ellen C. Leichtman, "Complex Harmony: The Military and Professional Models of Policing," *Critical Criminology: An International Journal* (2007).
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] James J. Willis, "Improving Police: What's Craft Got to Do with It?" *Ideas in American Policing* (2013): 1.
[35] Ellen C. Leichtman, *supra* note 32: 54.
[36] August Vollmer, *supra* note 30: 175.
[37] David Alan Sklansky, *supra* note 12.

(4) application of up-to-date technology and availability of regular training systems.

This model has some weaknesses. According to the very idea of bureaucratic organization the officials are accountable primarily to peers. Although this protects the professionals against laymen's requests and helps them to remain neutral and uncorrupted, it also insulates them from citizens.[38] As soon as they are strictly assigned to follow the internal work procedures the organizational innovation is hindered.[39] The professional police's capability to control crime is limited. The police actions are reactive because they are triggered mostly when people report crime. At the same time more latent crime (bribery, child abuse, organized crime, etc.) is frequently not reported and is left unsolved. Additionally, the professional police's intimidation-based prevention tactics causes people's detachment from the police.[40] In order to succeed, the present day police need the supplementary mechanisms of accountability and internal innovation, better feedback about crime cases, and tools of deterrence which do not harm citizens' everyday life.

These weaknesses could be mitigated by introducing elements of community policing to professional police organization and strategy. But we must first consider separately this model, which was developed with the hope of restoring the lost links with the community and enabling people to ensure order in the community themselves.[41]

1.3. COMMUNITY POLICING STRATEGY AND ORGANIZATION

The emergence of community policing could be seen as a reaction to the shortcomings of professional police.[42] Well-educated police managers understood the limitations of the hitherto used crime fighting practices. The efficiency of proceeding crimes, routine patrolling, and responding to emergency calls is debatable, but their limitations in ensuring overall safety are obvious.[43] The goal of community policing was not only reducing minor offences, but also diminishing subjective fear of crime and focusing on the root causes of crime. It was hoped that better services to the people would be delivered, and the community's social capital

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[38] Jack R. Greene, *supra* note 11: 306.
[39] Michael Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy. Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010), 203-204.
[40] Mark Harrison Moore and Robert C. Trojanowicz, "Corporate Strategies for Policing," *US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University* No. 6 (1988): 5.
[41] Wesley G. Skogan, *supra* note 11: 30-31.
[42] Paul Ponsaers, *supra* note 30.
[43] Wesley G. Skogan and Susan M. Hartnett, *Community Policing. Chicago Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 10.

enhanced.[44] Police capacity to prevent/confront crime increased through, among other things, the community's participation in assuring safety at the local level. Community policing seeks to lessen the police organization's bureaucracy, specialization, and hierarchy, and seeks to turn policemen into generalists rather than specialists.[45] The police are seen as co-producers of safety with the public.[46] Compared to the professional police far wider goals are introduced.[47] Crucial are the changes of police roles in crime prevention, their more intensive cooperation with the community and the decentralization of police services.[48] These shifts of goals triggered changes in organizational structures, cultures, and management styles.[49] Community-oriented policemen must have the capacity to make the decisions needed for identifying and solving the communities' problems and for assisting and educating people. Decentralized organizations provide greater autonomy and discretion, which enables more flexible decision-making process at the community level[50]. The biggest problems of community policing are the difficulties of assessing its efficiency and the high costs of its operating, the resistance of hierarchical organization to its operational autonomy, and the community's low interest in dealing with the issues of safety.[51]

In sum, professional police and community policing are primarily considered not only diverse but opposite and in some respects contradictory strategies, which presume a rather different organizing logic. Those differences are summarized in table 1 below.

Table 1. The strategies and organization of community policing and the professional police

	Community policing	**Professional police**
Corporate level	Wide understanding of police functions;	Narrow understanding of police functions;
	Decentralized, long term impacts on root-causes;	Centralized, quick-reaction in single cases;
	Prevention-oriented organization, policy of inclusion;	Policy of detection and suppression;

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[44] Stephen D. Mastrofski, "Community Policing; A Sceptical View": 55; in: Anthony Allan Braga and David Weisburd, eds., *Police innovation. Contrasting perspectives* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006).
[45] Jack R. Greene, *supra* note 11: 302, 314.
[46] Wesley G. Skogan, *supra* note 11: 29.
[47] Stephen D. Mastrofski, *supra* note 44: 47.
[48] Jack R. Greene, *supra* note 11: 312.
[49] John E. Eck and Edward R. Maguire, "Have Changes in Policing Reduced Violent Crime? An Assessment of the Evidence": 219; in: Alfred Blumstein and Joel Wallman, eds., *The Crime Drop in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[50] Wesley G. Skogan and Susan M. Hartnett, *supra* note 43: 6.
[51] Wesley G. Skogan, *supra* note 11: 39; Stephen D. Mastrofski, *supra* note 44: 58.

	Focus on community's problems and citizens preferences.	Focus on the internal logic of crime and priorities established at the governmental level.
Functional level	Viewing the general police's aims holistically at local areas and taking into account communities' interests;	Interpreting police' aims through the prism of one's own individual functions;
	Drawing and mobilizing support from constituencies;	Detecting and suppressing certain actions and groups;
	Policemen as generalists.	Policemen as specialists.
Operational level	Using techniques that create connections with the community (e. g. foot patrol);	Using techniques that enable quick reaction in large areas (e. g. automobile patrol);
	Using inclusive tactics of prevention;	Intimidation-based tactics of prevention;
	Focus on prevention and minor offenses in a manner compatible with local customs.	Norms are applied for shaping the standard behavioral attitudes without considering the local circumstances.
Structure	Divisional organization;	Professional bureaucracy;
	Open organization, close feedbacks from and adaptive responses to the task environment;	Focus on internal processes; need to insulate or to dominate over the environment;
	Selective decentralization;	Centralization;
	Standardization of goals.	Standardization of outputs and professional skills.

Source: the authors

2. SYNTHESIZING PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY POLICE MODELS

Ponsaers views community policing (and the public-private divide) not as the next stage of policing replacing the classical models of professional and law-enforcement policing, but as a late/post-modern development which supplements the core patterns.[52] However, he intentionally left open the question of how these models mutually fit or complement each other. Today it is becoming evident that community police's failure to meet the expectations of politicians, as well as its critique, are both related to the inability to find an appropriate synthesis of these two approaches.[53] At the same time the mutual integration of professional and

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[52] Paul Ponsaers, *supra* note 30.
[53] Christopher Stone and Jeremy Travis, "Toward a New Professionalism in Policing," *New Perspectives in Policing* (March, 2011); David Alan Sklansky, *supra* note 12.

public-private divide patterns has been much more successful.[54] The problem, however, is not at all new. The architects of professional policing[55] have emphasized the need to develop the dimension of community and public accountability of street level professional policing and warned against superficial community policing programs. In the final part of the article we indicate the directions of a synthesis of professional and community police.

Our attempt to synthesize these models may shed light also on the possibilities of integration of other specific patterns, like the private-public divide,[56] or autonomous professional task forces. A recent debate at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government on New Professionalism and advanced community policing from the viewpoint of professionalization has triggered considerable debate about the issue.[57] We will approach this synthesis in view of the dimensions of professionalism, strategy, and structure of policing.

2.1. COMBINING DIFFERENT TYPES OF PROFESSIONALISM

A profession is an occupation that requires extensive training and mastery of specialized knowledge.[58] Professionalism of police could be considered at individual, organizational and occupational levels[59]; it could be studied also in terms of growth of experience/knowledge[60] or in relation to certain walks of life.[61] The notion of professionalism has changed over time, and was studied in different fields. Hargreaves[62] distinguished four periods/types of professionalism in education:

(1) pre-professionalism characterised by simple environment and amateur attitude;

(2) autonomous professionalism emphasising knowledge-based approach and seeing professions as separate closed groups of specialist;

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[54] Gordon Hughes and Michael Rowe, *supra* note 12; Mark Bevir, *Democratic Governance* (Princeton University Press, 2010).
[55] Orlando Winfield Wilson and Roy Clinton McLaren, *Police Administration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963).
[56] Adam Crawford, *supra* note 5.
[57] David Alan Sklansky, *supra* note 12; Christopher Stone and Jeremy Travis, *supra* note 53.
[58] Lycia Carter and Mark Wilson, "Measuring Professionalism of Police Officers," *Police Chief* Vol. 73, No. 8 (2006).
[59] Stephen E. Brown, "Conceptualizing Police Professionalism," *American Journal of Criminal Justice* Vol. 5, No. 2 (1980).
[60] James J. Willis, *supra* note 34: 3.
[61] Eliot Freidson, *Professionalism, the Third Logic: On the Practice of Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 2.
[62] Andy Hargreaves, "Four ages of professionalism and professional learning," *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* Vol. 6, No. 2 (2000).

(3) collegial professionalism (connecting individual and organizational goals) which Scott[63] identifies as professionalism in heteronomous organizations and Mintzberg[64] as professional bureaucracy;

(4) post-professional/post-modern period accentuating generalist skills, involvement of extra-professional actors and learning capacity.[65]

The generalist/specialist dilemma emerging most explicitly in the "post-professional" period/type is quite important when one considers the conflict and harmonization of different types of professionals. Based on Stone and Travis,[66] we argue that the professional police organization draws on instrumental-operational skills of crime-detection and law-enforcement capabilities, which are applied in increasingly specialized task environments. In the last decade the role of relatively autonomous police-professionals has increased either in the framework of multifunctional task force units or cross-organizational and cross-border networks. Police officers who are focused on community safety have many traits of post-professionals. The professional profiles of such policemen are substantially different not only from pre-professionals, but also from generalist public servants like general practitioners in medicine. A community policeman is a kind of liaison officer between the core police and its environment and should be capable of coordinating interactions with partner agencies in public and non-profit sector. They should have extensive capacity of learning to be able to adapt to diverse and complex work environment. Finally, modern police should extensively involve semi-amateur volunteers in assisting traditional professional police, as well as civil society actors who can contribute to guaranteeing community safety. In sum, all those actors of police organization may promote different goals, focus on various target groups, and draw on different types of knowledge and skills. Hence, the main task is not to work out a new model of professional policemen but to bind all these types of police professionalism into an interactive pattern. Today the very concept of "professional police" is confusing. It emerged as a concept for indicating the principal difference between pre-professional and military police. Today, however, we have different types of professionalism in the police. Stone and Travis developed an understanding of "new professionalism" which draws not on new individual skills but rather on organizational development skills and competences, in order to promote the accountability, legitimacy, innovation and national coherence of police.

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[63] Walter Richard Scott, *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1992), 254-255; Walter Richard Scott, "Reactions to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organization," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (1965).
[64] Henry Mintzberg, *supra* note 28.
[65] Gareth Morgan, *Images of organization* (SAGE, 2007), Ch. 4.
[66] Christopher Stone and Jeremy Travis, *supra* note 53.

2.2. TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS OF PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY POLICE STRATEGIES

In debating the professional versus community police dilemma, Kerlikowske[67] suggested that analysts of police abandoned all conceptual models and focused on the best experiences of practical policing over the last decades. Sklansky[68], on the other hand, suggested that the very concepts and missions of professional as well as community policing should be reinterpreted in order to find their points of confluence and interdependence. Actually, what both are insisting on is focusing on different levels of strategy in attempting to find points of their confluence. As pointed out earlier, considering strategies at different levels provides a mechanism for making steps towards their conceptual synthesis.

Sklansky[69] insists on bridging those two models at the level of corporate philosophy. It entails defining the organization's mission and long term purposes in ways that avoid their contradictions, and identify points where different strategic dimensions can mutually reinforce their strengths and neutralize weaknesses. Our thesis is that the inability to bind together the strength of professional and community police philosophies and strategies was one of the main reasons for the amplification of the weaknesses of both. We intend to illuminate some conceptual bridges between them.

The gap between "indexed crimes"—identified frequently as national priorities—on the one hand and citizens' need for safety on the other have not been derived only from the all-too-reactive stance of professional police. The community policing in the United States has been, to some extent, a political campaign,[70] or a slogan that "did not serve as the transformative paradigm."[71] How can we expect to transform the paradigm of thinking about the role and organization of community policing?

First, in trying to soften the negative consequences of reactive-technocratic professional policing but without having profoundly reflected upon the feasible mission of community policing, the proponents of the latter have, to a certain extent, treated the mission of the police too broadly. This obviously justifies the critique of community policing on the grounds of its inefficiency and excessive

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[67] Gil Kerlikowske, "The End of Community Policing: Remembering the Lessons Learned," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* Vol. 73, No. 4 (2004).
[68] David Alan Sklansky, *supra* note 12.
[69] *Ibid*.
[70] Matthew C. Scheider, Robert Chapman, and Amy Schapiro, "Towards the Unification of Policing Innovations under Community Policing," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* (2009).
[71] Christopher Stone and Jeremy Travis, *supra* note 53: 11.

costs. Already the Morgan report from 1991[72] in the UK asserted that the scope of community safety is extensive and the fighting with root causes of certain types of crimes and ensuring the community safety should not be seen solely as the police's responsibility[73]. This presumes not only closeness to and cooperation with the community[74] but the creation of strategic partnership networks in which numerous local public actors like social work and health protection agencies, youth centres, etc., should participate. The building and sustaining of partnership networks is becoming the core management task of community police in guaranteeing security at the local level. At the same time, the politico-administrative top should also put much more emphasis on inter-sectorial cooperation in policymaking regarding issues of safety. This narrow sectorial focus was probably one of the reasons why the mission of police was to some extent misinterpreted and the discrepancy emerged between national targets and community's needs regarding safety. Without such an institutional framework and policymaking patterns at the top the partnership at the community level cannot be launched. This was also confirmed by our research of institutional developments of Estonian police.[75] As demonstrated in the research literature the development of community safety partnership in majoritarian-competitive political cultures have serious difficulties with building up national institutional configurations conducive to partnership at the community level.[76] At the same time in countries with consensual politico-administrative cultures where the local security management succeeded in building local safety partnerships networks we are not witnessing such obvious discrepancies between national priorities and local security management.[77] Hence, the strategy of linking the police organization with its complex institutional environment can effectively neutralize the negative consequences of inward looking stance of professional bureaucracy. This could be the first move towards the new transformative paradigm in Stone and Travis'[78] sense that would enable the synthesis.

The second direction of the analysis in ensuring the new transformative paradigmatic turn at the mezzo-level of strategy would be the redefinition of the very concept and mechanisms of power for the effective management of crime and

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[72] James Morgan, *Safer Communities: The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention through the Partnership Approach* (London: Home Office, 1991).
[73] Gordon Hughes, *supra* note 10, 81.
[74] Matthew C. Scheider, Robert Chapman, and Amy Schapiro, *supra* note 70.
[75] Georg Sootla and Kersten Kattai, *Siseministeeriumi korrakaitse- ja migratsioonipoliitika asekantsleri haldusala juhtimise, korralduse ja toimimise analüüs (An Analysis of the Management, Organisation and Performance in the Administrative Field of the Ministry of the Interior's Vice-Chancellor of the Policy of Law and Order, and Migration)* (Tallinn, 2012) [in Estonian].
[76] Gordon Hughes and Michael Rowe, *supra* note 12; Gordon Hughes and Adam Edwards, *supra* note 6.
[77] Sirpa Virta, "Governing Urban Security in Finland: Towards the 'European Model'," *European Journal of Criminology* Vol. 10, No. 3 (2013); Peter Gorisi, "Community Crime Prevention and the 'Partnership Approach': A Safe Community for Everyone?" *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* Vol. 9, No. 4 (2001).
[78] Christopher Stone and Jeremy Travis, *supra* note 53: 11.

safety. If the police detect the intentional rational and organized criminal action the only reasonable strategy is the application of traditional zero-sum tools of compulsion, sanctions, and exclusion—that is, mechanisms of "distributive power".[79] But, many criminal offences as well as conflicts in the community, which may emerge from differences in lifestyles, are outcomes of spontaneous actions or are emotional reactions in which case very specific contexts and situational variables play crucial role.[80] In these cases it is more effective to draw strategically on various disciplinary power techniques in assuring safety or normalization as analysed by Foucault. Though the concepts of "disciplinary power" and "normalization" had definitely pejorative connotations of "domination" in Foucault's earlier treatment,[81] they can, in line also with Foucault's later lectures,[82] be seen as neutral notions as well. They describe techniques of constituting actors in a sense of not merely restraining or promoting certain ways of behaviour but also producing the shift of subjective orientation and identities of individuals through the influence of the contextual variables of their actions. Actually, since "contemporary practices of government are increasingly taking place at a distance and depending on the self-steering capacities of individuals, organizations and networks,"[83] a majority of public agencies are using different disciplinary and normalizing power techniques, like different types of training and counselling, city planning, public relations campaigns etc. "Normalization" in this context refers

> to the procedures and processes through which a norm is brought into play and informs the practices that it seeks to regulate. It refers to the diverse programs, procedures, and techniques by which an individual, a group or an organization take one or more norms as the reference for measuring and perhaps problematizing the adequacy, correctness or desirability of the ways they are doing things.[84]

More importantly, Foucault[85] insists that simultaneous combination of different power techniques can make them much more effective. In the last decades, mainly due to private-public partnerships in policing, a huge variety of deterrence mechanisms have been elaborated, also by citizens themselves. Those have considerably reduced the petite crime/offences rates in particular and the

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[79] Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1. A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6-7.
[80] Alan France and Paul Wiles, "Dangerous Futures: Social Exclusion and Youth Work in Late Modernity," *Social Policy and Administration* Vol. 31, No. 5 (1997); Hans Boutellier, *supra* note 9.
[81] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).
[82] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-1978* (Macmillan, 2009).
[83] Peter Triantafillou, "Addressing Network Governance through the Concepts of Governmentality and Normalization," *Administrative Theory & Praxis* Vol. 26, No. 4 (2004): 494.
[84] *Ibid*.: 496.
[85] Michel Foucault, *supra* note 81.

"profitability" of crimes.[86] However deterrence draws primarily on restraints and exclusion. The other mechanisms, which draw primarily on techniques of inclusion and on the formation of new subjective identities and groups, are based on various forms of symbolic power[87] control of discursive space[88] or meaning space,[89] etc. What is important is that these mechanisms of power do not draw on physical detection and control over topographic space but influence the behaviour through the topologic networks, meaning systems, etc.; i.e. they are not bound to surface and scale, and thus can be effective in the age of globalization.[90] Herbert[91] demonstrated already two decades ago that in order to have an overall effect the disciplinary power and deterrence techniques applied by professional police and community police techniques should complement each other in order to neutralize each other's weaknesses. Foucault's understanding of power as "productive," not merely as prohibitive, and his notion of "subjection,"[92] need further introduction in order to bridge effectively the community policing and professional policing strategies,[93] partly because the studies of policing are still very sporadically related to Foucault and post-structuralist heritage,[94] even if the issue of power and government(ality) in the Foucauldian sense are addressed[95].

Third, Kerlikowske's proposal to focus on actual practices of police in order to bridge the gap between different patterns of policing calls for analyses of various police techniques or mezzo-level strategies. Scheider et al.,[96] have already analysed insightfully the links of community policing with problem oriented policy, broken windows strategy, etc. However, this mezzo-level analysis and synthesis could be successfully done only if it draws on a profound transformative turn at the level of corporate philosophy. For instance, the broken windows strategy can be interpreted and carried on as the strategy of total detection of individual offenses (zero tolerance detection). However it can be interpreted also as a set of symbolic actions that are conducive to changes of meaning space in which other actors and types of values (i.e. groomed environment) can become dominant in the community. We expect that the analysis of mezzo-level strategies from this angle

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[86] Ronald Victor Gemuseus Clarke, ed., *Situational Crime Prevention* (Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press, 1997).

[87] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).

[88] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. *Volume 1* (London: Penguin, 1998), 100-101.

[89] John Allen, *Lost Geographies of Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

[90] Jon Murdoch, *Post-Structuralist Geography: A Guide to Relational Space* (SAGE, 2006), 12, 28.

[91] Steve Herbert, "The Geopolitics of the Police: Foucault, Disciplinary Power and the Tactics of the Los Angeles Police Department," *Political Geography* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1996).

[92] Michel Foucault, *supra* note 88.

[93] Veronique Voruz, "Politics in Foucault's Later Work: A Philosophy of Truth; Or Reformism in Question," *Theoretical Criminology* Vol. 15, No. 1 (2011).

[94] *See* for notable exception Danica Dupont and Frank Pearce, "Foucault contra Foucault: Regarding the 'Governmentality papers'," *Theoretical Criminology* Vol. 5, No. 2 (2001).

[95] *See*, for instance, Adam Edwards and Gordon Hughes, "Public Safety Regimes: Negotiated Orders and Political Analysis in Criminology," *Criminology and Criminal Justice* Vol. 12, No. 4 (2012).

[96] Matthew C. Scheider, Robert Chapman, and Amy Schapiro, *supra* note 70.

will provide a diverse set of bridges between professional and community policing models.

Community policing can play complementary roles vis-a-vis professional police in neutralizing the weaknesses of the latter in two senses. On the one hand, community policing should link the police organization better with its environment through enabling better informational input and also through discursively controlling the local space, which ensures better legitimacy and trust to the police and helps to build up effective prevention techniques, etc. On the other hand, community police should be responsible for active formation of partnership networks which ought to manage community safety issues. Along with detection of direct violations of public order, the role of police in these networks is primarily to be a "shadow of hierarchy"[97] for other local public agencies in dealing with social problems and in prevention activities within the scope of their specific mission. In this dimension community policing is primarily playing the role of support structure, in Mintzberg's sense,[98] or creating liaisons to part of the organization and do not act *per se* as an operating core of police in producing immediate output. Thus, it is questionable to apply immediate output indicators to the actions of those units of police whose role is accomplishing other strategic roles in the organization.

2.3. TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS OF PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY POLICE ORGANIZATION

As previously explained, the professional police draw on centralized professional-functional bureaucracy in order to better achieve its strategic aims, while community police should apply decentralized structure in order to respond to the complexity of the environment.

The functional way of structuring the professional bureaucracy of police has several strengths:

(1) Standardization of tasks/skills enables to target activities clearly on concrete task-outputs, to learn from each other and become more specialized and productive.

(2) It is easier to measure outputs and to plan workload of individuals and to assess efficiency. This enables managers to better control the action in the organization and to assure visible legitimacy of leadership in the organization.

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[97] Fritz W. Scharpf, "Games Real Actors Could Play: Positive and Negative Coordination in Embedded Negotiations," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1994).
[98] Henry Mintzberg, *supra* note 28.

(3) Social control mechanisms operate inside and between such groups and organizations, where colleagues surveil each other in order to make sure that there is no shirking.

(4) So called "well oiled" hierarches[99] are necessary in case of emergencies. The police organization is always divided into territorial units which differ in their autonomy, scope of responsibilities and internal structure. In case of a deconcentration of the professional bureaucracy's territorial units, they are primarily sites of coordination and supervision of loosely interconnected functional activities. Though each function could be accomplished and efficient immediate output produced, the process as a whole can lose final purpose and may not generate an outcome for organization and community. In such organizations strict "distributive" power hierarchies subordinate the front-line actions to the rigid, sometimes purely quantitative output targets, enabling the direct intervention of upper tiers into operations at the front line level. The rigid priorities and administrative intervention in the operating level is one of the main causes of decreasing accountability and motivation of street-level officers. In addition, there is a tendency to build up entire organizations according to one overarching logics of structuration (although according to Mintzberg,[100] even in highly centralized organizations its basic parts should be structured according to different principles). As a result horizontally insulated functional "silos" emerge and interconnections between units may remain rather loose and their action style parochial. This has evidently been the reason for considering national coherence as a core aim of the new professionalism in the police.[101]

In the case of divisional form, an organization's units are not merely decentralized, but also many different organizational patterns and strategies might be simultaneously combined at the lower territorial divisions. Mintzberg[102] asserted that in its divisional form business organizations usually develop functional sub-units through limited decentralization.[103] In the actual practice of policing with controversial challenges from many complex and ambiguous environments, regional police units can be formed as deconcentrated units in which more complex professional functions are accomplished and support structures of front-line units concentrated. The local front–line divisions can be decentralized units with different depth of discretion. They can be assigned with responsibility simultaneously for community safety as well as the less sophisticated functional professional tasks

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[99] Geert Hoftede, Gert Jan Hofstede, and Michael Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind: Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010).
[100] Henry Mintzberg, *supra* note 28, 22.
[101] Christopher Stone and Jeremy Travis, *supra* note 53: 3.
[102] Henry Mintzberg, *supra* note 28, 219-222.
[103] *Ibid.*, 117.

(handling emergency calls or investigating less complicated cases). Smooth information feedback from the community and its direct support to the unit can considerably increase effective implementation of those functional tasks. In this context the controversy of functional/quantitative output indicators of efficiency of functional units and outcomes and community impact indicators of effectiveness of product based and external environment oriented organizational units may also be reconciled and simultaneously pursued by the organization.[104]

Mintzberg[105] also demonstrated that the divisional form of organizing enables to separate clearly the strategic apex responsible for the corporate and functional (mezzo-)strategies from divisions which retain autonomy in defining their operational strategies. This enables divisional units to better meet the pressures from the environment, to reflect its diversity, and to quickly adapt units' purposes and goals to new challenges of the task environment. In other words, the divisional form allows developing an open and pro-active organization without abolishing the functional logic of organizing. Thus community policing operations can complement operations of professional policing. First of all they can add advantages that open organizations have—mechanisms of legitimacy, feedback, first hand info, reliance of community actors—and at the same time rely on technical and analytical proficiency and objectivity of the professional police. Here it is worth recalling that "[w]hat community policing challenged in the 1980s was not a truly professional model of policing, but rather a technocratic, rigid, often cynical model of policing."[106] Thus, we should not ignore that the units of professional police are, for instance, well suited for investigating and fighting the organized wholesale drug traffic. At the same time breaking the petite smuggling networks at the community level (at schools, night clubs etc.) is almost impossible without information from and legitimacy in the community, where such criminal behaviour is often known to the public. Moreover, the petit drug smuggling is usually linked with social problems that could be neutralized through social work programs in the framework of community safety networks. Thus in order to tackle the drug issue consistently and to achieve the satisfactory level of normalization these patterns and styles of policing should be closely linked.

Further, the divisional organization reduces the possibility and need for direct administrative intervention in operative affairs of divisions. The accountability of units for concrete performance outputs and results can be reached not through the rigid imposition of performance targets and control from the top, but through negotiated agreements about better means to achieve general goals and through

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[104] Norman Flynn, *supra* note 4.
[105] Henry Mintzberg, *supra* note 28.
[106] Christopher Stone and Jeremy Travis, *supra* note 53: 4.

the assistance by the higher level consultants from headquarters to find the best performance indicators.[107] This specific style of performance management also enables adaption to the rather complex structure of community whose constituents may have internal conflicts and contradictory needs.[108] One of the shortcomings of community policing in the US has been the insufficient variation of operational strategies of police to meet specific needs of different constituents, especially in the dimension of ethnic-racial groups.[109]

In sum, the divisional configuration of organizing is obviously not a universal tool, but it opens several important opportunities for reducing the controversies between professional and community police and combining them in manners that bring out the strengths of both forms of organizing. Thus the bridging capacity of divisional form should be studied further.

CONCLUSION

Whether we view police functions as narrowly related to crime, or more widely in terms of overall safety, one of their components is still the tie to the community. For successful police action it is essential to receive adequate and quick information from the inhabitants. The flow of this information is always affected by both police's strategies and the form of its organization. Our argument was based on the assumption that the changes in crime practices and institutional environment have imposed upon police the centralized and highly functional organization. We sought an answer to the question of whether professional and community policing strategies that are in many respects contradictory could be used simultaneously in the same organization for reducing the weaknesses of professional police's strategy and organisation.

Professional and community policing models were selected as examples for presenting the frame that might help to combine different models in a way that encourages police leaders and expands possibilities to find appropriate approach for advancing safety. Indeed, the arguments we proposed for synthesizing these models do not constitute a new model or specific principles of organization, but merely a crib for police leaders in a hurry, or a critical reminder for police scholars of the need for more interdisciplinary research.

Although strategy is considered to be the cornerstone of organization, the focus of our paper is neither strategy nor organization, but their interrelation.

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[107] PUMA, "Performance Management in Government: Performance Measurement and Results-oriented Management," *Occasional Paper* No. 3 (OECD, 1995).
[108] David Alan Sklansky, *supra* note 12.
[109] *Ibid*.

Unlike many earlier studies of police organizations or strategies,[110] we view strategies in the organization at the corporate, functional and operational level. We found that by combining them with functional and divisional principles of structuring, it is possible to have professional strategy as the core of policing, while using the community policing strategy first of all as a component part of the strategy in the framework of divisional organization. In this way it is possible to avoid the risk of alienating police from the community and to ensure the successful implementation of corporate strategy through providing the professional police units that perform the narrow functions, with quick and adequate information from the community. In order to reach an effective fit between different strategies and organizational configurations, the concepts of professionalism, as well as the mission of community policing, should be reconsidered and the concept of productive power operationalized in order to enrich the variety of inclusive disciplinary techniques in managing safety issues.

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[110] *See*, for example, James Q. Wilson, *supra* note 17; Paul Ponsaers, *supra* note 30; Mark Bevir, *supra* note 5; etc.

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