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Community Policing: Nothing New Under the Sun

By Superintendent Chris Braiden, Edmonton Police Department

INTRODUCTION

Mind-set influences everything in our lives: politics, religion, lifestyle, the clothes we wear, even our hairstyles, if we have any. Mind-sets, in turn, are fashioned by our perceptions of life. But perceptions can become self-fiilfilling prophesies. As one very bright person commented, "We're not what we think we are, but what we think, we are."

It seems tome there is no one reality in life, only our perception of what reality is in our particular circumstances. And so it is with policing: the mind set of the leaders dictates what the reality of policing will be for the doers.

Because policing has a very loosey-goosey job description and enjoys a monopoly over its product, there is considerable room for mind-sets and perceptions to wander. My basic position is that policing has become a self-fulfilled prophesy; in the main it has become what we, the police, believe it should be. Whether that is what it needs to be is the most important question facing our future.

We must wean ourselves from the criminal justice system so that It becomes one of our customers and not our sole customer.

Today's generation of police managers, myself included, grew up in a policing mind-set that saw us molded as functionaries of the criminal justice system, a part of that system and apart from the community-at-large. Indeed, there arc strong signals that the entire system has come adrift of its original mandate. This was not planned or brought about by any one individual. It simply evolved over time. But for sure it did happen. And because that system's sole product is crime, in the pure sense, so too has the police product become so narrowed. Indeed, many of us proudly refer to ourselves as law enforcement officers. Try calling a chef a cook or a homemaker a housekeeper and see what the reaction would

be. I think Sir Robert Peel would turn over in his grave to see how his visionary product has been narrowed and cheapened. A better way of policing cries out. I believe that better way is to be found in a return to the basic principles and philosophy that spawned public policing in the first place. In its simplest terms, this means pushing out the edges of what we do and how we do it. We must wean ourselves from the criminal justice system so that is becomes one of our customers and not our sole customer.

It also includes getting *OUT* heads around the idea that we can have a greater impact on crime by coming at it indirectly and by marshaling the energies of others as opposed to trying to influence it

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directly by working on our own as we have in the past. It means a return to our original mandate, that of peace officers in the broad sense versus law enforcement officers in the narrow sense. There is a world of difference between the two. Those of us who are charged with the responsibility of molding the future of policing need to develop a new vision of why and how we police our communities. That mind-set must be constructed around the fundamental philosophy of Community Policing. But what is it?

Community Policing is one of the most topical issues in policing today. As one commentator put it, "It seems to mean all **things** to all people." Volumes have been written and library shelves are bending under their weight. One thing seems certain: whatever Community Policing is, its the "in thing". Everyone seems to like it. Many people in policing are hitch-hiking on its wave of popularity. They apply it to almost everything they do outside of fundamental patrol work. This is a critical mistake. Until it becomes the fundamentals of police work, it's going nowhere.

Try to get someone to define Community Policing for **you**, **though**, **and** there is silence. Most

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solving particular problems are preferred.
Michael Scott,
Nancy G. LaVigne, Assistant)1?ditor

seem to see it as a new "thing" in policing. My position is that they are wrong on both counts. It is neither new nor is it a "thing". It's much deeper than that. I believe it is simply a re-emergence of the founding philosophy on which Peel built his public police in 1829. So let us first get rid of the notion that we have a new product on the block. It will never be realized as an "add-on" to the conventional model. It won't stick. **Unfortunately** that is what most police departments have tried to do with it; stick a new box on the edge of the organisational chart, put a few people in it and **announce** the birth of Community Policing. It's not an hors d'oeuvre,

the beginning.
In spite of the volumes, studies, and conferences that have been generated by Community Policing in the past decade, an understandable, concise explanation of what it is goes begging. This short paper is an effort to fill that vacuum. It's an effort to explain where Community Policing comes from, what it is, and how it's done.

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policing was **supposed** to be from

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THE ORIGIN OF COMMUNITY POLICING

Someone once observed. "There is nothing new under the sun." Neither is there anything new about Community Policing. Consider the following argument. Kenneth Oxford, Chief Constable of Merseyside Police Force in England, in commenting on the Scarman Report into the Brixton Riots of 1981, said: "I have yet to find out the definition of Community Policing. It seems to be all things to all people." Perhaps the Chief Constable had answered his own question. Anyone (and there are many) who cannot get beyond demanding a

pat, simplistic definition of the philosophy and ideas of Community Policing has missed the point entirely. Where would flight be today if the Wright brothers had demanded to see a 747 before toking their run off that hill?

In conventional policing, we have always tried to keep things nicely packaged and pigeon-holed; the process has **overshadowed** the task. You cannot do that with Community Policing. Depending upon the problem faced, it might just be all things to all people. In my view, Community Policing does have a solitary definition, a single philosophy. But once again, we must look at the past to enlighten our present. The fundamental philosophy is to be found in the genesis of modem policing — Peel's principles. The mandate of policing has not changed down through the years. What did shift down through those same years were the perceptions the succession of police bureaucrats had of what policing should be: which, in turn, was influenced by what they like it to be. Crime fighting and law enforcement are fun and measurable; in the main, that's what policing has come to be.

I submit that the philosophy of what we term Community Policing today was originally found in item seven of Peel's principles:

"To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police: the police being only the members of the public that are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence."

I believe that when this
passage is analyzed for its total
mes e, it is the most accurate,
concise, definitive statement of
Community Policing. For sure it is

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Superintendent Chris Braiden at PERF's Annual Meeting

the earliest. Let me explain further: most people are <u>familiar</u> with the trite statement, "The police are the public and the public are the police." That is incomplete by itself. It is also misunderstood, I think. For most, it seems to mean that cops are just ordinary people like everyone else. It is presumed to be talking about the status of the people involved when in fact it is speaking about the work they do. It is the second part of the principle that gives full meaning to the statement and qualifies what Peel had in mind for his day. I would submit that while the community he speaks of changes and reshapes itself from time to time, the fundamental rationale and philosophy of the message remain constant. I believe that what Peel intended was to position the new police as social catalytic agents, not the aloof, law-enforcement, trade-craft journeymen we have fashioned ourselves into.

To understand Peel's thinking, and his reasons for forming the new police in the first place, we need to know a little about what London was like in his time. The Industrial Revolution was in full swing. This created a whole new strata of society: the factory worker. The person who was paid in cash for his weekly work was a

recent thing. Barter wasn't far in the past. Gin hit the streets and people had money to buy it. For the first time in history the masses had money in their pockets. The Industrial Revolution also brought very rapid, uncontrolled growth to the cities. Riots and public disorder were common. This sociological phenomenon was the main reason Peel formed the police in the first place: to control this widespread public disorder.

For further proof of his perceptions and mind-set, we must look at where Peel found his first batch of recruits. As he said, "I want men of gentlemanly standing." He intentionally drew his original complement of police officers right from the very strata of the community that would be most directly affected by his new policing. Indeed, in the first decade 3,000 were fired! He wanted his police to be of the people, for the people. He wanted the community, literally, to police itself with certain members paid to do it full time in uniform while the rest did it part-time as they went about their daily work.

George Felling and others captured Peel's thoughts in modem terms:

"Assigning the police responsibility for the maintenance of order, the prevention of crime and the apprehension of <u>criminals</u> constitutes far too great a burden on far too few. Primary responsibility rests with families, the community and its individual members. The police can only facilitate and assist members of the community in the **maintenance** of order, and no more."

Central to my proposition that item seven of Peel's principles is the original statement of Community Policing is the last phrase of the passage, "in the interests of community welfare and existence. Peel's thinking was clearly not limited to crime, criminals, criminal investigations or law enforcement. On the contrary, his phrase embraces the myriad of social issues that surround and are inextricably **linked** with **policing** — poverty, illiteracy, greed, racism, narcissism, etc.

We must look to the total community around us for early signs of problems and then act as community team leaders to seek and apply solutions.

Let me use the medical profession to illustrate this point more clearly. For a long time, it was thought that doctors controlled health. We now know that doctors have very little control over health. For sure they have some control over sickness and disease, but these things happen only after health has broken down. History has taught us that such non-medical things as diet, lifestyle and heredity, which have nothing to do with doctors, have a much greater impact on health than the entire medical profession and its gadgetry. This is the same type of broad perspective that must find a central place in our thinking on the

evolution of policing. We must police in the interests of community welfare and existence. We must look to the total community around us for early signs of problems and then act as community team leaders to seek and apply solutions. Indeed, the orijnal dictionary definition of policing is embarrassingly simple and revealing. It describes policing as, "A better state of society." I have no doubt that this is the definition that was guiding Peel's thinking as he put the Metropolitan Police together 160 years ago.

It is my contention then, that what Peel was describing in 1829 has come to be known as "Community Policing". In his day, the only descriptive term used was "Policing". Nothing else was necessary. But in our time, we have gone through a litany of double-barrelled terms that could be referred to collectively as "Adjective Policing". We've had team policing, zone policing, proactive policing and reactive policing, hard policing and soft policing. The list goes on. I think all these terms have served only to confuse most of us (certainly me). If **not** for these **previous** adjectives, we wouldn't have to use the word " community" to isolate what we're talking about. In fact, policing has not changed; only our perception of what should be has. The only question facing today's police leaders and governing bodies, such as police commissioners, is whether we want to stay with policing as it was intended to be while embracing all the changes that have taken place in society in the interim. If the decision is to return to Peel's philosophy, then that happens to be called Community Policing in today's vernacular. I believe that Peel's principles and Community Policing mean exactly the same thing. They are interchangeable. So, indeed,

there is nothing new under the sun. And I'm sticking with that argument until somebody gives me a better one.

WHAT IS COMMUNITY POLICING?

"Police others as you would have others police you." That really says it all. What follows will not add to nor take away from that golden statement of life as well as policing, but will simply serve to explain and illustrate it. —

Commsunity policing is a philosophy, a mind-set, the reason why we do things in policing. It is the strategic vision that must precede strategic planning` otherwise we have planning for planning's sake. The Community Policing philosophy is constant, it doesn't change from police department to police department or police officer to police officer. Conversely, how it gets done changes constantly.

Over time, a space has developed between what we think is Important and what the public thinks Is important.

To use the religious corollary, faith is constant but the denominations and paths to it are multitudinous. This perception is the essence of Community Policing because it recognizes that communities such as cities are made up of a collection of individual neighborhoods and that the personalities, problems, and solutions to those neighborhood problems vary widely. Another way of putting it is to say that Community Policing is an effort to bring the village to the city and to sec the city as a collection of villages as opposed to a big blob of people. Community is the larger

term encompassing a number of neighborhoods.

If a **conventional** police agency is to adopt the Community Policing way of doing things, then there first has to be a re-tooling of the heads of the brass before you can re-tool the feet of the grunts. It has more to do with why we do things rather than what those things are. It has to do with the <u>classic</u> definition of effectiveness and efficiency captured by Warren Bennis who put it this way: "Effectiveness is doing the right things. Efficiency is **doing things** right." But no matter how well we do things, if they are the wrong things in the first place then we're spinning our wheels. No amount of efficiency replaces effectiveness. We **have** become very efficient at the routine things but never even question whether they should be done. Community Policing is the vision that tells us the right things to do. Problem-Oriented Policing is how we get those things done right (more about this later on). Community Policing is the head, **Problem-Oriented Policing** strategies arc the feet. To quote Herman Goldstein, the father of **Problem-Oriented Policing** thinking, "Community Policing is the bun and Problem-Oriented Policing is the beef."

No matter how well we do things, If they are the wrong things in the first place then we're spinning our wheels.

And there is another thought that is critical to an understanding of Community Policing. Over the past several decades, we have "done to" people in terms of policing. Community Policing would have us "do with" people. It embodies the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson who said, "Go often to the home of thy friend for

weeds choke the unused path." Conventionally, the only paths we walk are those to the bad guy's house. Weeds choke the path between us and the common people. "Only want the facts ma'am, we'll do the rest." And there is another side to it. Traditionally, police have unilaterally decided what is important. As a consequence, because we have a monopoly over our work, because policing has a very nebulous job description, and mostly because we are human, to a large degree we have ended up doing the things we like to do and that are quantifiable (an hour spent on radar is measurable, not so with a bunch of snotty-nosed kids bent on mischief), as opposed to what is best for the community. Over time, a space has developed between what we think is important and what the public thinks is important.

Let me use an everyday example to make this point. A bank is robbed and a wino is mugged. In our criminal code these crimes are equal, they are both robberies. There is no special category for banks. Police reaction to them, however, is not. On the Richter scale of police priorities, the bank job is an eight, the wino doesn't register. Why? It all has to do with mind-set. It has to do with the evolution of police thinking of what is important. That thinking has been predicated upon the actions of the criminal rather the social damage of the criminal's action upon the community. It has to do with such things as the amount of money involved, the status of the crime in the criminal code, and in some cases, the status of the victim. Our conventional reaction is influenced more by its legal damage versus community damage.

If we were of the **Community** Policing mind-set, we might **ask** these questions before we decide

(Edmontort, continued from page 1) of high crime rates in the nei horhood. Robberies at One hotel were a common occurrence, particularly in the hotel washrooms. With po'li advice, the hotel restructured the layout of the washrooms to increase visibi ity While insuring privacy.

Drug use acid dealing' often took place in the rear of the hotel bar in a dark secluded area. The hotel was willing to make an initial investment by placing bright lights in that area, and the payo was the says. Ednioazton Police Sergeant Mike 'Bradsha'k "Thi'e' '' that Urea lit up like a football stadium now. We've seen a ;dgn'ificant grease in crime?: already."

Not all police { -om endatious were initially w+cll-teccive by the hoiet. The hotel ba 'as often the scene o'violent braws, with weapons taking tae form of glares and pool cues. Police su led that the hotel mtiitute. a Policy of checking out numbered es'in'ex asige fdr tl custome 1S picturc 1<.D_ This process wouli 3 mt~lte Elie c tamer snore responsible for the cue and discourage the use Of it its a vieapon. *Tote management was he, satant to make this cua~agr, tgtuug utat the pr was too moonvenienf but on the]~nday cvbn~+_r aRct'tl e 400lice. recommende th, pal cy; the note anatiageir vas' in the head by a hotela`lsaaiged its policy. pool ue.~ Not surlsnsmglj by Monday .'s and since the bartender be. t numbeted't . for pic **!<** then, the number'bJ

Edmonton police have tashioned their policing factics around the idea that most community problems are not city-wide phenomena, our unique to individual neighborhoods. Police have divided Edmonton mod wenty-one villages pased on geographic ocation as well as linique neighborhood needs to tackis neighborhood problem. Such of the second residence has it town toot parts, the front police direct and neighborhood laison domnities by giving nativalized attention to each area and orchestrating efforts with neighborhood residents officers hope to create a police service that is truly community based. Support recent documentary account of the Neighborhood for Parts in the policy of the second ocumentary account of the Neighborhood for Parts in the problems of the service has truly community based. Support recent documentary account of the Neighborhood for Parts in the problems of the Source of Ceneral Research Division 340 Laurier Avenue West 8th Floor Ottawa Ontario, Canada KIA OP8

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what our reactions would be: What is the community damage to the banking community specifically? Well, in terms of money, it is infinitesimal. It is simply part of doing business just as doctors are bloodied once in a while. All banks are insured and they can cover the cost of this insurance in the rates that they charge their customers Also, people of the banking community go home every night to suburbia where they can feel secure from the type of people who rob banks. In short, they can get away from it. Bank robberies are not the crimes that fuel the perceptions people have that crime is rampant. In short, the social damage to the "community" most affected by this crime is slight, and transitory.

Looking at the wino's mugging, the damage to his "community" is considerable and his financial loss is total. It may be his last \$5.00 (wine's not cheap anymore). Worse still, the crime is perpetrated in the neighborhood where he is destined to live as are the people who may have witnessed the crime or **learned** of it from the other people who live in that neighborhood. Also, a person as opposed to an institution is the victim. Often these people know who committed the crime and may have been victimized before, but because of their fear of retribution, may not have reported these crimes. These are types of street-level predatory crimes that feed the perpetual fear of victimization these people must endure; the feeling of helplessness they have in their own neighborhood grows inexorably because they cannot get away from it. In this case, the social damage to the immediate community is significant, and everlasting. From a pure survival point of view, who do you thknk needs us the most?

Community Policing, in its purest form, requires that we use

this Community Damage Criteria as a central factor in predicating our response to crime. It does not mean an abdication of one for the other but rather that the bank robbery perhaps comes down to a six on the Richter scale and the wino moves up to a two. It does not change what we do so much as why we do it. It simply broadens our vision of what our work is and who our customers are. Wealth must never be a factor in police services rendered. This is precisely why we enjoy the freedom we do from the elected branch of government. We must not be manipulated.

In this case, I have used the crime of robbery as an example; the rationale can be applied to any crime or piece of work we do. Whether the scene of the crime be the main **branch** of the Bank of Montreal or the Urban House, it must not influence our decision-making as much as it did in the past. You see, there is no difference between a bank robbery and a wino mugging except in the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), and in our heads. And that is as clear as I can explain the basic philosophy of Community Policing.

HOW DO YOU DO COMMUNITY POLICING?

To answer this question, we have to get our heads around the notion of Problem-Oriented Policing. Problem-Oriented Policing "walks the talk" of Community Policing. It's how you get it done. Its engine is imagination and its motto is, "there's more than one way to skin a cat." Traditionally, the only way we've tried to prevent crime is by catching the person in the act. We believed if we caught enough people in the act, we'd eventually lock up all the criminals or at least scare off the un-caught one. And if directly enforcing the law didn't

solve the problem, then, by definition, the problem was not a police problem. Surely, it must belong to someone else. We're not social workers (are we?). **Problem-Oriented Policing** accepts the reality that everyday police work goes far beyond crime in the pure sense and that the range of tools we have at our disposal goes far beyond law enforcement. It accepts what I said earlier about the medical profession which learned to use the symptoms of illness at the early stages to alert it to an impending disease. It tries to recognize and treat things in the early stages that cause sickness and disease and it promotes habits that prevent those things. That is why today as much time and money goes into preventive medicine as into active treatment medicine. Coming back to Problem-Oriented Policing, it too is grounded on a simple philosophy it recognizes that we must get beyond controlling the bad to organizing the good to help us control the bad.

Let us accept the fact that there will never be a crime-free society. A certain amount of crime, even in healthy communities, is as natural as a certain amount of rain or garbage. Indeed, it could be argued that if democracy is working right, a certain amount of crime will be committed by people who disagree with the status quo. Just as doctors working alone can never give us a sick-free society so long as we drink too much, smoke too much, and the national past-time is sitting on our fanny in front of the television filling our faces. Neither can police working alone give us a crime-free society so long as individuals live irresponsible, selfish lives.

This type of layman's philosophy is fundamental to an understanding of what Problem-Oriented Policing is all about. Unlike Community

Policing, though, which is constant, Problem-Oriented Policing is in a constant state of flux. Community Policing is a philosophy and mind-set — intangible. Problem-Oriented Policing is a strategy, a tactic — tangible. Change is constant, dependent upon the problem being faced. It's the medicine applied to the community sickness identified by the Community **Policing** philosophy. And, like the doctor, we need to know what the sickness is before we can provide the right medicine. We cannot know what the most **community-damaging** problems are without working with that community, which, is our patient. Problem-Oriented Policing casts the officer as a "pilot fish" using the Community Damaging Criteria to spot the problems. Sometimes the officers can spot the problem and solve it all by themselves. Often the officer will have to get help within **policing.** the community, or both. to find a **solution**.

The process to be followed is simple. It has four steps: (I) Identify the problem, (2) Examine the problem, (3) Decide on a solution, and (4) Monitor the solution to see if it's working and adjust accordingly. Imagination and innovation greatly enhance the ticket-book and legal powers to get the job done.

Once again, it is useful to use the medical analogy to make the point. The doctor (police officer) talks to the patient (community) to identify the problem. Sometimes the solution lies solely with the patient (community); i.e., change of diet (owner agrees to remove eve-sore abandoned auto). Sometimes it calls for the doctor (police officer) and the patient (community) to work together; i.e., change of diet plus medicine (organize the **neighborhood** to help shut down a "blight" establishment). Sometimes only

the doctor alone (police) can solve the problem; i.e., surgery (heavy law enforcement). Sometimes we have to accept the fact that the problem simply cannot be solved; i.e., terminal illness (poverty).

So, you might say Braiden still hasn't told us how to do it. You're right. I haven't given you the "Big Mac Pack" of Community Policing. But I have looked at the ingredients to build your own, for that is the essence of it. What I have tried to do is help you get your head around the ideas, but the imagination and innovation has to come from each individual applying this type of policing. To do otherwise is a contradiction in terms. Each must build his or her own model.

it seems we go out of our way to select the brightest people we can find and then teach them to follow orders.

There are examples of it already happening in our own organisation, the Edmonton Police Department. Project O.W.E. (Outstanding Warrant Execution), uses imagination, technology and the media, to get thousands of people to come to us every year and clear up outstanding warrants - that's Problem-Oriented Policing, Our mobile trailer police office plunked right in the middle of the **prostitution** stroll at 107 Street and Jasper Avenue which gave the message "Wherever you go, we're coming with you" was Problem-Oriented Policing. The Strathcona Division operation in 1986 targeting the Convention Inn South as a "blight" establishment and bringing together various police and government agencies to shut it down was Problem-Oriented Policing. The operation

that has targeted Arizona Pizza and Texas Games at 106 Street and Jasper Avenue as another "blight" establishment is

Problem-Oriented Policing. These last two operations are graphic illustrations that conventional law enforcement, no matter how much of it we do, doesn't always get the job done. Literally hundreds of charges have been leveled against these establishments, but they continued to operate. The objective became "shut them down." These problems are not new, but the solutions are.

These are only isolated incidents; with a Community Policing mind-set, they should be the norm. We will only get more of them by recognizing our greatest asset lies in the human minds we have in our sworn and civilian ranks. Conventional policing had programmed and procedured these minds to death and many have ended up simply functioning. Many of us chain our brains at the gate coming to work and pick them up when we leave. Community Policing takes the shackles off these minds and provides inspiration and a work environment within which thev can flower. It seems we go out of our way to select the brightest people we can find and then teach them to follow orders. God worked so hard to make us all different -and policing has worked to make us all the same. We need to follow-up on God's work!

For greater in-depth literature on the subject of Problem-Oriented Policing, read **anything** by Herman Goldstein you can get your hands on, especially, **Policing** a **Free** Society (1977) and **Problem-Oriented Policing** (1990).

CONCLUSION

Many of us equate Community Policing with foot patrol. It doesn't matter if we ride white horses; mode of transportation has

nothing to do with it. That's like saving going to church makes one a Christian. Of course it doesn't. The question must first be asked, "Why do we walk the beat or go to church?" If we do tither to placate or get brownie points with God or the public, most assuredly we have neither Christianity nor Community Policing. Conversely, if we approach our work thinking, "Police others as you would have others police you", then we'll do all right by everybody involved. ourselves included, and for sure we will realize much more fulfillment from our work. And perhaps one day policing will rise to its full social potential.

The fundamentals of policing are universally consistent across this continent. There is a need to advance the state-of-the-art. Once progress is accomplished by a particular police agency, it can be the prototype for others to emulate. We wouldn't have our 747 today if the Wright brothers hadn't

taken their run off that hill many years ago.

Some may say conventional policing is a well-worn track. That doesn't prove it's the right track, only that a lot of people have traveled it. But the same applies to sheep and we all know about the psychology of sheep. It's time to cut a new intellectual swath in policing. All professions require their "Mayo Clinic." The **Edmonton Police Department may** be the one to take that run off the hill. Be forewarned, though, that if we try to bring about Community Policing without creating the strategic vision first, then whatever planning we do will be aimless and Community Policing will go the way of all other adjective policing efforts in the past.

One final thought; life never stops changing, rearranging itself. As a consequence, policing is at a significant crossroads in its evolution. It falls to our lot, today's police managers, to see it through

the intersection safely. We must stop looking for quick fixes. **Imagination and ingenuity are** things that will see us through that crossroads. But the adjustments we have to make do not have to happen overnight. It took a long time for policing to reach this crossroads and it will take a while for us to get through it. In the past, we looked to technological things to see us through difficult times. Sometimes we tried to buy our way out of trouble. It didn't work. Whatever the future holds for us, it seems clear that quality policing cannot be bought; it will come only through the minds, talents, skills, and sweat glands of the human beings in and around policing. But if it is true that the reality of policing is ordinary people in uniform dealing with ordinary people's problems "in the interests of community welfare and existence," then that's as it should be.

PROBLEM SOLVING QUARTERLY Police Executive Research Forum 2300 M Street N.W., Suite 910 Washington, D.C. 20037