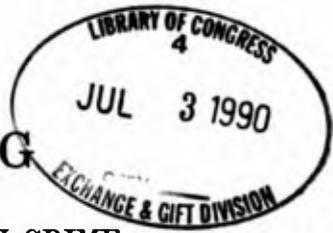






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THE POLICE CORPS ACT



HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H.R. 2798

POLICE CORPS ACT

NOVEMBER 2, 1989

Serial No. 69



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THE POLICE CORPS ACT

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1989

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:25 a.m., in room 2226, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. William J. Hughes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives William J. Hughes, Romano L. Mazzoli, Lawrence J. Smith, Bill McCollum, George W. Gekas, and Michael DeWine.

Also present: Hayden Gregory, chief counsel; Ed O'Connell, counsel; Andrew Fois, assistant counsel; Phyllis Henderson, secretary; and Paul McNulty, minority counsel.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN HUGHES

Mr. HUGHES. The Subcommittee on Crime will come to order. The Chair has received a request to cover this hearing in whole or in part by television broadcast, radio broadcast, still photography or by other similar methods. In accordance with committee rule 5(a), permission will be granted unless there is an objection. Is there an objection?

[No response.]

Mr. HUGHES. Hearing none, so ordered. We are here this morning to consider H.R. 2798, the Police Corps Act. This bill would establish a Federal program similar to the ROTC program in the military, to grant participants educational benefits in exchange for 4 years of service on the State or local police department. The purpose of the bill is to help State and local governments combat violent crime and neighborhood deterioration by putting more and better educated police officers on the streets.

The bill offers educational benefits to worthy candidates who may not otherwise have the ability to acquire a higher education. It also creates opportunities for young people to perform community service as members of local law enforcement organizations.

[The bill, H.R. 2798, follows:]

101ST CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2798

To establish a Police Corps Program.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 29, 1989

Mr. DOERNAN (for himself and Mr. FRANK) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To establish a Police Corps Program.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the "Police Corps Act".

5 **SEC. 2. PURPOSES.**

6 The purposes of this Act are to—

7 (1) address the very high level of violent crime
8 and neighborhood deterioration afflicting communities
9 throughout the Nation by substantially increasing the
10 number of trained police on community patrol;

11 (2) provide educational assistance to those stu-
12 dents of ability, character, and dedication who possess

1 a sincere interest in dedicating 4 years to public serv-
2 ice and law enforcement; and

3 (3) establish opportunities for meaningful commu-
4 nity service in exchange for educational assistance.

5 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

6 For the purposes of this Act—

7 (1) the term “academic year” means a traditional
8 academic year beginning in August or September and
9 ending in the following May or June;

10 (2) the term “dependent child” means a natural or
11 adopted child or stepchild of a law enforcement officer
12 who at the time of the officer’s death—

13 (A) was no more than 21 years old; or

14 (B) if older than 21 years, was in fact de-
15 pendent on the child’s parents for at least one-half
16 of the child’s support (excluding educational ex-
17 penses), as determined by the Director;

18 (3) the term “Director” means the Director of the
19 Office of the Police Corps appointed pursuant to sec-
20 tion 4(b);

21 (4) the term “educational expenses” means ex-
22 penses that are directly attributable to—

23 (A) a course of education leading to the
24 award of the baccalaureate degree; or

1 (B) a course of graduate study following
2 award of a baccalaureate degree,
3 including the cost of tuition, fees, books, supplies,
4 transportation, room and board and miscellaneous
5 expenses;

6 (5) the term "participant" means a participant in
7 the Police Corps program selected pursuant to sec-
8 tion 6;

9 (6) the term "State" means a State of the United
10 States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of
11 Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa,
12 Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mari-
13 ana Islands; and

14 (7) the term "State Police Corps program" means
15 a State police corps program approved under section 9.

16 **SEC. 4. ESTABLISHMENT OF OFFICE OF THE POLICE CORPS.**

17 (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is established in the De-
18 partment of Justice, under the general authority of the Attor-
19 ney General, an Office of the Police Corps.

20 (b) **APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTOR.**—The Office of the
21 Police Corps shall be headed by a Director who shall be ap-
22 pointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent
23 of the Senate.

24 (c) **RESPONSIBILITIES OF DIRECTOR.**—The Director
25 shall be responsible for the administration of the Police Corps

1 program pursuant to this Act and shall have authority to pro-
2 mulgate regulations to implement this Act.

3 **SEC. 5. EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE.**

4 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—(1) The Director is authorized to pay
5 the educational expenses of a participant in a State Police
6 Corps program, by—

7 (A) entering into an agreement to repay, and re-
8 paying, an educational loan; and

9 (B) entering into an agreement to repay, and re-
10 paying, a participant for educational expenses paid out
11 of the participant's funds.

12 (2) It is the intent of this Act that there shall be no
13 more than 25,000 participants in each graduating class. The
14 Director shall approve State plans providing in the aggregate
15 for such enrollment of applicants as shall assure, as nearly as
16 possible, annual graduating classes of 25,000. In a year in
17 which applications are received in a number greater than that
18 which will produce, in the judgment of the Director, a grad-
19 uating class of more than 25,000, the Director shall, in de-
20 ciding which applications to grant, give preference to those
21 who will be participating in State plans that provide law en-
22 forcement personnel to areas of greatest need.

23 (3) Except for payments of interest on an educational
24 loan, repayment under an agreement made pursuant to para-
25 graph (1) shall be made following completion of a partici-

1 pant's course of educational study, Federal training, and
2 service as required by this Act.

3 (4) Repayment of an educational loan made pursuant to
4 paragraph (1) may be made in the form of direct payment to
5 a lender or reimbursement of a participant for payments
6 made to a lender.

7 (5) An educational loan that may be repaid under para-
8 graph (1) is a loan made pursuant to or in connection with a
9 Federal, State, local, or private loan or loan guarantee pro-
10 gram designated by the Director and other loans that meet
11 terms prescribed by the Director by regulation.

12 (b) ADMISSION OF APPLICANTS.—An applicant may be
13 admitted into a State Police Corps program either before
14 commencement of or during the applicant's course of educa-
15 tional study.

16 (c) PAYMENT OF EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES.—(1) The
17 Director may agree to repay an educational loan and to reim-
18 burse a participant for expenditures made prior to or after the
19 time that a participant applies for admission to a State Police
20 Corps program.

21 (2) The amounts of educational expenses that the Secre-
22 tary may pay under this section are limited as follows:

23 (A)(i) The amount of educational expenses in-
24 curred by a participant to cover the cost of an aca-

1 demic year of study that the Director may pay is limited
2 to \$10,000.

3 (ii) In the case of a participant who is pursuing a
4 course of educational study during substantially an
5 entire calendar year, the amount of educational ex-
6 penses incurred by a participant to cover the cost of
7 such a calendar year that the Director may pay
8 is limited to \$13,333.

9 (B) The amount of educational expenses incurred
10 by a participant to cover the cost of undergraduate and
11 graduate study is limited to \$40,000 in the aggregate,
12 regardless whether the time of study exceeds 4 years.

13 (d) DIRECTOR'S OBLIGATION TO PAY.—(1) The Direc-
14 tor's obligation to pay a participant's educational expenses
15 under this section shall be void, and the Director shall be
16 entitled to recover from the participant the amount of any
17 interest on an educational loan that the Director has paid, if
18 the participant fails to complete satisfactorily—

19 (A) the course of educational study undertaken by
20 the participant;

21 (B) Federal training as required by section 7; and

22 (C) service required by section 8; unless the fail-
23 ure is the result of death or permanent physical or
24 emotional disability.

1 (2) For the purpose of paragraph (1), a participant shall
2 be deemed to have completed satisfactorily—

3 (A) an educational course of study upon receipt of
4 a baccalaureate degree (in the case of educational ex-
5 penses incurred to cover the cost of undergraduate
6 study) or the reward of credit to the participant for
7 having completed one or more graduate courses (in the
8 case of educational expenses incurred to cover the cost
9 of graduate study);

10 (B) Federal training upon certification by the Di-
11 rector of Training that the participant has met such
12 performance standards as may be established pursuant
13 to section 7(d); and

14 (C) service on a police force upon completion of 4
15 years of service on the force without there having
16 arisen sufficient cause for the participant's dismissal
17 under the rules applicable to members of the police
18 force of which the participant is a member.

19 (3) As a condition to payment of educational expenses of
20 a participant who fails to complete a course of educational
21 study, training, or service as a result of permanent physical
22 or emotional disability, the Director may require the partici-
23 pant to perform appropriate alternative community service.

24 (e) **DEPENDENT CHILD.**—A dependent child of a law
25 enforcement officer—

1 (1) who is a member of a State or local police
2 force or is a Federal criminal investigator or uniformed
3 police officer,

4 (2) who is not a participant in the Police Corps
5 program, but

6 (3) who serves in a State for which the Director
7 has approved a Police Corps plan, and

8 (4) who is killed in the course of performing police
9 duties,

10 shall be entitled to the educational assistance authorized in
11 this section. Such dependent child shall not incur any service
12 obligation in exchange for the educational assistance provided
13 in this section.

14 (f) GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of section 61 of the
15 Internal Revenue Code of 1986, a participant's or a depend-
16 ent child's gross income shall not include any amount paid as
17 educational assistance under this section or as a stipend
18 under section 7.

19 **SEC. 6. SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS.**

20 (a) IN GENERAL.—Participants in State Police Corps
21 programs shall be selected on a competitive basis by each
22 State under regulations prescribed by the Director.

23 (b) SELECTION CRITERIA AND QUALIFICATIONS.—(1)
24 In order to participate in a State Police Corps program, a
25 participant must—

1 (A) be a citizen of the United States or an alien
2 lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the
3 United States;

4 (B) meet the requirements for admission as a
5 trainee of the State or local police force to which the
6 participant will be assigned pursuant to section 9(c)(5),
7 including achievement of satisfactory scores on any ap-
8 plicable examination, except that failure to meet the
9 age requirement for a trainee of the State police shall
10 not disqualify the applicant if the applicant will be of
11 sufficient age upon completing an undergraduate course
12 of study;

13 (C) possess the necessary mental and physical ca-
14 pabilities and emotional characteristics to discharge ef-
15 fectively the duties of a law enforcement officer;

16 (D) be of good character and demonstrate sincere
17 motivation and dedication to law enforcement and
18 public service;

19 (E) in the case of an undergraduate, agree in
20 writing that the participant will complete an education-
21 al course of study leading to the award of a baccalau-
22 reate degree and will then accept an appointment and
23 complete 4 years of service as an officer in the State
24 police or in a local police department within the State;

1 (F) in the case of a participant desiring to under-
2 take or continue graduate study, agree in writing that
3 the participant will accept an appointment and com-
4 plete 4 years of service as an officer in the State police
5 or in a local police department within the State before
6 undertaking or continuing graduate study;

7 (G) contract, with the consent of the participant's
8 parent or guardian if the participant is a minor, to
9 serve for 4 years as an officer in the State police or in
10 a local police department, if an appointment is offered;
11 and

12 (H) except as provided in paragraph (2), be with-
13 out previous law enforcement experience.

14 (2)(A) Until the date that is 5 years after the date of
15 enactment of this Act, up to 10 percent of the applicants
16 accepted into the Police Corps program may be persons
17 who—

18 (i) have had some law enforcement experience;
19 and

20 (ii) have demonstrated special leadership potential
21 and dedication to law enforcement.

22 (B)(i) The prior period of law enforcement of a partici-
23 pant selected pursuant to paragraph (2) shall not be counted
24 toward satisfaction of the participant's 4-year service obliga-
25 tion under section 8, and such a participant shall be subject

1 to the same benefits and obligations under this Act as other
2 participants, including those stated in section (b)(1) (E)
3 and (F).

4 (ii) Clause (i) shall not be construed to preclude counting
5 a participant's previous period of law enforcement experience
6 for purposes other than satisfaction of the requirements of
7 section 8, such as for purposes of determining such a partici-
8 pant's pay and other benefits, rank, and tenure.

9 (c) **RECRUITMENT OF MINORITIES.**—Each State par-
10 ticipating in the Police Corps program shall make special ef-
11 forts to seek and recruit applicants from among members of
12 racial and ethnic groups whose representation on the police
13 forces within the State is substantially less than in the popu-
14 lation of the State as a whole. This subsection does not au-
15 thorize an exception from the competitive standards for ad-
16 mission established pursuant to subsections (a) and (b).

17 (d) **ENROLLMENT OF APPLICANT.**—(1) An applicant
18 shall be accepted into a State Police Corps program on the
19 condition that the applicant will be matriculated in, or ac-
20 cepted for admission at, an institution of higher education (as
21 described in the first sentence of section 1201(a) of the
22 Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1141(a)))—

23 (A) as a full-time student in an undergraduate
24 program; or

25 (B) for purposes of taking a graduate course.

1 (2) If the applicant is not matriculated or accepted as set
2 forth in paragraph (1), the applicant's acceptance in the pro-
3 gram shall be revoked.

4 (e) LEAVE OF ABSENCE.—(1) A participant in a State
5 Police Corps program who requests a leave of absence from
6 educational study, training or service for a period not to
7 exceed 1 year (or 18 months in the aggregate in the event of
8 multiple requests) due to temporary physical or emotional
9 disability shall be granted such leave of absence by the State.

10 (2) A participant who requests a leave of absence from
11 educational study, training or service for a period not to
12 exceed 1 year (or 18 months in the aggregate in the event of
13 multiple requests) for any reason other than those listed in
14 paragraph (1) may be granted such leave of absence by the
15 State.

16 (3) If a participant who has taken a leave of absence
17 pursuant to paragraph (1) or (2) fails or is unable to resume
18 educational study, training, or service after the expiration of
19 the leave of absence, the provision of section 5(c) shall apply.

20 (f) IN-STATE TUITION.—At least 50 percent of the ap-
21 plicants admitted to a State Police Corps program must qual-
22 ify for and be obligated to pay no more than the in-State
23 tuition rates at the institutions they attend.

1 **SEC. 7. LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING.**

2 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Director shall establish up to 3
3 training centers to provide training to participants in State
4 Police Corps programs.

5 (b) **TRAINING SESSIONS.**—A participant in a State
6 Police Corps program shall attend two 8-week training ses-
7 sions at a training center, at times determined by the
8 Director.

9 (c) **COURSE OF TRAINING.**—The training sessions at
10 training centers established under this section shall be de-
11 signed to provide basic law enforcement training, including
12 vigorous physical and mental training to teach participants
13 self-discipline and organizational loyalty and to impart
14 knowledge and understanding of legal processes and law
15 enforcement.

16 (d) **EVALUATION OF PARTICIPANTS.**—A participant
17 shall be evaluated during training for mental, physical, and
18 emotional fitness, and shall be required to meet performance
19 standards prescribed by the Board of Directors established
20 pursuant to subsection (f) at the conclusion of each training
21 session in order to remain in the Police Corps program.

22 (e) **STIPEND.**—The Director shall pay participants in
23 training sessions a stipend of \$250 a week during training.

24 (f) **BOARD OF DIRECTORS.**—(1) The training centers
25 shall be administered by a Board of Directors (in this subpart
26 referred to as the 'Board'). The Board shall consist of—

1 (A) 9 persons outstanding in the fields of law en-
2 forcement, education, law and law enforcement educa-
3 tion who shall be appointed by the President, by and
4 with the advice and consent of the Senate, 2 of whom
5 shall be members of a national police labor organiza-
6 tion and 2 of whom shall be members of a national
7 police management organization;

8 (B) the Attorney General or a designee of the At-
9 torney General, who shall be an ex officio member,
10 and

11 (C) the Director, who shall serve as chairman.

12 (2) The term of office of a member of the Board (other
13 than the Attorney General or designee of the Attorney Gen-
14 eral and other than the Director) shall be 6 years, except
15 that—

16 (A) a member appointed to fill a vacancy occur-
17 ring before the expiration of the term for which the ap-
18 pointee's predecessor was appointed shall be appointed
19 for the remainder of such term;

20 (B) the terms of office of the members first taking
21 office shall expire, as designated by the President at
22 the time of the appointment, three at the end of 2
23 years, three at the end of 4 years, and three at the end
24 of 6 years; and

1 (C) a member whose term of office has expired
2 shall continue to serve until the member's successor is
3 appointed.

4 (3) Members of the Board, while away from their homes
5 or regular places of business in the performance of services
6 for the Board, shall be entitled to receive compensation at a
7 rate to be fixed by the Director, not exceeding \$100 a day,
8 and shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in
9 lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed
10 intermittently in the Government service are allowed ex-
11 penses under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

12 (4) The Director shall obtain the services of such mili-
13 tary and civilian instructors and administrative and other em-
14 ployees as may be necessary to operate the training centers.
15 The Director is authorized to enter into contracts with indi-
16 viduals, institutions of learning, and government agencies (in-
17 cluding State and local police forces) to obtain the services of
18 persons qualified to participate in and contribute to the train-
19 ing process.

20 (5) The Director is authorized to enter into agreements
21 with agencies of the Federal Government to utilize on a re-
22 imbursable basis space in Federal buildings and other
23 resources.

24 (6) The Director may authorize such expenditures as are
25 necessary for the effective maintenance of the training cen-

1 ters, including purchases of supplies, uniforms, and educa-
2 tional materials, and the provision of subsistence, quarters,
3 and medical care to participants.

4 (g) **FURTHER TRAINING.**—The 16 weeks of Federal
5 training authorized in this section is intended to serve as
6 basic law enforcement training but not to exclude further
7 training of participants by the State and local authorities to
8 which they will be assigned. Each State plan approved by
9 the Director under section 9 shall include assurances that
10 following completion of Federal training each participant
11 shall receive appropriate individual training by the State or
12 local authority to which the participant is assigned. The time
13 spent by a participant in such additional training, but not the
14 time spent in Federal training, shall be counted toward fulfill-
15 ment of the participant's 4-year service obligation.

16 **SEC. 8. SERVICE OBLIGATION.**

17 (a) **SWEARING IN.**—Upon satisfactory completion of the
18 Federal training program established in section 7 and meet-
19 ing the requirements of the police force to which the partici-
20 pant is assigned, a participant shall be sworn in as a member
21 of the police force to which the participant is assigned pursu-
22 ant to the State Police Corps plan, and shall serve for 4
23 years as a member of that police force.

24 (b) **RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.**—A participant
25 shall have all of the rights and responsibilities of and shall be

1 subject to all rules and regulations applicable to other mem-
2 bers of the police force of which the participant is a member,
3 including those contained in applicable agreements with labor
4 organizations and those provided by State and local law.

5 (c) **DISCIPLINE.**—If the police force of which the partic-
6 ipant is a member subjects the participant to discipline such
7 as would preclude the participant's completing 4 years of
8 service, and result in denial of educational assistance under
9 section 6, the Director may, upon a showing of good cause,
10 permit the participant to complete the service obligation in an
11 equivalent alternative law enforcement service and, upon sat-
12 isfactory completion of that service, provide assistance pursu-
13 ant to section 6.

14 **SEC. 9. APPROVAL OF STATE PROGRAMS.**

15 (a) **SUBMISSION OF STATE PLANS.**—To participate in
16 the Police Corps program under this subpart, a State shall
17 submit to the Director a plan for implementing a State Police
18 Corps program for such State, in a manner consistent with
19 the requirements set forth in this subpart.

20 (b) **APPROVAL OF STATE PLANS.**—The Director shall
21 approve a State Police Corps plan that complies with the
22 program requirements set forth in this section.

23 (c) **CONTENTS OF STATE PLANS.**—Each State Police
24 Corps plan shall—

1 (1) provide for the screening and selection of par-
2 ticipants in accordance with the criteria set out in
3 section 6;

4 (2) state procedures governing the assignment of
5 participants in the Police Corps program to State and
6 local police forces (no more than 10 percent of all the
7 participants assigned in each year by each State to be
8 assigned to a statewide police force or forces);

9 (3) provide that participants shall be assigned to
10 those geographic areas in which—

11 (A) there is the greatest need for additional
12 law enforcement personnel; and

13 (B) the participants will be used most effec-
14 tively;

15 (4) provide that to the extent consistent with
16 paragraph (3), a participant shall be assigned to an
17 area near the participant's home or such other place as
18 the participant may request;

19 (5) provide that to the extent feasible, a partici-
20 pant's assignment shall be made at the time the partici-
21 pant is accepted into the program, subject to change—

22 (A) prior to commencement of a participant's
23 fourth year of undergraduate study, under such
24 circumstances as the plan may specify; and

1 (B) from commencement of a participant's
2 fourth year of undergraduate study until comple-
3 tion of 4 years of police service by participant,
4 only for compelling reasons or to meet the needs
5 of the State Police Corps program and only with
6 the consent of the participant;

7 (6) provide that no participant shall be assigned to
8 serve with a local police force—

9 (A) whose size has declined by more than 5
10 percent since June 21, 1989; or

11 (B) which has members who have been laid
12 off but not retired;

13 (7) provide that participants shall be placed and to
14 the extent feasible kept on community and preventive
15 patrol;

16 (8) assure that participants will receive affective
17 training and leadership;

18 (9) provide that the State may decline to offer a
19 participant an appointment following completion of
20 Federal training, or may remove a participant from the
21 Police Corps program at any time, only for good cause
22 (including failure to make satisfactory progress in a
23 course of educational study) and after following reason-
24 able review procedures stated in the plan; and

1 (10) provide that a participant shall, while serving
2 as a member of a police force, be compensated at the
3 same rate of pay and benefits and enjoy the same
4 rights under applicable agreements with labor organi-
5 zations and under State and local law as other police
6 officers of the same rank and tenure in the police force
7 of which the participant is a member.

8 **SEC. 10. REPORTS TO PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.**

9 Not later than April 1 of each year, the Director shall
10 submit a report to the President and to the Speaker of the
11 House of Representatives and the President of the Senate.
12 Such report shall—

13 (1) state the number of current and past partici-
14 pants in the Police Corps program, broken down ac-
15 cording to the levels of educational study in which they
16 are engaged and years of service they have served on
17 police forces (including service following completion of
18 the 4-year service obligation);

19 (2) describe the geographic dispersion of partici-
20 pants;

21 (3) describe the structure and progress of the pro-
22 gram; and

23 (4) discuss the perceived strength and weakness of
24 the program and any proposals for changes in the
25 program.

1 SEC. 11. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

2 There are authorized to be appropriated to the Depart-
3 ment of Justice to carry out this Act, for fiscal year 1990,
4 such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of
5 this Act, and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums as may
6 be authorized in the annual authorization Act for such year.

The Police Corps Act
Section by Section Summary

Section 1: Short Title. The Police Corps Act

Section 2: Purposes. Identifies three principal purposes of the Police Corps program: 1) addresses the high level of violent crime and neighborhood deterioration by substantially increasing the number of trained police on community patrol, 2) provides educational assistance to worthy students interested in public service and 3) creates opportunities for meaningful service in exchange for educational assistance.

Section 3: Definitions. Defines various terms used in the bill, including academic year, dependent child, Director, educational expenses, participant, State and State Police Corps Program.

Section 4: Establishment of Office of the Police Corps. Establishes within the Department of Justice, under the general authority of the Attorney General, the Office of the Police Corps. The office is headed by a Director, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who is responsible for administration of the program and has authority to promulgate appropriate regulations.

Section 5: Educational Assistance. This section sets forth the general procedures by which the Director of the Office of the Police Corps shall provide educational assistance to participants following the successful completion of their service obligation. The Director shall assume the obligation to repay the principal and interest on the student's loans or to repay a participant for educational expenses already paid out of the student's own funds. Such payments are not to exceed \$10,000 per year and the total assistance for any one participant may not exceed \$40,000. If, however, a student is in an academic program encompassing a full calendar year such payments may reach \$13,333 per year.

Except for interest on loans, the Director shall not make any payments under this section until after the participant has completed his education, federal training and police service. The Director's obligation to pay a participant's educational expenses under this section shall be void, and the Director shall be entitled to recover from the participant the amount of any interest on such loan that the Director has paid, if the participant fails to satisfactorily complete the course of educational study, federal training and police service. If a participant desires to use his educational benefits for graduate study such study will take place after his service in the police force. The legislation provides, however, that if a participant is unable to complete the program because of permanent physical or emotional disability the Director may require alternative community service and repay the participant's loan following

completion of that alternative service.

Subsection (a) (2) states that it is the intent of the Act that each graduating class in the program not exceed 25,000 participants and that the Director shall approve state plans in an effort to ensure a class of that size. If the number of applications in a given year will produce a class larger than 25,000, the Director shall give preference to applicants who will be participating in areas of greatest need.

Subsection (e) provides that when a career police officer in a participating State, or a federal investigator or uniformed officer, is killed in the line of duty his or her dependent children shall receive educational benefits equivalent to those given program participants but without incurring any service obligations. In such cases the educational benefits received will not be counted as income for tax purposes.

Section 6: Selection of Participants. This Section establishes criteria to be applied to applicants for admission to the Police Corps program. It requires that participants be selected by each State on a competitive basis. In order to be eligible for the program an applicant must be a citizen of the United States or a lawful resident alien and must meet the requirements for admission as a trainee of the State or local police force to which the participant will be assigned. Applicants must possess the mental, physical and emotional characteristics necessary to perform the duties of a law enforcement officer. All applicants must agree in writing to complete their undergraduate education and then to accept an appointment for four years as a State or local police officer. In addition, applicants must enter into a contract agreeing to serve in a police department if an appointment is offered. Acceptance into the program shall be conditioned upon an applicant's acceptance or matriculation in an institution of higher learning as defined in the Higher Education Act(20 U.S.C. 1141(a)).

Generally, applicants with previous law enforcement experience are ineligible for participation in the program. Subsection 2 (A), however, permits up to ten percent of the applicants accepted into the Police Corps during the first five years of the program to have previous law enforcement experience if they have also demonstrated special leadership potential and dedication to law enforcement. This prior experience will not be counted toward satisfaction of the participant's four-year service commitment.

Subsection (c) requires participating States to make special efforts to recruit minority applicants while expressly providing that the competitive standards required for admission may not be relaxed in any way. States must seek applicants from members of racial and ethnic groups whose representation on the police

forces within the State is substantially less than in the population of the State as a whole.

Subsection (f) requires that at least fifty percent of the applicants admitted to a State program must qualify for and be obligated to pay no more than the in-State tuition rates at the schools they attend.

Subsection (e) describes procedures by which a participant can seek a leave of absence from the program.

Section 7. Law Enforcement Training. This section requires the Director to establish up to three federal training centers which all Police Corps participants will attend for two eight-week training sessions prior to entering service with their respective States. The sessions shall be designed to provide basic law enforcement training, including physical and mental training to teach participants self-discipline and organizational loyalty. Participants will be evaluated for fitness for law enforcement during the course of the training and will be paid a stipend of \$250 per week.

A nine member Board of Directors is charged with establishing and operating the training centers. Each member of the Board is appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and serves a six year term. The Board consists of the Director, who will also serve as Chairman, and must contain two members of a national police labor organization and two members of a national police management organization. The Attorney General of the United States sits as an ex officio member of the Board. This section provides for compensation and repayment of expenses of Board members traveling in performance of their duties. The section also gives the Director authority to enter into agreements and contracts with government and private organizations to provide facilities, staff and supplies for the training centers.

This training is not intended as a substitute for training by the State and local departments. Each State plan approved by the Director must include assurances that following completion of federal training each participant shall receive appropriate individual training by the State or local authority to which the participant is assigned.

Section 8. Service Obligation. This section requires participants to be formally sworn in as members of the police forces to which they are assigned and ensures them all the rights and responsibilities and subjects them to all the rules and regulations applicable to other members of the police force, including those contained in applicable agreements with labor organizations and those provided by State and local law. If a participant in the program is removed from the police force

pursuant to an exercise of local discipline then the Director may, upon a showing of good cause, allow that participant to complete the service obligation in an alternative law enforcement assignment.

Section 9. Approval of State Programs. In order to participate in the Police Corps program a State must submit an implementation plan which, if consistent with the requirements of this section, must be approved by the Director. The state plan must provide for the screening and selection of participants in accordance with Section 6 of the Act. It must assure that participants receive effective training and leadership and that they enjoy the same rights and benefits of other police officers of the same rank and tenure in the police force of which the participant is a member. States may decline to offer a participant an appointment or remove a participant from the program only for good cause and following reasonable review procedures stated in the plan.

The plan must also address State procedures governing assignment of participants in the program to the State and local police forces. States may not assign more than ten percent of all participants each year to a statewide department. Assignments must be made to geographic areas of greatest need and where participants will be used most effectively. To the extent feasible, participants in the program must be assigned to areas near their homes or to such other area as the participant has requested. Such assignments are to be made, again to the extent feasible, at the time of entry into the program and can be changed any time prior to commencement of the participant's fourth year of study in accordance with procedures specified in the plan. After commencement of the participant's fourth year of study, however, a change in assignment can only be made for compelling reasons or to meet the needs of the State Police Corps program and in either instance only with the consent of the participant. The section also requires that participants be initially placed in assignments related to community and preventive control and that, to the extent feasible, they should be kept in these assignments.

Subsection (c) (6) provides that no participant in the program can be assigned to a police force that has decreased in size by more than five percent since June 21, 1989, or has any members who have been laid off.

Section 10. Reports to President and Congress. This section requires the Director to submit annual reports to the President and both houses of Congress providing various statistical data and assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the program.

Section 11. Authorization of Appropriations. This section authorizes to be appropriated to the Department of Justice for fiscal year 1990 such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums as may be authorized.

Mr. HUGHES. I am going to ask unanimous consent to put the balance of my statement in the record, because we have a really full schedule. We have kept Senator Specter waiting as it is, so we can move on with the business of taking testimony. I look forward to hearing from all the witnesses. I thank them for coming here today, particularly on short notice. I am particularly indebted to Adam Walinsky for his assistance in bringing this to our attention and for his work in developing this over the years. We look forward to hearing his testimony as well.

[The opening statement of Mr. Hughes follows:]

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM J. HUGHES

CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME

ON

THE POLICE CORPS ACT (H.R.2798)

NOVEMBER 2, 1989

WE ARE HERE THIS MORNING TO CONSIDER H.R. 2798, THE POLICE CORPS ACT. THIS BILL WOULD ESTABLISH A FEDERAL PROGRAM, SIMILAR TO THE ROTC PROGRAM IN THE MILITARY, TO GRANT PARTICIPANTS EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS IN EXCHANGE FOR FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE ON A STATE OR LOCAL POLICE DEPARTMENT.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS LEGISLATION IS TO HELP STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS COMBAT VIOLENT CRIME AND NEIGHBORHOOD DETERIORATION BY PUTTING MORE AND BETTER EDUCATED POLICE OFFICERS ON THE STREETS. THE BILL OFFERS EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS TO WORTHY CANDIDATES WHO MAY NOT OTHERWISE HAVE THE ABILITY TO ACQUIRE A HIGHER EDUCATION. IT ALSO CREATES OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE TO PERFORM COMMUNITY SERVICE AS MEMBERS OF LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANIZATIONS.

THIS BILL'S HEART IS IN THE RIGHT PLACE. ITS GOALS ARE ADMIRABLE ONES. THEY ARE GOALS THAT ARE SHARED BY ME, BY EVERY MEMBER OF THIS COMMITTEE, AND BY EVERY RIGHT-THINKING AMERICAN. VIOLENT AND DRUG-RELATED CRIME IS AN UNFORTUNATE

PART OF EVERY DAY LIFE IN ALMOST EVERY AMERICAN COMMUNITY. IN CITIES ALL ACROSS THIS COUNTRY LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE ARE HELD VIRTUAL HOSTAGES INSIDE THEIR OWN HOMES AS CRIME AND VIOLENCE RAGE AROUND THEM. DRUG DEALERS OPENLY CONDUCT BUSINESS ON STREET CORNERS IN BROAD DAYLIGHT. CHILDREN PLAY NEAR THEIR HOMES WHILE PUSHERS ENGAGE IN DEADLY TURF BATTLES NEARBY.

EVIDENCE OF ESCALATING LEVELS OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE IS ALL AROUND US AND NO ONE CAN GO UNTOUCHED BY IT. LAST WEEK WE ALL SHARED THE HORROR OF THE YOUNG COUPLE IN BOSTON WHO WERE ABDUCTED AND ASSAULTED AND THE PREGNANT WOMAN MURDERED. HERE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. FIVE HOMICIDES THIS PAST WEEKEND PUSHED THE NUMBER OF KILLINGS THIS YEAR ALMOST EVEN WITH LAST YEAR'S RECORD BREAKING TOTAL. GANG WARFARE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA RAVAGES LARGE PARTS OF THAT COMMUNITY. A VIOLENT PRISON UPRISING IN CAMP HILL, PENNSYLVANIA REMINDS US THAT JUST LOCKING OFFENDERS AWAY DOES NOT ENTIRELY SHIELD US FROM THE PROBLEM.

THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY ARE TIRED OF LIVING IN A STATE OF SIEGE. THEY WILL NOT PASSIVELY SURRENDER THEIR COMMUNITIES TO CRIME. THEY ARE RIGHTFULLY LOOKING TO THEIR ELECTED OFFICIALS AT EVERY LEVEL FOR ANSWERS. THIS SUBCOMMITTEE HAS BEEN, AND AS LONG AS I AM CHAIRMAN WILL CONTINUE TO BE, ACTIVE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME AND OPEN TO NEW IDEAS AND APPROACHES. AS A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE 1988 DRUG BILL, I

HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY PEOPLE FOR BOTH STATE AND FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT.

MANY PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT A LARGE PART OF THE SOLUTION TO THE CRIME PROBLEM IN THIS COUNTRY LIES IN INCREASING THE SIZE OF OUR LOCAL POLICE FORCES. BUT MERE NUMBERS OF POLICE OFFICERS WILL NOT NECESSARILY HELP IF THEY ARE CHAINED TO THEIR DESKS BEHIND A MOUNTAIN OF PAPERWORK. IN MANY AREAS OF THIS COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF OUR CITIES, MORE POLICE ARE NEEDED ON COMMUNITY FOOT PATROL. MOST OF US LOOK BACK FONDLY TO THE TIME WHEN EVERYONE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD KNEW AND RESPECTED THE OFFICER ON THE BEAT. TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, WE SHOULD TRY TO RETURN TO THAT TIME. IN ADDITION, FOR THE PAST TWENTY YEARS MANY EXPERTS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT HAVE BEEN ADVOCATING THE IMPORTANCE OF INCREASING THE EDUCATION LEVEL OF OUR POLICE DEPARTMENTS TO HELP OFFICERS DEAL WITH THE CHANGING NATURE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT TODAY.

THE BILL WE CONSIDER THIS MORNING IS AN ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE MANY OF THESE GOALS. IT IS IN SUBSTANTIAL PART THE RESULT OF YEARS OF EFFORT BY MR. ADAM WALINSKY, A LAWYER IN NEW YORK AND FORMER TOP AIDE TO THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY. MR. WALINSKY CONCEIVED THE IDEA IN THE EARLY 1980'S AND HAS WORKED TIRELESSLY AT THE STATE AND FEDERAL LEVEL TO GET THIS IDEA IMPLEMENTED. HIS COMMITMENT AND PUBLIC SPIRIT IS COMMENDABLE.

H.R.2798 WOULD ESTABLISH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AN OFFICE OF THE POLICE CORPS. THROUGH THIS OFFICE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD ASSUME THE OBLIGATION TO REPAY STUDENT LOANS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE STUDENT'S AGREEMENT TO SERVE AS A STATE OR LOCAL POLICE OFFICER FOR FOUR YEARS AFTER GRADUATION. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD REPAY UP TO \$10,000 PER YEAR AND UP TO A TOTAL OF NOT MORE THAN \$40,000. EXCEPT FOR INTEREST ON THE LOANS, THE GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATION TO PAY WILL NOT TAKE EFFECT UNTIL AFTER THE STUDENT COMPLETES THE EDUCATION, TRAINING AND FOUR YEARS OF REQUIRED SERVICE. IF FOR REASONS OTHER THAN PHYSICAL OR EMOTIONAL DISABILITY THE PARTICIPANT FAILS TO COMPLETE THE ENTIRE PROGRAM, THE PARTICIPANT WILL BE IN DEFAULT. THE GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATIONS WILL THEN BE VOID AND IT WILL BE ENTITLED TO RECOUP FROM THE PARTICIPANT ANY MONIES ALREADY PAID.

MOST OF THE PROGRAM WILL BE ADMINISTERED AT THE STATE LEVEL. STATES INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN THE POLICE CORPS MUST SUBMIT PLANS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROGRAM TO THE DIRECTOR. THESE PLANS WILL BE APPROVED IF THEY CONFORM TO THE GENERAL GUIDELINES ESTABLISHED IN THE BILL.

CANDIDATES MUST BE SELECTED ON A COMPETITIVE BASIS AND MUST MEET THE ADMISSIONS CRITERIA FOR THE LOCAL DEPARTMENTS. DURING THE COURSE OF THEIR COLLEGE EDUCATIONS, ALL POLICE CORPS PARTICIPANTS MUST UNDERGO TWO EIGHT-WEEK TRAINING SESSIONS AT ONE OF THREE FEDERAL TRAINING CENTERS. ONCE THEY GRADUATE AND JOIN

THEIR STATE AND LOCAL DEPARTMENTS, PARTICIPANTS' SALARIES WILL BE PAID BY THOSE DEPARTMENTS AND THEY MUST RECEIVE ALL THE RIGHTS AND BENEFITS OF EVERY OTHER MEMBER OF THAT DEPARTMENT OF EQUAL RANK AND TENURE. THE BILL REQUIRES THAT THE DEPARTMENTS ASSIGN POLICE CORPS OFFICERS TO COMMUNITY FOOT PATROL. IT ANTICIPATES A GRADUATING CLASS OF UP TO 25,000 PER YEAR. THUS AFTER FOUR YEARS THE PROGRAM COULD ADD AS MANY AS 100,000 FOOT SOLDIERS TO THE FRONT LINES OF THE WAR ON CRIME.

THIS BILL IS NOT WITHOUT CONTROVERSY. FOR ONE THING, IT WILL COST THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT APPROXIMATELY \$1.7 BILLION PER YEAR ONCE THE PROGRAM IS FULLY IMPLEMENTED. WELL MEANING PEOPLE QUESTION WHETHER THIS PROGRAM IS THE BEST WAY TO SPEND THAT MUCH MONEY IN THE WAR ON CRIME. THEREFORE, WE WILL BE HEARING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS FROM A NUMBER OF PEOPLE VERY ACTIVE AND EXPERIENCED IN LAW ENFORCEMENT. WE WILL HEAR FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, SCHOLARS, LEADERS OF POLICE DEPARTMENTS IN LARGE AMERICAN CITIES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL POLICE ORGANIZATIONS. THOSE OF US WHO DEVOTE A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF TIME AND EFFORT TO LAW ENFORCEMENT ISSUES, AND I INCLUDE EVERY MEMBER OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE IN THAT GROUP, ARE ALWAYS ANXIOUS TO EXPLORE NEW IDEAS AND PROPOSALS.

SO I THANK EVERYONE FOR COMING AND AGREEING TO SHARE THEIR THOUGHTS WITH THE SUBCOMMITTEE. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE TESTIMONY.

Mr. McCOLLUM. I would only like to add to that, the fact that we are looking forward to this hearing because it is innovative, the concept is, and I have looked at it for some time. But like the chairman, I do not want to take the Senator's or other peoples time anymore than we already have. So, let's proceed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUGHES. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Chairman, I just have to extend a Pennsylvania welcome. Beyond that, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUGHES. But of course. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania. Our first witness this morning will be one of the authors of the legislation, the distinguished Senator from the State of Pennsylvania, Arlen Specter. Arlen Specter is a member of the Judiciary Committee, where he serves as the ranking Republican on the Subcommittee on the Constitution and as a member of the Subcommittee on Antitrust Monopolies and Business Rights.

He is also a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and Veterans Affairs Committee. Arlen also serves on the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus and the Congressional Crime Caucus. Before coming to the Senate, he served two terms as a very, very distinguished district attorney of Philadelphia. Indeed, I remember Arlen Specter as the Philadelphia district attorney. When I was a young prosecutor in Cape May County, NJ, he was a young district attorney in the city of Philadelphia. We worked together over the years as members of the National District Attorneys Association, and he has developed an enviable reputation in the area of criminal justice.

We welcome you here this morning.

STATEMENT OF HON. ARLEN SPECTER, A SENATOR IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of this very distinguished subcommittee, which I have worked with over the years. I recall our work together in Philadelphia. We used to export our major criminals to south Jersey to keep your dockets very busy, Mr. Chairman, when you were a prosecuting attorney in south Jersey.

Mr. HUGHES. I remember trying to find a lot of witnesses in Philadelphia over the years and trying to find my cases on the docket.

[Laughter.]

Mr. SPECTER. Those were very, very difficult days, Mr. Chairman, which brings us to the subject of today's bill, because the problems which we had 20 years ago when you and I were prosecuting attorneys are more aggravated today. We are in a crisis in law enforcement, with violent crime, and in particular the special breed of drug crimes. I believe the legislation for a Police Corps is especially important today to involve the young people in America in tackling this very serious problem, the crisis in law enforcement which confronts us in 1989.

If we are to move toward a solution on the problem of violent crime and its interaction with drugs and the underlying causes of crime, we are going to have to bring forth the best and the brightest. That will require incentives and a point of attraction for young

people through the kind of a scholarship program which is envisioned in the Police Corps. This is a vision of Adam Walinsky and Jonathan Rubinstein, which has been in process now for almost a decade.

I introduced legislation on this subject in the 99th Congress. It has been reintroduced earlier this year with many Senate cosponsors, now 12 in number, and I think that number will double or triple when the bill is circulated fully. It has been introduced on the House side by Congressman Dornan, who is with me today and Congressman Frank. It is a very, very innovative, important constructive concept that has drawn widespread support around the country and especially in the thoughtful editorial rooms where there has been much spoken about it in a very favorably way.

The essence, of course, is that there would be scholarships provided to young men and women to enter police departments. It would create a corps very similar to the ROTC [Reserve Officer Training Corps] that I participated in my college days. It would probably provide scholarships, some \$40,000 where the Federal Government would be the guarantor. After the individual had served the 4 years required under the program, then the Federal Government would pay the cost of the college education.

This combines really, two very important aspects of our modern problems; law enforcement and education. Once the young people are attracted to the law enforcement college career, then I think they would branch out into other lines. From there, they might go into the law, become prosecuting attorneys, they might go into correctional work, an enormous field which requires attention from the best and the brightest. We have not yet come to grips with our corrections problems, although those of us who have been professionals in the field for many years know what must be done.

What must be done, essentially, is to divide the criminal corps into two categories; those who are subject to rehabilitation and provide job training and provide literacy training, because it is no surprise that when someone comes out of prison as a functional illiterate without a trade or skill, that individual goes back to a life of crime. If a person having that opportunity for rehabilitation fails, then I think it is fair for society to be very tough and to exact life sentences on career criminals who commit so many of our crimes.

But, if we are to have a criminal justice system from beginning to end which starts with the process of arrest and moves through prosecution and moves through the court system and moves through corrections, we are going to have to have people who understand the process and understand the system. Those people too, would be able to work on a broader aspect of law enforcement which we are concerned with, covering the underlying causes of crime, the problems of job training and education and housing, and the broader problems of enforcement on the drug line in terms of trying to stop the growth of the coca leaf in South America and its refinement in the chemical laboratories and its importation into the United States. That is where the street issue picks up.

So, it is a vast subject. But we are not going to deal with these complex problems, I suggest, until we have people who are really knowledgeable and who understand the problem and all of its ramifications. In order to attract young people into the field of law

enforcement, I believe we ought to provide this kind of scholarship assistance, and it is not easy to do. We face the concern about elitism. We are not suggesting that the law enforcement community today is not doing a very good job, because they are within the limitations that they have.

The problems of search and seizure are very complicated. If we have better educated law enforcement officers, we have a better product. The difficulties of lineups are complex. The difficulties of confessions remain complex. The whole panorama of law enforcement activities require more education, a higher line, and it is true that these funds compete with many other funds. But, I believe this is an excellent investment in the future, and that's why I have invested a considerable amount of my own time and energy in trying to promote this legislation.

This subcommittee will play a key role in fashioning the ultimate product, and that's why I am pleased to be here to offer this testimony this morning.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you very much, Senator, for sharing your insights and your wealth of experience. You anticipated one of the criticisms of the bill—that it would create elitism. I wonder if you can tell us how you feel about some of the other criticisms.

For instance, the critics say that what we need is additional resources and better pay to attract more people to police work. Others say what we really need is a program to provide opportunities for present police officers to secure higher education, perhaps part-time educational opportunities. It has been suggested that it would impact the morale of the department, because we are suggesting in some way that in order to do a decent job you need a higher education. How do you respond to some of those critics?

Mr. SPECTER. I believe that those are all valid concerns, and I believe that they represent areas that we have to address. If we have a Police Corps and are working hard on an educational system for young men and women, then I think that those other issues will be addressed at the same time.

When you talk about elitism, I believe that if you have this Police Corps, we will then move to the area providing educational opportunities for officers who are in the force at the present time. I believe that these college graduates can be integrated into the police departments and can work side by side with those who are high school graduates and can impart their knowledge and their experience to those individuals.

The thought that came to my mind, Mr. Chairman, when you started to raise the question was a police officer named Howard Leary, who was in the Philadelphia Police Department and went to law school at night, advanced and became the police commissioner. He then was drafted by New York City. I had been district attorney for a month in 1966 when the afternoon papers one day read that Howard Leary had taken the morning train to New York City, had talked to the then mayor of New York City, John Lindsay, and had become New York City's police commissioner. He was an extraordinary police official who rose through the ranks with these educational opportunities.

I do not believe that the elitism is a real long-term problem. We need better pay, but I believe if you increase the educational level

and the competency level, there will be more emphasis on the pay issue. I think that if there are improvements for the entire police force then the whole boat will rise with this kind of approach. There will be better morale on police forces.

If there is a college graduate in the midst and he's on the patrol, there will be interaction. There will be conversations about how you establish probable cause on a search, what you have to put into a warrant, how you question the suspects, how you handle the problems of line up. There is nothing like having been through it, and there are a lot of ex-district attorneys in this room. We have seen the problems and I think we understand them better because of our education and our experience. I think that is what we will be creating, a large corps to promote the cause.

Mr. HUGHES. I thank you. The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Senator, I certainly find, as I indicated in my one brief opening comment, this is a very innovative program and I certainly want to explore it with you. The one thing that stands out beyond the complaints that Bill Hughes raised, that the police have presented us, is the total cost picture.

The Congressional Budget Office did a couple of unofficial estimates, and the most recent of those estimates that we have projects the program will cost \$1.7 billion by fiscal year 2000. Is this an extremely costly program, is this something that we can afford at this point in time even if it is a good program?

Mr. SPECTER. It is costly. It is not too costly. It is well worth it, and it is cost-effective. It is estimated to cost \$50 million in 1990; \$140 million in 1991; \$290 million in 1992; \$490 million in 1993, and it escalates as there is more Federal obligation to pay this tuition after the individuals serve the mandatory time.

We are looking at a budget this year for law enforcement federally, close to \$9 billion. We have taken the \$7.9 billion which President Bush advanced and we have added \$1 billion to it on the drug line. So that when you talk about the sums of money which we are projecting here, it is in accordance with more emphasis on important aspects of law enforcement.

It is hard to quantify the cost of crime in the United States. I believe you can document \$100 billion a year. If you talk about the pain and suffering and the apprehension every time there is a creaky sound in the middle of the night, I don't know what reaction you have to it, but I am apprehensive and have been for the last 25 years.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Arlen, what do you say though to the policeman on the beat who says that when he hears that figure, \$1.7 billion over the next 10 years, that if you just gave that to us in benefits we would have a much higher morale and we would all do a better job, and it would be a whole lot better all the way around than having this program; what do you say to him?

Mr. SPECTER. I say you are not going to get the \$1.7 billion, it is not either or. If we do not have the Police Corps, that does not mean that we are going to allocate \$1.7 billion to your pay. I say to him that your long-term advancement would be benefited by having a professional Police Corps in this country, professional police departments. Once the public understands that necessity for higher education in the Police Corps, we will be able to structure

scholarship programs for those who are currently in police departments.

Perhaps we might structure, as a part of the Police Corps concept, educational programs for those who are currently in police departments. Maybe that is an amendment or an addition which ought to be made to this kind of a program. But there is a need for Federal involvement, and I would try to structure a program which would help those who are already in the police departments as well.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Senator, I certainly find a good deal of merit with the bill, but I have some problems relating to local control and some of the concerns that the chairman raised as well. The first one is really a threshold question of whether the Federal Government should really be involved in local law enforcement. Ultimately, it is really going to be required in this bill.

Will the Federal Government be involved in decisions regarding the size of local police departments, recruitment standards, training and deployment? Who is going to make those decisions with reference to the number of admissions from any given area? What happens to those people.

Wouldn't local departments be better served by provisioning additional dollars through something like the existing Justice Assistance Act, to local police departments for the training of their own personnel as they see the need for that training, rather than standardized training?

Mr. SPECTER. I do not think that the import of this legislation will bring the Federal Government into local control. I think that the number of police departments and their standards will really remain for local control. What I see here is a Federal program to provide education on a broad base to many police officers in an effort to raise the educational level generally.

Why should the Federal Government be involved in assisting local police, because crime moves in interstate commerce, because the big aspect of crime is the drug problem which is a Federal responsibility. I believe the Federal Government has a broader duty on prisons, for example, and a broader duty on calendar control to help the judicial systems.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I will concede the point that the Federal Government has a significant role to play. My question is, however, as this bill would require the Federal Government to become involved in local law enforcement, how would that play out?

For instance, this sets up three police academies. Why should the local police academies be to some degree relegated to a role different than that of the three national police academies especially when the local academies are turning out people like Johns? What is going to be the difference between what is taught at these national academies and what is taught at the local academy?

Mr. SPECTER. Well, I believe there will be room for those which are in existence at the present time. You have military academies, but that doesn't supersede State universities or private universi-

ties. There is room for everybody. We are really making a supplement or addition.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Are we turning out an officer corps in these academies?

Mr. SPECTER. Are we turning out an officer corps in the police corp?

Mr. SMITH of Florida. In these academies that you are contemplating to be required in the bill, are they turning out an officer corps? If you make reference to the academies of the United States, they are turning out officers, theoretically career officers not the rank and file enlisted men.

Mr. SPECTER. Well, they turn out career officers just like reserve officer training corps turn out officers and many choose a career. In our military today, there are many graduates from ROTC programs around the country. My point is, that because you add a police academy it doesn't mean that you supersede those who are already in the field.

The police academy will doubtless learn from the existing institutions. The police academy may teach something to the existing institutions.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. You don't think that would be a duplication of existing provisions of services?

Mr. SPECTER. No, I think there is enough need for additional personnel and additional ideas and additional thought and study, so that we could add a great deal without having duplication or waste in this line.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. It would just seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that if you are going to do this—and, I don't think the concept itself is wrong, in fact I think it is a very unique and interesting idea—you would want to save as much money as you could for the enrollment of these police officers. By setting up a bureaucracy, setting up more academies and setting up a whole new system which drains off money, you are missing the point. The point is, to provide as much money as you can by funneling dollars into the existing capability.

I have not yet heard, that we are lacking academies in this country that are capable of turning out trained—well-trained police officers. If there is an incentive in here to bring police officers and quality young men and women into the police department, not that we don't have them now but additionally over the years, then I understand it.

But, if it is just to create a whole new bureaucracy with new training centers and the like, then I don't understand it.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GEKAS. I thank the Chair. Back to the money situation, Senator. The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, as you know, mandated the establishment of a National Commission on Law Enforcement on which some of us serve. The main function of that Commission is to discover ways and means of establishing parity among Federal, State, and local police officers with regard to benefits.

That, to me, by already existing law by the mandate of Congress, is priority number one. It has to be. Once we devote resources into

that, which I am committed to do and I believe Congress as a whole—Congressman Dornan and Senator Specter included—has to be to find the dollars to implement that. So, if we are going to talk about priorities, there is one that is already on the books, already established.

I, for one, have to, as a member of that Commission, put that above all. I do agree with the concept and will in some future Congress I believe, be able to lend more immediate support to the wherewithal to establish it. I endorse the concept and worry about the money. I would like Congressman Dornan's response to that and Senator Specter's.

Mr. HUGHES. Well, we are going to get to Congressman Dornan's testimony. The Senator has to be over on the Senate side soon.

Mr. SPECTER. Congressman Gekas, I thank you for agreeing with the concept. Finding the money is always difficult, and you make reference to the commitments that we have already made under existing drug legislation. Those commitments have to be honored, and we are moving forward to fund them. We put up \$1.8 billion in the 1986 legislation; we put up \$2.7 billion in authority last year, in 1988; and, we are putting our money where our mouth was. We are putting up the funds in this year's drug bill for law enforcement nationwide.

Those are priorities and commitments which have to be met. Beyond our existing commitments, we have to look to the future. I am not suggesting that this would substitute for what we have already obligated ourselves to do. But, we have many, many new challenges in the future. What we are really talking about here is scholarship programs to bring the best and the brightest into police work. That is a very good springboard for the whole criminal justice system.

We do have some institutions around the country at the present time which Congressman Smith refers to, but they are relatively limited compared to our educational program as a whole. Police work has never received the kind of elevation that it merits. There are many, many dedicated police officers across the country, and they have not gotten proper recognition.

We have to elevate the entire profession, and I think this would accomplish that.

Mr. GEKAS. Those officers within the very same rank and file and those who are hard working, should be the beneficiaries of the effort that we have mounted in this Commission. Therefore, it is a severe conflict for the Members of Congress who are trying to execute this particular mandate. The very same principles which you announce in our devotion to the law enforcement officer and our eagerness to elevate their status and their place in society, is inherent in this mandate.

As I mentioned previously, if the resources are going to be used for this purpose they must be accomplished by the Congress. The Police Corps has to wait its turn in my judgment. Again, I endorse the concept.

Mr. SPECTER. Well, if we established that the program should have a turn, that is a step forward.

Mr. GEKAS. Yes. I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman's time has expired. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. DEWINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Senator, for joining us. I think we all can agree with the very laudable goal of increasing the educational level of our police officers and increasing their expertise. I think we have seen that and we have come a long way in this country. We have some very excellent police officers that all of us who are former prosecutors or district attorneys have worked with through the years.

What strikes me about the bill though, is that for the first time, this bill would have the Federal Government involved in basic police training. We have all seen examples from our own local jurisdictions where our local police officers go off to the FBI for a 2-week training period or 6 weeks or several months. But, that is generally an advanced training. This is really breaking new ground, in having the Federal Government directly involved in the basic training of a cadet police officer.

I wondered if we could get into it a little bit. What would be the rationale for that?

Mr. SPECTER. The rationale is that there is a need for elevating the caliber of police work because of its importance and because of its complexity. Crime has risen to the top of the national agenda in terms of major domestic problems. We need domestic defense today, in a much more acute fashion than we need foreign defense. We lose 20,000 Americans every year to homicide, none to the Soviets.

We have a disproportionate allocation of our resources away from the criminal justice system. When I came to the U.S. Senate 9 years ago, I thought about the work of the National Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals which I had served on in 1972, and the work of the National Crime Commission in 1966 where we projected a lot of the answers.

The Federal Government is at the core of responsibility for fighting interstate crime and the drug problem. I advocated in 1981, an allocation of 1 percent of the Federal budget to domestic defense. It would have been \$8 billion a year then. This is a Federal responsibility on all facets of law enforcement.

Now, we have this unique idea of a Police Corps, which Adam Walinsky and Jonathan Rubinstein have articulated to have more educational resources devoted to the best and the brightest and to bring them into this crisis. They will work in a generation. If we structure this program through the 1990's, it will pay dividends throughout the year 2040. The combined wisdom in this room is not adequate for what we are going to face in the year 2040.

So, I would suggest that we really ought to recruit the young people in our country to devote their time and energy to this important issue.

Mr. DEWINE. Senator, one of the things that does bother me about this, as I have expressed previously, is having the Federal Government involved in basic police training. I just see all kinds of problems in that, and I don't know whether we are really going to gain anything. I have looked at police officers who have gone through these courses. Many times they have to, of course, learn the local law.

I just wonder whether this money would be better spent, for example, by increasing the number of scholarships. In other words, there are two components of this bill as I read it. One is the police academy and the other is setting up a long-term scholarship so that you enable police officers to attend college. How does that strike you? The money is not used to establish a police academy, but it is used to establish a scholarship fund to increase the educational level of law enforcement generally.

Mr. SPECTER. I believe that it would be useful to attack and work on the scholarship level beyond the concepts of the Police Corps here. I think that would be a good thing to do. Perhaps some of these resources might be allocated, or perhaps supplemental resources might be allocated.

When I hear the kinds of thoughts which are expressed today about questioning the Federal involvement in police training, it reminds me of the efforts which Bill Hughes and I undertook under the career criminal bill back in 1981. The first thought that I had about Federal involvement in street crime was to structure the career criminal bill, because I saw in Philadelphia with 500 career criminals, the possibility of dealing with them at the State court level and thought that the Federal Government ought to get involved in street crime.

That bill was originally structured for robbery and burglary. It provided that if someone was convicted of three or more robberies or burglaries, it became a Federal offense. I wanted to have the option of say, picking up 5 or 10 of the Philadelphia criminals into the Federal system, giving them life sentences and having all the leveraging to induce 495 other career criminals to stop judge shopping and plea bargaining and dancing the minuet through the State criminal system.

My colleagues on the Senate side, Senator Thurmond, was totally opposed to bringing the Federal Government into street crime. He said the Federal Government ought to stay out as a matter of federalism. We worked very hard for several years on that concept, and we refined it. We brought it into the concept of a career criminal who possessed a gun, to give it the traditional Federal nexus. That was Chairman Hughes' idea. In the middle of the night when most of America was sleeping, we added the omnibus crime control bill to the continuing resolution in 1984.

Hughes and Specter caught the chairman off guard and we got through the appropriations process, and we brought the Federal Government into street crime. That has now become a major tool on drug control. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms' budget has increased significantly and that has been a major tool, going after drug dealers.

I think about that, and I don't want to throw too many bouquets up at the chairman and others in the room on the issue, but I am reminded of those thoughts about keeping the Federal Government out of the effort to prosecute career criminals. Today, that is a very, very successful program.

Mr. HUGHES. Would the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. SPECTER. Yes.

Mr. HUGHES. The moral of the story is, Senator Specter and I do our best work in the middle of the night.

[Laughter.]

Mr. SPECTER. In those days, you couldn't structure a conference with the Judiciary Committee, so it was structured in the appropriations process. That was a great bill. It provided for hostage taking and kidnaping, terrorism, and the career criminal bill. It moved the Federal Government into a field that many, many, many people practically everybody said, was none of the Federal Government's business.

Those of us who had worked in local law enforcement as prosecutors saw that it was. I think that says a lot about the police issue. I think you can say, well, leave it to the locals. The Federal Government doesn't have a role here. But, I think the analogy is very apt, and I think 9 years from now we may look back at the Police Corps and say it's about time.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman's time has expired. I want to thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania again for sharing his wealth of experience with us. I, too, have some concerns. We have a lot of talent on this subcommittee, as you have on your subcommittee, Senator. I am sure that we can attempt to craft something that will address many of these concerns, and yet, still attempt what we all want to do and that is to beef up law enforcement and provide opportunities for them to secure more education and to do a better job in the criminal justice area.

I thank you for your contributions and thank you for your cooperation. I might say before you depart, that it was the Senator from Pennsylvania that basically saved a whole host of crime initiatives in 1984, was it, including forfeiture. I thank him for that.

Mr. SPECTER. It's nice to be here. It's too bad that we don't get a chance to exchange ideas more often, but these hearings do bring us together. I, for one, am not in concrete on all the provisions of this bill. I am prepared to accommodate the kinds of concerns which have been raised here, and to work it out on a joint basis.

I would ask, Mr. Chairman, that the full text of the statement when I introduced the bill be made part of the record.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman's statement will be received for the record in full, without objection.

Mr. SPECTER. Thank you very much.

[The floor statement of Mr. Specter follows:]

POLICE CORPS ACT

● Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, today I am introducing a bill which will help to combat violent crime and drug violations and to preserve neighborhood safety by substantially increasing the number of police on patrol.

The vehicle to achieve this essential goal is the creation of a Police Corps Program which, like the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) Program, would provide educational assistance in exchange for a commitment to post-graduation police service. This bill is based on legislation I first introduced as S. 1524 in the 99th Congress.

Many cities and towns in this country need more police. Police departments are being stretched thin by the increase in violent crime over the last 40 years. Preventive community patrol, protecting neighborhood safety and peace, is sometimes sacrificed to allow prompt response to emergency calls.

The ratio of police officers to reported violent crimes has significantly declined during the last four decades. Reports indicate that in 1946, for every violent crime reported in a U.S. city, there were 3.22 police officers. Approximately 40 years later, however, the ratio dramatically changed, with one officer for every 3.1 violent crimes. In New York City in 1951, a police force of 19,000 coped with 15,812 violent crimes—fewer than one per officer. In 1987, a force of 27,523 confronted 148,313 violent crimes: more than five reported violent crimes for each officer.

In the Nation as a whole, we are allocating to violent crime one-sixth of the police power we mobilized 30 years ago. These statistics understate the problem because researchers believe there are two crimes not reported for every reported crime. But the worst understatements cannot be expressed in numbers. Rather they are engraved on the faces and in the hearts of American citizens who live in areas where the power and authority of law enforcement seem absent.

As I have stated on other occasions, crime is a complex subject. The underlying causes of crime are with us today as they have been with us for decades. Poverty, lack of housing, lack of adequate education, lack of job training, lack of jobs, lack of family structure—all are root causes of crime in this country, and more has to be done by the Congress of the United States in addressing those issues. At the same time, Mr. President, I submit that it is necessary to address the issues of arrest, prosecution, conviction, rehabilitation where possible, and incarceration where rehabilitation is not possible.

To begin this essential task, we must significantly augment the strength of the police forces in this country. More police on patrol in neighborhoods can help to reestablish community order and safety. Police patrol strengthens

neighborhoods and contributes to domestic tranquility.

Understrength police forces cannot hope to apprehend more than a fraction of the many criminals who have adopted crime as a profitable way of life. Clearance rates, even for violent crime, have dropped dramatically. As to property crime, most departments do not have the manpower even to investigate thefts of less than many thousands of dollars. In this regard, the poor always suffer the most: according to the National Crime Survey of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, black households lose 50 percent more to crime than do white households.

I believe that more police, patrolling aggressively and investigating a greater proportion of crimes, will significantly reduce criminal activity.

Accordingly, we must reestablish the force and effectiveness of the police. I believe that the Federal Government should stimulate and lead an effort to rebuild police strength in every threatened State and locality. I propose that we now undertake a national effort to increase State and local police forces, over the next 5 years, by adding up to 100,000 new officers. This number would allow us to increase actual patrol forces, in many threatened areas, by over 50 percent.

We should recruit to police service highly qualified young men and women. We have an historic precedent. In times of national emergency, the bulk of our military officers have been drawn not from the career forces, but from the citizenry at large. They have been volunteers, who after their tour of duty have returned to their civilian occupations. And to these volunteers, we have offered a free higher education as an inducement and a recognition of their service. We do this today, in the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) programs that now train the majority of the Nation's junior military officers, and make higher education possible for thousands of young adults.

I propose that we should now do the same for the police. We should recruit many thousands of our finest young people to police service, by offering them a free college or professional education in return for a 4-year term of service with a cooperating State or local police department.

The Police Corps is an innovative plan for upgrading and augmenting law enforcement resources, developed under a Justice Department grant by a distinguished New York attorney, Adam Walinsky; a former Philadelphia policeman, Jonathan Rubenstein; and others at the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy. This program offers an expeditious way for State and local police to augment their forces with well-educated and enthusiastic young people who will add an important new dimension to police service.

As with the military's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), acceptance into the Police Corps Program would guarantee substantial educational assistance to students. Through the Police Corps Program, a student would be able to obtain federally guaranteed Federal, State, or private loans or be reimbursed for educational expenses up to \$40,000. In exchange for this educational assistance, the graduate would serve 4 years in the State police or in a local police department within the sponsoring State. Only upon completion of the 4 years of service will the loans be repaid by the Government. This provision will help ensure that a participant in the program honors his or her full 4-year commitment to service.

Mr. President, the view that a college education provides valuable training for police officers is not new. In 1967, the report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice emphasized that postsecondary education of police personnel would contribute significantly to improved crime control:

Police work always will demand quick reflexes, law enforcement know-how and devotion to duty, but modern police work demands much more than that. . . . Police candidates must be sought in the colleges, and especially among liberal arts and social science students.

This conclusion subsequently was supported by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in 1971; by the American Bar Association in 1972; and by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, on which I served, in 1973.

Yet, to date, higher education in the police forces has generally been restricted to college courses in criminal justice for career officers.

The Police Corps will produce young men and women well qualified to meet the challenges of contemporary law enforcement. These recruits not only will gain the general benefits of education and experience at a college, but also will spend 16 weeks at a Police Corps training center. Following the completion of this stringent Federal training, the program participants may receive additional appropriate training to be conducted under the direction of the law enforcement body in which the participant will serve.

This rigorous program will yield well-trained, well-disciplined, and well-rounded individuals who bring to the job not only enhanced professionalism, but a great flexibility and sensitivity to the environment in which police must function. These officers will be well equipped to deal with the new challenges in police work such as racial tensions in the community and gang warfare.

Another significant aspect of this program is that it is likely to result in a police force more reflective of the community it serves, because students will fulfill their service commitment in police departments in their home States. And student surveys conducted

as part of the feasibility study for this project reveal that the program will attract many well-qualified minority students.

According to this feasibility study, of all college students surveyed by the Department of Justice, over 40 percent said they would be "very likely" or "fairly likely" to join a Police Corps Program. Over 45 percent of minority college students surveyed said they would be likely to join. Fifty percent of those likely to join had grade point averages of B or better; half had scores of over 500 on the math portion of the scholastic aptitude test (SAT); and 53 percent planned to study for advanced degrees.

Equally important, this program would make large numbers of new police officers readily available to States and localities by guaranteeing a well-qualified pool of recruits. Also, the service of Police Corps officers would cost less than the service of regular career officers because graduates who serve 4-year terms will not become eligible for pensions which are a major element of police costs.

This legislation is intended to provide immediate relief to overburdened municipalities. The summer training is designed to allow these new officers to begin providing essential service expeditiously. In addition, the program would be available to those who are currently college seniors and juniors, many of whom already have incurred heavy debt burdens. If they embark on a program of Police Corps service immediately upon graduation, the Federal Government would reimburse their educational expenses or assist them with graduate study.

Since its inception, this innovative and practical proposal has received a number of endorsements. Numerous articles have been written applauding the Police Corps concept and urging its consideration.

Mr. President, this bill has the support of several major law enforcement organizations, including the Fraternal Order of Police, the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association, the Major City Chiefs, the Police Executive Research Forum, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, the National Sheriffs Association, and the National Association of Police Organizations. The support of these important national groups will help ensure that the Police Corps Program is widely utilized to bolster local law enforcement agencies in their fight against street crime.

I am continuing to seek input and advice from law enforcement and criminal justice experts around the country. It is my strong sense, however, that this program offers great hope in our ongoing struggle to bring greater security to our streets and homes. Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to join me in support of this Police Corps Program legislation.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you again. Our colleague from California has been very, very patient, and I wonder if you can indulge us for just a few more minutes, sir. You know how difficult it is to get a quorum and I have a quorum. We need to mark up and report out our part of the President's drug package. If we can take a few minutes and do that, it would be appreciated.

It is noncontroversial, and it will take us just a minute.

[Brief recess.]

Mr. HUGHES. The subcommittee will come to order for the purpose of continuing our discussion on H.R. 2798. Our next witness this morning will be another one of the authors of the bill, the distinguished Member from the 38th District of California, Representative Robert K. Dornan.

Bob Dornan is a respected member of the Intelligence and Armed Services Committees, where he serves with great distinction on the Subcommittees on Combat Readiness and Research and Development. He is also an active member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, on which I am privileged to serve as well. Among his many other responsibilities, he is a member of the Task Force on International Narcotics Control.

Bob, we thank you for being with us today, for your work on this particular piece of legislation, and your leadership as well as your patience. We thank you. We welcome you, and your statement, without objection, will be made a part of the record in full, and you may proceed as you see fit.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT DORNAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Chairman, if I may, because of some questions that arose during Senator Specter's excellent presentation, I would like to read part of my statement. And, as a prolog say, I am smitten with this idea. I am getting passionate about it, and part of that is because I see it as a hopeful solution to this national crisis that we have with crime. It is not my idea, but Mr. Walinsky's and Mr. Rubinstein's, an idea that has been refined over a decade.

I can be unabashedly strong and passionate about it because it isn't stroking some idea that popped into my head when the shower was beating on my forehead in the morning. I am sorry that we lost my friend, Larry Smith, I will try to catch him on the floor. He jumped ahead and confused the summer training, which will be patterned after the Reserve Officer Training Corps.

Mr. HUGHES. Larry had to go to a markup.

Mr. DORNAN. Right. He pictured a West Pointer; Annapolis Air Force Academy; and King Point Coast Guard Academy; and that was not the concept here, which would be very expensive and redundant to some of the police academies. So, I look forward to explaining that. Just by way of keeping people's attention who may be watching through national technical means over the weekend, I would like to hold up yesterday's paper, a special report section from one of our newspaper's, we have truly locked up the title murder capital of the world right here in our beautiful Federal City.

Three hundred and seventy-one deaths was the total yesterday, surpassing last year's 369, and we still have 2 full months to go. I haven't seen the morning papers. I am afraid to look to see if there was a murder or two last night that would increase this total. But, it gives the demographic breakdown of the killings. To be a young black male, between 20 and 29 in parts of this city, is to really be an American citizen in jeopardy for your very safety on the streets.

The weapons used are guns, knives, blunt force, trauma, strangulation, asphyxiation, and arson. They don't even know what killed five of them, maybe multiple causes. The picture, the graphic picture, like the one that was on the front page of all the newspapers last month, is of a young man lying dead on the street with all the lights reflecting and the blood flowing out of his body. This victim is a young father, married with three children. The typical American family that we feel is breaking apart in some poor areas, some ghettos.

This young father in his tennis shoes and shorts, because of our Indian summer here, walking in his own neighborhood. Here, as the paper puts it, is the twisted shape of a man, a stabbing victim. This Police Corps approach is just one way to do something about this national crisis. So, to anticipate some questions, let me read parts of the testimony.

I truly believe the Police Corps is an idea whose time has come. It would establish opportunities for meaningful community service with a police department in exchange for a college education. But as worthy as that goal is, I believe the principal thrust of this Police Corps idea is one overriding reason; we simply need more cops on the beat on American streets, particularly in major urban areas. We all know this is true. The chairman and I, as he mentioned, serve on the Narcotics Committee, as does Mr. DeWine and others have served on that committee and have moved onto other committee assignments. We know we need more cops.

Our cities are torn apart by crime. The drug influence just increases. In some cases like burglary or armed robbery, it increases at eightfold or tenfold in some areas. We are going to have to make a commitment to put more cops on the beat, and if we are going to do that, then we should seek to attract the most qualified candidates. As the Police Corps candidate selection process is designed to be very competitive, we can be reasonably certain to attract excellent people.

Let me interject that yes, I want the talent of everybody on this subcommittee with its principal focus on doing something about this crisis and crime, to hone any of these ideas and to add your excellent thoughts to what has been worked on for over a decade here. Let me say right off the bat, this in no way implies that our current crop of police officers is anything but well trained, highly motivated, and a caring group of professionals.

I would like, when the opportunity presents itself, to do a ride along in an average patrol car on the street. I did this last year in Jacksonville, FL, and other parts of the country. It just reinforces that feeling of mine that we are lucky to have the police officers, the men and women out there, that we do have. This bill is merely recognizing that our law enforcement officers need to keep pace with the growing sophistication of criminals.

For instance, the FBI at periods when they needed people, did accept high school graduates. But for years, they have only accepted college graduates, and if those graduates are not lawyers or accountants—because they need those specialties—then they must have 3 years of administrative work experience before they become an agent. They like to take in, for example, ex-officers out of the military. We need that same commitment to improving the educational excellence of our local and State police officers.

Let's talk about this national crisis in recruiting police personnel. In one department after another, massive retirements are expected over the next 3 years. Many departments are already scrambling to try and replace these retirees. They are trying as hard as the military does to come up with enticements to get young men and women involved in police work. Once established, the Police Corps will help plug that manpower gap by putting 25,000 police officers in urban areas on the streets each year.

After 4 years, this means that we will increase the number of police on American streets by about 20 percent. And because graduates would be placed almost exclusively on foot patrol, not added to bureaucracies, the corps should increase cops on the front lines by about 40 percent. Most of these extra police officers will be in highest crime areas. They are desperately needed.

Take this example. In 1951, there were 3.2 cops on the job for every reported violent felony in American cities, cities with populations of over 50,000. This year, that ratio is exactly reversed; three felonies per cop. In Buffalo in 1951, there were 1,229 police officers and 361 violent crimes. By last year, 1988, the Buffalo police force had shrunk to 970, and the violent crimes had soared to 3,555. In fact, nationwide, we are allocating only one-sixth of the police we deployed 40 years ago in comparison to the volume of crime they are expected to confront and deter. Of course, we didn't have the drug problem then that we have now.

I will skip over here, because I will submit my full testimony for the record. Let me say this, Mr. Chairman, it has been shown that more police significantly change the drug and related crime problem in inner-city neighborhoods. Cops are the foot soldiers in this struggle that we have called a war on drugs. If we don't increase their presence in crime-ridden areas, then we should stop calling our effort a war. If we are serious about fighting a war, and I believe that Congress really is, then we must take wartime-like measures.

Like our military ROTC program which supplies Armed Forces with college educated officers—not all of them career officers, I never intended to be a career when I went through ROTC and then served 6 years on active duty in the Air Force. My ROTC training was invaluable and it kept me heading in that direction to be a soldier pilot for a while.

The Police Corps is going to enhance the quality and the professionalism, enhance it. I am not saying that it is not professional now, but the bill would enhance it on police forces, and this is going to help us turn the tide in this war. One of the most tragic situations in America—that is why I related to this newspaper—is that so many of our fellow citizens, especially in the inner-city areas of our country, they live in constant fear.

When I leave a police ride-along on one of these nights, I feel like I am leaving a part of America that is foreign to me, to go back to an area where I don't have to live in fear. My heart goes out to those people who suffer in those crime-ridden areas. There are people right here in this capital, as I have just shown with this newspaper, who are in constant fear that their son, or their daughter is going to be the one in that story or that they hear about on some radio, if not themselves being a victim of crime.

I will skip over some more examples here and come to something that is called the Murray test. It is named for Charles Murray who as you know, Mr. Chairman, is a social scholar of some repute. His test measures the public's perception of the effectiveness of our criminal justice system in certain areas. It is a very simple test. If the criminal justice system is perceived to be working in a certain community, the people will say after an arrest that the guy is in big trouble. He is in deep trouble.

But if, on the other hand, the criminal justice system is seen as a failure, then the response will be more like, he will probably walk. We have all heard the variations on that. He will be out in a day; he will do 48 hours standing on his head; he will get back to get revenge on me if he is a witness. That Murray test is a pretty good test, I believe. We know how many of our inner-city residents would respond to that test.

It should be clear that with the perception the world isn't lawful any more and a revolving prison system and its resultant lack of a criminal deterrent, we need to prevent crime before it happens and give people in these crime-ridden areas a measure of security and competence, that is going to allow them to live their lives in the normal fashion.

I am going to submit for the record, the New York Times editorial, New York Post editorial, an editorial by the Los Angeles Times in support of this, the Philadelphia Inquirer, an excellent article by Al Hunt of the Wall Street Journal, and the endorsement order of the Fraternal Order of Police that represents almost 2,000 professional police officers. In my testimony here, I refer to Al Hunt's excellent article.

Mr. HUGHES. Without objection, that will be so received.

[The information appears in the appendixes.]

Mr. DORNAN. Al Hunt says that in those places where the drug threat has been driven out, such as the Winzer Park neighborhood in Houston, in almost every case it has been police-community relations that has helped the citizens who are involved turn the tide.

Let me just expand briefly on that point of police-community relations. The criminal justice system, as William Tucker has written, is more than just a method for dealing with criminals. It is also a public stage upon which the continuing drama of public morality is enacted. Beautifully put. To be sure, it is not enough that crime be dealt with efficiently or effectively, it must be dealt with appropriately. This perception that crime is being dealt with in an appropriate manner or preventive maintenance, because police officers are on the scene preventing it from even happening in the first place, that begins with the police and then it extends through the courts and through the correctional system.

Therefore, it is vital that our police be responsive to and considerate of, the communities that they serve. That is why a college education, proper training provided by the Police Corps, can help tremendously in that process. There are some opponents of this bill that claim this will result in Police Corps graduates having an elitist attitude. My good friends, and I don't say that as a figure of speech, truly friends, Chief Darryl Gates in Los Angeles and his counterpart in that massive county of 8 million people, Sherm Block, have come out against this.

I must interject at this point that I wished they had the friendship to call me and talk this over with me as other police officers have from that area and have left my office and the office of Mr. Frank or others who have supported this, seeing exactly why we believe in this idea. These two gentlemen, I am afraid, look at the world through the prism of L.A.P.D. an exemplary police force in this country although also undermanned, though they claim they don't have recruiting problems. But that's not what the personnel officers tell me where the rubber hits the road.

Sherm Block's L.A. deputies are as sharp looking as L.A.P.D. officers. But, how many police departments in this Nation or in the world have had a romance with Hollywood like the L.A.P.D., starting with Jack Webb's "Dragnet," "Badge 714," "Adam 12," all of those Webb shows by the way? Then, other shows like the "New Centurions," the "Naked Breed." One show after another showing that L.A. police officers are exemplary to look at and in their performance. Believe it or not, that does rub off on the police force.

They have had their scandals, but they are precious few and far between, because I know a lot of these officers feel that they are carrying the weight of Jack Webb's word in that one show, looking at an officer who was corrupt and saying, you are a bad cop, you are a bad cop, you are a bad cop. That is the worst thing on this earth, you are a bad cop. I can remember that show, and I know it's still shown to some of the officers there to remind them of the responsibility that they bear. Their morale is terrific.

So, I don't want Darryl Gates telling me that the morale of his force is universal across departments in this country when it simply is not. I believe that this program will infuse our police departments with a new esprit. I remember talking to some police officers in my office, about five of them, who all came in skeptics and I said tell me something, are any of you second or third generation police officers in your family.

I could easily look at the ones with an Italian or Irish surname and anticipate the answer was going to be yes. One of them was the fourth generation cop in his family. I said, do you have sons or daughters? Had some of each. Are you recommending any of them go into police work? He smiled and said, you got me, the answer is no. I said, if you could get your son or your daughter a 4-year education in a Police Corps operation like this, a broad liberal education with a summer camp between the junior and senior years and then they could follow you as a newly energized police officer where Senator Specter said we are raising the perception of this profession that we so rely on, particularly as he put it, when we hear the footsteps outside the door in the dead of night.

The police officer said, I see where we are heading here. I think you have won me over. We don't want police families to feel that crime is winning so therefore it's not a worthy profession any more.

I make some other points here, but let me skip ahead in the interest of time to my close. Mr. Chairman, the Police Corps will simply do three things. It will increase the pool of qualified candidates for law enforcement officers. We need that pool increased. Two, it will significantly upgrade the quality of the police applicant pool. This doesn't have anything to do with those on active duty as policemen, men and women right now. It is going to upgrade the quality of the applicant pool.

Some of the rumors I am hearing from some east coast departments is well, frankly, one department has an officer in the field and I wish him well, he has an IQ of 92. So, I know we can increase that applicant pool. Three, it will most importantly, to come back to my opening paragraph, put more cops out on the beat, on the street where they are needed most.

I believe it is a concept that can work, particularly if it is massaged with all the excellent talent on this panel. In short, Mr. Chairman, we need the Police Corps. I have already asked permission to put those letters in, particularly the letter from Dewey Stokes of the Fraternal Order of Police.

Mr. HUGHES. They will be made part of the record.

Mr. DORNAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUGHES. I thank the gentleman for his testimony and for his contributions and congratulate him on his leadership. You have anticipated a number of the questions raised by cities for this legislation and you have attempted to deal with some others that you have heard.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dornan follows:]

Honorable Robert K. Dornan

Testimony Before the House Judiciary
Committee's Subcommittee on Crime

Honorable William Hughes, Chairman
November 2, 1989

Thank you Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee. It is a pleasure to be here today as a representative of the 38th District of California testifying in support of legislation to establish a Police Corps. Let me take this opportunity to thank the Chairman for holding these hearings on what I believe is an important issue. I think that whatever the outcome, these hearings will be of help in crafting a response to many of the crime problems facing our nation.

Mr. Chairman, The Police Corps is an idea whose time has come. As you know, the bill will establish opportunities for meaningful community service with a police department in exchange for a college education. But as worthy as that goal may be, in my mind the Police Corps is necessary for one overriding reason: We need more "cops on the beat" on American streets, especially in our major cities, which as we all know have been torn apart by the drug trade and the crime drugs breed. If we are going to make a commitment to put more cops on the beat, then we should seek to attract the most qualified candidates to fill those positions. And as the Police Corps' candidate selection process is designed to be very competitive, we can be reasonably certain to attract excellent people.

Let me say right off the bat, Mr. Chairman, that this in no way implies that our current crop of police officers is anything but a well-trained, highly motivated, and caring group of professionals. It is merely recognizing that our law enforcement officials need to keep pace with the growing sophistication of criminals. For instance, the FBI used to accept high school graduates as trainees. Now they accept only college graduates, and if those graduates are not lawyers or accountants, they must have three years of administrative work experience before they can become agents. We need that same commitment to improving the educational excellence of our local and state police forces.

Mr. Chairman, there is a national crisis in recruiting police personnel. In one department after another, massive retirements are expected over the next three years and many departments are already scrambling to replace retirees. When it is up and running, the Police Corps will help plug this manpower gap by putting 25,000 college-educated police on the streets each year. After four years, this means we will increase the number of police on America's streets by about 20 percent. And because graduates would be placed almost exclusively on foot patrol and not added to police bureaucracies, the Corps should increase cops

on the front lines by about 40%. Most of these extra cops will be in our highest crime areas. And they are desperately needed, especially when you consider how the demands on the job have changed.

In 1951, there were 3.2 cops on the job for every reported violent felony in American cities with populations over 50,000. This year that ratio will be reversed, or three felonies for every cop.

Take Buffalo for instance. In 1951 there were 1,229 police officers in Buffalo and 361 violent crimes. By last year, however, the Buffalo police force had shrunk to 970 officers, while violent crimes had soared to 3,555. Similar conditions exist in other metropolitan areas and in some cities the ratio is only one police officer for every nine violent crimes reported. In fact, nationwide, we are allocating only one-sixth of the police we deployed 40 years ago in comparison to the volume of crime they are expected to confront and deter.

Consider another, more recent example. Since 1979, the number of police per inhabitant has not changed. Yet the incidence of violent crime has increased over 16 percent.

It has been shown that more police significantly change the drug and related crime problem in inner-city neighborhoods. Cops are the foot soldiers in our war on drugs, and if we don't increase their presence in crime-ridden areas, then we should stop calling our effort a war. Because if we are serious about fighting a war, then we must take wartime-like measures. Like our military's ROTC program, which supplies our armed forces with college-educated officers, the Police Corps will enhance the quality and professionalism of our nation's police forces and help us win that war.

You know, Mr. Chairman, one of the most tragic situations in America today is that so many of our fellow citizens, especially those in the inner-city areas of our country, live in constant fear. They are afraid to go about their normal lives. There are people right here in our nation's capital who are afraid to sit out on their front porch for fear of being the victim of violent crime. Now this is not the fault of the police. It is instead, I believe, the fault of non-conservative politicians and judges who have emasculated our criminal justice system and shifted resources away from fighting crime to dubious social programs. In our inner cities there is simply no effective deterrent to criminal behavior. Indeed, considering the status some drug dealers have in these neighborhoods, there seems to me to be an actual incentive to engage in criminal activity.

If you don't believe our criminal justice system is in bad shape I suggest you conduct a few experiments using what I have termed the "Murray Test," named for Charles Murray, who, as you may know Mr. Chairman, is a social scholar of some repute. His

test measures the public's perception of the effectiveness of our criminal justice system. It is a very simple test. Suppose someone in a particular community is arrested for some violent crime. If the criminal justice system is perceived to be working, those in the community will say, "He is in big trouble." If on the other hand, the criminal justice system is seen as a failure, then the response will be more like, "He'll probably walk." A pretty good test, I think. Unfortunately, I think we all know how most of our inner-city residents would respond to the Murray Test.

It should therefore be clear that with the perception the world isn't lawful anymore, and a revolving-door prison system and its resultant lack of criminal deterrent, we need to prevent crime before it happens and give people in crime-ridden areas a measure of security and confidence that will allow them to lead their lives in a normal fashion. The most effective way to do that is to increase the police presence in our inner-cities and other crime-plagued areas. Indeed, as has been reported by Al Hunt of The Wall Street Journal and others, more police can significantly change the drug and related crime problem in inner-city neighborhoods. In those few places where the drug threat has been driven out, such as the Winzer Park neighborhood in Houston, almost invariably the major factor is more police and better police-community relations. The Police Corps can help in this regard.

Allow me to expand on this point of police-community relations. The criminal justice system, as William Tucker has written, "is more than just a method for dealing with criminals. It is also a public stage upon which the continuing drama of public morality is enacted." To be sure, it is not enough that crime be dealt with efficiently or effectively, it must also be dealt with appropriately. And this perception that crime is being dealt with in an appropriate manner begins with the police and extends through the courts and into the correctional system. Therefore it is vital that our police be responsive to and considerate of the communities they serve. A college education and proper training provided by the Police Corps can help tremendously in that process. Now I know opponents of the bill will claim this will result in Police Corps graduates having an elitist attitude, creating resentment within police departments. All I can say is that this has not happened with our ROTC program or our military service academies. For that matter, it has not happened with the SWAT teams, anti-NARCO squads, or anti-terrorist units that have sprung up in various police department around the country. Sure, there may be some resentment at first, but as the program continues and Police Corps graduates prove themselves, I believe the program will infuse our police departments with a new spirit.

Mr. Chairman, I also believe that we need more minority police officers, especially in the inner-city where they can also serve as positive role models for the youth there. The Police

Corps Act addresses this concern, but in a manner consistent with the principles that should, but don't always, guide our hiring policies. Subsection (c) of Section 6 requires participating states to make special efforts to recruit minority applicants while expressly providing that the competitive standards required for admission may not be in any way relaxed. A college education can be a powerful incentive to minority youth who would not otherwise be able to afford college. Thus the Police Corps will attract qualified minority candidates to fill positions for which they are desperately needed.

I certainly don't believe, Mr. Chairman, that we will be able to put and end to the crime problem in our inner cities by passing the Police Corps Act. But we will be able to at least give the streets back to the people who live there, and that would be a remarkable accomplishment. No one in this great country should be afraid to leave their home to go for a walk or to visit a neighbor or go to school.

I don't want to sound like a defeatist, Mr. Chairman, but as I survey the current crime situation in our great urban areas, like our nation's capital, I am not optimistic about the chances of making much progress in changing the behavior of those who have victimized their neighborhoods and caused tremendous suffering. In my view, they are the result of the great leftist-oriented social experiments of the 60s and 70s. Don't misunderstand me, Mr. Chairman, I don't mean to write-off an entire generation, but the problems of the inner-city are so intractable and will take so long to solve, that perhaps the best we can do is concentrate our efforts on protecting, indeed saving, the next generation. And one of the ways to do that is to prevent them from becoming the victims of crime, which causes and perpetuates the other ills of our underclass neighborhoods. A heightened police presence in these neighborhoods, accomplished through the Police Corps, can fulfill that duty.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, the Police Corps will do three things. It will increase the pool of qualified candidates for law enforcement officers, it will significantly upgrade the quality of the police applicant pool, and it will, most importantly, put more cops on the street, where we need them most. It is a concept that can work. In short, we need the Police Corps, Mr. Chairman.

I thank the Chairman for holding these hearings and I appreciate the consideration of the subcommittee.

Thank you Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee.

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Mr. HUGHES. The only thing that I want to ask you is, whether or not you think it is appropriate for the Federal Government to be involved in decisions regarding the size of local police departments, recruitment standards, training and deployment of manpower. Is that a proper function of the Federal Government?

Mr. DORNAN. Well, in better times, frankly no, Mr. Chairman. It is no secret around the Hill that I am a conservative and therefore I am always weary of the Federal Government overstepping its bounds. However, the issue of crime is so pervasive that I believe a small Federal involvement may be necessary. And remember, this program is strictly voluntary. States do not have to establish a program if they do not choose to do so.

A good analogy might be the environment where acid moves from the border of one State to another, where rivers run downstream into someone else's State. It is the same with crime.

Moreover, we have international crime problems. With interstate commerce, which is what we use in the South to take a political system that knew it was wrong but was entrenched and as they told me when I went down there in the 1960's, they said maybe we need outside influence because we don't have the courage to stand up and state the truth.

Mr. HUGHES. Bob, I suppose you could use that same argument with almost anything, because there are very few things today that do not impact interstate commerce. Of course, local law enforcement agencies generally do not go across their own borders. Many local police departments in fact, have done a fairly good job of upgrading their training and trying to incur the kind of professionalism that you have described in the L.A.P.D. That is taking place all around the country.

We are still overwhelmed, however, and we still have recruitment problems and the kinds of problems that George Gekas talked about. The question is whether that is a proper role for the Federal Government to be telling local police departments how to operate.

Mr. DORNAN. All of their police academies would remain in tact. The analogy that I draw is because of my military experience with the ROTC, and that's what I was hoping to explain to Mr. Gekas and Mr. Smith on the floor. When someone graduates from an ROTC program and he goes in and then reattains a certain amount of basic military training, even if he is already a commissioned officer, he then is given an option of schools.

Now, some of these schools would perfect his overall talent, ranger school, jungle survival, arctic survival, all sorts of schools that generically apply. But if you could make a decision in the Army to be an artillery officer or aviation officer, go to helicopter school, that is, in a way, like going to a police department and going through their police academy. That was one of the things that some Chicago and New York police officers asked me. They said, do we have to put these people right in the precinct? Could we send them through our police academy?

There's no reason why you wouldn't go through armor school to become a tank officer.

Mr. HUGHES. I'm not talking about that. I am talking about the size of the department and standards for a department. Problems

vary from State to State. I am not so sure that you could develop a standard that would be particularly appropriate in every jurisdiction, although many of our problems are identical around the country today. There are some differences around the country, however.

My question basically is, do you have any concerns about developing a Federal standard relative to recruitment and size and deployment of manpower?

Mr. DORNAN. Well, I would agree with you that there are going to be some small constituencies in this country that will say we think Mayberry is just fine the way it is, one Andy Griffith cop and one sidekick that can't get his gun out of his holster. I hope that is a fictional city. I don't know if there really is a Mayberry in North Carolina.

But there is going to be a tax problem. Again, I think this is where the bill has a very nice affect. You say look, we have two men and a young woman from your area who have now gone through the Police Corps training. They would like to serve in this area on your police forces, and these police forces would say well you know something, maybe we are a little undermanned. Let's take a look at these people.

The officer that comes out of this to get his college education paid for would ideally like to select the city of his choice. But if L.A.P.D. says we are full, we don't have any recruitment problems, then he has to—he or she, if they want these loans paid off, take a police force that is willing to take them and run them through their academy. Now, I'll tell you something about the L.A.P.D. that is not generally known.

We have a lot of young men from Alabama that serve on the L.A.P.D. There are many from other Southern States as well. They are attracted to L.A. by the television image and the good life that is supposed to be there in California. They come to us in L.A. from all over the country.

Mr. HUGHES. And, it's there, isn't it?

Mr. DORNAN. Well, we have those other problems, like smog and transportation. They find out it may take them 2 hours driving to get to work in the morning and then they have to drive in an Adam car all day long. Let me come back to something Mr. Smith mentioned that I want to clear up. We are not, repeat, we are not building a West Point here.

There may be a small unit that is like basic training in your junior and senior year, and then these people will leave for academies around the country. One other thing about the elitism argument, because this is the word that comes up the most. I guess it's a generational thing, the fear of the college kid, the old Hollywood concept of the 90-day wonder, the second lieutenant coming into the unit.

Every now and then I will meet with a four star general through my service on the Armed Services Committee and look at his biography and see that he is not what we call a ring knocker, somebody who has got an academy ring from West Point, Annapolis, or the Air Force. General Adam, who is now the head of APL, people like that, they come up from some science course in some school or some liberal arts education and decide that they are smitten with

the military. They are not going to serve just their 3 years or 4 years.

You know what we are doing with pilots in conference committee now? It's kind of up in the air whether we are going to make them stay for 8 years or 9 years. Senator Glenn and Senator McCain would like to make it 10 years. I have a feeling that that might dampen down recruitment. I have one nephew finishing naval pilot training and another on the way. I have analyzed what entices people into adventuresome and exciting careers like being a Congressman or woman all my life. I am telling you, you can change a person's life by enticing them into a career where they say I think I will spend my youth here and then get down to some other pursuit. Then they decide they love the work and want to stay.

Yes, I think a percentage will get out and carry with them forever, the affection that I have carried for the military in general in my branch of service, the Air Force, although I never intended to make it a career. They will always have, as they go on to be prosecutors, lawyers, even defense attorneys, congressmen or whatever, they will always remember their college education and their experience as police officers.

As I have always said, looking at the world through the windshield of an Adam 12 car is a totally different and unique experience. You pass houses that you have driven by all your life and find out that they are fronts for prostitution or some torture den for S&M, which I found 10 blocks from my own house one night riding in a police car.

We are spending \$110 or more billion, which we learned on narcotics, just on narcotics crime, \$8 billion for pornography, every single field of crime that you look at, it's in the billions. If we are going to have to spend \$400 million in 1993—and that's the largest figure of the out years that Senator Specter mentioned—if we are going to have to spend that to have 25,000 more college graduates, men and women out there on the streets where the people see them to return some safety to our neighborhoods and to enhance the dignity of being a peace officer and bringing security to our cities, I think it's a worthwhile investment.

By the time that you get into that out-year period, the late 1990's, I think the preventative maintenance involved, the cost of reducing the price of crime, it is an absolute exchange that is going to start to be 2, 10, 20, 30 to 1 over what we spend.

Mr. HUGHES. I thank the gentleman. It is always a treat to have you before the subcommittee, because when you answer a question, we never know where you are going to take us.

[Laughter.]

Mr. DORNAN. I won't apologize for the enthusiasm.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman is enthusiastic and he is very knowledgeable as well. You must have been a terrific talk show host many years ago, because you have a real command of the subject and a way of articulating it. We thank you.

The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. MCCOLLUM. Bob, I just wanted to ask if any of those patrols you have been on out there with the guy on the beat, the Adam guy that you mentioned, have you ever found a police officer who felt he was really being overworked in the drug area particularly

and his compensation was just not up to what it should be; have you ever discussed that?

Mr. DORNAN. What was amazing to me was that in the narco units and SWAT teams, the specialty teams—they could be called elitists. Their morale is so high. They tell me they are out gunned, overworked, and paperwork kills them at the end of the day, but they still have this tremendous esprit. Most of them will say to me, give us more, you know, we need more.

Mr. McCOLLUM. That is a remarkable feature of them, which I have observed myself.

Mr. DORNAN. It's amazing.

Mr. McCOLLUM. The only question that I really have here is a complaint that I see somebody is putting forward in some of the testimony coming up, that we are going to add quite a few new officers with this process and we don't provide any means to compensate these individual's and thus leave it up to the locals to have to do that once they are out of school and have begun serving in the police force.

I suppose that is going to always be a problem. Do you want to comment on that at all?

Mr. DORNAN. Again, I think this will have a good effect on those police departments that are saying we just can't find the right type of people for the job, so let's just ask our force of 130 people to work a little harder and we will just try and get by. In their argument to the city council, which is supposed to come up with a little money for two, three, four or five more officers, I think they need to make it known that here comes a couple of hometown young people, a young man or woman, or from some other city that wants to work in their city and they have this college degree. This is just the type of individual any police force would want—highly motivated, intelligent, and dedicated. This will help our people on the street, so let's find the dollars.

I think they will do just that. They will go out of their way to try and enhance the professionalism of their small police forces. I have not ridden with many officers, to tell you the truth, that have managed to get their college degree unless it was at night on their own while they were a police officer, adding to that burden. That burden, I think you will find in many police forces, is creating a terrible divorce rate.

I know that's an unknown problem in the L.A. Police Department. There is a terrible divorce rate, worst than the Navy problems with people disappearing at sea on a 7- or 8-month tour in the Indian Ocean. I think the Police Corps will help that too, this overworked problem, the whole professionalism being raised to the dignity of police work.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Thank you, Bob.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thanks for joining us, Bob. I just have a question and a comment. The question essentially is, do you think there is a field out there, a universe of men and women who would be interested in spending 4 years at least working on the beat, not working in an office, not taking care of central administration but to really work on the street, given the dangers that are inherent in that?

Mr. DORNAN. There is an excitement of riding in a police car that I had not experienced in my life, except riding in a jet fighter. I am serious. You never know what the next call is going to be. In some areas of Los Angeles, you literally roll from call to call and take short notes, so that you can fill out your paperwork at the end of the day. I have ridden with officers who have told me they only intended to spend a few years and then go to law school. They decided that it was worthwhile work and the excitement factor got to them.

Mr. MAZZOLI. What is your prediction about how many of these people would stay beyond the 4 years? From your conversations with officers who have painstakingly gotten their degree at night and so forth, how many stay on and how many leave?

Mr. DORNAN. I wouldn't like to hazard a guess, but I remember when I got out of the Air Force, a lot of my colleagues got out with me. It was Eisenhower peacetime year of cutting back our fuel flying hours and looked like there was going to be peace forever. Because there was a provision where senior NCO's and officers could come back into the service within a year, I had a specific goal, a dream to come to Congress some day although the idea got to me sometimes when I was driving a yellow cab in L.A. A lot of officers went back.

Policemen said it was a drag being strapped to a desk. I miss my police work. If there is the same provision, and we haven't touched on that in this bill, but if there is the same provision that one of these 4-year people fulfills their obligation and their college loans are paid off by the Federal Government and they are out there in the community for a year or two, I would say give them 18 months to come back at the same level, same job skill.

I think that it would be tough to hazard a guess, but I know my experience in the military was 20 percent mostly stayed and another 10 came back. I have heard also that the retention rate for the ROTC program is something like 55 percent.

Mr. MAZZOLI. If we got no one to stay on, do you still think this would be a worthy program?

Mr. DORNAN. Absolutely. What I mentioned earlier about carrying with them for the rest of their life this respect for the fellow officers that stayed behind as I respected my colleagues who stayed behind and then went off to fly and die in Vietnam. It's a connection I will never lose until the day I die.

I feel that Police Corps graduates respect and knowledge of police work will then go out with them into the whole general community, throughout the whole law enforcement system. And some day, just like we have a Peace Corps worker like Chris Dodd serving with us in the Senate, you will have former Police Corps graduate men and women that will end up in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Chairman, you were very adequate in talking about our colleague's entertaining and effective presentations. I might just add to that. This morning I was talking to my mother who lives in Kentucky. She was saying, the next time you see that red-haired Congressman with the raspy voice who really stands up for what he believes, would you give him my best wishes.

I think there is only one red haired Congressman who has a raspy voice, and I think he's with us today.

Mr. DORNAN. Sell your mother on the Police Corps, please. Will you do that for me, Ron?

Mr. MAZZOLI. On behalf of my mother, I extend good wishes.

Mr. HUGHES. I thank the gentleman. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. DEWINE. Bob, I don't want to belabor the point, but I just think there is a distinction between what we do today which is have the FBI, for example, give advanced training to police officers. They do it, I suppose, 52 weeks of the year. They do it all the time. We have people come in and the experts marry them together, and the experts train the local police officers.

I think there is a difference between doing that and what this bill does, which is provide for some basic training at the Federal level. What would be wrong with this bill, why is that component needed in the bill?

Mr. DORNAN. Which component?

Mr. DEWINE. The component of the actual two, 8-week periods of training, I believe it refers to.

Mr. DORNAN. As the Senator said, minds that have worked on this for years have come up with certain concepts, and they are not totally wedded to them. If these training periods are a problem, we can work on them. I know the ROTC program, I was just looking at it for Notre Dame, is 2 weeks of summer camp after your sophomore year. They really call it prejunior. And, 2 weeks summer camp before your senior year.

I think a lot of police departments would be glad to get college graduates with some training under their belt. Indeed, it seems to me the more training the better the cop. And besides, police training is not consistent nationwide. Quite frankly, some police training is inadequate. These Police Corps training camps would make sure all graduates have good training. But I think the training could take many different forms and that is something we could work on.

What I could envision in the school, for example, is something like a class in kidnaping 101. Have you ever watched Adam Walsh? He's a Floridian, isn't he? He's the father who lost his son. He now hosts this show, "America's Most Wanted." Now, the show is getting tremendous results on apprehending criminals. There is some criticism about reenacting crimes, but I find it very effective in this particular context. It's causing people to recognize people from the similarity of the actors that they hire in these reenactments and the actual photos they show at the end.

The whole idea of kidnaping, which is an interstate crime, needed to be approached even in this modern decade of the 1980's. Adam Walsh's father has done a tremendous job on that. There is no end of crafting this idea of where they would spend those weeks of training to get an overall feel.

For example, we could send a class down to EPIC, the El Paso Intelligence Center for Drugs and if they end up on a narcotics unit in their police department, they will have had an experience that most policemen in the whole country have never had. Only a chosen few get to go down there and study the operation in El Paso or the one that we are going to build here soon. We found the

money to do that, to build this big facility with the chairman's help. They will break ground on that soon. That's a field trip for these people.

Mr. DEWINE. I guess Bob, it just makes a lot of sense for me for the Federal Government to become involved to help police officers or potential police officers to get a college education. That is something that we can do with not very much bureaucracy.

Mr. DORNAN. Right.

Mr. DEWINE. But, to get involved in a basic, and I emphasize the words basic police training, makes me a little nervous. I just don't know whether we want to be in the business of training every police officer in the country. I mean, if it makes sense to train this many why don't we train every single one of them.

There's just a basic difference between police training and specialized police training. The basic police training, it has been my experience, that basic police training is best dealt with on the State level.

Mr. DORNAN. That's why some of these officers said to me, can we send this man or woman back to our police academy? I say, you are paying them, there's no reason at all you can't, to learn exactly the way you do it. But I said, wouldn't you appreciate somebody who has had courses in crowd control and sensitivity to, for example, ghetto situations where the people feel they have been abandoned? They said yes, we would. There are just things that you don't have the time to teach in a police academy, except in a very cursory way that over a 4-year college course as these course subjects are developed, you are just spreading national talent.

Let me just make one final observation about national crime problems. Our President, and this started under Reagan, appeared at a national gathering of local police officers in this city—I went to it—to honor the dead, the 100 or so police officers killed in the line of duty. That is highway patrol and every other type of police officer. They gathered on the Senate side in front of the fountain area there, and they honored local police officers who died in the line of duty, recognizing that this is a national problem.

They come to our Federal City to nurture the wives, the children, and the survivors to say these are heroes who died in the line of duty defending our public safety. So, we recognize its national concept there, why shouldn't there be a national pool of intellectual talent that infuses all of the departments across our country.

Mr. DEWINE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you very much, Bob, for your many contributions here today. We are indebted to you.

Mr. DORNAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you. You are a good salesman. If I might, I am going to prevail upon Mr. Walinsky, Mr. Rubinstein and Professor Fyfe to defer their testimony so that we can take the third panel. We have three chiefs of police that need to go back to their jobs. Both the ranking Republican and I believe that we should move them up and try to take their testimony next. So, if they will come forward at this point.

We would welcome Benjamin Ward, the former commissioner of police in New York City, Chief Isaac Fulwood, Jr., the chief of police of the Metropolitan Police Department here, in Washington

DC, Chief Cornelius Behan, the chief of police in Baltimore County, and Assistant Chief Raymond Kelly, from the New York City Police Department.

Benjamin Ward has been known as commissioner for more than 20 years. After a distinguished 15-year tenure as a member of the New York City Police Department, Commissioner Ward held a wide variety of top positions in law enforcement. He served as New York traffic commissioner, director of the New York Pretrial Services, commissioner of the New York State and New York City Departments of Corrections, chief of the New York City Housing Authority Police, and from 1984 until October 20 of this year, commissioner of New York City Police Department.

Neil Behan is the chief of the Baltimore County, MD, Police Department. Of his 43 years in law enforcement, 12 have been in Baltimore County and 31 years were spent as a member of the New York City Police Department. He is immediate past president of the Police Executive Research Forum, and past president of the National Executive Institute. He is a life member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police and a member of the Major City Police Chiefs Association, and a very fine man whom I am happy to welcome, a real professional like the other members here.

Isaac Fulwood, Jr., has been a distinguished member of the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, DC, since 1964. In recognition of almost 20 years of outstanding service, he was elevated to the rank of assistant chief in 1985. In that capacity, Chief Fulwood was charged with the day to day operations of the department, having direct supervision over the majority of police personnel and financial resources. He has, likewise, had a very distinguished career in law enforcement.

Assistant Chief Raymond W. Kelly has been a member of the New York City Police Department for about 26 years. He is presently the commander of the office of management, development and planning. In 1986, he served as commander of the officer cadet corps, and he will be describing that program here to us this morning.

We welcome you here today. You each have submitted statements and, without objection, they will all be made a part of the record. We hope that you can summarize. We have read your statements. We understand the legislation. You have heard the criticisms that have been directed to the bill as well as the comments made by my colleagues here on the subcommittee, and we hope that you can address those issues for us here today.

Why don't we just begin with you, Mr. Ward. Welcome.

**STATEMENT OF BENJAMIN WARD, FORMER COMMISSIONER,
NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT**

Mr. WARD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. As you know, I recently retired from the New York City Police Department, and am here in my private capacity and not in my official capacity. I would like to point out to you, of the four of us sitting at this table, three of us are from the New York City Police Department. Neil Behan, who has been here for many, many years in Baltimore County, MD, is a retired chief from New York. Chief Kelly is cur-

rently in the New York City Police Department, and he is also a colonel in the Marine Corps, as well as a lawyer and a few other things.

I hesitate to summarize, but I will try. I think at the heart of some of what we have heard today is the fact that there is a confusion among nonpolice officers about what police departments are all about. I believe that is what is causing part of the problem today. In Chief Kelly's statement, while he will be talking about the New York City Police Cadet Corps, he has both the police background and the military background, as do I. Police departments are not military units.

In summary, this bill provides no money for localities. I am at a loss to understand what Senator Specter or Congressman Dornan were talking about, since it will not put 20 percent more police officers on the street and, in fact, will not put any police officers on the street except those police officers that localities can afford to pay. This bill only mandates that we employ the members from this Federal Police Corps. The salaries, pensions, health benefits, retirement funds, all of that must be paid for by the localities. It is not likely that very many of these cities and other localities will have the money to increase their force.

New York City has been unable to increase its police force, even in the face of major crime problems. And, I do not see that L.A. which is historically underpoliced or Washington, DC, which has a major crime problem, I don't see or hear anybody talking about increasing their forces. The localities must still provide all of the training. The 16 weeks, as you have correctly picked out, are essentially a waste of time and a waste of money and, in my opinion, dangerous because it interjects the Federal Government into police training at a very, very basic level, and trying to find a common denominator for 50 States and maybe 44,000 police agencies across this country is probably impossible.

To call them summer camps again, misconstrues what police departments are all about. We are not Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts that need to be sent off to summer camps someplace. We have rather complicated training mechanisms. Large States like California and New York have minimum requirements. I must, by law, give them a minimum of 80 hours of training in New York State even before you can become a police officer in the smallest community in New York State. We actually train for 5 months in the police academy and an additional 5 months of field training in the street, and that is done in most big States including L.A. county with Chief Darryl Gates.

I should point out that Chief Gates apologizes for not being able to be here. He and I have been conferring back and forth on the phone, and he did the very unusual thing of asking me to inform you that he would like me to speak for him on this bill and has authorized me to speak for him. For those of you who are laughing and know Chief Gates, he doesn't do that for Mayor Bradley or anybody else. He and I are pretty much in agreement on everything, and he had asked me to point that out.

When this person has finished this 16 weeks of training, he will have to go into our police academy and into our field training units and do all of the things that he would have done without the 16

weeks, and I don't know what it accomplishes in the major cities. The localities must still, by their local laws and their State laws, qualify police officers. The Federal selection process cannot substitute for these State civil service laws and requirements of the local departments as to character and mental health and fitness, et cetera.

Federal policing is not better than local policing. We want police officers who know New York City and come from the city's communities. For these reasons, we have fought with New York City residency requirements for police officers for years. Under this Federal Police Corps we would not only have no local residency requirement we wouldn't even have a State requirement, and this law would supersede New York State's public offices law which restricts where a police officer must live in order to maintain his status as a police officer.

Four-year police officers are a good investment. Police departments are looking for people who want a career in policing, not those who put 4 years in to get tuition reimbursement and then leave, or to gather material to write books and TV skits and maybe movies. We want people who want to have a career in policing, the career and training of a police officer to make him a better officer over the long period of time, not just for 4 years.

Localities should be able to assign police officers wherever they want to assign them. How presumptuous of anyone who has never been in policing to put together a bill that says you must assign these officers to community patrol. Who better knows whether this officer or that officer should be on community patrol than the chief of that department.

And, what makes you think that some kid with 4 years of college coming out of a university in a sheltered environment probably going straight from high school to the university can suddenly go into the inner-city in this country and do community patrol. It misstates the whole idea. It is such a pack of foolishness. Some of us were talking about housing projects that are heavily populated, and the not so knowledgeable people are saying, well, send the black police officer over there, that will take care of it. They don't realize that to be a police officer in this country and to be black is to be solidly middle class. They probably have never been raised in a housing project, as I wasn't.

To send me to a housing project because it is populated by blacks and I am black, is probably worst than sending Neil Behan over there.

[Laughter.]

Mr. WARD. He probably comes from a poorer background than I do. I think that kind of shortsightedness is here. Just imagine the Federal Government, as the Congressman from Florida has said, imagine this shifting sand, this quicksand you are getting into, drawing the Federal Government into local policing and setting standards. When did you ever give money that you did not come right back with a whole lot of regulations and guidelines as to how we should do these things?

Here, starting at the beginning, you are telling us where to deploy these police officers whether we need them or not or whether we want them there or not. It is not enough to say, if you don't

want it you don't have to, because we all have to compete. Chief Gates clearly is competing with Sherman Block all the time. They are practically patrolling the same geographic area in L.A. County. So, we would be forced in that direction.

Why do we need a Federal recruitment program anyway? There may be places where there are problems hiring police officers, but I suspect if you look at those locations you will probably find that the salaries are poor, the pensions are weak and they have laws that say they can't be organized. You can't have a union or some other provision that attracts people away from the police departments.

I think that you could get over that by taking a look at what you want to do. This bill, and I will try to get to a summary of it, really is two bills in one. I think the weakness was clearly pointed out by you as you were able to get the sponsors to back away rather rapidly from the whole notion that there is any need for any kind of special training academy, which is just going to create a big bureaucracy and a lot of fat jobs and three academies around the country. Then, we are all going to have to take these people back and put them through our training anyway.

And, don't think that the training is cheap. It costs over \$20,000 to find and examine a person before he is ready to become a police officer, and then we have to pay him at full pay, full pension benefits at 5 months in the academy and another 5½ months out in the street. Chief Gates does a similar program in L.A. and most other cities do it.

The other part of the program is a good old straight scholarship program thought out by some people who think that they ought to raise the educational level of the police department, and I favor that. I am strongly in favor of it. We have done that in New York. Sixty-eight percent of our entering recruit classes have some college, and that some college is generally 2 years of college. Chief Gates has even a better record. There are counties in Suffolk and Nassau in my area that require college before you get in, and that's spreading all over the place. So, this bill has stayed around so long that it has—not the bill but the idea—that it has gotten stale and is not needed.

Everything that this bill proposes could be done raising the educational standards for police officers either coming into the department or to continue in the department. We have done that in New York. You must have 2 years to become a sergeant, 3 years to become a lieutenant, and a bachelors degree to become a captain. So, everybody is in school in New York.

If you want to raise the educational level of policing in this country, you ought to provide a good old GI bill type educational scholarship fund for high school graduates who want to commit their lives to be police officers; provide them with the resources to do that. The elitism hidden in this bill is the fact that while it alleges that it is going to raise the educational standards of police officers, it says for 5 years we will tolerate 10 percent of the graduating class being people with former police backgrounds.

How can you defend that, if you are trying to raise the educational level of the police departments? Why would you exclude the police officers who are there? Why wouldn't they be included? In

fact, that is what it should do. It should help us raise the educational standard. It should keep the Federal Government doing what it does best, spending money. They don't do it too often lately. Get out of setting up bureaucracies that are going to set up national police forces.

We are doing a lot of things because of this real epidemic in this country, and we are even considering giving up a lot of rights. We should not turn this country into a country that has a national police force.

Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you very much, Commissioner.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ward follows:]

STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN WARD
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
REGARDING
THE POLICE CADET CORPS ACT, H.R. 2798
NOVEMBER 2, 1989

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE:

I AM HONORED TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU TODAY TO SHARE MY VIEWS ON THE PROPOSED FEDERAL POLICE CORPS LEGISLATION. AS COMMISSIONER OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT FOR NEARLY SIX YEARS, I PLACED A HIGH PRIORITY ON THE SAME OBJECTIVES THAT HAVE INSPIRED THE BILL YOU ARE CONSIDERING -- INCREASING THE EDUCATION LEVEL OF POLICE OFFICERS, BRINGING MORE MINORITIES INTO THE POLICING PROFESSION, AND TARGETING POLICE RESOURCES TO COMMUNITY PATROL. I APPRECIATE TODAY'S OPPORTUNITY, IN MY FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENT SINCE LEAVING THE COMMISSIONER'S POSITION TWO WEEKS AGO, TO ASSESS WHETHER THE PROPOSED POLICE CORPS WILL ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES.

IN SUMMARY, I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE POLICE CORPS CONCEPT CONTAINS A GERM OF A GREAT IDEA THAT HAS REGRETTABLY BEEN ENCUMBERED BY LAYERS OF UNNECESSARY FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT. FURTHERMORE, THE PROPONENTS OF THE POLICE CORPS CONCEPT HAVE ENCOURAGED THE BELIEF THAT THE

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POLICE CORPS WILL ADD SIGNIFICANT NEW PERSONNEL RESOURCES TO THE WAR AGAINST CRIME. I BELIEVE THIS IS A FALSE PROMISE.

IN MY MIND, THE GREATEST VIRTUE OF THE POLICE CORPS PROPOSAL IS THAT IT RECOGNIZES A FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES RAISE THE EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF THEIR POLICE OFFICERS. FOR THE PAST THREE DECADES, NUMEROUS FEDERAL COMMISSIONS AND STUDIES HAVE CONCLUDED THAT A BETTER EDUCATED POLICE OFFICER IS A BETTER POLICE OFFICER. I BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT THE KNOWLEDGE, MATURITY AND JUDGEMENT THAT ONE ACQUIRES WHEN PURSUING A COLLEGE EDUCATION ARE PRECISELY THOSE QUALITIES THAT MAKE FOR A PROFESSIONAL POLICE OFFICER.

DURING MY TENURE AS COMMISSIONER OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT, WE INSTITUTED A POLICY THAT, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WILL ESTABLISH EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR PROMOTION. IN ORDER TO BE A SERGEANT, YOU MUST HAVE COMPLETED TWO YEARS OF COLLEGE; TO BE PROMOTED TO LIEUTENANT, YOU'LL NEED THREE YEARS OF COLLEGE; TO BE PROMOTED TO CAPTAIN, YOU MUST HAVE RECEIVED A BACCALAUREATE DEGREE.

INCREASINGLY, IN THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT WE HAVE SEEN THAT THE INCOMING RECRUIT CLASSES HAVE A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE GRADUATES. WE SHOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF

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POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE COLLEGE GRADUATES TO CONSIDER A CAREER IN POLICING. THROUGH THE POWERFUL INCENTIVE OF TUITION REIMBURSEMENT, THE POLICE CORPS PROPOSAL WILL DO JUST THAT.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE POLICE CORPS PROPOSAL HOWEVER, IS THAT IT PROVIDES NO FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES WHILE BURDENING THOSE SAME AGENCIES WITH NEW FEDERAL REQUIREMENTS. LET ME BE SPECIFIC.

THE POLICE CORPS PROGRAM HAS BEEN HERALDED AS A WAY TO EXPAND THE ABILITY OF LOCAL POLICE DEPARTMENTS TO FIGHT VIOLENT CRIME AND BUILD COMMUNITY POLICING PROGRAMS. I THINK THIS IS GROSSLY MISLEADING. AS I UNDERSTAND THE BILL, NO MONEY IS PROVIDED TO PAY FOR THE SALARIES OF ADDITIONAL POLICE OFFICERS. MOST OF THE MONEY APPROPRIATED BY CONGRESS WOULD GO EITHER FOR SCHOLARSHIP AID (WHICH I APPLAUD) OR FEDERAL TRAINING (WHICH I THINK IS UNNECESSARY). NOT A SINGLE DIME WOULD BE USED TO PAY FOR THE SALARY OF AN ADDITIONAL POLICE OFFICER.

WHILE THE BILL DOES NOT PROVIDE DIRECT FEDERAL ASSISTANCE FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT, IT DOES ESTABLISH FEDERAL INTERVENTION IN LOCAL POLICING THAT, AT A MINIMUM, SHOULD GIVE THIS COMMITTEE REASON TO PAUSE. UNDER THE BILL, SIXTEEN WEEKS OF TRAINING WOULD BE PROVIDED AT FEDERAL

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POLICE CORPS TRAINING FACILITIES. THIS TRAINING CANNOT BE CONSIDERED A SUBSTITUTE FOR TRADITIONAL POLICE ACADEMY TRAINING IN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT, THE NEW YORK STATE PENAL LAW, ETC. WHY SHOULD THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ESTABLISH FEDERAL FACILITIES TO TRAIN ENTRY LEVEL POLICE OFFICERS?

THE BILL YOU ARE CONSIDERING WOULD ALSO REQUIRE THE DEPLOYMENT OF POLICE CORPS PARTICIPANTS TO CERTAIN TYPES OF PATROL AND ENFORCEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES. WHY SHOULD A POLICE COMMISSIONER BE REQUIRED BY FEDERAL REGULATION TO ASSIGN A RECENT GRADUATE FROM A FEDERAL ACADEMY TO PERFORM COMMUNITY PATROL WHEN IT MIGHT MAKE MORE SENSE TO HAVE AN EXPERIENCED OFFICER WHO IS INTIMATELY FAMILIAR WITH THAT COMMUNITY WALKING ITS STREETS? WHY SHOULD THE DEPLOYMENT DECISIONS OF A LOCAL CHIEF OF POLICE BE SUBJECT TO FEDERAL REGULATION, PARTICULARLY WHEN THE LOCAL POLICE FORCE IS NOT SEEING A NET INCREASE IN ITS PATROL STRENGTH?

WHEN PARED DOWN TO ITS ESSENCE, THE POLICE CORPS REFLECTS A WORTHWHILE IDEA -- CREATING A FEDERAL SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM TO BRING MORE COLLEGE GRADUATES INTO THE POLICING PROFESSION, BUT I HAVE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE ADDITIONAL OVERLAY OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS REGARDING TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT.

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FURTHERMORE, I WOULD URGE THIS COMMITTEE AND THE MEDIA TO REFRAIN FROM DESCRIBING THE POLICE CORPS AS A NEW WEAPON IN THE WAR ON CRIME. THIS BILL MAY UPGRADE THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF LOCAL POLICE DEPARTMENTS, BUT IT DOES NOT ADD LAW ENFORCEMENT RESOURCES TO LOCAL POLICE FORCES.

IN SUMMARY, I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT THIS COMMITTEE FOCUS ON THE OPPORTUNITY THIS BILL PRESENTS TO SIGNIFICANTLY RAISE THE STANDARDS OF THE POLICING PROFESSION. IT WOULD BE A MAJOR LEGACY OF THIS CONGRESS TO CREATE, IN ESSENCE, A G.I. BILL FOR POLICE OFFICERS.

AS YOU ARE PROBABLY AWARE, THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN OPERATING A HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL POLICE CADET CORPS FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS. I UNDERSTAND THAT YOUR COMMITTEE WILL HEAR TESTIMONY FROM ASSISTANT CHIEF RAYMOND KELLY OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT REGARDING THE DETAILS OF THAT PROGRAM. I WOULD ENCOURAGE THIS COMMITTEE TO TAKE A CLOSE LOOK AT THE NEW YORK CITY MODEL. WITH MODEST FEDERAL BUDGETARY SUPPORT, THE NEW YORK CITY PROGRAM COULD EASILY BE REPLICATED ACROSS THE COUNTRY. IT COULD BE IMPLEMENTED AT A SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER COST THAN THE POLICE CORPS PROPOSAL YOU ARE CONSIDERING. AND, BECAUSE IT WOULD STRENGTHEN LOCAL TRAINING CAPABILITIES AND WOULD PROVIDE INTERNSHIPS IN LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS, THE PROGRAM WOULD FORGE A CLOSER PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE LOCAL POLICE AGENCIES AND THE COMMUNITIES THEY SERVE.

I WILL GLADLY ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE.

Mr. HUGHES. We can send you some deficits, would you like that?

Mr. WARD. I have a few of those myself.

Mr. HUGHES. Chief Behan, welcome. Likewise, we hope that you can summarize your statement for us.

**STATEMENT OF CORNELIUS BEHAN, CHIEF, BALTIMORE COUNTY
POLICE DEPARTMENT, TOWSON, MD**

Mr. BEHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for this opportunity to again talk to you about crime in America. I want to tell you that I support this legislation. Most of the objections that I hear are pointed at what the legislation is not, not what the legislation is. I would like to spend a little time talking about what it is.

I think it is very, very wonderful that we have raised the needs of local law enforcement to national debate. That is what this bill does, I think that is a good thing to happen in America. We are in trouble in our local departments. We need more manpower, and we do need educated police officers for all the reasons mentioned; complexity of crime, social changes in the law, things of that nature.

Concern has been raised about short-term members in our police ranks. We fight wars with short-term members. We bring people into the military for short periods of time to fight our wars and then they are discharged, and go back to civilian occupations. We have had a pretty good record doing that. We are now in a drug war. I see no reason why we can't do the same thing now. We are fighting drugs and crime. We can bring people in for short terms and it will not be harmful, some will stay longer.

I heard Representative Smith talk about the Federal police schools and the serious question of Federal interference into those schools. In looking at the bill, I don't see a problem. The emphasis in these schools will be physical training and basic police work.

They are not being set up to train FBI agents. They will train local police officers, and input to those schools will probably come from the locals. In fact, maybe local police officials will be asked to run them. But, to have people come after 16 weeks of training into our forces, well developed physically, having some basic skills, is no problem.

In our own academies, we are not forced to accept that training in toto. We can train them any way that we want. We can retrain them if necessary, and I would hope we would not get into duplicate training. But it doesn't create a problem. For example, one could teach constitutional law and other subjects in these schools that could be skipped over in local police schools and we could get them on the street faster. They will come to us with their feet running.

The bill talks about adding police officers. The question is, who will pay for it? Well, if the local agency can't pay for it, it doesn't enter into the program. If adding police is not a viable thing, then you just don't let it happen. It won't be forced upon a government. Also, I see nothing in the bill that changes the requirements for those who come into the local police service. The existing local criteria remains the same.

The bill mentions assignments, and does seem to intrude on the powers of the police chief, looking at it. But, when you read it care-

fully it says "if possible" with the consent of the participant. We now assign people largely with their consent. We try to put people near their homes. We try very hard to avoid travel hardships for them. I don't see anything here that prevents us from having the same kind of rules and regulations with these folks as they come on board.

There is a growing form of policing in this country that we call "community policing" and "problem solving." It is spreading gradually around the country. It is forming a new partnership with the community in solving crime and in solving problems, even going beyond crime. It would seem to me that the college educated police officer will help us approach this new policing in a much more progressive and aggressive way. For those reasons, I certainly support it.

In conclusion, I have been in many debates for the last few months on this very topic. What has been heard at this table is true; the law enforcement community is having some difficulties with it. They are not having any difficulties with college educated people at all. Their difficulty comes from adding college educated people rather than educating those in the ranks. It would seem the purpose of this subcommittee is to hear all thoughts and, perhaps, modify the bill accordingly. This was mentioned, I think, by Senator Specter and Congressman Dornan that it was a possibility.

The law enforcement community is anxious to get college educated people into its ranks. Law enforcement would agree to a program where people in the ranks were given consideration to go to college.

Thank you very much.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Behan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CORNELIUS J. BEHAN, CHIEF, BALTIMORE COUNTY POLICE
DEPARTMENT, TOWSON, MD

Mr Chairman:

Thank you for this opportunity to testify on H.R. 2798, "The Police Corps Act."

I'm Neil Behan, Chief of the Baltimore County, Maryland Police Department. My forty-three years in law enforcement are comprised of 12 years in Baltimore County and thirty-one years in the New York City Police Department. The composition of our department includes over 1500 sworn police officers making us the 23rd largest in the United States. Baltimore County has a population of 680,000 with 610 square miles which extends from the Chesapeake Bay to the Pennsylvania state line.

Additionally, I'm the immediate past president of the Police Executive Research Forum, past president of the National Executive Institute, a life member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police and a member of the Major City Police Chiefs Association.

I applaud Congress in its efforts to "impact violent crime and neighborhood deterioration by substantially increasing the number of trained police on community patrol."

Our present manpower is stretched to the very limits. In 1951, in all cities with a population over 50,000, there was an average of 3.22 police officers for every reported felony. Today, there is an average of three violent felonies for every officer serving. Besides, police are expected to do far more than enforce the criminal law. Seventy to eighty percent of the demands on us have nothing to do with crime. We assist at accidents, births and deaths. We teach, counsel, prevent crime and engage in community/problem solving

policing. Therefore we need more, well educated individuals in our ranks. During 1988, my officers received 42,996 complaints for Part I crimes, (UCR) i.e. murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, theft and arson. With a police force of 1545 sworn officers, this equates to 27.8 reported crimes for each officer. By increasing our numbers we will be able to attack violent crime and place more officers into the front lines of the drug war. However, we need to recognize that this will increase our workload on prosecutors, courts and jails.

This legislation is a step in the right direction. It will clearly assist in the recruitment and retention of qualified individuals. Most of us in law enforcement have recognized the benefits of a college education. In fact, many departments require a degree upon entrance and more have established incentive programs to encourage and assist officers in continuing their education. The complexities of the problems facing law enforcement and the new technology require more police education and training.

Some individuals will remain in law enforcement beyond their four-year commitment. Those who leave take to their new careers knowledge and understanding of American policing. Community confidence and involvement can only increase as a result.

In Baltimore County, we established a "Community Oriented Police Enforcement" Unit (COPE). In collaboration with the community, they identify problems, analyze them and implement solutions.

This new relationship which addresses crime and community needs goes a long way toward improving the quality of life. The "Police Corps" program would provide the incentive and resources to implement

this type of policing nationwide.

However, the law enforcement community is divided on this legislation.

A poll conducted by the Police Executive Research Forum, an organization of Police Chiefs, showed that 31% of its membership supported this legislation; 32% supported it with changes, 24% opposed it and 10% took no position.

This division was evident during last month's meeting of the Major City Police Chiefs Association and last week's meeting of the Law Enforcement Steering Committee. After lengthy debates the memberships could not reach a consensus.

The general law enforcement opposition to this legislation centers around the following:

- o The bill creates an "elite" group treated differently from the police on the firing line and inferring that current officers are not capable of handling existing problems.
- o Program participants will not be committed professionals, but just passing through.
- o The problem is not recruitment, it's budgeting constraints. This legislation will not assist state and local governments with hiring the additional police officers.
- o Local police are convinced that the program will cost money for pension contributions and other benefits.
- o The 1 + billion projected budget could be spent

on other programs which are in greater need.

- o These participants will require up to 1 1/2 years of local training and supervision, thereby limiting their productivity to the department during their 4-year commitment.
- o No focus is given to our cities - the areas of greatest need.
- o This legislation limits education to 10% of career officers for the first 5 years; we need to educate those who stay.

It is very appropriate to debate and discuss local law enforcement needs. Since there are divergent views, we need to work together to resolve the differences.

Law enforcement was tremendously upgraded by Congress's prior funding for police education. Thousands of police officers received basic and advanced degrees. Many of them are in upper leadership positions today. The "educated breed" joined with academe' in research, writing and planning. Unheard of subjects for police became the norm. Constitutional and Civil Rights, Sociology, Psychology, Management Development, are but a few examples. Classes were conducted in station houses. When the funding ceased, there was an 80% decrease in police college enrollment.

The Police Corps bill would be very acceptable to law enforcement if it primarily provided educational opportunities for those already in police service. They are committed to a career in policing and would use the education in direct service to the community.

Thank you for the opportunity to present my views.

Mr. HUGHES. Chief Fulwood, it is good to have you here with us today. Welcome.

**STATEMENT OF ISAAC FULWOOD, JR., CHIEF, METROPOLITAN
POLICE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC**

Mr. FULWOOD. Thank you for the opportunity to come here today. I believe and support the concept of a Police Corps. I think what is needed in America, at a time when we are fighting an undeclared war, is to rekindle a spirit of public service, to attract the best minds that we can to law enforcement as a career.

As you all know, in Washington, DC, we are experiencing great problems with crime and violence on our streets. We need to attract the best minds that are highly motivated, that will bring a commitment to law enforcement. I am not the least bit disturbed that the attrition rate may be significantly high with the 4-year program. I think what it will do for us is build a network of people that understand the great problems that law enforcement people face every day in trying to address the very complex issues that face our society in the environment that we operate in today.

I think this bill offers great benefits. First, it provides a concept of educational assistance to interested and well-qualified persons who want to enter a career in law enforcement. Second, the participants would eventually become an added resource as communities are able to fund these police officer positions. Third, it would provide for compliance, where they would have to give 4 years' service back to their community.

I believe this is a bill whose time has come. As Chief Behan stated earlier, law enforcement is looking at the idea of community-based policing, programs like POPS in New York City and neighborhood policing in Houston, TX. I think this is an important bill. I would like to see the concept modified somewhat. I would like to see money set aside for those persons who already are in law enforcement careers to have the opportunity to further their education. I think that funding should appropriately be made available to them.

I don't think this bill will come out of this subcommittee or any other subcommittee in the form that it is presently written. I think that as we discuss this today and try to address the questions that you have, I don't think there will be a problem. As for the issue of elitism, I don't think that is an issue at all. I think that most police officers who go out where the rubber meets the road, wants to know from the person who gets into a vehicle with them, are you going to pull your load? If the person is aggressive and pulls his or her load, then that officer is accepted.

We have college educated people entering our law enforcement careers as Ben Ward has indicated. Law enforcement around this country is going toward a college educated person who can understand and manage stress better. Since law enforcement is a career that tends to promote from within, it is important to have people who understand complexities, who can manage complex budgets at a time when money is a critical issue.

I think this is the bill and the concept for the 1990's and the year 2000. I think we need to very clearly understand that the crisis we

face in this country is of enormous proportion; that we are on the verge of losing a generation of people. I don't think that most people really address that. We need assistance from this Congress and the citizens in America to make this a better place. We are probably the only generation of Americans that are going to leave America worse off than our predecessors.

I think this bill will assist most chiefs of police. I don't think that we ought to have regulations that clearly indicate where we ought to deploy the people. I think that it should be left alone, and I would certainly not like a bill to come out of here which mandates how these officers are to be used. I think it is clear that most police chiefs are going to use these officers in fighting the war on crime, violence and drugs.

Thank you. I will answer any questions that you may have.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you, Chief.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Fulwood follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ISAAC FULWOOD, JR., CHIEF, METROPOLITAN POLICE
DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC

TESTIMONY ON BILL H.R. 2798

BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME OF THE
HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

GOOD MORNING,

MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, I AM ISAAC FULWOOD, JR., CHIEF OF POLICE FOR THE D.C. METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT. I AM PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN INVITED TO APPEAR AND TESTIFY AT THIS HEARING TO DISCUSS THE "POLICE CORPS ACT", H.R. 2798.

IF PASSED, THE SPIRIT OF THIS BILL WILL REKINDLE IN AMERICA A SENSE OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND PRIDE IN OUR COMMUNITIES, WHEREBY PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO GIVE OF THEMSELVES TO SERVE AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA IS ENGAGED IN A UNDECLARED WAR ON CRIME, VIOLENCE AND DRUGS. THE APPLICATION OF THIS CONCEPT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, DURING A TIME WHEN DRUG RELATED HOMICIDES CONTINUE TO ESCALATE, WOULD CERTAINLY MOTIVATE CIVIC-MINDED CITIZENS TO ADOPT THIS SPIRIT OF COMMITMENT AND SELF-SACRIFICE.

AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF A LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY THAT IS CONSTANTLY SEEKING NEW METHODS FOR RECRUITING QUALIFIED POLICE APPLICANTS, I APPLAUD THIS INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO ATTRACTING

CANDIDATES WITH COLLEGE BACKGROUNDS TO CAREERS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT. PRODUCING A BETTER EDUCATED POLICE OFFICER WILL SERVE TO ENHANCE OUR ABILITY TO COPE WITH AND MANAGE THE EVER INCREASING PRESSURES AND STRESSES OF OUR TECHNOLOGICALLY DEPENDENT SOCIETY.

THE POLICE CORPS ACT PROVIDES A MULTIPPLICITY OF BENEFITS TO BOTH STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AS WELL AS THE COMMUNITIES IT SERVES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. FIRST, THIS NATIONAL POLICE CORPS CONCEPT WILL PROVIDE EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO INTERESTED AND WELL QUALIFIED COLLEGE-BOUND INDIVIDUALS, MANY OF WHOM WOULD BE OTHERWISE UNABLE TO AFFORD THE EXPENSES ASSOCIATED WITH A FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE EDUCATION.

SECONDLY, PARTICIPANTS IN THIS PROGRAM WOULD EVENTUALLY BECOME AN ADDITIONAL RESOURCE FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE POLICE DEPARTMENTS. THIS IS ESPECIALLY BENEFICIAL TO THOSE POLICE JURISDICTIONS EXPERIENCING PERSONNEL SHORTAGES AND HIGH LEVELS OF POLICE TURNOVER. ALTHOUGH IMMEDIATE PERSONNEL SHORTAGES COULD NOT BE REMEDIED THROUGH THIS PROGRAM, AN ADVANCE COMMITMENT TO SERVE IN A POLICE CAPACITY IS AN EXCELLENT PLANNING VEHICLE FOR ADDRESSING FUTURE RESOURCE NEEDS.

THIRDLY, H.R. 2798 PROVIDES A COMPLIANCE ASSURANCE TOWARDS THE FULL FOUR-YEAR SERVICE COMMITMENT BY WITHHOLDING FULL TUITION PAYMENT UNTIL ALL TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE MET, AS A SOUND INDUCEMENT TO EACH CANDIDATE TO "STAY THE COURSE."

OPENING THE PROGRAM TO CANDIDATES WITH PRIOR LAW ENFORCEMENT EXPERIENCE CAN PROVIDE TWO SIGNIFICANT BENEFITS: 1) TRAINING REQUIREMENTS MAY NOT BE AS EXTENSIVE; AND 2) SINCE THIS INDIVIDUAL HAS ALREADY MADE A CONSCIOUS DECISION TO MAKE POLICING HIS CAREER PATH, IT IS HIGHLY LIKELY THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL IS ALREADY HIGHLY MOTIVATED AND POSSESSES A GREAT DEAL OF INITIATIVE. ADDITIONALLY, IT IS MY BELIEF, THAT TO EXPAND THE PROGRAM TO INCLUDE THOSE INDIVIDUALS ALREADY ON THE FORCE WILL FURTHER ENHANCE INTERPERSONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS AND BETTER PREPARE OFFICERS TO DEAL WITH THE MANY COMPLEXITIES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT. SPECIFICALLY, I AM RECOMMENDING THAT TWENTY (20) PERCENT OF ALL PROGRAM FUNDING BE DESIGNATED FOR INTERESTED OFFICERS ALREADY ON THE FORCE.

THE MINORITY RECRUITMENT ASSURANCE GUARANTEES THAT THE GOALS OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY WOULD BE ADHERED TO WITHOUT RELAXING HIGH COMPETITIVE ADMISSION STANDARDS. MOREOVER, FOR THOSE CITIES EXPERIENCING HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATES THIS PROGRAM WILL PROVE TO BE OF GREAT VALUE IN REDUCING THE NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUALS AFFECTED BY UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE POLICE CORPS ACT FOSTERS A SENSE OF OVERALL UNIFORMITY OF MISSION AND PURPOSE IN THE NATIONAL POLICING EFFORT, WHILE ALLOWING FOR THE APPLICATION OF STRATEGIES AND APPROACHES UNIQUE TO VARIOUS REGIONAL AND LOCAL JURISDICTIONAL NEEDS.

FINALLY, AND PROBABLY THE MOST SIGNIFICANT BENEFIT OF THIS PROGRAM IS ITS ABILITY TO PROVIDE FUNDING FOR A COMPLETE COLLEGE EDUCATION WHILE PROVIDING A MEANINGFUL AND SOCIALLY REDEEMING EMPLOYMENT ALTERNATIVE TO THE NATION'S YOUTH.

AS CHIEF OF POLICE FOR THE NATION'S CAPITAL, I HIGHLY SUPPORT THIS INITIATIVE AND I MIGHT ADD, THAT THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IS PERHAPS AN IDEAL CITY TO SELECT AS ONE OF THE THREE RECOMMENDED TRAINING CENTERS TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STATE POLICE CORPS PROGRAM.

THANK YOU FOR GIVING ME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THE VIEWS OF THE D.C. METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT ON THIS IMPORTANT LEGISLATION.

Mr. HUGHES. Our next witness is Assistant Chief Raymond Kelly, of the New York City Police Department. Again, we have your statement which, without objection, will be made a part of the record. We hope that you can summarize for us, Chief.

STATEMENT OF RAYMOND W. KELLY, ASSISTANT CHIEF, NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

Mr. KELLY. I will, Mr. Chairman. My purpose in being here is to summarize our police cadet program in the New York City Police Department. I think it is a program designed to achieve many of the same goals as is in the proposed legislation.

In September 1985, Mayor Koch and Commissioner Ward established the police cadet corps, the first program of its kind in the Nation. The main goal of the police cadet corps was and is, to attract talented and motivated New York City college students to a successful career in policing by providing a package of tuition assistance, leadership development training and meaningful work experience in precincts throughout the city.

Briefly, the program is designed as follows: College sophomores who are New York City residents attending colleges in New York City, Nassau, and Westchester Counties, which are contiguous counties to New York City, are recruited to the cadet corps to begin serving a 2-year term as a cadet beginning in the summer before their junior year. The financial package offered to the students who become cadets totals about \$11,775.

This consists of \$3,000 in tuition assistance loan, which is forgiven after 2 years of police service as a police officer, and about \$8,775 in salary resulting from the 2-year, 1,078-hour apprenticeship program, for which now cadets are now paid \$8.14 an hour. Students who apply to the cadet corps are subjected to a rigorous screening process. They must pass all the tests required for police officers; that is, medical, psychological and background investigations, as well as the civil service exam for police officers.

In addition, they must meet strict academic standards and undergo a panel interview, which assesses their motivation, commitment and suitability for a career in policing. Once selected, the cadets receive extensive training and orientation, which includes department rules and procedures, leadership development exercises and academic sessions regarding ethics, the role of police in society and the role and responsibilities they are about to assume as police cadets.

Cadets then are assigned to police precincts in which they serve in nonenforcement roles, primarily working with the department's community patrol officers. They work full time for two summers and part time during their last 2 academic years. Upon graduation and a successful completion of the program's requirements, the cadets are promoted to the rank of police officers. Enter, the next police academy class.

From its inception in 1985, the police cadet corps has received nearly 4,500 applications from college students. From this number, a total of 549 have been appointed. They have come from virtually all of the colleges in New York City and its environments. And, as was our hope, they are more representative of the city than our

typical recruit class. Of all cadets appointed to date, 24 percent are black, 25 percent are Hispanic, 2 percent are Asian, and 33 percent are female.

While the police cadet corps program is still being refined, as experience dictates, we are confident that this approach will be extremely beneficial to the department, the city and the cadets. Many of those cadets who have already been promoted to police officer have distinguished themselves in the field by their maturity, judgment and leadership.

Our early assessment of the program is very positive. We have been able to continue funding the cadet corps in spite of serious budget difficulties. That serves as evidence of our belief that this program will continue to pay off well into the future by providing a new generation of department leaders. The promise of the New York City Police Cadet Corps has prompted jurisdictions throughout the Nation to try and establish more programs.

The National Institute of Justice has recognized the potential of the police cadet corps and should be commended for funding an evaluation being conducted by the Police Foundation at this time. While that study is still underway, we are hopeful that the demonstrated long-term affects of the cadet corps will reinforce the commitment of police departments nationwide to the goal of higher education for all police officers.

Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you, Chief Kelly. We appreciate your sharing with us the experience that you have had with the police cadet corps. It sounds like you do an excellent job, and we congratulate you on your work and appreciate your sharing your insights with us.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kelly follows.]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RAYMOND W. KELLY, ASSISTANT CHIEF, NEW YORK CITY
POLICE DEPARTMENT

THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE CADET CORPS

On September 3, 1985 Mayor Edward I. Koch and Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward announced the inauguration of the Police Cadet Corps, a program designed to recruit students from colleges and universities in New York City, Westchester and Nassau Counties to become police officers.

This is how the Police Cadet Corps works:

I. The Broad Outline.

Beginning in the fall of 1985, the Police Department sent recruiters to all colleges and universities in New York City. The recruiters approached students entering their sophomore year in college and made them this offer: If a student is interested in becoming a police officer after he or she graduates, the City will contribute about \$11,775 toward that student's college education over the next two years. Of this amount, \$3,000 is in the form of a loan. This loan will be forgiven after two years' service as a police officer. The remaining \$8,775 is in the form of payment for participation as a cadet in the Police Cadet Corps -- a two year, 1,078 hour apprenticeship program in which cadets are paid \$8.14 per hour.

Once accepted by the Police Cadet Corps, the student is expected to take the next police officer's entrance exam. After passing the exam and completing his or her college education, the cadet is eligible to join the next class entering the Police Academy. After two years' service the \$3,000 educational loan will be totally forgiven.

II. The Cadet Corps Cycle.

The two-year apprenticeship in the Police Cadet Corps encompasses a school-year program and a summer program. During the summer between their sophomore and junior years, the cadets receive two weeks of training and orientation during which time they are exposed to police work and begin learning about the community in which they serve. One part of the orientation features a specially designed three-day training camp. The purpose of the training camp is to foster group identity among leadership potential, and to prepare the cadets for their field experience. The remaining part of the orientation, held at the Police Academy, provides the cadets with an introduction to the Police Department and to the Community Patrol Officer Program.

After the two-week orientation, the cadets participate in an eight-week program working in one of the Community Patrol Officer precincts throughout the City. (Under the Community Patrol Officer Program, individual officers are assigned to a permanent beat of about fifteen square blocks to work with the community in developing crime control strategies.) The cadets are assigned in small groups to work as aides to the Community Patrol Officers. The cadets' work is community service oriented. It includes crime prevention inspections, service referrals and work with community organizations rather than law enforcement.

To foster continuity with the program for the cadet and the community, cadets work three (3) days a month from September through May during their junior and senior years of college. This enables cadets to continue to identify with the Police Department, and provides them with a "sense of belonging."

After their junior years, cadets receive two weeks of additional training and, during the summer, they again participate in the eight-week summer program. During their second summer cadets continue working in their assigned communities, this time working more directly with Community Affairs Officers or Crime Prevention Officers, thereby increasing their exposure to different aspects of police work. Upon completion of their baccalaureate degrees, the cadets are eligible to join the next class entering the Police Academy as police recruits.

III. Becoming a Cadet.

To be accepted as a cadet in the Police Cadet Corps, a student must pass two thresholds. The student has to pass the medical, psychological, and character qualifications necessary to become a police officer. In addition, the applicant must be a resident of New York City and a student in good standing at a college or university located in New York City, Westchester or

Nassau Counties. Of those who meet these standards, the staff of the Police Cadet Corps selects the most qualified candidates to become cadets by examining the student's academic achievement, motivation, leadership potential, employment references, and professors' recommendations. In addition, screening panels similar to college admissions committees conduct a personal interview with the applicant to determine whether he or she would make a good cadet and, ultimately, a good police officer.

IV. Becoming a Police Officer.

Once accepted as a member of the Police Cadet Corps, each cadet must take the next regularly scheduled police entrance exam. The only departure from current practice is that the cadets take the entrance exam as a promotional exam -- for promotion from the position of cadet to that of Police Officer -- and the cadets who pass the exam constitute a separate promotional list.

With this change, the Department can guarantee that the cadets who pass the exam and successfully complete the program will have a job as a police officer upon graduation from college.

THE PROMISE OF THE POLICE CADET CORPS

The Police Cadet Corps program holds great promise for the future of the Department. That promise encompasses several objectives:

I. Improving the Quality of Recruits.

The Cadet Corps program is based on an aggressive recruitment philosophy. It assumes that the Police Department deserves nothing but the best that the City's educational institutions have to offer. The Cadet Corps supports the Department's commitment to the merit and fitness principles -- every cadet must take the police officer's exam to become a police officer -- and builds upon them by looking for the exceptional student.

II. Increasing the Educational Level of the Department.

The Police Cadet Corps will increase the overall educational level of the Police Department. By recruiting people who are already in college, providing them financial assistance in completing their degrees, and conditioning their successful completion of the cadet program upon receipt of a college degree, the Police Cadet Corps guarantees that more police recruits will complete college before entering the Police Academy.

III. Increasing the Diversity of the Uniformed Forces.

By drawing exclusively on the City's residents, the Police Cadet Corps will ensure that cadets -- and, by extension, police officers in the future -- are more representative of the racial and ethnic diversity of New York City. The Police Cadet Corps is an equal opportunity recruiter, looking for interested and qualified students of all ethnic groups who live in New York City. By aggressively seeking out talented blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women and other underrepresented groups, the Police Cadet Corps is able to recruit individuals who might not have contemplated a career in policing.

IV. Providing a City Focus.

The Police Cadet Corps strengthens the links between the City's educational institutions and the New York City Police Department. By drawing on New York City, Westchester and Nassau Counties' colleges and universities, and imposing a residency requirement on cadets, the Police Cadet Corps draws upon the diversity of liberal arts, technical, and professional colleges and universities that are found in the City, Westchester and Nassau Counties. Finally, by stationing the cadets with Community Patrol Officers, the Police Cadet Corps provides direct and tangible services to New York's communities.

V. Developing Appropriate Recruit Training Service.

By assigning the cadets to precincts, the Police Cadet Corps ensures that their hours of service will be valuable to the community, to the Department and to them. A short list of tasks for the cadets includes: organizing tenant and block associations; serving as a liaison between the community, the NYPD and other City agencies; distributing crime prevention information to the community; conducting precinct surveys regarding defective street lights, traffic lights, potholes, etc.; escorting groups of senior citizens; assisting in the precinct's youth programs; and providing information at large public events or tourist centers. These and other appropriate community needs are continually being identified by the Community Patrol Officers for the cadets.

In addition, by assigning the cadets to work with the Community Patrol Officers, the Cadet Corps program is teaming the cadets with some of the Department's most experienced, knowledgeable, energetic and motivated officers. This training experience is invaluable. After two years of cadet service, the cadet who becomes a police officer will have knowledge of the Department and of the City that will serve as a firm foundation for a career in law enforcement.

CONCLUSION

Since the inception of the Police Cadet Corps in 1985, almost 4,500 college students have filed applications to become cadets. After our rigorous screening process, a total of 549 cadets have been appointed to date. These young men and women have had the opportunity to serve the people of New York, receive needed financial assistance for college, obtain valuable training and work experience and get a chance to see if a career in policing was right for them. Whatever their ultimate career decision, they and the NYPD have benefited from the experience, and they go out into the world more aware and understanding of the rewards and the difficulties inherent in policing a free society.

Mr. HUGHES. I don't have any questions, really. I think most of you recognize that the purpose of the hearing process is to try to develop the very best vehicle that we can. You are helpful to us, because we need to determine just exactly whether or not the Federal Government should have some role in providing additional education for local police officers. I think most people would agree that we should encourage young people to get as much education as they can, and that includes while being involved in police work or in preparing for police work.

The question is, how and where should we provide that support and to whom should we provide the education. That raises the question of part-time schooling. I know a lot of police officers who have made tremendous sacrifices by going to local community colleges. Should we be encouraging that if we are going to, in fact, attempt to strengthen our departments around the country.

What type of training? What is the proper role in providing that type of training? Should we consider Federal standards? Is there a need for any Federal standards? Does it make sense to have Federal standards when the country is so very diverse and the problems are so different in different parts of the country? Shouldn't these questions be better left to local decisionmakers?

Those are all of the things that we have to wrestle with in trying to develop the very best vehicle possible. I can assure you that you have made significant contributions today, and we appreciate that very much. Thank you.

The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. McCOLLUM. I just have a basic question, and I think it falls pretty much into an answer that you have given, Mr. Ward. If we came up with a stripped down version of this bill that provided the basic GI bill principle or provided some measure to establish an ROTC program for the folks who are already on the beat, and this bill had no academy training or no special training so that you and the local police departments could train them as you wish, would you support such a measure?

Mr. WARD. Yes, I would support it. I am authorized to say that Chief Darryl Gates would support it as well. I would try to talk you out of the ROTC, and I am sure that Chief Gates would do the same. We would try to start doing that by telling you that you are making a basic mistake and you are being led into it by this newspaper terminology of war on crime and war on drugs. It follows that there must be some Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Air Force that is conducting this war.

There is no war at all. What we are is a law enforcement agency enforcing the law. So, we don't need an ROTC when we don't even have a basic military organization. What we need is a GI bill to support raising the standards. We would support that.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Let's say if you stripped out the ROTC idea, you would support it for the folks that are already there. But, what about offering a scholarship program to encourage young people to enter the police force? In other words, the GI bill concept to me conjures up, and this is another military analogy, you put so many years into the police force and thus you have earned the right to either attend college or advance professionally.

I am in favor of that. I understand where you are coming from on that. Let's assume for the moment that in addition to or separate from that, we develop a program to encourage some young people who might not otherwise go into police work to look at it. Is there a way we can do that and don't call it ROTC, just a scholarship program?

Mr. WARD. I am sure there's a way. If you read the bill, the bill now has a formula in it that says 90/10 for 5 years, 90 percent to the colleges, 10 percent to people who are already in the service. I submit that you should reverse that and the 90 percent should go to the police officers who are currently in service. I am willing to take the 10 percent to try to attract people from the outside, so that perhaps some of them will stay.

You might even talk me into an 80/20 kind of a formula. I think it is something worthwhile, as the chief said here, that we don't lose if these people quit. They are very expensive to have that kind of turnover, but they will be indoctrinated in a kind of knowledge that you don't get from riding along in those radio cars that the Congressman is talking about. I would like to tell you what those cops are doing to that Congressman when they ride him along. We all know. They got him.

[Laughter.]

Mr. HUGHES. Maybe we should call it a dog and pony show.

Mr. WARD. You got it.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Chief Behan, what is your response to Mr. Ward's comments if we did something like this? I know you support the bill as it is now, but what do you think if we went another route?

Mr. BEHAN. In the debates within the Major City Chiefs of Police, the Law Enforcement Steering Committee, my own Maryland Training Commission, the general consensus in law enforcement is that if we can provide the education for those within our ranks, it would be almost universally accepted by the law enforcement community.

But that isn't the bill before us. That is why we don't talk to that. But yes, if that came about, there would be an enormous support for this bill. I am one of the recipients of that kind of education. I got my degree while in police service. We would certainly welcome that.

I would like to make a comment about the comment that Ben just made about no war. We hopefully should be getting in a war but if not a war of tanks, guns, and ROTC and military drill. It's a war in which police must lead in rallying the business community, in rallying the education community, the PTA's, every organization in America, to fight the war on drugs. To do that, we need the best educated and the most well motivated police officers we can get. I think that is extremely important.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Chief Fulwood, what are your views? You have just heard Mr. Ward and Chief Behan on the comment. I gather that was the drift of your testimony, but what if we strip this bill down with more emphasis on the GI bill idea in the ranks and did away with the training part of it and then had some scholarship incentive for young people who are not already police officers but

maybe a different ratio, in your view, would that be more acceptable than this bill?

Mr. FULWOOD. I certainly think it would be more acceptable. I think the idea of attracting college-bound students to law enforcement is a good idea and we ought not lose sight of it. I am back to my basic principle, that I think we have to attract more young people to public service as a career. I certainly think that we ought to have incentives that will attract them.

I also believe, as I stated in my testimony submitted for the record, that about 20 percent of the funds should go to designated persons who are already in a career in law enforcement to provide incentives for them to continue their reeducation. Second, we are not in a war of tanks, but we ought to be in a war. Most police officers on the street where the rubber meets the road are in a war.

When I attended the ground breaking ceremony for the dedication of the law enforcement memorial, and you consider that approximately 30,000 police officers over time have died, that is a war. There is no other way to describe it. When you have 373 murders in the city of Washington, DC, that's war and that's real.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Thank you very much, Chief, and thank all of you. I appreciate it.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. DEWINE. Briefly, gentlemen. The bells have gone off, if you can hear. If we could give you \$1.7 billion to spend on local law enforcement between now and the year 2000, how would you spend it?

Mr. WARD. I think in New York, we would hire more police officers. But, I wouldn't really want you to do that because I think it would be difficult for you to control the local mayors and to keep them from supplanting the officers. We would stay at the same level, and we would just use your money. We would not move the agenda at all. So, I think if you wanted to increase the level of professionalism of the police department, you ought to tie it to something to help people get educated.

If you have money left over, and you want to hire more police at the local level, fine. I think you need more police in the Drug Enforcement Administration. New York City has almost as many cops in narcotic forces as the DEA has worldwide.

Mr. BEHAN. Since you are already talking about \$8.8 billion for drug enforcement and education and training, I would echo what Ben said, only I would add research funding. We should concentrate on hiring the most educated and the most qualified police officers to get into this crime battle and the other things we have to do in society.

It would make a lot of sense. The same caveat would go to that, that you would have to be very careful that local government doesn't find a way of saving money in the process rather than just adding police to the battle which we want to do.

Mr. FULWOOD. I certainly would spend it on modernizing law enforcement with the best technology. I would not encourage you to give \$1.7 billion directly to law enforcement in a general sense. I come down on the side that if we are to win, then we have to get neighborhoods and communities reinvigorated. We must get every

citizen involved to understand that this is their responsibility and we have to reestablish our family value systems.

I think that is where we are going to win. I think that is the greatness of America. I don't think it is law enforcement that is going to win it all, and I think it is a balanced approach to it. I certainly would modernize equipment, I would spend money on education, and I would have police departments going toward community-based law enforcement, to rally neighborhoods in fighting the war on drugs and crime and violence.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you very much. You all have really been very helpful to us today. We appreciate the insights that you have shared with us, and we look forward to working with you in trying to develop something.

Mr. WARD. Thank you. It was good to see you again.

Mr. FULWOOD. Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you. Mr. Ward, doesn't it feel good to be retired? Now you can say what is on your mind about mayors and budgets. The best to you.

Mr. WARD. Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. The subcommittee stands recessed for about 10 minutes while we catch that vote.

[Brief recess.]

Mr. HUGHES. The Subcommittee on Crime will come to order. Our next panel consists of Adam Walinsky, Dr. Jonathan Rubinstein and Dr. James Fyfe. I wonder if they will come forward and take seats at the witness table.

Adam Walinsky was a key legislative aide to Senator Robert Kennedy, he was the Democratic nominee for attorney general in the State of New York in 1970, he was appointed to the New York State Commission on Investigations in 1978 and served as its chairman from 1979 until 1981. Mr. Walinsky is presently engaged in the private practice of law in the city of New York, as a partner in the firm of Kronish, Lieb, Wiener & Hellman. He is basically the author of the legislation. It has been one of his projects for many, many years, and we are delighted to have him with us today.

Dr. Jonathan Rubinstein has been actively engaged in the study of crime, law enforcement and Government regulations since about 1968. He is the author of a book entitled "City Police," which was a result of 2 years of work with the Philadelphia Police Department on a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. As part of this research, he attended and graduated from the police academy, and was empowered as an auxiliary police officer. From 1983 until 1984, Dr. Rubinstein was the research director of an NIJ funded feasibility study of the police corps proposal in several States. Since then, he has written and spoken on a number of current issues involving law enforcement.

Prof. James Fyfe served as a New York City police officer for some 16 years. During the course of his police years, he spent 9 years on patrol and held a number of positions in the training academy. He is presently a professor at American University in the department of justice, law and society. He is editor of the Justice Quarterly and is on the Committee on Accreditation of Law Enforcement Agencies.

We thank you for being with us today. Like the previous panels, we have read your statements. They are excellent, comprehensive statements. We hope that you can summarize for us because, frankly, I think you know the issues. I think you all know that we know the bill by this time fairly well. We have heard from a lot of different sources, accolades from some, criticism from others, mild support from yet others.

I hope we can get to the crux of the concerns, and maybe you can address them for us. Why don't we just begin with you, Adam. We are delighted to have you with us today.

**STATEMENT OF ADAM WALINSKY, ESQ., KRONISH, LIEB, WIENER
& HOLLMAN**

Mr WALINSKY. Mr. Chairman, I want to start by commending you for opening these hearings. I know of your long record of concern and contribution to law enforcement in this country, and I am confident that this bill and its concerns will receive due and thorough consideration by you and by your members. I am very pleased and privileged to be here to start what I hope will be a cooperative effort to deal at last with the violence that has been disfiguring this country and the lives of its citizens increasingly over the last 30 years.

I think that what I would like to concentrate on in these few minutes, Mr. Chairman, is precisely that issue which was alluded to by Chief Fulwood but not perhaps by some of the other police witnesses. There is a temptation, of course, whenever we deal with a field to look to the experts, those who are concerned, those who work in it, those who are, so to speak, the providers of services.

In this case, however, we cannot do this because the quality of life and law enforcement in this country is a matter of intense concern for all of its citizens, for those of us who in a sense are consumers of law enforcement services but in a broader sense, are citizens and participants in the creation of the law and of its enforcement. This is what we all are or should be, and it is this that the Police Corps attempts to address.

Mr. Chairman, I do not have to tell you because you know it, that the violence in this country has been feeding on itself; that we have very large numbers of children who are living for all intents and purposes, outside the Constitution and outside the law; that life in black, lower class communities is simply disintegrating under the savage assault of criminal violence. We are losing not only these children growing up in these circumstances, but we are losing any notion of peace for the coming years. Obviously, as they become violent, the violence spreads, as children have almost no choice almost but to accept violence as it rules their lives as a governing and organizing principle.

We are storing up a terrible storm, it seems to me, for the 1990's. We are accustomed to thinking about the problem as being in part one of drugs. Mr. Chairman, in my judgment, drugs are to this problem as pneumonia is to the AIDS victim. They come in and finish the job; they can destroy a community that is already desperately weakened; they can fasten on a violence that is already

there and escalate it almost out of control as it is in parts of the District of Columbia today.

But we must recognize that our failure to enforce the law and to protect our people is a matter not just that was caused by crack in the last 3 years, it is something that has been with us for at least the last 30 years. Mr. Chairman, it is the premise of this bill that one major reason for that is that we do not have enough police. We have been talking a great deal this morning as we should, about educating police, about improving the education level and attainments of the police.

But the fundamental need that we have is first, to increase the numbers of police. The Police Corps is an effort to raise the numbers of police, not to take us back to the levels of a generation ago, because as you know, we now have barely one-ninth the effective force of police that we did in the 1950's. We want to increase the number by at least 20 percent. This would increase the patrol force 40 percent. The Police Corps would raise this force by offering scholarships to young people to come on to the force.

I would like for the record briefly to address the questions that have been raised. The first is, and perhaps this is the most powerful and most significant, would the Police Corps really raise the numbers of police, and how would it accomplish this end? Do localities have the money to pay the police who would be raised and trained by the Police Corps?

Mr. Chairman, we have had over these last 30 years, an explosion in employment of government servants at the local level. For example, in the city of New York just in the last 12 years since the fiscal crisis, we have added approximately 100,000 civil servants just on the payroll of the city of New York. But less than 3 percent of those—I think actually less than 2 percent of those—have been police officers.

So, what we hope to do with this legislation is to influence those local government decisions just as the Federal Government does through a host of matching programs, whether in the social services, in education, in health care or in other ways. We hope to influence local budgets by the offering of matching funds or matching programs or participatory programs. By offering them the services of these young people who come from their communities, we would hope in the years ahead to persuade local jurisdictions that they should change their budget allocations and give more attention to law enforcement, so that of the next 100,000 local civil servants who are hired in a jurisdiction like New York, more than 2 percent of them will be police officers.

Second, there was the question which you raised and I think rightly so, Mr. Chairman, as to whether this bill would represent an interference with local standards of policing. The bill does make it quite plain that these officers while serving would be under local control in all respects. They would have to meet every local test. There could be no such thing as a Police Corps officer who did not meet the local standards in every respect, including the passage of every relevant civil service examination. That cannot happen, because the bill explicitly mandates that in order to serve, in order to qualify for the educational assistance, a Police Corps officer must meet every local standard in full.

It may be that Police Corps officers will be more qualified than local rules require, but I do not see that as an interference in any way with localities which can always have and will always have the last choice as to whether to hire any of these people.

There has also been a question raised by Mr. DeWine among others about the training provided for in the bill. Again, with Chief Behan, I think that we should recognize that the Federal Government in fact has always provided basic police training. It has done that by training people in the military. In the years that we had a draft, well over 90 percent of all police officers in most jurisdictions got their basic training in the armed services. They were physically trained. They learned the rudiments of discipline, group cohesion and loyalty, and they were then given all of their police training by their localities.

What we would hope the training camps, the training programs in the summer would do for these young people is simply to give them some equivalent of that very basic training, not to change in any way what their local police training requirements would be, but to give them a base of physical self-confidence, an understanding of what it means to operate in a command situation, to take orders, to give orders, to act as part of a group and, therefore, to be a more fit subject for the local police training which all of them will receive.

The question as to whether these young people would constitute an elite of any kind is certainly one that we should deal with. After all, what we mean by an elite is the best. I think everybody says, we want to improve our police. If we want to do that, it can only be accomplished by bringing in people who, whether by virtue of their education, their abilities, their training or their commitment, are better than today's average.

Anytime we look to make anything better, whether in the military, in the schools, in industry or anywhere, we will be, in a sense, creating an elite. It seems to me that police officers, who carry with them the most awesome authority, the power of life and death over the lives of citizens, are men and women whom we should want and hope would be our very best people. This bill, as you recognize, Mr. Chairman, is intended to bring us that.

It has also been suggested, and I think this is a very important point, we should take a large part of the program that we have suggested to recruit new police officers to the police service and use that money and those educational facilities instead for the education of existing officers.

The education of existing officers is an eminently worthwhile goal. It is one for which we should clearly strive. Educating existing officers will not add any new people to very sorely pressed police departments. Indeed, to the extent that we take officers and send them to college, we would be taking officers off the force rather than putting them on. It seems to me that we must concentrate in the first instance on programs that will add to existing power, force and effectiveness of the police rather than detract.

When we have added these people, then we should indeed move on to existing officers. I would point out to the chairman that from the moment that this bill would be enacted, every person who wants a long-term career in policing will be able to join the police

force, get his college education and then move into that career. This bill is not closed to career police in any sense. We hope that many people will come in, get an education and move into the police force that way.

We believe that we have to concentrate in the first instance on attracting and building up more of a force. Only after that can we give greater benefits to those who are now serving.

Finally in this brief statement, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that it is important in my view that not all of the people recruited by this bill would be career. It is important that some would be, and it is important that many others would not. We are all citizens. This desperate scourge of violence, this failure of law enforcement, this failure to protect our people, to assure them the most elementary rights of life, property and liberty, must be a citizens concern.

It must be, I believe, a responsibility which is not merely shucked off on those who have chosen law enforcement as a career. It is something that must be assumed by all of us. For all of the dedicated efforts of many law enforcement professionals and career people, law enforcement in this country today, if it is measured by the security and safety of our people, is a failure. We cannot pretend otherwise.

We must recognize that new energies, new thoughts, new approaches and a new determination are necessary if we are to avoid losing another generation of children and another generation of civic peace. I commend your efforts, Mr. Chairman, and I commend this bill to you. I hope that I have answered some of the questions. If there are any others, I hope I will have the opportunity to answer those, because nothing I believe, could be more important to the peace and safety of the country today.

Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you very much, Mr. Walinsky.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Walinsky follows:]

NOVEMBER 1, 1965

STATEMENT OF ADAM WALINSKY TO
THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME ON
HR 2978, THE "POLICE CORPS ACT"

I will not recite again here the catalogue, the procession of horrors, cruelties, foul murders that greet us with the newspapers every morning. Yet it is critical to understand that this is in many ways a truly new phenomenon. Wild domestic violence is not an inborn or constant characteristic of our national life. It is barely thirty years since America enjoyed a remarkable civil peace: when cities were considered safe places to inhabit, when parks were green and public transport inviting, when violence entered our lives only from foreign wars, and a mother's greatest fear for her children was infectious disease. Indeed it is because so many of us remember how secure and carefree our lives once seemed, that we so fear and resent the sharp and sudden change that the crime wave has brought.

So the first fact we must understand is that in these thirty years, in barely one generation, violent crime has multiplied almost by ten times. We think, perhaps, of our great city of New York as violent. Last year there were over 1,800 homicides, and this year there will be the same. In 1951, there were 244. There were that year in New York barely 7,000 robberies; this year, as in every recent year, there will be over 80,000. And these numbers, and their counterparts throughout the nation, are vast underestimates; the Department

of Justice says that only 47 percent of even the most violent crimes are now reported to the police.

The second fact we must understand is that this disaster has afflicted every area and region of the country. Our loss of control is shown most sharply in the so-called clearance rates; the percentage of crimes for which the police make an arrest. No conviction, no jail sentence; just an arrest. Once the police could assure us that almost all murders took place between relatives and acquaintances, and over 90 percent were cleared even in the largest of cities, almost 100 percent in smaller towns. Now the national homicide clearance rate is seventy percent; that is, for 30 percent of all homicides, the police do not even make an arrest. Robbery is the taking of money or property, directly, personally, with force and threat; it is in many ways the most commonly threatening crime. Barely one-quarter of all robberies are cleared by an arrest. Just half of all reported rapes result in an arrest.

The third basic fact is that the violence has come to feed and breed on itself. This is its most salient and dangerous characteristic.

For we have allowed the tide of violence and disorder virtually free play in the communities of the poor, particularly in the heart of the urban black ghetto. America has hardly paid attention; but the life of the black lower class has been utterly ravaged.

For this fact there are many causes. Dispossessed and largely uneducated rural populations have migrated to the cities, with the attendant social and family dislocation. Too often the opportunity they sought there has been frustrated by economic change and racism, alcohol and heroin and failures of governance. A misguided sense of public purpose substituted welfare for work as the organizing principle of millions of lives, producing idle parents, fatherless children, and a tragic loss of citizenship and self-esteem. Barely a third of even the youngest black children live with both parents, many have neither parent present, and so awful are many of their circumstances that the leading cause of death for black children from the ages of one to four is fire. These children raise themselves in the glare of ceaseless television violence, in the midst of a rich society with many goods to steal. Crime is easily adopted as the badge of male identity. To all this must be added the effects of a degraded system of criminal justice which has seemed more intent on inventing excuses for criminal behavior than in assuring freedom and protection to honest citizens.

Most importantly and most unforgivably, the protection of civilized society has been simply withdrawn from millions of our people. In city after city, project after project -- in Chicago and New York, in Newark, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Washington, the power and authority of the government has fled or simply dissolved. Children and their mothers, the

sick and the elderly -- these are American citizens born, but they may be said to have lost their country. They do not live in the America I know. They have been virtually abandoned to the rule of criminals. These are places where young men are forced to adopt the manners of gangsters just to survive, where only the strongest and most ruthless can prosper; where violence erupts like a summer storm at every time and season of the year. Every year, we have withdrawn further, every year these neighborhoods have become more disorganized, every year the children have become more hardened, more stripped of affect, more remote and more forbidding. Their lust for other people's property is often accompanied by an indifference to life and to the future that terrifies the law-abiding. So more and more every year we have come to look at our fellow citizens and citizen's children only as threatening strangers, to be feared and jailed, but not as people with whom we share a country. Relations between the races are poisoned. We retreat further and further from self-respect, and enmity comes to rule our public life.

How can this great nation have allowed itself, how can we have allowed ourselves, to become such prisoners of crime? Are we truly without power to protect our own people against mere thugs and hoodlums?

Here is the beginning of the answer. Civic order -- the basic safety and security of the street, the peace of the neighborhood -- depends in the first instance on the police.

The police are at once the symbol and the force of government authority; and they are the indispensable foundation on which the life of a community must be built. And the greatest crime that has been committed against the public order and decent life is what we have done to the police.

A generation ago -- the last time the country can be said to have enjoyed substantial civic peace -- there were three times as many police officers as there were violent crimes. For example, in a typical midsize city like Buffalo, New York, in 1951 a force of 1,229 officers confronted 361 violent felonies -- homicides, rapes, robberies and serious assaults. This level of crime was well within the capacity of police departments to contain, with time and manpower left over to guide juvenile offenders and patrol neighborhoods and business areas daytime and night.

But today we have exactly reversed the proportion of police officers to violent crimes: instead of three officers for every violent crime, we have three violent crimes for every serving officer. In other words, in the nation as a whole, we are devoting to violent crime one-ninth of the police power we mobilized a generation ago. In today's Buffalo, a force reduced to 1,041 -- 15 percent smaller than in 1951 -- must cope with 4,271 violent crimes, twelve times as many as faced a larger force in 1951.

Buffalo is typical, and therefore it is far from the worst-off. In Buffalo there are 4.1 times as many violent

crimes as police officers. In my city of New York, there are 5.4 times as many violent crimes as police officers. I can sing you a litany, a dirge of disaster, from one end of the country to another. In Boston there are 6.1 times as many violent crimes as police officers. In Atlanta, the number is 9.6. In Cleveland it is 4.1, in Chicago 5.3, Newark 8.3. In Florida, where so many aged citizens retire seeking warmth, and comfort, there are 10.8 times as many violent crimes as police officers in Miami; 10.1 in Jacksonville; 8.8 in St. Petersburg; 12.4 in Tampa. In California, in Los Angeles, there are 9 violent felonies for every serving officer; in San Diego "only" 5.4, 5.0 in San Francisco, but 10.7 in Oakland.

And even these are not the worst. In East St. Louis, Illinois, where a largely poor black population has been abandoned as if it were one vast housing project, there are 26.7 violent felonies for every police officer. In Compton, California, a poor enclave of 96,000 people, there are 3,508 violent felonies a year: 27.8 violent felonies for each of their 126 serving officers.

These awful numbers tell us the unmistakable truth. For forty years, the American people have been under constant, escalating criminal assault. And in the very midst of this implacable war, we have engaged in unilateral disarmament.

That the causes of crime are various requires that measures to reduce it be of many kinds. But no other measures can hope to be effective unless we immediately strengthen our

police forces on a scale dramatically greater than any thus far proposed. We need more police in order to catch a larger fraction of the many active criminals who have adopted crime as a way of life. We need more police to uphold community peace and order, to begin to restore the elementary rights and protections of citizenship to people throughout the country. And more police will merely by their presence significantly reduce the present level of crime. Human conduct can always be affected at the margin. Even in today's chaos, most poor people do not commit crimes, but strive to build lives as honest and productive citizens. Just as open lawlessness allows many young people to be pushed into criminal activity, so the re-establishment of order, however gradual, will allow many young people to avoid ever entering the criminal life.

We know there has been a direct correlation between reduced police strength and increased levels of crime. A few years ago, a New York City police official said that we are "conducting a vast social experiment. The experiment is, in effect, how far can you cut back your police force before crime runs rampant?" That question should never have been asked, but we now know the answer. It is long past time to turn that malign experiment around: to find out instead, with police forces greatly increased in strength, power and authority, how far can we reduce the crime that now plagues us all.

To reestablish the force and effectiveness of the police, we must sharply increase their number. More than this,

we require police forces far better equipped to both represent and serve every part of the nation. We must achieve our goal at a cost that is reasonable and affordable, at every level of government. And most of all we must act with a proper understanding of ourselves and our country.

Therefore in this civic emergency, we should rapidly draw to police service large numbers of our most committed and qualified young men and women. We have an historical precedent. In times of national emergency, the bulk of our military officers have been drawn not from the career forces, but from the citizenry at large. They have been volunteers, who after their tour of duty have returned to their civilian occupations in business, education, the professions and the arts. And to these volunteers, we have offered a free higher education as an inducement and a recognition of their service. We do this today, in the ROTC programs that now furnish the majority of the nation's military junior officers, and make higher education possible for many thousands. Now a broad coalition of Senators and Congressmen proposes that we should do the same for the police.

The bill before you, H.R. 2798, would recruit one hundred thousand of our finest young people to police service, by offering them a free college or professional education in return for a four-year term of service with a state or local police department that wishes to use their talents.

We will call them the Police Corps. The Police Corps will work as follows. The federal government would assist any state or locality that wished to implement a Police Corps program. Up to 25,000 students would qualify for the program on a competitive basis each year. They would then receive a guaranteed loan for four years of room, board, tuition and books, up to a total of \$10,000 a year, at any accredited college or university of their choice. There they would pursue the courses of study they desire, that will be the bases of their civilian careers. They would not study police work during the academic year; but as with the Marine Corps Platoon Leaders' Course, they would train intensively during the summer between their junior and senior years.

Following graduation, there would be another period of intensive training. They would then report to their state or local police departments, for a four year term of service as sworn officers. At the completion of their term of service the federal government would repay the entire loan. These officers might then elect to pursue a career in law enforcement, just as many ROTC officers elect to reenlist after the completion of their mandatory service term. Or they may resume their education or civilian careers. Just as with ROTC or the GI Bill, scholarships would be open to qualified applicants regardless of family income. Any participants who fail or are unable to complete their service would simply repay their own loans.

This bill would begin the real and necessary turn-around in the strength of the police. We now have about 480,000 sworn officers in the United States. About 55 percent, roughly 250,000, are assigned to patrol duties. The Police Corps would increase the patrol force overall by fully 40 percent: enough to double the patrol force in areas of greatest need. I do not say this will prove in the end to be the right number, or a sufficient number. I do know it will be a far better number than what we have today.

All over the United States, police officers are working in one-man cars, without partners to back them up; this would give back partners to those who need them. All over the country, desperate citizens call 911 and wait for an answer; the Police Corps would answer them. Most of all, the Police Corps would begin to reestablish neighborhood peace and community order, all over the nation.

Police chiefs in many parts of the country were surveyed by the Department of Justice. Over eighty percent reported a desperate shortage of officers; send them next week, said many. Even more encouraging was the response of college students surveyed by the Department. Over forty percent of all students, 45 percent of all male students, over 45 percent of minority students said that they were likely to join a Police Corps. We have therefore reason to hope that there will be many hundreds of thousands of applicants from whom we can se-

lect the best and most dedicated for this special privilege, this great contribution.

The Police Corps would be economical, because savings in pension costs and salaries for the four-year officers would more than make up for the cost of the participants' education. Our bill provides that the federal government would bear the full educational cost. Hard-pressed local governments would have the service of these highly-educated and qualified officers at perhaps two-thirds to three-quarters of what it now costs them to employ police officers.

Nevertheless the Police Corps would cost money. The federal component, for the scholarships and the training courses, would eventually come to over \$1 billion a year; localities, bearing the actual costs of service, would pay more. In my view we cannot afford not to spend this money. We can no longer allow our people to be subjected to criminal violence on a scale that is unacceptable in a civil society.

If budgetary constraints should ultimately require that other programs, other social services, be assigned a lower priority in this emergency, so be it. Some may argue that we should instead devote these resources to alleviating poverty, which is often said to cause crime. I believe it is more accurate today to say that crime causes poverty, for it destroys neighborhoods, discourages business and investment, and encourages young people to seek an easy way to riches through criminal activity rather than to engage in honest labor. Crime and

disorder are systematically destroying community after community, making a mockery of the hopes that citizens have a right to hold. Nor is it even drugs that have, in the first instance, destroyed these communities. Rather weakened and disorganized lives have been vulnerable to the destructive epidemic of drug use, and to the obscene domination of drug dealers. Any reconstruction of hope in the communities of the poor must begin with a restoration of their basic inalienable rights to life, liberty and security. Our first and immediate task is to restore them to life within the American nation.

Therefore our bill provides that we would not wait four years for the first Police Corps officers to hit the street. Rather we would begin by recruiting in the current junior and senior classes, for service to begin immediately after graduation and a training period. We would either pick up their existing student loans, or pay for graduate or professional study at the completion of their service. Fifty-three percent of college students who said they were likely to join the Police Corps plan to go on to graduate or professional degrees.

Indeed as we reflect on and plan for the Police Corps we realize that its most important consequences may well be for the young people who will serve in it, and for our own sense of the Republic we share. If there is one thing we have learned from this waking nightmare of crime and disorder, surely it is that a nation of decency and justice, a life of security and

safety and order, are not for purchase at the local government store. We are not tenants here, or guests at a hotel. This is our home, and the rebirth of its civic order must originate in the central principle of a free people, that public life is the responsibility of every citizen. Our duty is not to the government, for in a democracy the government serves the people. Our responsibility for civic justice and decency is a duty we freely owe each other as fellow citizens. It is a shared responsibility for the welfare of our families and our posterity. It is a commitment to ourselves and to our self-respect. In this democracy, the police are neither an alien force nor a corps of mercenaries. They cannot do for us what we are not willing to do for ourselves. In the deepest sense, the police are - must be -- us.

The Police Corps is based on the oldest of American traditions and principles. Yet it appears to be an innovation, as applied to police. For this reason it has aroused some concerns that it will disturb established institutions and current methods of law enforcement. Let us hope indeed that it will. Is there anyone here today to say that American citizens enjoy an acceptable level of security in their homes, their streets, their neighborhoods, their peace of mind? It is long past time for profound change. And if there are any here who challenge the need for the Police Corps, let us be sure to ask them what they propose to do instead, to bring some real safety

and security, some greater measure of law and justice, to suffering communities all across America.

Meanwhile let us deal briefly with some of the concerns that have been raised. It has been suggested, for example, that the Police Corps would be "elitist". I confess that I do not understand this to be a criticism. We want our police to be the very best. Every police expert, every commission and agency, has always recommended that our police should be better educated. Every important organization--the armed services, schools and colleges, industrial and commercial organizations of every type and size--is constantly seeking to attract the very brightest and most educated recruits to its service. Every improvement in police qualifications can be regarded as "elitist", but we would think anyone silly who proposed that we should not require police officers to be able to read and write. In fact I believe that police work is far too important to be performed by anyone who is not part of the elite of our society: elite in abilities, elite in courage, elite in commitment to the nation and to the well-being of every citizen.

A variant of this argument is that the Police Corps officers will be overly white and suburban, in cities that are increasingly black and poor. In fact it is a principal aim of the Police Corps, expressed directly in the text of the bill, to recruit more minority officers. Every police official knows that it has become increasingly difficult to recruit qualified black officers to the police. This is so in New York, where

entry qualifications have been repeatedly lowered, but where the force is still only 11 percent black. It is also true in Tulsa, where a college degree is required for entry into the police department, but where enough black college graduates simply cannot be found. The Police Corps can begin to meet this need. The Department of Justice study found that 45 percent of minority college students surveyed said they were likely to join a Police Corps. The bill requires that every state program must make special efforts to assure full minority participation. And every local department will participate in the selection process for recruits; so if there is any department, like New York, in which blacks or other minorities are significantly underrepresented, that department will have every opportunity to use the Police Corps as a means to improvement.

It has also been suggested that the Police Corps officers would not be sufficiently committed to police service; that many of them would be no better than mercenaries serving for the educational benefits. This argument too is puzzling. We pay every police officer a salary, and benefits that are often generous. Yet we do not accuse our career officers of being mercenaries, even though it is most unlikely that any of them would serve without this compensation. Generations of military officers have been recruited to the colors with the promise of a college education in return, either at the service academies or in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps on which the Police Corps is modeled. It would be outrageous to suggest

that these officers lacked sufficient motivation to serve the nation, even in the most bitter and dangerous wars. Rather they have regarded their education as a fair exchange for the bravest and most dedicated acts of which human beings are capable. I can think of no reason why the young Americans who would serve in the Police Corps would be in any respect less dedicated, less brave, less willing to give full value and commitment to their service in the cause of domestic peace, than have any of the men and women who have served so willingly and so selflessly in the nation's foreign wars. The Congress has enacted not only the ROTC, but also the Army College Fund for enlisted personnel, to offer young people education in exchange for military service. Surely the Congress would not have enacted such programs if it believed that those so recruited would be "mercenaries" who would be insufficiently motivated to serve because they were just in it for the education.

This argument sometimes continues that all police officers should be "committed" to a police "career". In this connection it is suggested that Police Corps officers will just be learning their jobs when their four-year obligation is at an end, and their training will thus be wasted. However, those who now join the police are committed to no fixed period of service at all; rather they are free to resign at any time, and any investment in their training is likewise lost. Up to a third of all regular officers now appear to leave the force in

the first three years of service. Police Corps officers will have at least a minimum term of four years. When that term is complete, it will be up to the department in which they serve to offer them sufficiently rewarding work and responsibility to retain them, just as it must do to retain its regular officers every day. And even if the bulk of Police Corps officers do serve only their four-year terms, they will still have made an enormous addition to law enforcement. Departments responding to the Department of Justice survey reported that 30 percent of all their arrests were made by officers with three years or less experience.

It is here that we should make very clear what the real alternatives are. The choice is not between the Police Corps and some other set of programs to increase police strength. In fact there is no other program now on the table of any level of government to achieve the increases in sworn manpower that are necessary, in my judgment, to the survival of domestic liberty. In realistic terms, in the effort to significantly expand our police forces, the choice is between the Police Corps and no increase at all. Those who oppose the Police Corps for whatever reason should clearly understand that there is no other program or effort that begins to command the kind of wide, broad and deep support that is required to increase the police.

And it is also here that we should address the suggestion that has been made by some police professionals, that

the Police Corps educational benefits should be offered equally, or even principally, to officers now on the force: that is, it should be changed into a program to improve the education of existing officers. This suggestion is at war with reality. Our fundamental and overriding need is for more new officers. It is only the exigent needs of the public safety that could justify the large new expenditures that are necessary to even this program of modest improvement. Much as all of us would wish to enhance police education, there is no justification for spending a billion dollars a year to send existing police officers to school. Indeed, to send such officers to school now would reduce the already depleted number of officers serving.

It has also been suggested that the money that we are requesting for the Police Corps should be used instead just to fund police salaries. However, many departments are having difficulty finding acceptable candidates even for the limited number of slots now available. Payment of police salaries -- as opposed to educational expenses -- would raise the difficult question of federal control over local policing. Perhaps most importantly, the Police Corps is designed to lower the costs of police service to state and local governments. Subsidizing forces raised on the existing pattern might well lead, as it has in other fields, to increasing rather than decreasing local costs.

A final reason for preferring the Police Corps is that our current emergency demands more than an extension of existing forces and methods of acting. Ours is not a problem that can simply be turned over to the specialists, the professionals, with instructions to come back when it is all taken care of. That strategy has failed, and its failure becomes more dangerous with every passing day. The central problems of a free nation, whether in war or peace, require the active participation and support of the citizenry. Police departments perhaps above all other agencies of government depend for their efficacy on the active cooperation of citizens. Yet for all our traditions of self-defense and self-reliance, we are always properly wary of the dangers of vigilante action. It is for this very reason that the police are so important. The Police Corps would bridge this dilemma: by in effect enlisting large numbers of those citizens in the police, fully trained and properly led, we can enable citizens to take part in the enforcement of their own laws, while maintaining all the qualities of professional enforcement that assure fairness to citizens before the law.

In the end what is most surprising is that the objections to the Police Corps are so slender. Perhaps few equivalent reforms have achieved such support with as little significant opposition. Partly this is because we are so rightly desperate for solutions to the present unease. But for a deeper part, I believe, the reason is that the Police Corps is

so deeply rooted in the American tradition. Americans have been protecting and policing their own communities since we first landed on these shores. The Police Corps calls on the voluntary spirit of a great people to liberate our streets from the thugs. Robert Kennedy once told us that the shaping impulse of America is that it is neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, he said, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live. In the coming years we can draw upon the strength, commitment and hope of tens of thousands of young Americans who, because of their values and because of the recognition and benefits we rightly offer them, will give us the help we need to regain control not only of our communities; but also of our lives together as citizens, comrades and countrymen.

Mr. HUGHES. Professor Fyfe, welcome. I hope that you can summarize also, Professor Fyfe.

STATEMENT OF JAMES FYFE, PROFESSOR, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, LAW AND SOCIETY

Mr. FYFE. I will, Mr. Chairman. Again, it is a pleasure to be here. I approve of this bill, although I disagree with Mr. Walinsky. I am not sure that the bill is a means of increasing the number of police officers. I think that the police chiefs who were here spoke knowingly about that and about how local jurisdictions might be able to use it to substitute Federal money for their money.

Still, however, I think it is a very important bill. And, even if it doesn't increase the number of police officers it is something that should become law. I am an educator and an educated cop, who went through school on a part-time basis while I was a police officer. I think education is an extremely important thing for police officers, and I don't believe that because of probable cause reasons that have to do with the judgments that police officers have to make regarding the law.

There are a couple of other reasons that are more important. One is that an education serves to make people more well rounded. We need well-rounded individuals to be police officers. We need people who can understand human behavior and apply some theory to it. Police officers, as Mr. Walinsky has just pointed out, exercise a tremendous amount of discretion. Police officers are the only civil servants who are routinely authorized to take life in peacetime. I don't think you will find anywhere in the public sector, any civil servant who exercises the amount of discretion that a police officer does who is not educated.

Another reason for wanting educated police officers is that they are representative of the society. One of the criticisms of the all volunteer Army for example, is that it is no longer representative of the society as the draft army was. College educated clientele are part of the clientele of the police.

Probably the most important reason that I think education is important for police officers is that policing is a calling. In too many instances, people take the police job because they have no other options, and this is the best work that they can get. When they do that, they provide a very mediocre level of service. Chief Ray Kelly, who was here earlier, and I, became police officers in 1963. He had just graduated from college a few days before we were sworn in, and he chose to be a police officer.

He chose it because it was his calling, and he is still in the job and has been extremely successful and influential, and has really made a difference in the lives of the citizens of New York. I think that anything that we can do to attract people like Ray Kelly to policing is a boon to policing.

I also think, however, that this should just be the first part in a much bigger program. When I first went to American University in 1979, most of my students were police officers. They were in-service police officers who were attending school on a part-time basis through the support of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia government. They were an excellent recruiting device.

There are no police officers at AU any more. None of our 350 or so majors in Justice are police officers. Just the mere experience of rubbing elbows with in-service police officers in classes convinced many of the students who were there at that time to go into policing.

I think it is very important that any legislation that comes out of the subcommittee include some provision for training in-service police officers. Mr. Walinsky has pointed out that he expects that people will leave from this program after they serve their 4-year hitches. I think that is great. I do not think that it is a problem, unlike many of the police officials here. One of the problems that policing has had is that it has no constituency among the influential and powerful.

I think of many people in legislative and executive positions whose decisions and policy formulation on military issues are formed by the fact that they spent time in the military service and that they were shot at. I can think of Representative Dornan, for example, President John Kennedy, Senator John Kerry, and President Bush, whose views and actions concerning the military are formed by actually having been in the military and having dealt with military problems face to face.

I think the level of debate among our public and among our officials and policymakers and legislators regarding crime and justice issues would be strengthened and increased considerably if among those people who were influential, were former police officers who had been members of the Police Corps for 4 years, had done their hitch, and then went on to other things.

Those are my views. On the attrition point, Representative Dornan this morning spoke about how often members of his contemporaries had gone into the military after ROTC and left after serving their initial hitches. I don't think the attrition problem will be nearly as great in the Police Corps. Mr. Dornan's excited description of police work, I think, supports this. Very few of the people that I know who have spent time in a radio car have not come away tremendously impressed. Many of the people whom I have trained as an educator and many of the people with whom I have worked, intended to become police officers for short periods of time, but got bitten by the bug and stayed.

I think police work is a very exciting kind of career, and that many people will choose not to leave after their initial 4-year hitches even though they had intended to do so. I don't think that the statistics that compare military attrition are relevant, or that we can base any assumptions about attrition rates after the initial hitch on military statistics. Police work, even though it creates lots of stresses, is much more conducive to a stable family life than military life.

The people that I used to work with were worried about being transferred from Staten Island to the Bronx, not being transferred from Korea to Germany and disrupting families in that way. I think the legislation is excellent.

On the training issue, as people have pointed out, there are really two prongs to this legislation. On the one hand, I do have some concerns about Federal Government intervention in training of local police. On the other hand, the people that you have had

here today represent excellent police agencies in which officers are extremely well trained. I can tell you that after I left New York City and started to deal with many other police agencies, much smaller police agencies, in cities that were underfunded, the level of training provided by those police departments was horrendous.

The fourth largest city in the United States, for example, has had no in-service training for police officers since the mid-1960's. This means that recruit officers who graduated in the mid-1960's have gotten no updates on the *Miranda* decision or on any of the laws or new problems that affect their work. I think training at a Federal level is a good idea, because anything that can be done to enhance police training in the United States to make police agencies somewhat less parochial is a good thing.

I thank you for the opportunity to have been here.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you, Professor Fyfe.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Fyfe follows:]

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

I am pleased and honored to appear before you today to discuss H.R. 2798, a bill that would establish a Police Corps. I urge you to do everything possible to make this bill into law. I urge you also to examine carefully the whole question of police education in the United States.

To help you understand my reasoning, I should put my remarks in the context of my own professional background and experiences.

Until I came to Washington to teach at The American University in 1979, I was a New York City police officer for sixteen years. In 1971, while I was a sergeant in Times Square, I completed my bachelor's degree. In 1972, when I was on educational leave from my job as a sergeant in Astoria, Queens, I earned a master's degree. I became a Ph.D. in 1978, while I was a lieutenant assigned to the New York Police Academy.

During my first few years at American University, many of my students were in-service police officers, much like my own classmates of a few years earlier. They brought great vitality and insights to classes, were certainly a major part of more traditional students' educational experiences and, I like to think, came away from their time at the university better equipped to do their work.

The police are now gone from AU. They are gone because federal support for police education has disappeared. The officers I taught were the last remnants of a generation of police who balanced odd working hours, family life, classroom time, and homework in order to obtain an education. They did so with the help of legislation -- the Omnibus Crime Control and

Safe Streets Act of 1968 -- that let them know that the federal government thought it was important that we be policed by educated people, and that Uncle Sam was willing to back up this sentiment with financial assistance.

It is still important that we be policed by educated people, and the bill currently under consideration is a good way to introduce a cadre of well-educated young people into America's police service. There is no question but that it should become law, and that it should be merely the first step in a legislative process that also assists those already in police service to become educated.

There is no little self-interest in this recommendation: I am an educated cop, and I would like nothing more than to educate other cops. But my views on this issue are rooted in far more than any narrow personal agenda.

Detractors of this legislation are likely to argue that there is no hard evidence that college educated police officers do better police work than those who are without higher education. Even as an educator, I must tell you that these detractors are right: the few studies that purport to show that college education affects police performance one way or another are replete with flaws that make their conclusions worthless.

The detractors are right on this point, however, only in a narrow sense. Neither the public nor social scientists can agree on quantifiable definitions of good police performance or of the good cop. Absent such an unambiguously defined dependent variable, these studies are more assertion than fact.

But while we may not be able to put the good cop's traits or performance into neat little categories, those of us who have been police and who have studied the police know good cops when we see them. One hard to quantify experience that is common to most good cops is that their careers were real choices made from among a variety of options. One characteristic common among poor cops is that they are people who have no calling to policing but who, instead, became police officers because policing was the best job they could find.

College educated people have real career choices, but the options available to those without higher education are far more limited. Today, very few of the people turned out by our colleges choose to be police officers. This is too bad, for those few college people who do choose to enter policing usually become excellent officers. Chief Ray Kelly, who will testify before you today, is a sterling example of such an officer.

Thus, one important reason to make this bill into law is that it will introduce into policing a cadre of well-educated people who, experience suggests, will become excellent cops.

But, detractors will argue, most of the people who enter policing through a Police Corps will opt out at the end of their four year hitch, and the program will prove to be nothing more than an expensive burden.

History suggests that the detractors miss the point. More than twenty years ago, the Justice Department provided funds to a New York City police officer -- himself a graduate of the Ivy League -- to recruit police officer candidates from among students at the Nation's most prestigious universities. Many of

those he recruited became officers here in Washington DC. Some, like Deputy Chief Gary Abrecht, a Yale alumnus, and Inspector David Bostrom, who graduated from Oberlin, have remained in policing, and have made a real difference to the lives of the citizens they serve. In addition to his work as a street cop and police manager, for example, Gary Abrecht's police career includes a stint with the Police Foundation, where he was a co-author of a pioneering and influential study of police use of deadly force. Others -- like Gary Abrecht's wife, a Yale alumna who is now an Assistant United States Attorney here in Washington -- subsequently brought to other criminal justice positions the unique perspective of the street cop. Still others, like Washington Post publisher Donald Graham and writer James Lardner, left policing after a few years and went on to other things.

This third category of college cops -- those who go on to other things -- are always criticized by detractors of programs like the proposed Police Corps. The likes of Graham and Lardner, detractors argue, are little more than dilettantes out for a fling. Such a view is shortsighted and, ironically, causes more damage to policing itself than to any other social institution.

To understand why this is so, one should compare the military -- our international defense force -- with the police, our domestic defense force. Many of the people who enter the military through government funded educations in the academies or in ROTC programs do not remain in service beyond their four year obligations. Those who do remain in service generally become excellent officers largely, I believe, because they have a

calling to the military and because they have chosen it from among other options.

It is my view that the percentage of Police Corps members likely to opt out of service after their initial four year hitches will be far lower than is true of military officers. Despite its irregular hours and the stresses it causes, policing is far more conducive to regular family life than is service in the military. The transfers that occur during police officers' careers cause far less family disruption than is true of the military. Police officers worry about being transferred from the Bronx to Staten Island or from Northwest to Southeast, rather than from Korea to Germany.

More important than the geographic stability of policing, however, is the nature of the work. There is nothing like it, and once exposed to and bitten by it, few people rush to leave it. When I became a cop, one of the New York City Police Department's recruiting slogans promised "a view of life your deskbound friends will never see." The promise was kept. The view was sometimes ugly, but it surely never was boring.

Despite my belief that a Police Corps would have a higher retention rate than the military officer corps, some number of Police Corps officers will, like Graham and Lardner, go on to other things.

So what?

The military systematically draws to it people who serve their hitches and go on to other things. Once such people are out of uniform, however, they typically become sophisticated analysts of the military and its causes and personnel. There is

no doubt that the status, living conditions, and degree of preparedness of the people currently in our armed services have been tremendously affected by the great number of influential people who went on to other things after having served brief hitches under arms. "Once a Marine, always a Marine" is no idle assertion.

The police have no such constituency in the form of policy makers and legislators who have served a hitch in policing. This is a shame, and it hurts the police.

At this point in our history, we take great pride and relief in the state of our international relations, but we are very concerned with a drug war at home. This should not be surprising.

For generations, our international policies have been informed and influenced by the experiences of people who went on to other things after having been shot at while doing short hitches in military uniforms. Harry Truman, John Kennedy, George Bush, and John Keary are among those who come most quickly to mind when I think of those who learned at first hand the reality of international combat. These are all men who -- after having gone on to other things -- did their best to see that no other young people would suffer the same hells they had experienced.

But thoughts of Truman, Kennedy, Bush, and Keary also give rise to other, unsettling questions:

- Would we be losing the current Drug War if we counted among our politicians as many police heroes as military heroes? I don't think so.

- How much more sophisticated would the Drug War be if it were led by a former undercover cop who knew what it was like to be shot at during a low level drug bust?
- Would we be told that "Just Say No" would work if our drug policies were informed and formulated by people who had spent short stints trying to enforce drug laws on inner-city streets? I don't think so.
- Would the public be as ignorant of the dilemmas that confront police if brief stints in police uniforms were as common among columnists as brief stints in military uniforms? I don't think so.
- Would the question of whether police education should receive a tiny fraction of the funds allocated to military education be pending before the Congress today if police experience were as common among legislators as military experience? I don't think so; I think this question would have been resolved in the affirmative decades ago.

H.R. 2798 should become law. Further, if the federal government is serious about fighting crime, H.R. 2798 should be only the first step in a legislative campaign to attract the most highly motivated people to America's 20,000 police departments. The Congress should attempt to assure that the people drawn to policing are at least as educated as the people they serve, and that they are as sophisticated as the challenges they -- and we -- face.

Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. Our next and final witness on this panel is Dr. Jonathan Rubinstein, author of "City Police" and former director of the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy. He also has done a great deal of work on this issue. We welcome you here today.

Your statement has been made a part of the record in full. It is a good statement, and we hope that you can summarize.

**STATEMENT OF JONATHAN RUBINSTEIN, FORMER DIRECTOR,
CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL POLICY**

Mr. RUBINSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, as you know, local policing is one of the foundations of American federalism. We are, as you also know, facing an unprecedented crisis in public order. It has gone on for three decades.

Inadvertently, many of the efforts that we have undertaken to improve and strengthen our police have destroyed the basic strategy of policing. We have no longer, regular, routine patrol in any neighborhoods of any city in the United States. The destruction of the neighborhood cop, the policeman on the beat familiar with the people he polices, familiar to those people, knowledgeable about the place and the people he polices have contributed enormously to the destruction of public order.

911, the emergency phone system and the radio car were heralded in the 1950's as technology to transform what was then viewed as a moribund watchman system into mobile crime fighters who would snuff out the horrendous rise of street crime, which we have now all become accustomed to. It has failed. We must face directly the reality of this. The causes of crime are many, as we all know. The management of our police is one of them. We have abandoned deterrence of crime, crime prevention, in favor of capturing criminals. We can never arrest enough or punish them sufficiently to make a difference. We must restore our capacity to deter crime.

Police work is very difficult. Police are, obviously, an essential service. The reform of our police is like fighting fire at sea. We simply can't sink the boat and start over again. We have to deal with what we are facing. Our cities are on fire, our police are harried, their morale is bad. Paying them more money, giving them better benefits, all of which we support, will not improve their performance. Indeed, they diminish our capacity to increase the number of police.

Fighting fire at sea requires three things. First, the fire must be brought under control, otherwise the ship goes down with all hands. After the fire is brought under control, the ship can be made ready to sail back toward port. Then, and only then, can we talk leisurely about what we would like to have ideally. We are facing a crisis now. We have an insufficient number of police. By any measure, the number of crimes reported, the number of hours police work, we have fewer police today than we have had at any time in the past and they cost us an enormous amount of money.

In New York City alone, it costs \$66,000 a year on average for each police officer. It costs today, \$1 million to keep a patrol car going 24 hours a day. Two-thirds of the calls that these police officers are responding to are unfounded. That is to say, someone

called, they drove there and found nothing. This is not to say that something wasn't happening, that the call was a hoax or fraud. It wasn't. In fact, this system, this taxicab system that we have invented encouraging people to call the police whenever they feel bad or to force the police to go and answer any false alarm that some lousy security firm was installed—to have police go and act as clerks for insurance companies has consumed an immense quantity of time at great expense, and has stripped the streets completely of protection.

The Police Corps is not a modest proposal. As you have indeed heard, it strikes at many nerves. It seems to some to threaten the idea and concept of local policing. Quite the opposite. The Police Corps is intended, very simply, to be a vehicle to strengthen local police and to restore for the first time in decades, the presence of police, uniformed police on the streets, walking beats in cooperation with local people and working under the supervision of professional career police officers.

Now, we have heard much about the need for voluntary spirit and the restoration of that spirit in public life. Indeed, the Police Corps, the fundamental idea of the Police Corps is directed toward attracting young, energetic people of both genders and of all races to police work. To make possible once again, community policing. We simply do not have the numbers, nor do we have the money to have the numbers of police that are necessary to recreate and to reestablish a real police presence on the street.

The notion of Federal training has been seen by a number of witnesses as a threat. The purpose of this training is very simply to restore to police training what has been taken from it. Adam previously alluded to the fact that until the early 1960's most people going into police work had been in the military. That is true. Today, police training does not reflect the change in that reality. In New York City, there is very little physical training any longer given to police candidates.

There is no boxing. They are no longer even taught how to use a night stick, even though they are given a nightstick. The reasons for this are many, the consequences are disastrous. We need to have a well-trained, efficient and a proud police. The purpose of this Federal training is to provide a general, basic training for all candidates. It is not to train them instead of their departments. They will receive local training.

They won't necessarily have to receive 6 months of training, most of which, in my opinion, is irrelevant. But they will receive a sufficient quantity of local training to make them fit to work in a local police department under the command of local police officials. Unless we strengthen our local police and bring back under control the streets of our cities we are not for very much longer going to have an independent local police. At some point, people are going to give up and demand the intervention of the military, as they are already demanding the intervention of the National Guard.

Police were established in the first place in the 19th century as a replacement for the military. It was then felt and quite wisely, that we needed to have a civil force under political control, not a military force, responsible for the policing of our streets. That force in the past, served us well. It has made possible the creation of this a

great American idea—the melting pot. Well, the pot is now boiling. Our police are failing.

Yet, there is in this country, a great spirit waiting to be tapped. There are hundreds of thousands of people in neighborhoods waiting, crying out for help, which we are not able to give them. This proposal is, in fact, just the first step to rebuild first, public confidence in our basic institutions, second, to begin to take back our streets from the thugs who now rule them, and third, to bring to all of us a measure of peace.

Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you, Dr. Rubinstein. Thank you, Panelists, for your excellent statements.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Rubinstein follows:]

STATEMENT OF JONATHAN RUBINSTEIN

The failure of government to halt spreading fear, disorder and crime has robbed New Yorkers of their security and self-confidence. It has taken from us the luxury of a leisurely discussion about the future of policing. For more than a decade the police have not been in control of this city. Unable to protect either people or their property, the department is now able to retain control of entire neighborhoods only by the use of extraordinary measures that neither deter crime or establish order. Increasingly police feel threatened and targeted. What will tomorrow bring?

As disorder, mischief and vicious criminality have increased, respect for police has declined, undermining the confidence and morale of everyone - including our police. Today, those whom we wish would fear police, the thugs who control our streets, have no fear; the great majority who yearn for protection have no hope. Even worse, the decline of the police is accelerated by the dissolution of the consensus upon which democratic policing is founded. Unless consensus is restored policing will grow ever weaker and more violent.

It is fashionable now to blame all of this on crack; yesterday it was heroin and before that whiskey. Drug addiction is a terrible scourge which was unfairly, unwisely and unthinkingly assigned to the police, compounding misery and burdening law enforcement beyond reason. But, even if drugs were not inflaming the minds of our youth while lining the pockets of the worst people in this country, we would still have a violent criminality inciting fear and race hatred.

Until we change the method and goals of policing there is no hope of containing the criminal violence threatening us all. If we fail to do this racial hostility will harden, destroying any chance of establishing a new consensus. If that happens, there will be no need for symposia on policing.

New York City is on fire. Police reform has always been arduous and contentious but now it is like fighting fire at sea. Before everything else, the fire must be

contained, preventing the ship from going down with all hands mutinying, settling scores, and behaving as people generally do in panic's grip. When the fire has been brought under control the ship can then be stabilized for return to port. There and only then can it be refitted for regular service.

The measures necessary to restore public order and confidence, putting out the fire, are so urgent and far-reaching that policing itself must become an experiment. The future is now!

In January the Mayor must initiate changes that will enable the department to regain and retain control of the streets, its primary job. He must also encourage citizens to take an active role in the defense of their blocks and neighborhoods. Only changes in policing that include an active role for citizens can initiate movement toward a new consensus. Policing must be put back on the political agenda and not left any longer only to City Hall and the PBA. Neighborhood groups, City Council, the Press, this college (which plays a subservient role), and even the public school system which is failing as badly as are the police must become actively engaged.

The Mayor must also initiate far-reaching intermediate measures that will substantially increase the size of the force and build-up its flexibility to make the police effective again in five years. Unless we take immediate and dramatic action, speculation beyond five years is irrelevant. The ship will not get into port safely. Don't get me wrong, New York will survive all of us. What is at stake here is the survival of our politics and our heritage: we are talking about the survival of local police, a foundation of American federalism.

We are engaged in a vicious experiment: to discover how terrible things can become before people give up. Unless we contain the violent criminality that took root here more than two decades ago and now threatens everyone all the time, this city will eventually go under martial law. If that happens, we will be changed forever, a people less free, sacrificing our independence for peace at almost any cost.

The traditional methods of policing do not work. Efforts to revive them actually make things worse. The police no longer patrol the streets. 911 rules the force and this has stripped streets and neighborhoods of police

without bringing security and peace. Abandoning patrol in pursuit of crimes in progress has actually made conditions worse. This is so for many reasons but let me emphasize one.

Our police were not organized to eliminate crime but to contain and control it. No matter how many arrests police make that is only one part of society's response to crime. There are many who need arresting and that is a job only police can do, but catching criminals was intended as a by-product of patrol, not its purpose. The control of disorder, keeping the peace, a noble occupation no longer honored, was the purpose of patrol. Today we have very large and expensive police forces doing many things but few of them ever patrol. Crime fighting is not a substitute for peace-keeping.

Thousands of cops must be returned to foot patrol in a complete reorganization of the Patrol Bureau. They must be turned out of cars, stripped from special details, community relations, headquarters units, administrative duties, and even detective squads. The late shift must be reduced to the minimum. An experiment with one-man cars should be conducted on the late shift to test the feasibility of safely expanding coverage and productivity by utilizing mixed-mode patrol.

Assignments to footbeats must be for at least two years and incentives created encouraging police to stay longer. Current workrules must be modified to put these officers on a two-shift rotation. This is the only way to quickly restore police presence on the streets, encouraging police to know their beats and the people on them. Keeping cops on their beats is the only way for people to know them, learn to trust them and work with them. These are the indispensable conditions for effective policing in a democracy.

The current policy of routinely transferring cops, recommended by the Zuccotti Committee and informally put into operation is an abdication of leadership that has turned the patrol force into a herd of faceless nomads. It further weakened an already demoralized police. This cowardly policy, abdicating all responsibility for leadership, is inspired by fear of the New York Times or more precisely fear of corruption. If the department doesn't trust its personnel, it should get rid of them. If the department does not know how to properly supervise its people the city should clean out Police Plaza.

Secondly, the authority of sergeants, deteriorating steadily since the Knapp Commission (as if they were responsible for that scandal) must be restored. The improper appointment of numerous black sergeants by former Commissioner Ward caused much dissention and made worse the poor state of race relations in the department. But its done and the department urgently needs still more sergeants to supervise the thousands of cops who must return to foot patrol. And these sergeants must have authority. A new list must be made immediately and all sergeants should be requalified under revised patrol regulations that restores to them the authority to command police. This will eliminate lingering hostility (its still there) by creating an entirely new situation for everyone.

While the police are being returned to the streets, the Mayor must take the lead in beginning to build a new consensus between citizens and the department. Police must give up the notion that citizens are only their "eyes and ears" and accept them as whole people with brains and wills too. There are today more than 400 block, building and neighborhood patrols (I am not talking about block watchers) active in the City, cooperating with the department when that is possible to drive thugs off their streets. Even though these groups are increasing rapidly they are still pitifully few.

The Mayor must encourage many more. The number must be doubled and doubled again and again. In time this will wean people from 911 but more important, it is the only way to deter crime. These groups are all volunteers. Little money is spent and not much more is needed. The Mayor, city council, and borough president's offices must stimulate community boards, private foundations, and businesses to enlist New Yorkers in their self-defense. The cops on the beat are not going to be alone if the next Mayor stands up and does the right thing.

The creation of linkages of many kinds between professional policing and local need and desire is the only way to restore hope and self-respect (both of which have fled from this town) and eventually regaining the streets without destroying the constitution. This is where policing will become an experimental laboratory. CPOP is one halting, highly bureaucratized, rule-bound effort in the right direction. In his heart Ben Ward understood where the department should be heading; now the Mayor must make it go that way.

Without a direct intervention by the Mayor these three changes will not happen. It is time to give up the fiction

that the police are a professional agency protected from political influence. We have tried that, sort of anyway, with poor results. Today, we have the best 1950 police department in the world. But it is very expensive and it doesn't protect us. The Mayor must talk turkey with the PBA. Cops have rights, they should be protected but we pay them an average of \$66,000 a year and they must work in a manner that is determined to be of use to us. It's that simple. Politics in a democracy are never neat and orderly; change only occurs when necessity pushes. Instead of squabbling over who is responsible for the mess we are in we must act now.

These changes are the absolute minimum required to contain the firestorm and send the first signals to embittered and frightened citizens of an intention to restore their rights. They will also send a message, the first of many, to the thugs who rule our streets: they are wrong to believe, as they do, that they have a right to rob and ruin us.

But further and more far reaching changes must follow quickly.

In the short run we must have more police, many more. How many more I will reserve for the discussion period that follows. A refocusing of police strategy is easy to describe but requires time to implement. While it's being done 911 will still be ringing, police must respond. The sheet must continue to be covered for a time yet. A reformed police could result in a smaller force eventually but for now it means a larger one. That should gratify the PBA.

Rapid expansion of the police force in 1967/68 and again in 1982/1985 was accomplished by reducing standards. This caused many problems, including a rise in criminal behavior. Any rapid increase is bound to create tension, disciplinary and supervisory problems. These inevitable problems are magnified today because of a real deterioration in high school education, a lack of experience and worldly knowledge in many recent recruits, and the dissolution of the consensus on which policing rests. Continuing to recruit and train as we have in the past will lead to a disaster.

I'll be blunt. We have too few blacks, Hispanics and Asians in the police. The City and the department are responsible for this and only the Mayor can change the

practices that result in this police department continuing to be 80 percent white. Don't get me wrong. I have nothing against white people. Most of my friends are white. But you cannot have a consensus between government and governed if the great majority of people who keep the police busy are a different color or speak a different language than the police. We can talk for hours about why this is so. For now though, its just the way it is, the way its always been.

We need more police, we need substantially more minorities, and they must be largely city-wise. The traditional method of recruitment no longer attracts a sufficient number of intelligent, ambitious and motivated young people because it is still directed toward recent high school graduates while most of the people who we want in the police now go to college which they did not do in 1950. We must go to the colleges and get the people we need to revive policing in New York.

The Police Corps was first proposed in 1982 in response to the great surge of crime in preceding years (when there was no crack). It is a simple idea: college scholarships in exchange for four years of service as patrol and community officers in local departments. It has sometimes been characterized as an ROTC program which it resembles only in offering educational opportunity in exchange for volunteering.

The Police Corps proposes to recruit and train volunteers for foot patrol and community service, not as supervisors but as officers serving in departments near their homes under the command and direction of career officers. It remains the only reasonable way to recruit large numbers of energetic people, from diverse backgrounds with the necessary skills. Seven years later there is still no other proposal or another solution to our crisis.

The city agreed with our analysis, by the way, when it established the cadet corps. But like the experiment in community policing, CPOF, it is annexed to a failing system that it cannot influence. The Cadet Corps is too small to change the composition of the department not only in this century but possibly the next. Its numerous other defects are less important than its irrelevance. What can I say other than this is one more reason why the police department needs to be shaken out, from the top down.

The Mayor must immediately take measures to recruit and train thousands of new officers who will be ready to serve

within twelve months. While foot patrol is expanded, supervision is increased and strengthened, and effective cooperation between a revived patrol force and organized community groups is established, a large number of four year volunteers must be in training.

A police corps bill is now before Congress. Hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee will take place later in the year. The bill is supported by the F.O.P. the National Sheriffs Association, NOELE and other police labor organizations. It proposes a national program with three training centers around the country when in full operation. Even if a police corps is enacted it cannot produce enough candidates to supply New York City without depriving other cities facing the same crisis. But there are several hundred thousand students in New York's colleges and universities, more than enough to draw from if New York established its own program.

The Governor has pledged to add 4000 more cops. More of the same will not make us safer. We need a new strategy in place within two years and then we need to work toward the creation of a new policeman with a different working relationship to New Yorkers. Only then can police make a positive contribution to breaking the cycle of criminal violence now in its third generation, sunder the bonds that enable a small fraction of vicious youth to destroy the prospects of an entire generation, and fanning an evil flame that threatens to engulf us all.

We need a training program that starts with this fact: most recruits have never been away from home, lived independently or ever been subjected to formal discipline. They need to be barracked and trained under a strict regimen for a period of time to instill pride, discipline and competence while the socially and personally unfit are weeded out. They must achieve a standard or be rejected. Real physical training must be restored since many recruits have had none. They must be taught real skills, including boxing and the use of the night stick- skills no longer taught in the police academy.

In this college there is a variety of knowledge that could be tapped to train the next generation of police to understand the diverse cultures and mores of New Yorkers. They must also be taught how to help every citizen understand that we are a people who share common values and a common fate within our diversity. The thugs who now rule are not going to give up peacefully. We can only confront them successfully if we have the unified support of their

neighbors and even their relatives. When we do that we will have taken an important step toward deterring the next generation, kids who are four, five and six today, from emulating these thugs.

In barely one generation violent crime has multiplied ten times. Our police are less effective today than they were even in 1975. We must restore civil peace, protect ourselves from the violence that is spawning division and hatred. Above all else, we must regain our self-respect. To do this, we must build up our police, change the way they work, and begin to share their effort. There is no other way.

Mr. HUGHES. Let me just start first of all, with something that you just said, Dr. Rubinstein. You indicated that the police have failed. I wonder if the real question is whether we have failed the police? You didn't allude to it today, Adam, but in your written statement you indicated that there was a time not too many years ago, when we had three police officers to every criminal we were apprehending.

Today there are many more criminals than police officers and the system is overwhelmed. The first place we cut at the local level is always the police department.

Mr. WALINSKY. That is absolutely correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUGHES. Let me finish my statement, and then I will ask for a comment.

Mr. WALINSKY. I apologize.

Mr. HUGHES. The first place we cut is the police department. They are outmanned and outgunned today. We expect them to be not just police officers but social scientists and domestic relations advisors. We pay them very little in many parts of the country, and in some areas of my district, police officers have to have a second job to exist.

They are overworked. When they are off duty they sit around in a court room or waiting for grand jury to call. I am just amazed that we don't have more problems with morale than we have. I think we can all agree that we want an effective, well educated, professional cadre of police around the country. The question is, how do we get there?

If I want to train police officers more, I would provide more resources to train them. We do that at the national level. We have training and classes at Quantico every week. We don't reach enough officers, however. Very few police officers have the opportunity to participate in this training because we don't have enough slots. The competition for these slots is intense.

I find that police want better training. I know young people that go to school at night, as I indicated earlier, to try to get a degree in criminal justice at a community college to better themselves or to be a better police officer. Wouldn't we just do better by providing resources. If we want to upgrade the professionalism of the police, shouldn't we be talking in terms of providing scholarships to those that are, in fact, presently on the force?

Now, that doesn't get us any more police officers, but that does get us the professionalism that we are looking for and we eliminate the argument of elitism. The second thing, and I will ask you all to comment. The second thing is, where does the Federal Government get off telling local police officials what is best for them in managing their resources. Do we know better than a chief of police how he should be deploying his manpower, whether more officers are needed on foot patrol—and I may agree with you, Doctor, about foot patrolmen—or whether they should be deployed another way? It is a different world out there today, and I'm not so sure deploying a few select police officers on foot patrol is going to revolutionize the problems in the department.

I think that is something for the chief of police in that community to decide, not the Federal Government. I really have basic problems myself with telling police departments what size force they

should have, where they should deploy their officers and how they should deploy them. Third, insofar as training is concerned, that is a wholly different issue and it may very well be that we need to be looking at additional academies.

Maybe what we need to do is expand our programs at Quantico. Perhaps even look at expanding Quantico to another site that would be accessible if, in fact, that is our need and perhaps it would be the subject of a good hearing as to whether there is a need to supplement what the States are doing in that regard.

My question is, can't we spend a billion-plus dollars in achieving the same goals without creating a scholarship program that may only indirectly result in additional members on the force, and may indirectly increase the educational opportunities for police, but not for members of the force because we limit their participation to 10 percent under the legislation? Can't we spend the money more prudently and accomplish the same thing?

Mr. WALINSKY. I am so sorry that I was so eager to—I apologize for interrupting your statement, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUGHES. That's OK. Why don't you explain.

Mr. WALINSKY. Why don't I respond to some of that. The first question is the easiest one to deal with; that is, the question of the standards and policies as to how these officers would be assigned and used. I believe that clearly, we are in a profound dialog. For example, you in the Congress have mandated bilingual education programs in local schools.

I suppose the same kind of argument could be made by a locality. Who knows better how to educate local children than local educators, therefore, the Federal Government has no business mandating such programs as a condition of getting such assistance.

Mr. HUGHES. I often feel that way.

Mr. WALINSKY. Mr. Chairman, I am not arguing that is not a point of view with real power and force, I think it has that. I think that where we have made the decision to try and change local practices in the past has been when we felt we were in a profound crisis or when there was a problem that was so serious that it appeared that local methods of doing things were simply not getting the job done in an acceptable way.

We made that decision as to education throughout the 1960's. I don't think that many of the Federal decisions were necessarily wonderful ones. Many of the policies have proven to be flawed. For that reason there is, in my view, a quite proper hesitancy about putting on too much and trying to decide too much of what local people do.

However, in this case, I think it is important that we get these issues out on the table. It is clear I believe, from the testimony of police across the country and police experts across the country, that the withdrawal from local policing, from community policing has been a disaster. I think when we drafted this legislation and we put this requirement in that we thought we were responding, in fact, to the concerns of many police officials with whom we dealt and community people with whom we dealt who wanted to be sure that local governments would use the resources for areas of greatest need in the community, rather than putting these people into

administrative or other jobs. Maybe you will find a better way to do it, Mr. Chairman.

We were precisely trying to avoid the notion that because these people were well educated, they should be put in some sort of special officer function or administrative cadre. We wanted to make clear that these people were supposed to come in to do the most important work in a police department, which is the basic work of patrol. That's all. We weren't trying to force local chiefs to put them in one sector or another sector, or anything like that. We were just trying to make sure that they were not, in that respect, an internal elite but would be doing the very basic day-to-day work of enforcing the law and would be used for those purposes.

If there is a better way to do that that works less of an interference, of course, we should do that. Just so that you understand that was what the motive was, and that was a reasonable one. That far is reasonable for the Federal Government to go.

Mr. HUGHES. I appreciate that. I get the impression, however, that there was a bias in favor of foot patrol. I had the impression that what we were saying that, as a matter of policy, we think we ought to go back to the old foot soldier, the old foot patrolman.

Mr. WALINSKY. I think, Mr. Chairman, that particularly in areas—we know that Lee Brown for example in Houston, has worked on a community patrol program. Something like that has been worked in New York and in other places. I think the bill says, "where possible or appropriate." I think if obviously, for example in Los Angeles, anybody who tried to do foot patrol in Los Angeles would be nuts.

Mr. HUGHES. That's true. Adam, let me just suggest to you that I look at it this way as a policymaker. How can I best spend \$40,000 to get to where we all want to go? I think where you want to go is commendable. I think for all of the reasons you have articulated, we need to look at programs that would encourage our young people to have a sense of community, to help them understand the importance of police work, and encourage them to look upon police work as an important and honorable profession. I am talking about reaching a good cross-section of America ought to help us alleviate some of the problems that presently exist. Many of these problems that exist are because we have not provided police with the necessary tools.

Today, we do need a well informed, educated police department, and we have developed that in many places around the country under very trying circumstances. We also do need to look at training. Training is extremely important. That is a part of the professionalism that we all want.

The question is, how can we best get there. Do we get there best by spending \$40,000 on a college education and hope that they are going to end up doing some police work for more than just 5 years?

Mr. WALINSKY. Let me respond to that, Mr. Chairman because, of course, that is a very serious question and it is clearly the right question to ask. If we start from the premise, as I believe we both do, that a ratio of three violent crimes to every police officer nationally is unacceptable and that we simply must increase the numbers of police officers and we must do this at the same time, I

believe, as we raise the quality, the performance and the capabilities to do the modern job. We then have to ask, how do we do this?

We can dispose, I think, of the first question that you asked which is, should we just use this money to give scholarships or educate people who are now police officers. Because however commendable that is, that will not increase existing forces by one single officer. That, I think however worthwhile, I think we ought to just put that to the side because we know that the number one target is getting more people.

Mr. McCOLLUM. Would you allow me to jump in there?

Mr. WALINSKY. Sure.

Mr. McCOLLUM. The argument was being made by the police witnesses that, since we weren't going to have any resources in there to pay for these officers once we got them out of college, that we weren't going to increase the numbers anyway.

Mr. WALINSKY. Let me respond to that.

Mr. HUGHES. In addition to that, you eliminate one other alternative and that is, to have a better balance than 90/10. I mean, one of the chiefs suggested 90/10 but the other way for existing police officers. I believe it was Chief Fulwood that indicated that—

Mr. WALINSKY. Chief Behan.

Mr. HUGHES. Chief Behan indicated maybe 80/20 would be a better ratio. So, don't rule out the alternative that we need a better balance.

Mr. WALINSKY. Sir, I haven't ruled it out. I am simply speaking to that concern. Let me respond to the Congressman. My easiest example is in the city of New York which, in this respect, is I believe, typical of cities and localities around the country. In the last 12 years, we have increased employment in the civil service by over 100,000. Less than 2 percent of those extra people are police.

In fact, many, many jobs have been added in local jurisdictions all around the country. Police have gotten the short end of virtually every such decision. What I believe is that, over the next 10 years there will be additional hires in these local governments, even if it is just a question of attrition. New people are going to be brought on the job as others retire.

If we shift that balance, as I believe we can, the issue is what is the balance going to be on hirings for the next 10 years. Are we going to, again, have 98 percent in other social services, however important they may be, and less than 2 percent devoted to police, or are we going to have a difference balance? I believe that we can achieve a better balance. By raising a force, by saying that the Federal Government is committed to the goal of increasing police numbers in the United States, No. 1, by then saying that the Federal Government will go beyond that, not into what local police do, not into paying local police salaries which raises all of the problems of which you are well aware, but to the extent of providing for local use if the localities want to use them, a large body of young citizens who have been educated and feel an obligation to give something back in exchange for that education, I think we can change that political calculus. I don't think this bill is self-executing.

We certainly don't advocate it on the basis that it is self-executing, solves all the problems or anything like that. In a sense, what it does is, it asks the States to engage in a dialog. It says to them,

we believe that you should increase your numbers, do you agree? If a State says no, if a State in its wisdom says we don't want to participate in this plan, we don't want this to happen, then no volunteers will be raised to serve in that State.

We will never spend the money to educate the people who might have come from that State to serve in the police, that will be their decision. But if, as we believe the publicity, the effort, the public mobilization that is represented by a Police Corps does in fact help to change local political decisions, then I think the localities in the next 10 years perhaps will spend 10 percent of their new hires as police and we will have the new police that we need.

Mr. HUGHES. The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. McCOLLUM. I thank the chairman. I think I have exhausted my questions because you have asked the comprehensive one that covered most of it and I piggybacked on your question.

I just want to thank the three of you for your work in this area. It is not simply coming before us to testify, it is the preparation of this entire legislative initiative. I think all of us here understood that today. I also want to thank you for your indulgence earlier.

I realized that this was much later in the day for you to testify than any of us ever anticipated. So, all together, it is a great credit to you and we appreciate it. I don't know where we head from here, but we now have—at least I do and I am sure that the chairman does, a much better understanding thanks to this process. We thank you for it.

Mr. WALINSKY. I thank you, sir. I hope that you also feel that we will be available as the chairman knows, and you also sir, at a moments notice to answer any further questions. I would also like, if I may, to ask that the record of this hearing be supplemented by the insertion of certain materials including particularly, the evaluation that was done by the Justice Department of the Police Corps, the feasibility study among other things, because it answers such serious questions.

Mr. Mazzoli asked earlier, where are these people going to come from, are they really there? One of the things that was done in this study was that they took a survey—they spent some money and took a survey of college students. They went to the Boston area because you have so many of a variety of educational institutions there. Forty percent of all the students they queried said that they were likely to join a Police Corps if it were offered.

Forty-five percent of the minority students said that they would be likely to join. Perhaps those numbers are greatly exaggerated. It's a lot easier to answer a poll question than it is to actually put your name on a dotted line. Nonetheless, I think that those responses reveal that there is a very large number of people, young people, who would do this who would not necessarily join perhaps for a career but would recognize that a period of this kind of service, difficult and dangerous as it might be to the country and to these problems that so bedevil us, would be a real way to start a life.

They are there, I think we can find them, I think we can recruit them. That is a long-winded way of getting a report in the record, Mr. Chairman, but I certainly—

Mr. HUGHES. Without objection, it will be received. I want to also supplement what my colleague has indicated and tell you that we are indebted to you. You have spent a lot of time and have given a lot of thought to this particular proposal, and it is a good proposal conceptually. We would like to work with you in seeing if we can, perhaps, improve the concept and address some of the concerns that we have heard here today. That is part of our job, that is part of the process as you know better than most people, Adam.

We thank you for your contributions.

Mr. WALINSKY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Walinsky's submission, "The Police Corps: A Plan for Augmenting Law Enforcement Resources" is available for review in the office of the Subcommittee on Crime.]

Mr. HUGHES. Our fourth and final panel today consists of Mr. Robert Scully, president of the National Association of Police Organizations and Mr. Darrel Stephens, executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum.

Mr. Scully, as I indicated, is president of the 90,000 member National Association of Police Organizations. He also serves as vice president of the Detroit Police Officers Association. He is a 22-year veteran of the police department and no stranger to this subcommittee.

Darrel Stephens is the director of the Police Executive Research Forum, an organization of large and medium size jurisdictions, devoted to progressive policing. Mr. Stephens has a background in law enforcement, dating back to his service as a patrol officer in the Kansas City, MO, Police Department in 1968. He served as chief of police in Newport News, VA, and Largo, FL.

We thank you for being with us today. Your statements will be made a part of the record without objection. I understand Mr. Scully, that you have a 3 o'clock flight, so why don't we start with you. I hope that you can summarize so that we can let you go to make your plane.

Welcome.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT SCULLY, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POLICE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

Mr. SCULLY. I will do my best to summarize, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and subcommittee members and staff members. Right now, I am just licking the wounds from the statement made by two of the witnesses at the last session. That statement was that law enforcement is a failure. I will tell you, I took that as a direct slap in the face from both of those individuals. I think that if that is the way they feel, they are walking around with blinders on.

Without taking a look at the whole criminal justice system and narrowing it down to just law enforcement really is a slap in the face. If I could just finish on that one point, I think that maybe if we examined that whole point, it is society that is a failure for allowing the unacceptable to become acceptable.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. Scully, I share your concern. I think I did challenge his statement.

Mr. SCULLY. I appreciate that. I couldn't let that go unanswered. Thank you. I appreciate the opportunity to come before you today to discuss H.R. 2798, on behalf of my members. As you stated, I am the president of the National Association of Police Organizations, and we represent more than 90,000 rank and file police officers throughout this country.

First, let me state on behalf of NAPO and its membership that we sincerely appreciate the interest of the sponsors of this measure in improving the quality and quantity of police protection in America. There can be no question in anyone's mind that the growing problems of crime, drugs, as well as the massive increase in weapons that are available to the criminal element, make a larger, better educated, trained and equipped police force an absolute necessity.

However, merely proposing a measure that seeks to address a serious national problem does not necessarily mean that it offers the correct solution. The major criticisms of the proposal advanced by our delegates at our annual convention last August are as follows. One of the major underlying assumptions of the Police Corps proposal is that there presently exists a national problem in recruiting qualified persons to serve as police officers, and that the promise of a \$40,000 college stipend would help overcome the situation.

We agree that in some parts of the country there is a problem in finding qualified applicants. But the report back from our delegates at the convention is that that is not the norm. Generally, there are more qualified applicants than there are positions available. Further, we believe that even where there are shortages of eligible applicants, the shortages should be easily overcome by increasing and improving police wages and conditions which would, unquestionably, help to increase the qualified labor and supply under well-proven principles of labor economics.

I have to go along with former Commissioner Ben Ward of New York City when he said that part of the problem around the country recruiting qualified applicants is the wage level, the pension level, the benefits level that they have to offer police officers. Going back to the National Institute of Justice report where they found that 53 percent of sheriffs and 40 percent of police chiefs in this country considered low police salaries to constitute a serious recruitment problem, I am in total agreement with Commissioner Ward.

In 1987, the national average starting salary for police officers was \$16,833. Compare this, for example, with the uniform starting salary of letter carriers which is now \$23,777, which was arrived at through collective bargaining between the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Postal Service. With all due respect to the letter carriers, I hardly think that even they would compare their jobs with that of a cop.

Another questionable assumption of the Police Corps proposal is that having college graduates in the police service for 4 years after graduation would contribute to the quality of police protection. I don't agree with that. I think the general rule of thumb that is agreed on between police labor organizations and police management organizations throughout this country is that it takes at least

4 years for a police officer to get his or her feet wet to know what you are doing out there.

I think if you looked at salary patterns of police officers throughout this country, you would find that they have a starting salary, and it takes some number of years before they reach top salary, generally 4 to 5 years.

Another concern of our organization about the Police Corps proposal relates to morale. We agree that police work has become increasingly more professional, making college training more desirable, but we also believe that college and other educational benefits ought to go to working cops who have already demonstrated their commitment to police work instead of to precollege entrants who would be forced to make an early decision with respect to career plans before they had a chance to explore their options.

We further believe that the Police Corps entrants to police work might also suffer from feelings on the part of other police officers that they represented an elite corps of officers who were on a special employment track, thus creating additional morale problems.

Finally, we would suggest that the cause of enlarging the number of cops and ensuring the quality of police protection will be better served by an approach that has a proven track record in this country of approving wages and benefits, working conditions and morale, namely a system of collective bargaining. Such a system has been proposed in H.R. 2205, introduced on May 3, 1989, by Congressman William Clay of Missouri.

We believe that collective bargaining, without the right to strike but with final and binding contract arbitration, has a positive impact upon improved law enforcement. Where collective bargaining is absent, police recruiting, retention and working conditions are deficient. New Orleans and Houston are a couple of those examples that come immediately to mind.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. Scully, can you conclude for us. That is a vote, and I will have to leave. I don't want to foul you up for your plane.

Mr. SCULLY. Just a couple of comments to what the other speakers had to say. I am in total agreement that there has been no money for State, county or local police departments. I am in disagreement with Mr. Walinsky's statement in which he keeps referring to the hiring practices in New York City, where 100,000 people have been hired since their fiscal deficit back in the mid-1970's. I think if somebody looks at New York City or Nassau County or Suffolk County, their recent hiring has been down. Those departments for years were tied up in Federal court over affirmative action litigation. It has nothing to do with the fact that they wanted more general city workers than police workers.

I think in comparison to that, back in Detroit where I come from, when I was hired on the job 22 years ago, we had 27,000 workers in the city. Five thousand of those workers were police officers. Today, we have 16,000 workers in the city, and 5,000 of those are police officers. So, I think Mr. Walinsky is using a very bad example.

I am in total agreement with the statement made by Mr. Fyfe, that funding is needed for ongoing in-service training. Ongoing in-service training of current police officers is totally lacking throughout this country. I don't mean programs at the FBI Academy, I mean funding for local police departments so they can have man-

dated training that every police officer has to go through so they can keep up with the current changes in laws and technology as they take place.

With that, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. Scully, I thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Scully follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT SCULLY, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
POLICE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE, STAFF AND GUESTS:

My name is Robert Scully. I am President of the National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO) which represents more than 90,000 police officers throughout the United States. In addition, I serve as Vice President of the Detroit Police Officers Association.

NAPO consists of police associations from South Florida to Alaska, from San Diego to New England, from the Rio Grande to the Great Lakes. Our members are rank-and-file police officers who put their lives on the line daily to protect the American public from the hundreds of thousands of criminals in our land whose numbers and crimes continue to grow daily. We do so gladly because we believe sincerely that police officers are a basic part of the American infrastructure, in that we protect and preserve the domestic peace and tranquility that the Founding Fathers promised to our people, and seek to maintain and improve the quality of life for all in our land.

I appreciate the opportunity to come before you today to discuss H.R. 2798, the Police Corps Act, on behalf of our members.

First, let me state on behalf of NAPO and its membership that we sincerely appreciate the interest of the sponsors of this measure in improving the quality and quantity of police protection in America. There can be no question in anyone's mind that the growing problems of crime, drugs, as well as the massive increase in weapons that are available to the criminal element make a larger, better educated, trained and equipped police force an absolute necessity.

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For example, between 1957 and 1982 the number of police officers in the United States increased from 1.6 to 2.6 per 1000 residents, but during the same period the rate of reported crimes rose 436%.¹ And only this week the Justice Department reported that from 1987 to 1988 total crimes increased from 35.3 million to 35.8 million.

To the extent that H.R. 2798 is motivated by concern over these facts - and we believe it to be -- we applaud it and its sponsors.

However, merely because a measure seeks to address a serious national problem does not necessarily mean that it offers the correct solution.

In the case of H.R. 2798, our organization, and the delegates who attended our democratically conducted convention in August of this year, concluded that the Police Corps proposal was wide of the mark in providing a solution to the problems of law enforcement that our nation faces. The major criticisms of the proposal advanced by our delegates can be summarized as follows:

1. One of the major underlying assumptions of the Police Corps proposal is that there presently exists a national problem in recruiting qualified persons to serve as police officers, and that the promise of a \$40,000 college stipend would help overcome this situation.

The response from our delegates to this claim was that

¹ Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, p. 65 (1988).

while in certain areas it is difficult to find qualified officers, in others there are far more qualified applicants than there are positions.

Further, we believe that even where there are shortages of eligible applicants, these shortages could be easily overcome by increasing and improving police wages and conditions which would unquestionably help to increase the qualified labor supply under well-proven principles of labor economics.

Indeed, a recent statistical survey conducted by the National Institute of Justice of the United States Department of Justice, found that 53% of sheriffs and 40% of police chiefs in this country considered low police salaries to constitute a serious recruitment problem.² According to the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 1987 "[t]he average starting salary for an entry-level officer in local police departments ranged from \$13,768 in jurisdictions under 2,500 people to \$22,930 in jurisdictions with populations of 1 million or more."³ In 1987, the national average starting salary for a police officer was \$16,833.⁴ Compare this for example with the uniform starting salary of a letter carrier which is now \$23,777, which was arrived at through collective bargaining between the National Association of Letter

² National Institute of Justice, Research in Action, August, 1988, p.6.

³ Bulletin, Bureau of Justice Statistics, March 1989, p.1.

⁴ *Id.* at p.3.

Carriers and the Postal Service. With all due respect to the letter carriers I hardly think even they would compare their jobs to that of a cop.

Therefore, NAPO believes that substantial and well-deserved increases in police salary levels would have an immediate positive impact on existing recruiting problems.

2. Another questionable assumption of the Police Corps proposal is that having college graduates enter police service for four years after graduation would contribute to the quality of police protection and service. In fact, however, if as some of the proponents of the Police Corps measure suggest, Police Corps graduates would be expected to leave police service at the end of four years, then they would have served during a period when it is generally agreed that new police officers have only begun to get their feet wet. It is usually only after at least four years that cops are considered to have enough seasoning that they are not prone to errors resulting from inexperience. Hence, to anticipate the departure of Police Corps graduates after four years would be to forfeit what would normally be the best years of police service.

3. Another concern of our organization about the Police Corps proposal relates to morale. We agree that increasingly police work has become more professional, making college training desirable. But we also believe that college and other educational benefits ought to go to working cops who have already demonstrated their commitment to police work, instead of to pre-college entrants who would be forced to make early decisions with respect to career

plans before they had had a chance to explore their options. The increasingly heavy stress associated with police work requires dedication and commitment of a very unique character. But to expect that early decisions to engage in police employment in exchange for college tuition assistance would be sufficient to sustain long-term motivation for police work is, to say the least, questionable. Thus, we believe that funds for educational and other needed benefits would be better spent on existing police officers.

Further, we believe that Police Corps entrants to police work might also suffer from feelings on the part of other police officers that they represented an "elite corps" of officers who were on a "special" employment track thus creating additional morale problems.

4. Finally, we would suggest that the cause of enlarging the number of cops and insuring the quality of police protection would be better served by an approach that has a proven track record in this country of improving wages and benefits, working conditions and morale, namely a system of collective bargaining. Such a system has been proposed in H.R. 2205, introduced on May 3, 1989 by Congressman William Clay of Missouri. We believe that collective bargaining, without the right to strike but with final and binding contract arbitration, has had a positive impact upon improved law enforcement, and that where collective bargaining is absent, police recruiting, retention and working conditions are deficient. New Orleans and Houston stand out in my

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mind as examples of woefully inadequate police systems where collective bargaining is not available.

As I have already indicated, in 1970, in the Postal Reorganization Act, Congress saw fit to provide collective bargaining rights to the 750,000 employees of the United States Postal Service. For the past nineteen years that system has endured and served the nation, the Postal Service and its employees well. We believe that the nation's police officers are at least as entitled to what Congress saw fit to provide for postal clerks and letter carriers, namely the right to bargain collectively.

In conclusion, we wish to thank the sponsors of H.R. 2798 for their interest and concern in helping to improve the quality and quantity of police protection in America. Such concern is greatly appreciated by all Americans. And while we respectfully differ over the merits of H.R. 2798, we agree that there is an important need for more and better trained police officers in America. By working together we believe that Congress and the law enforcement community can achieve our mutually agreed upon goals of making our homes, streets and communities safer for everyone in this land.

#

Mr. HUGHES. When I suggested expanding the facilities at Quantico in an effort to increase that specialized training I wasn't talking in terms of in any way replacing what is already being done throughout the country. I agree with you 100 percent, that ongoing training is extremely important, it is too often underfunded, and we need to support that. That is another dimension that we need to look at. We also need to consider whether or not we are providing the extent of the service that we need to be providing at the Federal level at Quantico. But that would be in addition to what is already being done.

Anyway, thank you for your statement. I have no questions. Your statement is rather clear cut, and I appreciate your spending the time with us today and making these contributions. I hope you make your flight. Thank you.

We are going to stand in recess so that I can catch that vote. I will be back in 10 minutes, and we will complete the hearing.

[Brief recess.]

Mr. HUGHES. The subcommittee will come to order. Our next and final witness is Darrel W. Stephens, executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum. I want to welcome you. Your statement is a part of the record, without objection. There is nobody here to object, I might say. We are delighted to have you with us and to see you again today.

STATEMENT OF DARREL W. STEPHENS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH FORUM

Mr. STEPHENS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is my pleasure to be here. I am going to summarize the statement very quickly, because it has been a long day for everyone. There are several points that I want to make.

First, I think it is important that we express our appreciation for the opportunity to be here to make these points, and for the time that you and your subcommittee are taking to devote to this important issue. PERF is an organization that has long been dedicated to the concept of proving professionalism through education. In fact, we are the only law enforcement organization in the Nation that requires that our members be college graduates.

We have recently passed a resolution that calls for police departments throughout the Nation to develop plans and implement procedures for increasing their entry level educational requirement to that of a college degree. That resolution comes on the heels of a study that we have completed in the last 6 or 7 months on the status of education in policing throughout the Nation.

That idea of educational standards beyond high school was originally put forth in a dramatic way by the President's Commission in 1967. The Commission calls on police departments to eventually establish a bachelor's degree as an entry level requirement. PERF has long been interested in education and the Police Corps legislation.

We have polled our membership, and our membership offers qualified support to the legislation being proposed. I say qualified, because there are some serious concerns about the way the legislation is drafted and with the basic goal of the legislation, which has

been discussed and debated throughout these hearings today. We just don't believe that the goal of the legislation—to increase the number of police officers in America—is attainable through the proposed legislation.

Those who crafted the bill indicate that we will see at some point down the road, 20 percent more police officers in America than we have today. I think they are saying that will happen in 5 years. The decision to add police officers on a State and local level is based on a lot of issues at the local level.

Having been a police chief in several communities, and in my present capacity serving as an adviser to police chiefs, city councils, and city managers and mayors throughout the country, the decisions to add police officers are made on the basis of several factors. They include workload, crime rate, and the ability of the community to raise the necessary funds to pay for those police officers.

Education though, is not a major issue in deciding how many police officers are going to serve a particular community. Like Bob Scully, I disagree vehemently with the testimony that there are fewer police officers today than there were in 1950. We have seen growth in policing throughout the country. There are probably communities in the Nation that need more police officers than what they have. There are also communities in the Nation that have an adequate number of police officers. To decide staffing question, by saying we need an increase of 20 percent in the number of offices we have is not good public policy in our opinion.

The legislation should change the objective from increasing police officers to increasing and enhancing the professionalism of policing through education. We think the balance, as you yourself, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. McCollum have raised along with several others who have testified, should be switched from being predominantly supporting preservice students to those who are already police officers.

Our membership would support the bill fully if that balance were adjusted, and we looked more at trying to further improve the professionalism of police officers through education and most of the money was devoted to that. We have made progress in the past 20 years. Twenty-two percent of the police officers in communities of 50,000 and above today are college graduates.

The average level of education in policing today is 2 years. If we want to go on further so that every police officer in the country has a college education and adjust the entry level standards, this legislation would allow us to do that if it were adjusted as recommended.

I thank you for the opportunity to be here. There are other points and issues that we have raised that are a part of the record, in the testimony that we have submitted previously. We would be pleased to answer any questions that you might have.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you, Mr. Stephens, very much for being with us today.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Stephens follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DARREL STEPHENS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH FORUM

Thank you for inviting me to appear before this committee to discuss the Police Corps Act, introduced earlier this year by Rep. Robert Dornan and Sen. Arlen Specter. I would like to take this opportunity to commend the sponsors of the Police Corps Act, for sensing the pressing need for a more educated police force, as well as Mr. Hughes and the members of this committee, for bringing the issue of police education to national prominence, through hearings such as this.

I am the executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), an organization representing police chiefs and sheriffs from the nation's large- and medium-sized jurisdictions. Collectively, our members deliver services to over 30% of the American public. I am also the former police chief of two cities, Newport News, VA, and Largo, FL.

I am especially pleased to be here today to discuss the merits of police education, because PERF has placed this issue at the top of its agenda. We believe police education is one of the most effective ways to increase police professionalism. (We also practice what we preach — PERF is the only national police organization that requires members to be college graduates.)

Recently, we adopted a resolution that calls on police agencies throughout the nation to develop plans for implementing educational requirements. This resolution came on the heels of a study, conducted by PERF, to determine the status of education in policing twenty years after the Presidential Commission recommended that police officers be college graduates. Our study showed that police executives believe college-educated officers communicate better with the public, perform more effectively, receive fewer citizen complaints and are more sensitive to racial and ethnic groups.

PERF has lent its qualified support to the police corps bill, because we feel the federal government's focus on education will help improve policing. We also think the bill will improve the overall quality of police applicants, and encourage the best and brightest of the nation's young people to give policing a second look. This measure may also in-

crease the number of women and minorities in law enforcement. At the same time, we don't believe the basic goal of the legislation — to increase the raw number of police officers in America — is attainable through this type of program.

Although we've given the bill a qualified endorsement, the PERF membership believes the bill needs to be improved prior to adoption. The results from a survey of our members, who are considered to be the most progressive police executives in the country, clearly show the need for adjustments to the legislation. The most striking result of the survey was the diversity of opinion. Thirty-one percent of the respondents supported the bill, while 24% opposed it. An additional 32% thought that PERF should support the bill — but only if adjustments could be made to it. The most frequently mentioned suggestion was that **the bill should include in-service officers wishing to pursue a degree on a part-time basis.**

The inclusion of part-time degree work for current officers would be an important enhancement of the bill for two reasons:

- First, we believe educating current police officers, as well as new recruits, would upgrade the quality of policing across the board, and that this should be the objective of the legislation.
- Second, reimbursing committed and experienced police officers for tuition expenses makes financial sense. These college-educated officers would need no new state, local or federal training, would continue to provide police services while attending college, *and* would be at maximum efficiency the day they receive their degrees. It often takes two or three years for new recruits to reach maximum efficiency.

The respondents to the PERF survey also outlined other ways the bill could be more responsive to the needs of police departments. For instance, several police chiefs suggested that the police corps recruits participate in summer internships with their chosen

police agencies. In this way, the recruits could more quickly be brought up to speed at the beginning of their four-year commitment. A few respondents questioned the value of a federal training requirement, unless the training is structured to help recruits meet their state and local requirements. Other respondents thought that police corps candidates should be screened to ensure they meet minimum employment standards prior to their acceptance into the program. This would reduce the chance that they wouldn't be able to pass selection standards following graduation. A longer explanation of these and other suggested improvements to the bill are contained in an additional written statement that will be submitted to the committee today.

On behalf of the member of the Police Executive Research Forum, I would like to thank the sponsors of this bill, as well as the Crime Subcommittee for their interest in improving the quality of policing in America through education. As the problems police are called upon to address become more and more complex, education will play an even greater role in the effective delivery of police service. PERF very much appreciates the opportunity to debate this issue in a national forum, and looks forward to any assistance Congress can provide police towards bettering their service to communities across the country. Thank you.

Mr. HUGHES. You heard me raise a number of different issues and questions during today's hearing. Are there any in particular that you want to respond to? I indicated a number of concerns that I had as to whether or not the Federal Government should be setting standards, and determining deployment of forces and how they were to be deployed and concerns about whether that is the best way to spend \$40,000 per student.

Mr. STEPHENS. I think all of those issues that you raised were on point, particularly those dealing with who is responsible. It is a local government function. The Federal Government can and should provide leadership in terms of research and direction and training for local policing.

But to craft legislation that establishes the number of officers to say they should be put here in one spot versus someplace else, I think, is going well beyond the authority that the Federal Government should have.

Mr. HUGHES. Why would a State or a locality be interested in financing a policeman's slot if the only incentive is that you are going to get somebody who just came out of college, you will have them for 5 years, and you may not be required to pay any pension or other fringe contributions?

Why would a State under those circumstances, which might have had a hard time trying to provide the resources needed to add additional police officers anyway, really subscribe to that program?

Mr. STEPHENS. They won't. It's just as simple as that. They will not subscribe to the program for the very reasons that you have cited. There is a provision in the legislation that says that you will only be the recipients of these Police Corps candidates if it is in addition to the level of police officers that you have at the time the legislation is passed.

It is a laudable goal to have college educated police officers, and police departments throughout the country are trying to recruit them. But they will not participate in the programs solely on the basis that they have a college graduate standing before them that is going to be there for 4 years.

It would be interesting as the deliberations go forward, to talk to some people that are in the criminal justice education field. There are a number of programs throughout the country that are thriving. Their enrollments are about what they have been in past years. So, there are people that are coming out of the programs. The difficulty is that a lot of them are not going into local law enforcement. This bill is not going to help contribute to that to any great degree.

Mr. HUGHES. I really am deeply committed myself to in-service training. I come from a small county, and I think they did a fairly good job. Over the years they have developed a pretty sophisticated training structure. But that is not the case around the country.

I was just, not too very long ago, privy to information on how we train guards at institutions. I was somewhat shocked by what appeared to be the inadequacy of that training. I wonder if it is not a legitimate leadership role for the Federal Government to provide some seed money to help municipalities that have not developed sophisticated training programs to do so, and to try to provide some enhanced training for specific problems.

Many cities around the country that do not have arson squads, for example, do need that expertise. They often have to turn to ATF which has tremendous expertise in that area. Wouldn't that be a proper area for the Federal Government to be looking to provide leadership? It could provide training and/or specialized courses to police departments that have specialized problems.

Mr. STEPHENS. There is no question that the entire range of training and technical assistance is an area where the Federal Government can provide leadership. It can provide responsible direction and responsible help to local law enforcement throughout this country.

I represent our organization on the advisory board for State and local training at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center. They do provide a limited number of slots for local law enforcement in very, very specialized areas that most police departments only need one, two or three people with this kind of training and they can't afford to establish a training program.

Those are good areas for the Federal Government to be in.

Mr. HUGHES. I mentioned Quantico. I should have mentioned Glynco, GA, because they do a good job of providing in-house training.

Mr. STEPHENS. That is another area. The National Academy has 1,000 slots essentially each year that are available to State and local law enforcement people. We have about 500,000 police officers throughout the country. There is very, very limited opportunity. Working through the States and through some of the systems that have been established over the years, the Federal Government has a solid role in dealing with the problem of crimes and drugs through that training in the technical assistance area.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you very much, Mr. Stephens. We appreciate your willingness to share your wealth of knowledge and experience with us. We look forward to working with the Research Forum in trying to develop a good bill, one in fact, that will address the myriad of problems that we discussed here today.

Mr. STEPHENS. Thank you. We are certainly willing to work with you.

Mr. HUGHES. Again, I am sorry that it took us so long to reach you, but as has often been said, the last shall be first.

That concludes the hearing for today. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 2:35 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1.—SUBMISSIONS BY HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 14, 1989

The New York Times

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To Fight Crime: A Police Corps

How do cities beset by drug violence and tight budgets field enough police to secure the streets? Too often, they can't. Sometimes drug gangs seize control of whole neighborhoods or housing projects. Even cities that can afford to hire find it hard to attract recruits capable of handling what has become one of the most demanding jobs in America.

That accounts for a swell of interest in Congress for a national police corps — federally financed college scholarships for young people willing to serve four years as city cops. Adam Walinsky, a New York lawyer, has been promoting the idea at the state level for several years but has found legislatures leery of the cost. With rising public anxiety about drugs and crime, Washington is suddenly receptive.

A bill introduced this week by Senators James Sasser, Tennessee Democrat, and Arlen Specter, Pennsylvania Republican, would invite states to set up police corps programs under Federal guidelines. Recruits would receive loans of up to \$10,000 per year to finish their college educations and agree to begin police training in the summer of their junior year. After four years of police service, the Federal Government would pay off the loan.

Localities would have to pay the police corps officers at the same rate as regulars and could not use them to replace those laid off in cutbacks. Yet

the police corps officers still constitute a bargain. Washington would pay for much of their training in new Federal training centers. They would not require pensions; filling a job slot with young people cycling through four-year terms saves huge amounts over the cost of career officers.

More important, the program would greatly expand the pool of quality recruits. Too many cities have learned how relaxing standards leads to discipline and morale problems.

Ultimately, the regular infusion of fresh talent could bring new spirit to the alienated squad room subculture that feeds cynicism and burnout, even protects the brutal or corrupt. And graduates of the program, returned to civilian life, would spread understanding of the police.

The idea enjoys broad support. The conservative Robert Dornan of California and the liberal Barney Frank of Massachusetts are pushing a version of the bill in the House. Police management groups are enthusiastic, and objections of police unions have faded with inclusion of language guaranteeing equivalent salaries.

Lawmakers have long responded to rising violence with calls for harsher punishment — ignoring that a relatively small percentage of the violent are ever apprehended and actually punished. Expanding and improving the police makes much more sense. The police corps offers an excellent way for Washington to help.

M4 SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1989



Los Angeles Times

A Times Mirror Newspaper

Publishers

HARRISON GRAY OTIS, 1882-1917

HARRY CHANDLER, 1917-1944

NORMAN CHANDLER, 1944-1960

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Why Not a Police Corps?

Police departments in big cities are fighting a losing battle against a tide of drugs, violence and other crimes. Putting more cops on the streets is one way to cope. At the very least, the law-abiding citizens would feel safer. But it is precisely the big cities whose budgets are too tight to pay for bigger police forces. In the few cities where the dollars are available, large numbers of well-qualified police recruits are hard to find.

Legislation sponsored by Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) in the Senate and Robert K. Dornan (R-Garden Grove) in the House would create a national Police Corps, patterned after the military's Reserve Officer Training Corps, to encourage college graduates to serve on local police departments. Under the proposal, the federal government would provide college scholarships for men and women who agreed to serve as police officers for four years after graduation.

The Police Corps would recruit a maximum of 25,000 students a year. At full strength, 100,000 would participate at a federal cost of \$500 million. Each of the 50 states would get a share, but no formula has been worked out.

Participants, primarily high school seniors and college undergraduates, would be selected on a competitive basis. The students would take out government-insured loans of up to \$10,000 a year for tuition and other costs. Payment would be

deferred. After the students completed college, the federal government would repay their debt and local governments would pay their salaries.

During college, participants would complete two federal law-enforcement training programs, each lasting eight weeks. After college, they would complete their department's training requirements, for example a demanding session at the Police Academy. Functioning as sworn members of the department, they would earn entry-level pay, but they would not earn pension benefits and thus would cost a city less than other recruits.

The Police Corps, which is based on a concept developed by Adam Walinsky, a New York lawyer who was once Robert F. Kennedy's chief aide, enjoys strong bipartisan support in Congress. Although several national police labor groups and management organizations approve, some big-city officers argue that the program is elitist and will produce officers who have no commitment to public safety. There will be a trade-off—youthful enthusiasm for years of experience—but the local departments can put the energetic new recruits to good use for as long as they stay—and for at least four years.

Recruiting in big cities gets harder and harder. The Police Corps would encourage thousands to join and reward them for their public service. It is well worth a try.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

An Independent Newspaper

EuGene Falk
General Manager and Executive Vice President

Eugene L. Roberts Jr.
Executive Editor and President

David R. Boldt
Editor of the Editorial Page

Wednesday, July 19, 1989

Page 10-A

EDITORIALS

A police corps

The threat to our national security today is in our cities — and here's a possible answer

It is an idea that's been around for at least seven years, but it would seem that its time has come: Create a kind of corps of college-educated law-enforcement officers to supplement the undermanned police departments in the nation's cities.

Sen. Arlen Specter (R., Pa.) has introduced legislation for the second time in four years that would provide federal scholarship funds for people willing to spend four years paroling the nation's cities. The difference this time is that he has help from a growing list of influential interest groups and members of Congress, conservatives as well as liberals.

The program seems especially timely since the nation's new "drug czar" has pledged to produce by September a plan for countering drug-related crime and violence that's sweeping many cities — a plan that will almost certainly require more police officers.

The police corps would work like this: Competitively selected volunteers would be offered up to \$40,000 in federal loans to complete a four-year college education. The loans would be forgiven if the students completed police training in the summers of their junior and senior years and then served as full-paid officers on an urban police force for four years. The police corps proposal would be a sort of hybridization of the Peace Corps and the military's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC).

The program's initial cost would be just \$50 million, but, if the bill's sponsors get their way, the annual price tag would increase to \$1 billion in 1995, and result in an infusion of 100,000 young, college-educated police officers into the cities every year.

The police corps recruits would

be paid regular police salaries for four years, thereby blunting earlier complaints of police unions, but the police corpsmen would still be a bargain since they would not have to be paid pension and certain other benefits. The plan, when fully implemented, could increase national urban police strength by 20 percent, and because nearly all of the additional officers would be assigned to patrol duty they would increase police presence on the streets by an even greater amount.

No one by now should question the need for more police officers in nearly every major city. Adam Walitsky, a New York lawyer who was part of a panel that first suggested the corps idea in 1982, notes that in 1951 cities with a population of at least 50,000 had an average of three police officers for every violent felony. By 1987 this ratio had reversed, and there were three violent felonies for every police officer — and as many as nine violent crimes per officer in some high-crime cities.

Law enforcement experts also have bemoaned the increasing difficulty of attracting better educated police recruits. The director of testing for New York's Civil Service said that a "functional illiterate" could pass the test there. Philadelphia's police commissioner recently scored a breakthrough — by requiring that new recruits have high school diplomas.

The proposed police corps would not only upgrade the level of recruits policing the nation's cities, but it would encourage the kind of volunteerism and community spirit that President Bush is trying to inculcate in America's young. It's a good deal for cities, for police departments, and for Americans — one that should have been grabbed years ago.

from the evening sun

How to Fight Crime

FROM this week's news:

□ A woman is fatally shot on a street in Little Italy, long considered one of the city's lowest crime areas. Citizens demand more police protection.

□ A 27-month-old boy walking with his mother on a West Baltimore street is seriously wounded by a stray bullet meant for a man who had gotten into an argument. "There is no place in this city that is safe to raise a child," a neighbor tells a reporter.

□ Meanwhile, in South America, Colombian drug cartels declare "absolute war" on government efforts to bring them to

By Sara Gram

justice, bombing the offices of two political parties and setting fire to the homes of two politicians. For Americans, these events are a reminder of the terror drugs are bringing to cities and towns across this nation.

It's not paranoia — crime really is more threatening. As unsettling as the violence itself is the fact that citizens have less protection from the police.

Statistics tell a scary story. In 1951, cities with a population over 50,000 had more than three police officers for each violent felony reported that year. Today the ratio is reversed; for every officer, there is an average of three violent felonies.

In Baltimore, the ratio is even worse — five such crimes for every officer on duty. But the problem isn't confined to the city. Even Baltimore County exceeds the national average, with almost four violent felonies for each officer. Clearly, law enforcement efforts have not kept pace with crime.

There's more. Even though police salaries have sharply increased, departments report a drop in the quality of their recruits. In some cities it is said that functional illiterates can meet the recruiting standards. Most cities report that recruits are less disciplined and less motivated than in previous years.

That's not the reassuring news worried citizens want to hear. It does, however, frame the kind of issue that can bring together politicians as different as California's right-wing Congressman Bob Dornan and liberal Massachusetts Rep. Barney Frank, two of the many co-sponsors of legislation that would create a national "Police Corps." The plan is reminiscent of the ROTC program, another innovative effort designed to meet an urgent national need.

By offering significant aid for college education, ROTC has provided the armed forces with a steady supply of educated junior officers. In a similar vein, the Police Corps would attract talented young people into police work, offering scholarship aid in return for two summers of internship, plus four years of full-time police work following graduation.

These young graduates could not be used to replace existing officers; the idea is to use them to increase the size of the force — to make it possible, say, to add more street patrols in Little Italy or West Baltimore or in Essex, Caltonville or Havre de Grace.

Yes, the program would require more money from hard-pressed municipal governments. But the federal — and, advocates hope, state governments too — would provide matching funds. That would give police spending the kind of priority other federally aided programs now have. Local governments are reluctant to cut those programs, since each local dollar cut means an actual loss of \$2, \$3 or \$4 when the matching funds are taken into account. Moreover, with police corps graduates, local governments would be spared the substantial cost of funding pensions for these officers during their four-year terms.

The idea, says Adam Walinsky, the New York lawyer who has been pushing this idea for years, is to give law enforcement the kind of priority in local government budgets that welfare spending or road building programs have enjoyed for years.

The police corps wouldn't be free to cities. But it would make significant numbers of young, high-quality officers available to police departments at less cost. And it may be the best hope we have of giving local governments the resources to meet their basic obligation to citizens — making our streets and homes safe places to live.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1989

The Democrats Should Sign Up For Police Corps

By ALBERT R. HUNT

Congressional Democrats are modestly reshaping President Bush's anti-drug initiative, but are blowing an opportunity to reshape their own image in the process.

Under the prodding of Congress, the drug plan will spend more money, most of it for education and treatment. If that money can be spent wisely, the need is certainly there. But the Democrats have lost an opportunity to toughen the president's package in the area where they are politically weakest: crime.

The Bush administration's policy is long on law enforcement, but short on cops. The president proposes to double federal spending on prisons, increasing capacity by a whopping 55%, and to sharply increase the numbers of prosecutors, marshals and drug agents. But the administration sought only a \$200 million increase in Justice Department grants for state and local law enforcement, which the Senate has increased to \$300 million.

Privately, top administration officials say that more police aren't a top priority. The argument, as articulated by one of the very top policy makers, is that even where there already are mass sweeps of drug-infested areas, there aren't enough prosecutors or jails to handle those arrested.

That misses the point. Drug czar Bill Bennett convincingly asserts that a top priority is to reclaim blighted inner-city neighborhoods so that kids can go to school without ducking bullets and residents can play and work without the constant threat of drug thugs. In the short run, that can be achieved only with more and better officers on the streets.

"The Bush administration has it all backwards," complains Adam Wainisky, a New York lawyer, former antiwar activist, and student of crime and police. "Their argument is like Vietnam. They say what we need to do is . . . go in on sweeps and wipe places out. Instead what we need to do is give people in these communities more of a sense that they're part of the country, and they need more and better police to do that."

Mr. Wainisky and a colleague, Jonathan Rubinstein, a former cop, offer the Democrats an opening on this issue that the party, so far, has failed to capitalize on.

Specifically, the two propose a national police corps aimed at adding as many as 100,000 cops around the country at an annual cost to the federal government of about \$1 billion. All kids entering the police corps would receive four years of guaranteed federal loans for college expenses of up to \$10,000 a year. On a competitive basis, 25,000 young men and women—with special emphasis on minorities—would be selected each year. Between their junior and senior years of college, they would undergo an intensive training program.

Once graduated, they would enter a local police force for a four-year commitment. When that was fulfilled, the government would pay off the college loans. (If they abandon police work, they're responsible for the loans.)

In essence, this idea, which has been around for a while, would be ROTC for cops. There currently are about 468,000 local police officers, so this would increase those levels by more than 20%. More significantly, as the graduates would be placed almost exclusively on foot patrol, and not add to the police bureaucracies, the proposal should increase cops on the front lines by about 40%.

In inner-city neighborhoods, the chief problem isn't drugs; it's crime, a condition worsened considerably by drugs. In city after city, the ratio of police officers to violent crimes—homicides, robberies, rapes, serious assaults—has dramatically plunged over the years, from 3 or 4 to 1 in favor of the police to 3 or 4 to 1 in favor of the criminals. In 1961, there were 1,229 police officers in Buffalo, N.Y., and 361 violent crimes there; by last year, the Buffalo police force had shrunk to 970 officers, while violent crimes soared to 3,555.

There are objections to the Wainisky-Rubinstein proposal. The administration claims that in a time of scarce resources, the \$1 billion could be better spent on other anti-drug or anti-crime measures. And in a recent column on this page, criminology professor Lawrence Sherman argued against this scheme, reasoning that police work is too complex for inexperienced men and women, as younger cops sometimes are too aggressive.

Sure, some younger cops may be more aggressive; that's exactly what's necessary in crime-ridden areas. But it's a good bet that police corps college graduates would not only be more aggressive, but also more sensitive to community relations and less prone to corruption.

Indeed, there's compelling circumstantial evidence that more, and more sensitive, cops significantly change the drug and related crime problem in inner-city neighborhoods. In those few places where the drug threat has been driven out, such as the Winzer Park neighborhood in Houston, almost invariably the major factor is better police-community relations.

If crime were cut by only a small fraction, the return on that \$1 billion investment each year would be enormous. No doubt, there are root causes that have to be addressed, but it's clear that the vicious cycle facing the underclass starts with crime. "Victimization causes and perpetuates the other ills of our underclass neighborhoods," criminologist John DiIulio argues in a recent essay in *The Public Interest*. And Isaac Fulwood Jr., the new police chief in Washington, D.C., notes that if government can't assure people that it's safe to go about their lives, then "the rest is hopeless."

Congressional Democrats ought to think back only a year ago to the famous Willie Horton attacks on Michael Dukakis. In part they may have worked because of racist appeals, and in part they may have worked because Gov. Dukakis was a stiff candidate. But they also worked because many middle-class Americans really have less confidence in the Democrats on values questions, such as crime and cops. Here's a chance for Democrats to counter that image and do some good in the process.

Mr. Hunt is the Journal's Washington bureau chief.

The Boston Globe

Founded 1872

A home-front Police Corps

Crime and gang violence are steadily rising, but the strength of the police in America is on the decline.

Despite increased salaries and benefits, only one-ninth of the police power of 35 years ago is being devoted to violent crime. Law enforcement is not drawing the recruits it once did.

What can be done to attract recruits who are qualified and motivated to combat what has become known as a losing war on crime?

One idea that has been kicking around since 1982 and has finally seen the light of Congress is the Police Corps. A national, federally financed program, the Police Corps would add up to 25,000 officers a year across the country.

Modeled after government loan programs such as the Peace Corps and ROTC, the Police Corps would provide recruits — college students — with loans of up to \$10,000 a year in

return for promises to serve four years on a city or state police force after graduation. Recruits also would train during the summer after their junior year and after graduation.

Upon completion of the requirements, the federal government would repay the loans of the recruits. Once a recruit is employed by a police force, his salary would be paid by that force.

The program, which has received bipartisan support as well as backing from police organizations and unions, would be a sound investment. According to Rep. Robert Dornan (R-Calif.), a sponsor of the Police Corps bill, preventive maintenance is the key. "We all put off tuning our car, and then something blows. With violent crime, it is not just blowing a cylinder in a car: it's dead people lying in the street."

With more dead people expected in this losing battle against crime, the Police Corps is one step toward victory.

FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989

NEW YORK POST*Founded by Alexander Hamilton in 1803*

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For safer streets: a Police Corps

When it comes to cops, more is better. But in these days of fiscal austerity, more cops are hardly likely.

Or maybe they are.

Legislation was introduced in Washington last week designed to put upwards of 100,000 new cops on the streets of America — at substantially reduced cost to the communities they would serve.

The scheme is the brainchild of Manhattan lawyer Adam Walinsky, a one-time aide to the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. The program would underwrite federal college loans to students who agree to work after graduation as cops in states that join the program.

Students would be eligible for loans of upwards of \$10,000 a year. After four years of police work, the loans would be forgiven.

Police training would begin during the summer of a student's junior year, with Washington picking up most of the tab.

All this will cost the feds about \$1.2 billion a year — a substantial sum, to be sure, but affordable given the circumstances.

Once on the job, the new cops would be paid at prevailing rates. They could not be used to fill holes created by layoffs or other cutbacks.

Deploying Police Corps officers would cost cities money, but not nearly as much as adding a comparable number of regulars. That's because communities would not have to underwrite pensions and certain other benefits — which can add up to as much as 40 percent of salary.

The economics of the program — from a city's perspective, at least — make good sense.

Walinsky, meanwhile, cites a startling non-economic statistic on behalf of the program.

In 1981, he says, there were 3.2 cops on the job for every reported violent felony in American cities with populations above 50,000.

This year, there will be three felonies for every cop.

There's a war out there, in other words, and establishing a Police Corps would be a good way to help fight it.

These would be college-educated, soundly motivated cops, moreover. All in all, it's hard to conceive of reasons to oppose the plan.

That's undoubtedly why it enjoys a rare measure of bipartisan support in Congress — from the ultra-liberal Barney Frank (D-Mass.) to right-wing champion Robert Dornan (R-Calif.), backers of the plan hail from every point on the political spectrum.

In addition, local police unions across the land favor the Police Corps program. So now the trick will be to get it by congressional budget-cutters. And, of course, to make sure New York state (and city) take advantage of the opportunity if the bill is actually passed.

We hope Gov. Cuomo, Phil Caruso of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association and other relevant parties take a hard look at the program — and view it as a solid investment in safer streets.

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

Monday, July 24, 1969

DAILY NEWS

200 E. 40th St. New York, N.Y. 10017

JAMES BOGE, Publisher and President
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Fighting crime with the Police Corps

Americans are demanding that government do something about crime. Like other elected officials, members of Congress feel the pressure to act. That's why they're giving overdue attention to a smart idea—the Police Corps.

The program is similar to college ROTC. Young men and women would receive federal scholarships for four years. After graduation, they would enter a police department for training and four years of service. That should do for law enforcement what ROTC does for the armed services: Add numbers and quality at an affordable cost.

Affordability: Police Corps cops will work for standard pay in their departments—a point police unions insist on—but they won't draw pensions and seniority raises. So the departments will get full-time, fully qualified officers at about two-thirds the cost of career cops—an enormous saving.

Quality: Police professionals agree that college training makes for better cops. But departments are having a hard time recruiting people with advanced education. The Police Corps will put thousands of college grads in blue uniforms. And—key point—they'll be young and energetic. A survey of police chiefs found that young officers make 30% of all arrests, far more than older officers.

Numbers: The Police Corps is a way for beleaguered cities, with federal backing, to expand their police forces without busting their budgets. And expansion is essential because crime is outstripping the cops. In 1951 in America's medium and big cities, there were three officers for every reported violent felony. Today, the ratio is reversed—one cop per three violent felonies. And that's just the average. In New York City, it's 5.4 felonies per cop. In Los Angeles, 8. Oakland, 10.7.

The Police Corps isn't a magic bullet. But it is a long step toward beefing up police muscle. And if properly run at the entry level, it can put more minorities on police forces.

Legislation to launch the Police Corps has been introduced in Congress with heavy-eight sponsorship from both conservatives and liberals. National police groups that were once skeptical or even hostile now back the program. That should increase chances for approval. But the best chance rests on a simple fact: The Police Corps is an idea whose time has come.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

WEDNESDAY, JULY 26, 1989

Mobilizing a Police Corps

This may well be the year that will finally see the creation of a Police Corps to provide local police departments with a pool of college-trained officers.

The bill authored by Sen. Arlen Specter has going for it several elements that previous measures that would have set up an ROTC-like program for police did not.

A key advantage is a diversity of co-sponsors in the House as well as the Senate to ensure the bipartisan support necessary to not only sell the concept in the Congress but provide the necessary financing, perhaps as much as \$500 million a year.

The Pennsylvania Republican's legislation also has the support of a number of major police organizations, groups traditionally opposed to such an approach, because they saw Police Corporamen undercutting their pay scales. As now worded, Sen. Specter's bill would require that they be paid the same salaries as officers not hired through the

program. It also makes active police officers eligible to participate.

The bill also promises to attract more qualified minority candidates to police work by requiring states administering such programs to give special emphasis to minorities in recruiting and promotion efforts.

Under the program, applicants would have up to \$40,000 of their college costs paid in exchange for agreeing to serve four years as police officers on graduation. They would also be required to undergo 16 weeks of training as law-enforcement officers each summer.

It is a costly program but offers a much-needed means of upgrading the level of professionalism of police departments across the country by providing a supply of up to 100,000 college graduates who have also received intensive public-safety training. As we observed before in an earlier editorial, it is an imaginative approach. It deserves Congress' support.

Star Tribune

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26A

Sunday/October 1/1989

The eggheads in blue

In the war on drugs, the policeman is a foot soldier. But many cities are increasingly unable to field enough troops. Cops don't come cheap. And police departments must compete for the best and brightest with other professions, many of them less dangerous and more prestigious. Enter a simple idea: Create a national police corps, modeled after the military's ROTC, which would pay for college in return for a few years of police duty. By getting more and better-educated cops on the streets quickly, the proposal meshes well with other crime-busting legislation now before Congress.

The police corps is the brainchild of New York lawyer Adam Walinsky, a longtime activist who worked with U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Walinsky proposes that the federal government pay off the college loans of young people who, upon graduation, work four years as police officers. The federal government would pay for the college and some police training; local governments would pay salaries during active duty, but would save on pensions and other costs. Fully implemented by the mid 1990s, the program would involve about 140,000 students in school and put 100,000 more cops on the beat, at an annual cost of some \$1.4 billion.

The proposal has bipartisan support in Congress, where it is a candidate for inclusion in the Senate

Judiciary Committee's omnibus crime package. It also has support from a wide variety of law-enforcement organizations and police departments, which welcome help with their recruitment problems. Opponents, including some law-enforcement officials from Minnesota, worry that the federal training would duplicate or preempt state programs, or that the college cops would take jobs and promotions away from regular officers. But states could add to the federal training if they chose. And the bill's authors have made concessions to ensure that the college recruits would supplement, not supplant, regular officers.

People from crime scholars to city council candidates say that more cops are needed to patrol the streets of crime-prone neighborhoods, and that more of them must be women and minorities to improve police relations with inner-city communities. But recruiting minorities has proven especially difficult. The police corps could quickly expand the size, caliber and demographic mix of the police recruit pool, build a working bridge between police and the citizens they protect and provide a way for young people to perform civic duty in return for educational benefits.

While it isn't a grand solution to the drug wars, the corps would help shore up the good guys on the front lines.

JUL-27-89 FRI 10:44 WCBS/FM

P. 62





This is one of a continuing series of WCBS/FM editorials expressing the opinion of station management on topics of wide interest to the community. Responsible representatives of opposing viewpoints are given the opportunity to reply on the air. If you missed the broadcast of this editorial, we hope you will read it. Your comments are always welcome.

Rod Calarco, Vice President, CBS Radio Division
General Manager, WCBS/FM

"A POLICE CORPS"

89-14

AN OLD ISSUE NEEDS SOME NEW THOUGHT.

I'M ROD CALARCO, GENERAL MANAGER OF CBS/FM.

A POLICE OFFICER ON EVERY STREET CORNER WOULD BE A NICE IDEA, BUT WILL IT HAPPEN? ADDING ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND NEW OFFICERS TO THE BEAT NATIONWIDE IS A NICE IDEA, AND IT CAN HAPPEN.

THE IDEA OF A POLICE CORPS, KICKED AROUND FOR YEARS, IS NOW RECEIVING THE ATTENTION IT DESERVES. SIMILAR TO THE ROTC PROGRAM, YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WOULD BE GRANTED COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIPS. IN RETURN FOR GRADUATION, THEY WOULD ENTER POLICE FORCES FOR TRAINING AND FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE. REGULAR SALARIES WOULD BE PAID BUT THE CITIES WOULD NOT HAVE TO FOOT THE BILL FOR PENSIONS AND CERTAIN OTHER BENEFITS. THAT WOULD PUT COLLEGE EDUCATED COPS ON THE JOB AT A MORE AFFORDABLE COST.

POLICE CORPS LEGISLATION IS PENDING IN CONGRESS. LET YOUR REPRESENTATIVE KNOW THAT OUR COMMUNITIES AND OUR POLICE NEED THE EXTRA TROOPS IN THE OVERWHELMING FIGHT AGAINST CRIME.

THAT'S OUR EDITORIAL OPINION. IF YOU DISAGREE, WRITE CBS/FM.

AIRD 7/27/89

12MID, 9AM



DEWEY R. STOKES
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CHARLES R. ORMS
NATIONAL SECRETARY

July 12, 1989

Honorable Arlen Specter
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Specter:

The Fraternal Order of Police, the nation's largest law enforcement organization representing 198,000 professional police officers, hereby endorses your efforts in conjunction with the introduction of the proposed "National Police Corps" legislation.

This particular measure, as introduced, will greatly enhance the law enforcement community and the police profession by allowing young Americans to further their educational needs while focusing their future toward a career in public service. This bill will help guarantee the continued availability of qualified individuals for police work in communities throughout the United States.

The FOP applauds the work that you and your staff have put forth to create this critically needed piece of legislation. Please be assured that FOP stands ready to assist you in the legislative process in any manner you deem necessary.

With kind personal regards, I remain

Fraternally,

Dewey R. Stokes
National President

DRS/SHB/gag



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GUIDO CALABRESI
 DEAN

June 30, 1989

Adam Walinsky, Esq.
 Kronish, Lieb, Weiner & Hellman
 1345 Avenue of the Americas
 New York, New York 10105

The proposal that Congress establish a "Police Corps" based on an ROTC model is, I believe, one of the most important pieces of legislation in many years. The Police Corps as described in the proposal takes seriously the problem of crime and of mobilizing our youths to fight it in an effective way. It is good for the young people who will receive an education and use that education to fight crime. It is good for the society which will benefit from the idealism of well trained young men and women. It is good for education in this country because it will enable people who otherwise might have difficulty attending college to do so and then pay back, through public service, the society that helped them. Finally, it will create a group of people who, having had the experience of service in the Police Corps, will, in whatever they do afterwards, bring an extraordinarily valuable experience which will help all of us. As a law school dean, I especially look forward to what those who will go on in law after their service in the Corps will contribute, both in school, and to the profession. I would make special efforts to attract to the Yale Law School qualified applicants who had served in the Police Corps, and would give them special consideration for admission.

FAX sent 07/05/89.
 Letter will follow.

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 POLICE, PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AND
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 CHAIRMAN CHAIR
 & STATE SENATOR

October 17, 1989

Mr. Adam Walinsky, Esq.
 Kronish, Lieb, Weiner & Hellman
 1345 Avenue of the Americas
 New York, N.Y. 10105

Dear Adam:

The Police Corps is the most constructive law enforcement proposal I've ever seen from the Federal government. Whatever else we do to deal with crime -- and much needs to be done -- we cannot begin to confront the problem of violent crime unless we have more police on patrol, to be there before the crime takes place. The Police Corps will give us the police we need. I know of no other program with any chance of enactment that would give us both more and better-educated young officers. I support the Police Corps.

Sincerely,

ED DAVIS

APPENDIX 2.—EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF "THE POLICE CORPS: A PLAN FOR AUGMENTING LAW ENFORCEMENT RESOURCES," FROM THE REPORT BY JONATHAN RUBINSTEIN, PROJECT DIRECTOR, AUGUST 1986

THE POLICE CORPS:

A PLAN FOR AUGMENTING LAW ENFORCEMENT RESOURCES

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From the report by

Jonathan Rubinstein

Project Director

Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy, Inc.

Daniel Ford, Editor

August 1986

The original project was supported by Grant Number 83-NI-AX-0006, awarded to the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy, Inc., by the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, under the Justice System Improvement Act of 1979. The preparation of this Executive Summary was supported by Purchase Order No. OJARS-85-M-090, awarded to Daniel Ford by the National Institute of Justice.

Acknowledgements

The project director gratefully acknowledges the counsel and assistance of those who helped give birth to the Police Corps concept: Adam Walinsky, Neil Welch, and Lawrence Kurlander; those who worked on the feasibility study: Ellen Spilka, Jeff Levin, Donald Ross, Blair Levin, Peter Keisler, Michael Hepworth, Sue Leventhal, John-Peter Lund, and Simon Wynn; officials of the National Institute of Justice: Joseph Kochanski, Robert Burkhart, and James Stewart; and members of the NIJ Advisory Board for the Police Corps feasibility study: Michael Block, Gerald Caplan, James Damos, Patrick Fitzsimons, Gary Hayes, William Scott, Harold Tyler, and Hubert Williams.

On the national level: legislators Les Aspin, Tony Coelho, Barney Frank, Edward Kennedy, and Charles Rangel; educators George Bergen, William Byron, Alan Dershowitz, Jan Deutsch, Bartlett Giamatti, Martin Goldberg, Burke Marshall, Bruce McBride, Merlyn Moore, Ted Orlin, Norman Redlich, Albert Shanker, Michael Sovern, and Lawrence Tribe; and other interested individuals including Anthony Bouza, Larry Durocher, Nick Klberg, and Sargent Shriver.

In California: Willie Brown, Ed Davis, Tom Hayden, Robert Presley, Tom McEnery, Ray Davis, Joseph McNamara, Gary Tatum, Karsten Vieg, and Pearl West.

In Florida: Bob Graham, Robert Dempsey, Daryl McLaughlin, and Rob Quartel.

In Massachusetts: Michael Dukakis, John Kerry, Geno Ballotti and the Permanent Charity Fund of Boston, Anne-Marie Burley, Florrie Darwin, Jack Fowler and the Center for Survey Research, the University of Massachusetts, and Kathleen Townsend.

In New Jersey: Thomas Kean, Irwin Kimmelman, Gary Stein, Mario Ferrari, Frank Ginesi, Hubert Williams, Anthony Cicatiello, Bill Palatucci, and Marnita Robertson.

In New York: Juanita Crabb, Donald Manes, Robert Morgenthau, Andrew Stein, Gordon Black, Gaylor Bourne, Donald Chesworth, Michael Claffey, David Conley, Paul Conley, Richard Condon, Trevor Garel, Tom Hastings, John Keenan, Amy Linden, Bruce Llewelyn, Richard Ravitch, Hamilton Robinson, Jesse Schaffer, Morris Sherer, Susan Stamler, Joseph Sullivan, Nealson-Andrews Associates, Grass Roots Press, and Todd's Copies.

In Pennsylvania: LeRoy Zimmerman, Bob Keuch, Marian McIntyre, Jim Walters, and the Citizens Crime Commission.

In Texas: James Adams.

Abstract

The Police Corps would provide financial aid to qualified college students in return for an obligatory term of service following graduation, on the model of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC). To explore the feasibility of this concept, the researchers conducted a research review, surveyed students in Massachusetts and police departments in seven states, and examined the financial and legislative ramifications.

A significant number of students found the Police Corps an attractive proposal. There was little difference in the interest levels of males and females; blacks may have been slightly more interested than whites; and students oriented toward criminal justice careers were distinctly interested in the program. The optimal program would provide a college stipend of \$6,000-\$7,000 a year, a paid summer training program, three years' service as a patrol officer at \$15,000-\$16,000 a year, and job preference for entry into the police department after the mandatory term of service. Participation of women and blacks would be increased by a higher level of college support and the opportunity for a desk assignment.

The overwhelming majority of police administrators said they needed additional officers, that the lack of officers affected their ability to control crime, that they would accept Police Corps officers in their departments, and that the volunteers would be used in innovative ways. However, few large departments in New York and Massachusetts cooperated with the survey, and there were a number of chiefs firmly opposed to the Police Corps concept.

The researchers conclude that the Police Corps could be a cost-effective method for augmenting police forces. Questions remain, however, about the dedication of the volunteers, high turnover, union opposition, and the effect on departmental morale. The researchers recommend that pilot projects be established in several urban and suburban communities. These projects, they suggest, could be funded by state governments with Federal training assistance.

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1 - INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

Since 1978, the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy has studied organized crime and its impact on the law enforcement system. These projects led to a broader study of how to expand and improve U.S. police forces. In 1982, the Center offered a tentative proposal for augmenting police forces in a report authored by six criminal justice experts and entitled "The New Police Corps."

The Police Corps is roughly modeled on the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), which has long provided officers for the armed forces. As visualized by the authors of this study, a state agency would award qualified high school graduates a full four-year college scholarship in exchange for their serving two full summers for training and three years as sworn officers in a local police department. Police Corps volunteers would receive a lesser rate of pay and benefits from that of career officers in the same department, to reflect the college scholarship benefits already received. Moreover, the authors anticipated that Police Corps volunteers would receive no pension benefits during their term of service, since they would be serving in the police as a benefit to themselves and their communities, and not (at least as yet) as career officers.

It should be noted that the Police Corps is only one possible model for augmenting police forces. New York City has a cadet program in which students may enroll after passing the relevant physical and mental exams; the cadets receive scholarships for their third and fourth years at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, attend the Police Academy during the summer, and perform 500 hours of public-safety work each year. The NYPD program, however, would be transferable only to a few very large police departments. The Police Corps is envisioned as a means of providing volunteers for both large and small departments.

The Police Corps proposal stimulated a great deal of interest and criticism. To answer some of the questions raised by the proposal, the Center in 1983 submitted an application to the National Institute of Justice to examine its feasibility. The application was approved, an advisory board selected, and research instruments designed. The grant specifications called for a survey of police departments in California, Florida, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Questionnaires were also prepared for the education departments and budget departments of the seven states. A data analysis firm was employed to draft a telephone survey to determine the attitude of college students; after refinement, the survey was conducted in the spring of 1984 in Massachusetts with funding assistance by the Permanent Charity Fund of Boston and the

University of Massachusetts.

An extensive literature search was conducted by the staff of the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy, and an effort was made to meet with law enforcement officials and public policy specialists.

Crime and the police

Levels of crime unthinkable a generation ago have become part of our way of life, and there is a growing sense that our police system is being overwhelmed by the task it confronts. As a society, we have asked our police to do more, while at the same time giving them fewer resources to do the job. In 1948, there were 3.32 police officers for every violent crime reported in an American city; by 1978, the ratio had fallen to 0.5 officer for each reported violent crime. Nor has the declining ratio reflected merely the increase in crime. In many cities, the number of police officers has declined in absolute terms. Boston, for example, had 2,800 officers in 1950 and about 1,800 in 1982. Detroit lost 20 percent of its police force from 1970 to 1982, and Pittsburgh lost 25 percent over the same period.

These fewer officers, as a result of unionization and the general betterment of working conditions nationwide, work fewer hours than their predecessors -- 8 to 10 hours less per week than police officers of a generation ago.

At the same time, police departments have been forced to confront increased demands by a public that has come to expect a diversity of services from its police. Calls-for-service (aided by the general institution of "911" or other emergency numbers) consume a greater and greater portion of each officer's day.

Yet another deployment factor to be considered is the aging of U.S. police forces. When required to cut back on manpower, the typical response is to recruit fewer new officers and to let the retirement process trim the ranks. Thus the average age of a Buffalo police officer is 42 years, while the average in Boston is over 44 years. In New York, fully 75 percent of the police force is either eligible for retirement or will become eligible within five years.

One response to an increasing workload and a reduced workforce has been to rely more heavily on technological advances in communications and on specialized forms of patrol. Another has been the use of unpaid civilians working as "auxiliary" or "reserve" officers; civilians are also increasingly used in clerical tasks.

Review of social science research

In the early 1970s, the Kansas City Police Department conducted a "Preventive Patrol Experiment" designed to measure the impact of routine patrol on crime and the fear of crime. The researchers' conclusions were surprising and controversial: that it did not seem to matter whether patrol was carried on at traditional levels, was intensified, or was abolished

except to respond to calls-for-service. However, we cannot conclude from the Kansas City study that a greater police presence has no effect on crime or fear. The project tested only traditional preventive patrol in vehicles, and it may not actually have tested the effect of increases or decreases in patrol resources. Furthermore, other studies have found that increasing certain types of police activity -- foot patrol, for example -- can have a significant impact on certain types of crime. Finally, an increased police presence can lead to an increase in reported crime even though crime is being more effectively controlled.

Thus the Kansas City experiment is of relatively minor importance in evaluating the Police Corps concept. What it does demonstrate is that how police increases are used is as least as important as the increase itself.

James Q. Wilson and Barbara Boland studied the relationship between patrol units on the street, the aggressiveness of police behavior, and robbery rates in 35 large U.S. cities in 1975. They found that the robbery rate was strongly and negatively correlated with the arrest rate for robbery; the arrest rate, in turn, was affected both by the number of patrol units and by the frequency with which they interacted with the community.

In 1974 and 1975, the Nashville Police Department tested saturation patrol in high-crime areas. The researchers found that crime rates declined as a consequence of saturation night patrol, but not as a result of daytime patrol, and that crime rates increased when the saturation patrols were discontinued.

Between 1963 and 1964, the number of reported felonies in the New York City subway system increased sharply, and the city ordered a 150 percent increase in subway patrol from 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. When researchers analyzed the results over an eight-year period, they found that reported crime during those hours dropped dramatically, and that the crime rate for daylight hours also showed a short-term drop. The study suggested that the deterrent effect was costly (\$35,000 for each deterred felony) and that there may have been a displacement of crime from the subway system to the bus system.

In 1965 four British cities experimented with varying the number of police officers walking foot patrols. Reported crime decreased when foot patrol went from zero to one officer, but adding a second officer did not lead to any further decrease. Unfortunately, the beats were small and the implications therefore unclear.

In 1954 a four-month experiment in doubling police patrol, and especially foot patrol, was carried out in Manhattan's 25th precinct. The number of reported crimes declined dramatically. A similar experiment was carried out in the 20th precinct in 1966, when increased patrol was accompanied by a decline in street robbery, auto theft, and grand larcenies visible from the street, but not in burglary or assault. Here again, the implications are unclear because the time periods were short and no attempt was made to measure displacement or unreported crime.

Several other studies of the relationship between police manpower and the crime rate are discussed in the full report but appear to have little

relevance for the Police Corps concept.

What can be concluded from research in this area is that there are ways in which increases in police patrol can be wasted. The kind of routine daytime car patrol tested in Kansas City may be one of these. But the research literature indicates that other ways of using police -- foot patrol, slow patrol at night, "aggressive" patrol, patrol in business districts, and patrol in subways or enclosed areas -- can be productive. Nearly every police chief in the country could describe productive ways of using additional police officers, ways consistent with the limited conclusions that can be drawn from social science research.

2 - THE STUDENT SURVEY

The Police Corps proposal attempts to address two societal problems: how students are to fund the costs of higher education, and how police departments are to increase the number of patrol officers. To explore student perceptions of the Police Corps, we surveyed college students in Massachusetts about their response to the program in general and to alternative ways in which it might be structured. Massachusetts was chosen for the survey because Commonwealth officials were considering such a program.

We drew the student sample from sophomores and juniors attending the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of Massachusetts at Boston, Salem State College, and Boston University. These four institutions represent a range of college options and costs. UMass/Boston and Salem State are public universities with relatively low tuition rates and no dormitory facilities. For students commuting from home, these institutions provide the most economical college option. UMass/Amherst is also a public institution, but one in which most students rent rooms on campus or in the community, with correspondingly high living costs. BU is a private university, with high tuition levels and a diversity of accommodations.

We chose sophomores and juniors chosen for the sample because they have had experience with the problem of meeting college costs and must look forward to another year or two of meeting those costs.

At UMass/Boston, we obtained a complete list of sophomores and juniors, identifying the racial background of some students and the academic field of specialization for those who had selected a major. From this list we draw a sample that included all students majoring in criminal justice, all black males, and two-thirds of the black females. Otherwise, we chose males at twice the rate of females. We anticipated that men would be more interested than women in the Police Corps, and we were therefore concerned with identifying factors affecting their responses to the program.

At Salem State and UMass/Amherst, a list of sophomores and juniors was provided, ordered by class and gender. A systematic sample was drawn from that list, again selecting males at twice the rate of females.

Boston University officials declined to provide names without student permission. They contacted students who had volunteered to serve as escorts in a campus security program, plus sophomores and juniors chosen haphazardly, until they had a sufficient number of students willing to let their names be passed on to us. It is impossible to know how the resulting sample would compare to a properly drawn sample at BU.

Interviewing was done by telephone during a three-week period in the spring of 1984. At least eight calls were made to hard-to-reach students,

and about 85 percent of all sampled students were eventually interviewed. For analysis, we divided the student responses into six categories:

- UMass/Amherst students.
- Salem State students.
- Boston University students.
- A UMass/Boston general sample, consisting of students not identified as black.
- UMass/Boston students identified as black.
- A sample of students thought likely to be interested in criminal justice careers, including UMass/Boston students majoring in criminal justice and BU students who had volunteered as escorts in a campus security program.

Sample characteristics

• Age. Most of the samples fit the traditional age profile of college students. At UMass/Boston, however, 43 percent of the general sample and 51 percent of the black sample were 25 or older. Of the criminal justice sample, 19 percent fell into this older age group.

• Marital status. Few of the students were married. At UMass/Boston, however, 12 percent of the general sample and 20 percent of the black sample were married. Of the criminal justice sample, 19 percent were married.

• Housing arrangements. About a third of the students lived with their parents, with a low of 9 percent at UMass/Amherst and a high of 55 percent at Salem State. UMass/Boston had a large proportion of students living on their own, including 54 percent of the general sample and 66 percent of the black sample.

• Race. Less than 5 percent of surveyed students would have been black if we had not over-sampled UMass/Boston blacks. The proportion of blacks was especially low at UMass/Amherst (1 percent of the sample), at Salem State (2 percent), and at BU (4 percent). Among students of "other" races -- Asian, Hispanic, and Indian -- a high proportion consisted of Asians.

• Educational background. At UMass/Amherst and BU, more than half the sampled students said that their fathers had graduated from college, compared to less than one-third at Salem State and in the general sample at UMass/Boston. College-graduate fathers were least likely among UMass/Boston blacks (21 percent) and among students thought likely to be interested in criminal justice careers (20 percent).

• Residence. About three-quarters of the UMass/Boston blacks lived in the city of Boston, and most of the remainder lived in Greater Boston (i.e., outside the central city but in neighboring cities or towns). At UMass/Amherst, a majority of students lived elsewhere in Massachusetts.

For all other categories, the most likely place of residence was Greater Boston . Of the criminal justice sample, only 8 percent said they lived in the central city, while fully 30 percent came from outside the state. With this exception, virtually all the students considered Massachusetts home.

Perceptions of police work

Several questions were asked to determine student perceptions of police work. (See Table 1 overleaf.) When asked to rate their feelings about police officers on a scale of 1 to 10, students tended to choose numbers toward the upper end of the scale, indicating a favorable view of the police. The exception was the sample of blacks at UMass/Boston, who were distinctly more negative in their perceptions of police officers. The most favorable perceptions of police officers were found at UMass/Amherst and among students thought likely to be interested in criminal justice careers.

Despite their relatively negative feelings toward police officers, the black students proved fairly receptive to working as a police officer, as shown by their answers to the second question in the table. Black students also tended to be among the more positive in evaluating police work as a career, as compared to the average job for college graduates.

An interesting anomaly was apparent in the responses of criminal justice students. Consistent with their academic or extracurricular interests, they were much more likely than other students to be interested in police careers. Yet they were more negative than other students when asked to assess police work as a career for college graduates.

When asked to rate police service as a career for women, many students -- from 39 to 50 percent of each sample -- responded that police departments were a below-average place for women to work. When asked the same question with respect to minority group members, the students felt much more positively about police departments as a place to work. The exception was a significant one: black students at UMass/Boston. Consistent with their generally negative perceptions of police officers, and in contrast to their receptivity toward police careers, they rated police departments as a below-average place for minority group members to work.

College costs

A factor thought likely to affect interest in the Police Corps was the extent to which students experienced financial need. At Boston University, fully 70 percent of the surveyed students said that their annual college and living costs exceeded \$12,000. At UMass/Amherst, the largest concentration (44 percent) experienced costs in the range of \$4,000-\$5,999. At Salem State an identical percentage said they spent less than \$4,000 per year. The pattern at UMass/Boston was less clear, and especially so for the sample of black students. Of the latter group, 25 percent said that they spent less than \$4,000 a year, and 24 percent said that they spent over \$12,000 a year. The divergence no doubt reflects a difference in living arrangements between younger students living at home and older (perhaps married) students living on their own.

1 - STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

	UMASS AMHERST	SALEM STATE	BOSTON UNIV.	-UMASS/BOSTON- GENERAL BLACK	CRIMINAL JUSTICE	
<u>Feeling about police on a scale of 1-10</u>						
8 or higher	50%	35%	32%	41%	34%	54%
6 or 7	44%	59%	35%	42%	37%	38%
5 or under	13%	13%	9%	15%	28%	11%
<u>Interest in police career</u>						
Definitely	--	5%	--	4%	5%	27%
Possibly	15%	26%	3%	14%	22%	30%
Probably not	85%	69%	97%	82%	73%	33%
<u>Police work as career for college graduates</u>						
Better than average	7%	16%	5%	19%	23%	11%
Average	66%	59%	61%	57%	57%	54%
Below average	27%	25%	34%	22%	20%	35%
<u>Police departments as place for women to work</u>						
Better than average	10%	16%	5%	19%	23%	11%
Average	40%	48%	56%	49%	39%	43%
Below average	50%	42%	39%	40%	46%	49%
<u>Police departments as place for minorities to work</u>						
Better than average	19%	16%	18%	27%	14%	13%
Average	63%	56%	56%	53%	40%	68%
Below average	18%	28%	26%	20%	46%	19%
N	69	96	79	72	65	37

About half the surveyed students at Boston University and UMass/Amherst had taken out student loans, while less than a third of UMass/Boston and Salem State students had done so. The black student sample had borrowed money at about the same rate as the general sample of UMass/Boston students.

The same trend was apparent with respect to financial aid from parents. More than 40 percent of the BU and UMass/Amherst students reported that their families paid more than half their college costs, as compared to 16 percent of the Salem State students, 14 percent of the UMass/Boston general sample, and 8 percent of the black student sample. Fully 83 percent of the black students at UMass/Boston reported receiving no financial aid from home.

With respect to working during school, the pattern was reversed. More than 80 percent of UMass/Boston and Salem State students said they worked, as compared to about two-thirds of the Boston University students and half of those at UMass/Amherst.

Of the students thought likely to be interested in criminal justice careers, roughly half said they held student loans, 95 percent said they worked during the school year, and half said they received no aid from their parents.

Student interest in the Police Corps

Setting up a hypothetical program in which a student would receive up to \$8,000 per year toward college and living expenses in return for three years of paid police service after graduation, we asked the respondents if they would consider enrolling in the Police Corps. The results are shown in Table 2. Typically, 8-9 percent of the students at the four universities thought they would be "very likely" to do so, with a high of 12 percent at Salem State. The response was even more favorable among the two specialized samples. Thus, 16 percent of the students thought likely to be interested in criminal justice careers, and 22 percent of UMass/Boston blacks, thought they would be "very likely" to be interested in the Police

2 - LIKELY INTEREST IN POLICE CORPS

(Up to \$8,000/year for college in return for three years' service)

	UMASS AMHERST	SALEM STATE	BOSTON UNIV.	-UMASS/BOSTON- GENERAL BLACK	CRIMINAL JUSTICE	
Very likely	9%	12%	8%	8%	22%	16%
Fairly likely	30%	34%	16%	29%	23%	51%
Not likely	61%	44%	76%	63%	55%	32%

Corps. As might be expected, there was a strong correlation between interest in the Police Corps and interest in a career as a police officer.

* Perceptions of the program. We probed students' perceptions of life in the Police Corps by asking them to rate the program on a scale of 1 to 10 with respect to its potential as an interesting experience, a way to serve society, a learning experience, and a dangerous experience. The students were least likely (average rating 4.5) to regard the Police Corps as intrinsically interesting. They rated it higher as a way to serve society (6.7) and as a learning experience (7.5). The students also rated the Police Corps fairly high in its potential for personal injury (6.5).

When the analysis was limited to students who expressed an interest in enrolling in the Police Corps, a very different pattern became apparent. These respondents rated the program most highly for its potential as an interesting experience. They were less likely than other students to rate it highly as a chance to serve society and as a learning experience, and they were distinctly less likely to think it posed a risk of personal injury.

Similarly, there was a strong correlation between the students' interest in the Police Corps and their estimation of how parents, relatives, and friends would react to their participation in the program.

* Financial factors. There was no direct relationship between the cost of attending college and the level of student interest in the Police Corps. (The highest rate of interest was reported by those who said their annual costs were between \$6,000 and \$8,000, a middle range.) However, there was a direct and predictable relationship with the other financial factors. As a rule, the more hours a student worked while attending school, the more likely he or she was to be interested in the program. Conversely, the more support the student received from his or her parents, the less likely that student was to be interested in the Police Corps.

* Background factors. When responses were broken down by sex, males were somewhat more likely than females to be interested in the Police Corps. (See Table 3.) The difference was not great, with only three percentage points separating males and females who said they were "very likely" to be interested in the program. Perhaps more interesting was the breakdown with respect to age and race. Students aged 25 or older were distinctly more likely to be interested in the program, and blacks tended to be more interested than whites. In neither case, however, were the samples large enough to provide great statistical confidence in the results.

* Predictive ability of factors. To summarize the data, we put the various factors into a regression analysis to identify those most related to interest in the Police Corps. Three factors stood out: the student's interest in a police career, the student's belief that the work would be interesting, and the student's expectation that his or her parents and relatives would be generally positive about the idea. These three factors explained almost all the variation in student answers. Economic need, race, gender, and other perceptions about police work have little additional explanatory power.

3 - INTEREST IN POLICE CORPS BY SELECTED BACKGROUND FACTORS

	---INTEREST IN POLICE CORPS---			
	VERY LIKELY	FAIRLY LIKELY	NOT LIKELY	N
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	13%	32%	55%	275
Female	10%	23%	67%	141
<u>Age</u>				
Under 21	10%	28%	62%	176
21-25	10%	32%	58%	150
25 or older	19%	25%	56%	88
<u>Race</u>				
White	11%	28%	61%	318
Black	19%	26%	55%	68
Other	13%	50%	37%	24*
<u>Police officer relative</u>				
Yes	19%	52%	39%	27*
No	12%	27%	61%	387

* Too few cases to be reliable

Alternative service options

The Police Corps closely parallels the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). When asked which option they would prefer, two-thirds of the surveyed students favored the Police Corps, generally because 1) police work was more consistent with the respondents' values and 2) police service would enable them to remain near home. Less important were the perception that work conditions were better in the police than in the military, a general preference for police work, the financial advantages of the Police Corps, and a closer fit to individual career plans.

The survey indicated little basis for concern that a Police Corps program would adversely affect ROTC enrollment. Of those most interested in the Police Corps, only 10 percent were presently ROTC cadets or "definitely

interested" in the program, while fully 78 percent said they were probably or definitely not interested in ROTC.

There was somewhat more overlap with two other service options, the Peace Corps and VISTA (Volunteers In Service to America). Of those most interested in the Police Corps, 14 percent said they were definitely interested in one of these two programs. Overall, the level of interest in the Police Corps was very similar to the level of interest in the Peace Corps and VISTA.

Program options

To determine which features would make the Police Corps attractive to students, we asked a number of questions about program options and analyzed the responses according to student interest in the program.

* Summer training program. Fully 68 percent of the most interested students said that the existence of a paid summer training program would make the Police Corps more attractive to them.

* Length of service. Preliminary analysis has suggested that three years' service would provide the community with a good return for the effort put into training. The survey suggests that a three-year term is acceptable to the students. When asked how many years they would be willing to serve after graduation, three-quarters of the most interested group were willing to serve at least three years, and more than half were willing to serve four years or longer. Of those "fairly likely" to be interested in the Police Corps, three-quarters were willing to serve three years and 40 percent were willing to serve for a longer term.

* College stipend. The higher the stipend, the more students the Police Corps would attract. Of the most interested group, only 18 percent said they would enroll if they received financial aid of less than \$4,000 a year. An additional 24 percent would sign on if the stipend were raised to \$4,000-\$5,999, and another 20 percent in the range of \$6,000-\$6,999. Thus, annual support of \$6,000 or \$7,000 would seem to be a reasonable target. At this level, two-thirds of the most interested students (and a similar proportion of those "fairly likely" to be interested) would find the financial rewards attractive.

* Salary. When asked the minimum salary they would accept after college, only 12 percent of the most interested group said they would be willing to work for less than \$10,000 a year. Raising the salary to the range of \$10,000-\$11,999 would attract an additional 23 percent of this group; a salary of \$12,000-\$13,999 would attract 22 percent; and a salary of \$14,000-\$15,999 would attract 27 percent. Thus it appears that the Police Corps would be most appealing if students could expect to earn a salary of \$15,000 or \$16,000 a year after graduation. At this level, more than 80 percent of the most interested students would find the program attractive, as would more than 70 percent of those "fairly likely" to be interested in the program.

* Type of service. Students were asked if the prospect of a desk job would make the Police Corps more or less attractive. Those most interested

in the program were least likely to be attracted by this option. However, a majority in all groups said that desk work either made no difference to them or would make the program more attractive. Hence it would seem feasible for participants to be given desk assignments if that were important to the working of the program. Since interest in the work is a key factor in a student's interest in the Police Corps, providing some flexibility in the way participants could spend their time might be worth exploring.

▪ Priority for police jobs. For those most interested in the Police Corps, being given priority for regular civil service police jobs after finishing their term of service would be an extremely important feature of the program. About two-thirds of those "very likely" or "fairly likely" to be interested in the program said that having such job preference would make the Police Corps more attractive.

Scholastic ability of interested students

Would the Police Corps attract talented college graduates into police service? While we do not have detailed information on the scholastic abilities of the respondents, Table 4 (overleaf) provides data on self-reported grade averages, math scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, and aspirations for obtaining advanced degrees. Overall, students unlikely to be interested in the Police Corps reported higher academic averages, higher SAT scores, and a greater likelihood of obtaining advanced degrees than did those "very likely" or "fairly likely" to be interested in the program. On the other hand, approximately half the latter group said that they were maintaining an academic average of B or better, had achieved scores of 500 or better on their math SATs, and planned to obtain an advanced degree. Clearly, the data indicate that many of the better students at the four universities would be interested in the Police Corps.

Focusing on future police officers

One goal of the Police Corps is to increase the flow of talent into police service. Limiting the analysis to students expressing an interest in the Police Corps, we divided them into two groups, those likely to be headed toward a police career and those who were not. Among the findings:

▪ 44 percent of those interested in a police career thought that Police Corps work would be very interesting, compared to 21 percent of the students not interested in a police career.

▪ 51 percent of the interested group thought that Police Corps experience would be helpful in a police career, compared to 21 percent of those unlikely to pursue such a career.

▪ 15 percent of the interested group believed that parents and relatives would have a very positive reaction to their participation in the Police Corps, compared to 7 percent of the uninterested group.

▪ 75 percent of the interested group said they would accept a college stipend of less than \$8,000 a year, vs. 64 percent of the uninterested group.

4 - SCHOLASTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

(By interest in Police Corps)

	-----INTEREST IN POLICE CORPS-----	
	VERY LIKELY, FAIRLY LIKELY	NOT LIKELY, NO CHANCE
<u>Grade point average</u>		
Below 2.5	16%	9%
2.5 to 2.9	36%	32%
3.0 or higher	48%	59%
<u>Math SATs</u>		
Not taken	16%	16%
Below 400	9%	4%
400-499	26%	17%
500-599	29%	33%
600 or higher	20%	30%
<u>Plans for advanced degree</u>		
Yes	53%	68%
No	47%	32%

* The two groups were about equally likely to be willing to serve more than three years after college.

* 22 percent of the interested group regarded a desk job as more attractive than street patrol, compared to 37 percent of the uninterested group.

* When asked about positive features of the Police Corps, students interested in a police career were more likely than their classmates to point to the experience factor and career benefits. Students not interested in a police career, on the other hand, were more likely to point to assistance with college costs and the chance to serve society. (Assistance with college costs was regarded as a positive factor by nearly half the interested group as well.)

5 - SELECTED ANSWERS OF STUDENTS INTERESTED IN POLICE CORPS

(By race and gender)

	----RACE----		----GENDER----		
	BLACK	WHITE	FEMALE	MALE	
Under \$8,000/yr for college acceptable	59%	70%	50%	76%	
Paid summer training attractive	67%	59%	72%	56%	
Willing to serve 3 or more years	81%	73%	70%	77%	
Desk job more attractive than patrol	63%	22%	49%	22%	
Salary under \$16,000/yr acceptable	67%	71%	74%	76%	
Family members would react positively	47%	76%	59%	74%	
Friends would react positively	52%	79%	55%	85%	
Possible interest in a police career	48%	45%	36%	51%	
Want priority for a police job	68%	69%	60%	67%	
	N	29	122	47	122

* When asked to identify negative features of the Police Corps, the interested students were more likely to point to a lack of flexibility in the program. Those uninterested in a police career were more likely to say that the Police Corps did not relate to their career plans and that it posed a risk of personal injury.

* Nearly half of each group reported a scholastic average of B or better. The interested group tended to show lower Math SAT scores, however, with 41 percent reporting scores of 500 or better on that test, compared to 58 percent of those not interested in a police career.

Responses of females and blacks

As a place for blacks and women to work, police departments were perceived by the students to be a comparatively unattractive environment. Nevertheless, black students appeared to be at least as interested as whites in the Police Corps, and female students were almost as interested as males. In Table 5, we present the responses of those students who expressed an interest in the Police Corps program, in an effort to identify areas that might be important to either females or blacks.

The students, regardless of race or gender, had roughly equivalent

expectations as to the salary they would receive and the length of service required of them by the Police Corps. Similarly, a majority of each group was attracted by the concept of a paid summer training program. Indeed, women were more interested than men in the summer training aspect.

Blacks and women appear to have higher expectations as to the financial support they should receive while in college. Using \$8,000 a year as the basis of comparison, only half the females found this stipend acceptable, compared to about three-quarters of the males. Similarly, blacks were less likely than whites to find \$8,000 a year acceptable, although the difference was less dramatic. A possible explanation for the racial difference is that black students in the sample tended to be older and more likely to be living on their own, so that their college costs were somewhat higher than for the white students.

The most striking difference in the data, however, is that almost two-thirds of the blacks and nearly half the women said that a desk job would make the Police Corps more attractive to them. By contrast, this was true of less than a quarter of males and whites. In this respect, it should be noted that most of the whites in the sample grew up outside the central cities, and may thus have had a tendency to minimize the dangers of police work. (Black students also tended to rate the likelihood of danger or injury in police work more highly than did whites.)

Blacks and females were also less likely than whites and males to believe that their participation in the Police Corps would be favorably received by parents, relatives, and friends.

Finally, there is a difference between males and females interested in the Police Corps in the long-term career orientation. While both groups felt that being given priority for a police job would make the Police Corps more attractive, the women were distinctly less likely than the men to be considering a police career. By contrast, blacks were at least as likely as whites to be interested in a police career.

3 - THE POLICE SURVEY

The grant specifications called for us to examine the feasibility of augmenting law enforcement resources in California, Florida, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Every police department in each of the seven states received two questionnaires:

* A chief questionnaire dealing with deployment and the allocation of officers. All departments received the same chief questionnaire.

* A survey of police resources and needs covering department operations and resources. Two different survey forms were used, with the large departments receiving the more detailed version. The breakpoint between large and small departments was set at 100 officers.

The questionnaires were intended to learn if the recipients felt the need for additional officers, to determine how additional officers might be employed, to anticipate problems in incorporating Police Corps officers into the departments, and to sketch a departmental profile with respect to size, area of coverage, needs, and responsibilities.

Response rates

Strong opposition to the Police Corps study was expressed by the New York State Association of Chiefs of Police, which urged its members not to respond to the survey. The Massachusetts Chiefs of Police Association took a similar position. In Texas, the state Department of Public Safety provided us with mailing addresses but no further assistance. In the other four states, assistance from public officials was forthcoming.

Follow-up calls were made to some departments, a second set of questionnaires was mailed to selected departments, and members of the NIJ staff and project advisory board contacted the larger departments in each of the seven states. Overall, about 20 percent of the police departments filled out and returned the questionnaires. The highest response was achieved in Florida and the lowest in Massachusetts, as shown in Table 6 (overleaf). The variation in response rates was especially striking in large departments, where it ranged from more than 80 percent in New Jersey (whose attorney general wrote a covering letter for the questionnaires) to less than 5 percent in Texas and New York State.

Determining manpower needs

One objective of the chiefs' questionnaire was to clarify the standards used by police departments to determine their manpower needs. The chiefs

6 - PERCENTAGE OF DEPARTMENTS RETURNING QUESTIONNAIRES

	AGGREGATE	SMALL	LARGE
Florida	34.2%	34.2%	31.7%
New Jersey	27.0%	25.5%	83.3%
California	26.6%	24.9%	28.0%
Pennsylvania	23.0%	22.8%	25.0%
Texas	12.4%	10.1%	3.1%
New York	12.0%	12.3%	4.2%
Massachusetts	6.7%	6.5%	11.1%

were first asked: "What formula do you use to determine how many officers your department requires?" This question was followed by: "If your department does not utilize an allocation formula, what factors do you consider in determining the number of officers needed by your department?" Both questions required written answers, which were provided by the overwhelming majority of respondents.

Where used, allocation formulas ranged from the highly specific to the general. Some departments relied to a degree on standards formulated by state or national agencies such as the FBI, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, New Jersey's Police Training Commission, or California's Peace Officer Standards and Training Commission. Even where such standards were used, however, the diversity was great. (Officer-to-population ratios, for example, varied from 1:400 to 1:2,000.) Many departments were frank to acknowledge the subjectivity of their allocation formulas, and a few were openly critical of any such formula.

Nevertheless, some factors were mentioned frequently enough to be considered significant. Among large departments, more than half cited calls-for-service, nearly half mentioned population size, and nearly one-third cited the crime rate. There was some variation between states: in California and Florida, for example, population size was the most frequently cited factor. In New Jersey, calls-for-service was cited far more frequently than elsewhere, with nearly 90 percent of the large departments mentioning it as a factor in determining their manpower needs.

Among small departments, population size was the most frequently cited factor, with more than half the departments mentioning it. Much less frequently mentioned were calls-for-service and the crime rate, each cited by about a quarter of the small departments. Here again, California and Florida were the exceptions, with calls-for-service the most frequently cited factor, thus reversing the pattern apparent in the large departments.

7 - FACTORS USED IN DETERMINING HOW MANY OFFICERS NEEDED

(By size of department)

	SMALL DEPARTMENTS	LARGE DEPARTMENTS
Calls-for-service	28.7%	55.4%
Population size	54.1%	48.2%
Crime rate	22.1%	30.4%
Workload	20.1%	26.8%
Budget allocation	13.2%	17.9%
Jurisdiction size	9.6%	12.5%
24-hour coverage	10.7%	"
Overtime reduction	1.1%	"
Influx of tourists	3.0%	"

" Not mentioned by department. Sum exceeds 100% because most departments mentioned more than one category.

What is especially relative to the Police Corps concept is the number of departments, large and small, frankly conceding that budgetary considerations are as significant, or more so, than the usual elements of allocation formulas. About 13 percent of the small departments and about 18 percent of the large departments volunteered that they determined their manpower needs at least partially on the basis of the money at their disposal. Large California departments were especially likely to cite this factor, with 26.3 percent mentioning budgetary considerations in reference to determining manpower needs. The San Diego County Sheriff's Department, for example, noted that: "Formulas are in place but not adhered to due to fiscal limitations." Among small departments, budgetary considerations were most likely to be cited by those in New York State and in Massachusetts.

The need for additional officers

The Police Corps proposal grew out of our perception that a real and substantive need for additional personnel existed in a significant number of small and large communities. Both the chiefs' questionnaire and the departmental survey were designed to elicit information for making a judgment in this regard.

Chiefs were asked: "In your analysis of your department's responsibilities, are you currently at, above, or below the number of officers your analysis suggests you need?" The response was unambiguous: the chiefs in 75 percent of the small departments and 82.5 percent of the large departments thought they needed more officers than they had.

The chiefs were then asked: "Has the lack of officers hampered your department's ability to fight crime?" Overall, about 70 percent of both small and large department chiefs agreed that it had, and in no state did less than a majority of chiefs believe this to be the case.

The perceived need for additional personnel was then quantified in the question: "If the size of your department were not limited by fiscal constraints, how many officers would you add?" The numerical response was divided by the number of officers in the department to obtain the percent of increase. Among small departments, the desired increase was modest: 5 percent overall, with a high of 6.9 percent in California and a low of 3.5 percent in Pennsylvania. The large departments had a much greater appetite for personnel, desiring a 74.4 percent increase overall.

In their written responses, the chiefs were often eloquent in expressing their need for more officers. This was especially true among small departments, where the lack of just a few officers can create serious deployment problems.

Finally, the chiefs were asked: "What percentage of these additional officers would be deployed to create two-officer teams where officers now work alone?" The small-department chiefs said they would allocate 36 percent of the hypothetical increase for this purpose, as compared to 10.9 percent for the large departments.

Personnel characteristics

The departmental survey form was designed to provide a picture of the personnel status of the departments. The data gathered was extensive, and only those aspects relating to the Police Corps will be touched upon here. (The entire body of data is contained within the main report, which is available on loan from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service.)

* Age of recruits. Police Corps participants would be entering police service following graduation from college, and would therefore tend to fall in the range of between 21 and 23 years of age. Some observers have questioned whether an individual in this age group is mature enough to be a police officer. The survey therefore asked the large departments to break out, on a percentage basis, the ages of their first-year officers. Overall, 28.1 percent of first-year officers fell into the youngest age group, 21-23 years, indicating that while only a minority of first-year officers fall into the age-group of the typical college graduate, they are nevertheless around in substantial numbers.

In a related question, the departments were asked to estimate the age of their first-year officers. Overall, the average age was 24 years, with a high of 26 years in New York and Massachusetts and a low of 23 years in New Jersey.

8 - TIME SPENT IN SELECTED ACTIVITIES

(By size of department)

	SMALL DEPARTMENTS	LARGE DEPARTMENTS
Calls-for-service	32.8%	37.9%
Preventive patrol	36.0%	29.9%
Administrative	11.0%	14.8%
Traffic control/school crossings	11.1%	6.6%
Court appearances	5.5%	5.4%
Anti-vice activities	1.0%	1.2%

▪ Tenure of arresting officer. The large departments were also asked to break down arrests by the number of years of experience of the arresting officer. Overall, officers with between three and five years of experience accounted for the largest proportion of arrests (29.8 percent) in the responding departments. They were closely followed, however, by those with less than three years of experience (28.6 percent). In Florida, fully 50 percent of all arrests were made by officers with less than three years experience. If arrest records are any measure of an officer's proficiency and utility, it is apparent that officers in their first three years are providing some real measure of service in their departments.

▪ Patrol officer activities. Both large and small departments were asked to break down, on a percentage basis, how their patrol officers spent their time. (See Table 8.) In the large departments, responding to calls-for-service represented the largest single time commitment for patrol officers, at about 38 percent; in California, nearly half the typical officer's time was spent in this activity. Preventive patrol accounted for about 30 percent of the officers' time in the large departments.

In small departments, the figures were nearly reversed, with 36 percent of patrol officers' time devoted to preventive patrol and about 33 percent spent in responding to calls-for-service. California and Florida were exceptions to the rule; in those states, the small departments followed the trend apparent in large departments of devoting more time to calls-for-service than to preventive patrol. However, in no state was the difference as much as 7 percent.

Overall, these figures tend to confirm the sense among police administrators that responding to calls-for-service has come to be a major part of a patrol officer's responsibility, and that in many instances it is the officer's dominant activity.

* Factors affecting response time. The departments were asked what factors were critical to the time involved in responding to calls-for-service. The availability of officers was the factor most frequently mentioned, by 83 percent of the large departments and 56.3 percent of the small departments. In New Jersey, this factor was mentioned by every large department responding to the survey and by nearly two-thirds of the small departments.

Other factors -- distance, weather, traffic, type of call -- were mentioned much less frequently, especially by the large departments. Among small departments, however, distance was often a close second. (In Texas and New York State, distance tied with officer availability in the frequency with which small departments cited it as a factor in response time.)

* Education. Large departments were asked the educational background of the officers currently serving with them. Nearly all were high-school graduates, nearly half had completed two years of college, and nearly one-quarter had completed four years of college. The proportion of four-year college graduates in the responding departments ranged from a high of 28.2 percent in California to a low of 15.5 percent in New Jersey.

Use of auxiliaries

An indirect method for gauging the manpower needs of departments is to examine their use of auxiliaries. These individuals are used by both large and small departments for traffic and crowd control, special events, community relations, youth programs, clerical work, and assisting regular officers. They range from police cadets (usually minimally trained high-school students) to reserve officers who have received upwards of 400 hours of training.

Many of the tasks assigned to auxiliaries do not require extensive training. However, auxiliaries often engage in patrol and other police duties, and in some instances are empowered to make arrests. California, for example, classifies three levels of reserves:

* "Level one" officers with 200 hours of classroom instruction and 200 hours of field training. They can wear uniforms, carry firearms, make arrests, and patrol on their own.

* "Level two" officers with 80 hours of classroom instruction and 200 hours of field training. They have the powers of a level-one reserve officer except that they are not permitted to patrol alone.

* "Level three" officers, with less training, are assigned only to administrative duties.

Generally speaking, the larger the department, the more likely it was to use auxiliaries. Of the departments with up to 15 officers, about one-third said that they had auxiliary or volunteer programs; of the departments with between 16 and 99 officers, nearly two-thirds had such programs; and in departments with 100 or more officers, more than 80 percent answered in the affirmative.

Nearly 70 percent of the large departments reported using auxiliaries for patrol work. In California, 80 percent of the large departments used auxiliaries in patrol, and in Florida the figure was 90 percent. In New Jersey, by contrast, less than 30 percent of the large departments reported used auxiliaries in this way.

Of the small departments with auxiliaries, nearly 60 percent used them for patrol. Such assignments were especially likely in California and Florida, and least likely in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

When we compared the number of auxiliaries doing patrol work to the number of regular officers, we calculated that the average ratio for the small departments was 1:20. In other words, the auxiliary officers doing patrol work equaled 5 percent of the sworn officer force -- which was, interestingly, the average percent increase in manpower desired by these departments.

Among large departments, the ratio was significantly more substantial -- as was their desired percent increase in manpower. For every three sworn officers in these departments, there was one auxiliary doing patrol work. In New Jersey the ratio was smaller, but it was still more than twice that reported by the small departments in the same state.

Plainly, there is extensive use of auxiliary officers in the surveyed departments. The utilization of these individuals for patrol suggests that 1) patrol remains a priority for the departments, and 2) their complement of sworn officers is not sufficient, in the minds of police administrators, to perform the patrol function adequately.

Deployment

The premise of the Police Corps program is that an increase in personnel will give departments greater flexibility in employing effective crime-fighting strategies. Its feasibility, therefore, depends on the willingness of police administrators to innovate and to use practices (such as foot patrol and proactive patrol) which have been shown to provide a greater sense of security in public places.

The departments were therefore asked to delineate the various capacities in which their officers worked. As expected, the single largest deployment category was motorized patrol, which occupied 51 percent of the officers in the large departments and 79 percent of those in the small departments. The second largest category was supervision, which accounted for about 20 percent of the officers in both large and small departments. Among large departments, the third largest category was detectives, while in small departments it was foot patrol.

Despite the trend toward "civilianization" in large departments, over 5 percent of their officers were still assigned to clerical, administrative, and dispatching tasks. In small departments the percentage was even larger, possibly due to the lack of civilian support staff in these departments.

The survey responses suggest an interest, indeed an eagerness, to explore alternative forms of policing and to expand patrol strategies proven

effective in controlling crime. The small departments would put the emphasis on crime investigation (especially for those departments with between 1 and 15 officers), followed by patrol, crime prevention, and foot patrol. In Florida and New Jersey, patrol rather than investigation had the highest priority for expansion.

Large-department chiefs indicated that they would use additional officers for motorized patrol. Crime investigation a distant second, followed by foot patrol and work with juveniles. In California, work with juveniles had a priority almost as high as motorized patrol and crime investigation. In New Jersey and Florida, nearly one-quarter of the large departments mentioned foot patrol.

* Reorganization. The majority of chiefs said that, with additional personnel, they would alter the deployment of their officers. Reorganization priorities for small departments were 1) motorized patrol, 2) crime investigation, and 3) foot patrol. (In California, the second priority was crime prevention.) Among large departments, the creation of smaller beats tied with motorized patrol as a priority for reorganization. The third and fourth priorities were increasing deployment flexibility and the targeting of crime areas. (In New Jersey and California, motorized patrol came out on top, while in Florida the top priority was the creation of smaller beats.)

* Crime-fighting strategies. Finally, chiefs were asked: "Would your deployment of additional officers allow your department to employ more effective crime-fighting strategies. . . ?" More than four out of five respondents -- 84.8 percent of the small-department chiefs and 83.3 percent of the large-department chiefs -- answered affirmatively.

For large departments, the strategies most frequently mentioned were proactive patrol, targeting crime areas, and motorized patrol. Proactive patrol was especially attractive to chiefs in California and Florida, where it was mentioned by half or more of the departments. In New Jersey, the response was different, with motorized patrol, surveillance, and targeting crimes areas each mentioned with equal frequency.

For small departments, the most frequently mentioned crime-fighting strategies were 1) employing new patrol techniques, 2) crime investigation, and 3) crime prevention. Here again, a greater interest in crime investigation was exhibited by departments with fewer than 16 officers. This was reflected in the data from Pennsylvania, a state with many very small departments, and where interest in new investigative strategies almost equaled the interest in patrol.

Response to the Police Corps

The chiefs were specifically asked: "Given the fiscal constraints your department faces, if the state were to establish and pay for a program in which it offered college scholarships in exchange for three years of police service in and under the control of local departments, would your department accept such officers? (Assume these officers had been fully trained, had passed all regularly required tests, and all legal considerations had been worked out.)"

9 - ANTICIPATED PROBLEMS WITH POLICE CORPS OFFICERS

(By size of department)

	SMALL DEPARTMENTS	LARGE DEPARTMENTS
Dedication of Police Corps officers	24.0%	34.9%
Union opposition	13.8%	23.3%
High turnover	18.0%	18.6%
Department morale	14.9%	16.3%
Selection of officers	9.9%	16.3%
Civil service requirements	8.0%	14.0%
Training	9.1%	11.6%
Inexperience of Police Corps officers	6.9%	7.0%
Insurance/disability/liability costs	8.3%	4.7%
Salary differential	8.3%	4.7%
Local control	2.2%	4.7%
Other costs to the community	16.9%	2.3%
Loss of program once established	9.9%	2.3%
Displacement of regular officers	5.8%	2.3%
Supervision	0.3%	2.3%

(Sum exceeds 100% because most departments mentioned more than one category)

Among large departments, about 88 percent of the respondents answered that they would accept Police Corps officers. The affirmative responses ranged from a low of 80 percent in New Jersey to a high of 92.9 percent in Florida.

Among small departments, too, about 88 percent of the chiefs responded that they would accept Police Corps officers. Florida, California, and Pennsylvania were even more favorable to the concept, while New Jersey was less so, though only by about 4 percentage points.

The chiefs were also asked: "What problems would you anticipate in the utilization of [Police Corps] officers?" (See Table 9.) The most frequent reservation was whether the Police Corps recruits would be sufficiently dedicated to law enforcement work. About one-quarter of small-department chiefs and about one-third of large-department chiefs expressed this concern. In New Jersey, however, large-department chiefs were much more concerned about high turnover.

For the large departments as a whole, the secondary concerns were union opposition to the use of Police Corps officers (mentioned by 23.3 percent of the chiefs), followed by high turnover, department morale, and selection of officers. For small departments, secondary concerns included high turnover (mentioned by 18 percent of the chiefs), other costs to the community, department morale, and union opposition.

There was general recognition that, for the Police Corps program to succeed, considerable effort would have to be devoted toward convincing local governments and police unions that the concept was sound.

Some chiefs felt that officer turnover, beginning with the third year of the program, might cause the majority of specialized positions to go to regular officers, while the patrol force would increasingly be made up of Police Corps volunteers with one to three years' experience. Others were worried that the selection procedures for Police volunteers might not be as stringent as their own. A number of small-department chiefs worried that they would not benefit proportionately from the program.

Other chiefs sensed that having a Police Corps program in their communities might have benefits beyond a reduction in crime, for example by increasing the number of citizens who had experienced at first hand what it meant to be a police officer.

What all these responses, both positive and negative, demonstrate is the dependency of any Police Corps program on those who will supervise the officers. The implicit message seems to be the ultimate preeminence of political considerations in the development of a Police Corps and that -- economic issues aside -- it is in the political realm that the feasibility question resides.

4 - FUNDING THE POLICE CORPS

To estimate the costs associated with the Police Corps, we sent questionnaires to the state police departments and state education departments in California, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey in the spring of 1984. Public bodies in California and Massachusetts also provided information from research into the costs of establishing a similar program in those states. Finally, we used our own research into the costs of a Police Corps program in New York.

For purposes of our model budget, we assumed that each entering "class" of Police Corps officers consists of 2,000 individuals. Using attrition rates developed in research from the California State Assembly, 5,880 students would have to be recruited and screened before the summer of their sophomore year in college in order to produce a class of this size. Of this number, 4,000 would complete the eight-week training session in the summer of their sophomore year, 3,000 would finish the second training session in the summer of their junior year, and 2,000 would complete the final, four-week session following their graduation from college. The final group of trainees would become full-time members of the Police Corps in September. The California Assembly staff further assumed a six-year term of service and no attrition once the Police Corps officers went on active duty. Thus, 10 years from start-up, the first recruits would have completed four years of college and the mandated six years of service, and the Police Corps would have reached its maximum size of 12,000 officers. Thereafter, the number of individuals completing the program (either to enter regular police service or to take up alternative careers) would be balanced by the number of senior trainees graduating each year.

We do not believe that student attrition would be as high as that projected by California, but for purposes of this model we have relied on California's projections. All costs are expressed in 1984 dollars.

* Start-up and administrative costs. In the California model, start-up costs are estimated at \$2 million. Half this sum would be devoted to salaries, benefits, and support for the permanent administrative staff, which we recommend consist of a director; three assistant directors for finance and administration, recruitment and training, and community and government relations; six assistants; and 10 clerical, data processing, and recruiting staff. Some of the staff costs would of course continue for the life of the program. The California model proposed that they be reduced to \$500,000 in Year 4 and thereafter, at which time the number of assistant directors would be reduced to one, the number of assistants to three, and the miscellaneous staff to five.

The balance of the start-up costs would be one-time charges, primarily for the acquisition of training facilities. (Costs would be greatly

reduced if existing facilities could be used. New Jersey, for example, recommended the use of residential high schools or colleges.) Other start-up costs include developing a recruitment plan to be implemented through guidance counselors, developing a curriculum for the training program, developing procedures with participating law enforcement agencies, and recruiting and hiring instructors.

* Recruitment. To establish interest in the program, we recommend an initial one-time advertising budget of \$500,000. California projects spending \$25 per student per year to recruit students, or \$147,000 per year. The cost of screening each applicant is projected at \$1,800, or about \$10.6 million per year.

* Training. Based on answers from the four states responding to our questionnaire, we assume summer training programs of eight weeks following the sophomore and junior years, and four weeks following the senior year. California projects paying trainees \$100 per week during training, with associated costs (room and board, faculty salaries, maintenance of facilities, equipment, travel, and materials) to total \$400 per trainee per week. The training component would thus cost about \$16 million for Year 2, \$28 million for Year 3, and \$32 million for Year 4 and each subsequent year of the program.

* Police service. Based on the average salary ranges for entry-level patrol officers in Massachusetts and New York, and on the specific projections offered by the four states responding to the questionnaire, we assumed that Police Corps members would receive \$15,000 per year plus 20 percent for fringe benefits. The major piece of equipment would consist of a portable radio-telephone for each Police Corps officer; we assume that these officers are assigned to foot patrol, eliminating the need for vehicles. Incremental costs are based on New York City figures, and include increased insurance premiums, salary increases for new sergeants, increased radio backup, and other administrative overhead. Together, we estimate these costs at about \$40.7 million in Year 5 of the program, when the first officers go on active service, and rising in regular increments to about \$226 million in Year 10.

* Education. California projects \$100,000 per year in increased costs to process financial aid forms. In this model, the stipend for students is provided in the form of a loan, part of which is forgiven for each year of active service in the Police Corps. We assume an average stipend of \$6,000 per year and a ceiling of \$8,000 per year. Under the loan forgiveness concept, the cost of the stipends would not formally be incurred until Year 5 of the program, at which time they would total \$2.4 million. This figure would rise in regular increments until it reached \$26.4 million in Year 10.

* Final costs. According to the California projections, the cost of each new Police Corps member in Year 10 of the program would be \$24,700 for recruitment, training, and education. In Year 10, also, the program would have reached its maximum annual budget of about \$296 million. Since at start-up, the program would have cost the state a total of about \$1.3 billion.

5 - LEGISLATIVE CONSIDERATIONS

Legislation to create a Police Corps must be specific to the state in which it is implemented. The purpose of this section is to discuss the various issues and alternatives in designing such legislation, and not to advocate a particular method of implementing the Police Corps.

There are three basic approaches to writing legislation:

- * A study resolution simply requires an appropriate state agency to study the idea and report back with detailed findings.
- * A short, broad objectives resolution outlines the basic elements of the program and leaves the details to the discretion of the program administrator. Legislation in Maryland, for example, adopted this approach.
- * In a detailed resolution, the legislature provides many of the details of the program. This approach was taken in California.

In what follows, we address the various alternatives in writing a complete legislative package. (Appendix 7 of the full report contains the language of the Maryland and California legislation, and Appendix 8 an additional example of detailed legislation.)

Administration

Police Corps administration can be handled in three different ways:

- * In the first instance, the state can use its existing administrative structures to perform all tasks, perhaps by having the education department administer the education component (applications for stipends, awarding them, and monitoring them) while a law enforcement agency handles the police component (recruiting, training, assigning, and administering the volunteers). The advantage to this approach is that these agencies have had experience in handling many of the problems that may arise, and start-up costs may be less. On the other hand, such an arrangement poses problems in coordination and also in developing effective ways to handle the new and unique problems of the Police Corps.
- * Alternately, the state can create a small department to coordinate Police Corps activities while subcontracting most of the work to existing agencies. Operations that do not fit easily into the existing structure -- for example, assigning the Police Corps volunteers -- might be located entirely within the new agency.

* Third, the state can create a new agency to perform all the tasks necessary to establish and operate the Police Corps program.

Planning

The need for a separate planning board will depend on how the program is administered and how easily it fits the established state administrative structure. If an entirely new agency is to be created, more planning will obviously be required. On the other hand, if new sections are to be established within existing departments, a state police agency with the experience and the structure to recruit, train, and assign a new group of officers will obviate the need for some planning in these areas. Similarly, the more experience the state education department has with awarding scholarships, the less planning required to implement this part of the program.

Some aspects of the program -- public relations to attract recruits, allocating recruits to local jurisdictions, and monitoring problems that arise at the local level -- will not have a direct antecedent in the existing structure. Whether these warrant a separate planning agency will depend on the state's individual situation.

Eligibility

The legislature should consider at least the following elements in eligibility:

* Residence. The legislature may wish to open the program to out-of-state residents in order to increase the applicant pool. Alternately, it may prefer to restrict it on the grounds that, like other college benefits, Police Corps stipends should be offered only to residents of the state, or because local residence might be expected to increase the likelihood that a student will complete the term of his or her service.

* Physical fitness. Recruits must of course pass a physical exam equivalent to that required of applicants for police service. Ideally, the test should be uniform, suggesting that the state police physical exam might be appropriate. Police Corps applicants would typically be 18 years old, while the established test is usually taken by individuals several years older, but in general the difficulty of existing tests do not appear to be so severe that they cannot be used in the program.

* Intelligence. The cadet should be able to pass the state civil service exam at a grade no lower than that required for appointment as a trooper in the state police, perhaps with some allowance for the fact that he or she is younger than the typical applicant for such a position.

* Character. The legislature may wish to screen out undesirables by requiring recruits to produce a record of good moral character. Again, this requirement would have to be standardized and specified, for example by requiring recruits to submit letters attesting to their character, one from the applicant's high school principal and a second from a non-relative of good standing in the community. Similarly, applicants should be subject

to a records check to determine whether they have been convicted of a felony or a crime involving moral turpitude.

Choosing participants

The mechanism for choosing participants depends on the administrative structure that has been designated. Whatever the structure, there will have to be a group to develop and evaluate the application forms. The legislature may leave the selection process to the discretion of this group, or it may wish to specify certain criteria: test scores, grade averages, local jurisdiction (so that a maximum or minimum number of participants come from each jurisdiction), or a subjective determination of the applicant's desire to serve as a police officer.

As with other scholarship programs, there should be conditions placed on eligibility for financial aid. At a minimum, these should include:

- The applicant has matriculated in, or been accepted for admission to, the regular full-time undergraduate or graduate program at a qualified institution for the academic year in which he or she applied for the program.
- The applicant continues to be a full-time student at a qualified institution and takes a specified minimum number of courses each year.
- The applicant makes satisfactory progress toward a degree.
- The applicant participates satisfactorily in the Police Corps training program.
- The applicant meets such other requirements as may be established by the program administrator, including performance tests administered during the training program.

The legislature may also wish to specify that participants need not complete four years of college before beginning their period of police service, or that they must continue to be residents of the state while receiving aid under the program.

The legislature may also decide to allow students already in college to participate in the program, perhaps by repaying previous college loans or providing stipends for post-baccalaureate education after the student has completed three years with the Police Corps. Recruiting juniors and seniors would enable the state to place Police Corps officers on the street more rapidly, would take advantage of the widespread desire for graduate education, would tap an age group likely to be more interested in and committed to employment after graduation, and would simplify the assessment of potential recruits. Furthermore, to the extent that this option attracted students bound for graduate study, society would benefit from having some of its future leaders veterans of police service. If, as expected, future law students took advantage of the program, both the law schools and the police would benefit from these students' familiarity with policing.

Default

The legislature should define how a participant repays the state if he or she does not fulfill the terms of the program. At a minimum, repayment should be sufficient to cover all scholarship aid received, plus interest. A full or partial waiver might be provided for those who cannot serve because of a permanent physical or emotional disability (perhaps excluding alcohol or drug abuse).

For those who complete part of the police service, the amount to be repaid might be reduced proportionately. A specific waiver of repayment might be included for any officer suffering disability as a result of his or her police service.

Training

The legislature may leave training elements to the administrator's discretion, or it may mandate the outlines of the training course by some such language to the effect that it be designed to inculcate vigorous physical and mental discipline, organizational loyalty, and knowledge and understanding of legal processes and law enforcement.

Since similar training programs are already in existence, the legislature may wish to economize by authorizing the program administrator to enter into contracts with individuals, educational institutions, and government agencies to provide elements of the training program.

In determining the length of the training course, the legislature has to consider the time necessary to train the recruits, the type of training that would prove most attractive to the participants (e.g., one long summer of training or two shorter summer sessions), and at what point in the student's college education the training would prove most effective. The training period can be mandated in the legislation or left to the administrator's discretion. If there is reason to provide training in more than one site, the legislation can ignore the matter of location or, again, leave it to the administrator's discretion. The legislature may also wish to authorize the administrator to request permission to use such Federal training facilities as are appropriate and available.

Assignment of volunteers

There are several methods of assigning program participants:

- * The program administrator has complete discretion to assign Police Corps officers.
- * The legislature gives local jurisdictions a certain number of slots, and participants then apply for these positions.
- * A separate Police Corps Assignment Board handles assignments, either at its discretion or in accordance with legislative guidelines.

Criteria for assigning Police Corps officers might include the crime

rate of the local jurisdictions, their population, the personnel needs of the local police department, preference of the individual officer, his or her local jurisdiction, and special needs of certain jurisdictions. The legislature may wish to mandate which of these considerations should have priority.

The legislature may also mandate minimum or maximum levels of participation -- for example, that no more than 5 percent of participants in a given year shall be assigned to any one department, or that at least 5 percent each year shall be assigned to the state police agency.

Police Corps officers can be used to augment present police strength or to replace officers recruited through traditional means. If the legislature intends the former, it should include language preventing local departments from using Police Corps officers improperly. It might specify, for example, that no participant shall be assigned to a department in which the number of regular officers (excluding Police Corps participants) is less than the average number of officers during a given time period prior to enactment of the legislation.

Conditions of service

The purpose of the Police Corps would be best served if the participants spent their entire period of service within a single jurisdiction. The legislature could require continual service without exception, or it could give the administrator authority to approve transfers in the interest of the program or for compelling personal reasons.

State law commonly grants certain rights, responsibilities, and duties to police officers. If the legislature anticipates using Police Corps participants in tandem with regular officers, it may be necessary to grant them the same powers. Alternately, the legislature might choose to utilize Police Corps officers in a manner analagous to auxiliaries or volunteers, an approach that would greatly reduce the effectiveness of the new officers but that would save some money on training and insurance costs.

Compensation and term of service

The more scholarship aid and compensation offered to Police Corps recruits, the higher the number (and presumably the quality) of the applicants it will receive. Conversely, the longer or tougher the service requirement, the lower the number (and perhaps the quality) of the recruits. The legislature will want to design a package to meet its unique needs and resources. These are the specific elements:

▪ Scholarships. The scholarship package involves the variables of duration, amount, and the institutions the student can attend. The state can pay the stipend for any period of time for one year to all the years of undergraduate or graduate education. The amount paid could be a nominal fixed stipend (e.g., \$2,000 a year); minimal reimbursement of certain college expenses (e.g., tuition, books, and fees up to \$2,000 a year); a more generous reimbursement of expenses (e.g., tuition, living expenses, books, and fees up to \$8,000 a year); or a full scholarship plus stipend. The legislature will certainly want to require that participants attend an

accredited institution. It may also decide to limit participation to a state-supported institution, or to any accredited institution -- public or private -- within the state.

* **Training.** Summer training programs are easier to administer than in-school programs. If they are not sufficient to produce properly trained and qualified police officers, they could be followed by further training after graduation from college and before the period of service. In designing the training program, of course, the state should consider the attractiveness of various alternatives to potential recruits.

The student survey demonstrated that a paid summer training program greatly increases the attractiveness of the Police Corps program to college students. The compensation level is probably not crucial, as long as it falls within the general range of wages earned by college students during summer months.

* **Compensation.** The salary paid to Police Corps officers will depend on other elements of the package (the more generous the scholarship program, the less the compensation while serving), on prevailing salaries in the jurisdictions where these officers will be serving (they should never be paid more than regular officers), and on the compensation level necessary to attract a sufficient number of recruits.

* **Term of service.** The student survey suggested that three years might be the optimal term of service from the standpoint of potential recruits; the survey of police chiefs indicated a willingness to accept Police Corps officers for a three-year period, although some chiefs preferred a longer term of service. Whatever the term, it should be tied to other elements of the package: the greater the scholarship aid or the greater the compensation while serving, the longer the period of service that could be required.

Employment practices

* **Civil service.** The Police Corps legislation must be crafted in such a way as to bring the program into line with civil service requirements. In some states, it may be possible to exempt the Police Corps from these requirements, thus avoiding potential conflict in such areas as the program's separate competitive standards, limited duration of service, and the lapse of time between recruitment and actual employment. Alternately, the legislation might provide for a separate civil service classification of Police Corps Volunteer.

Police Corps volunteers should pass the traditional civil service examination for police officers, if such an exam is required in the state. Modifications may be necessary in the announcement procedures, since applications are usually available for a limited period of time, while the Police Corps would probably involve a continuous recruitment procedure. Similarly, it is traditional to purge civil service lists after a period of time, while Police Corps recruits may require four years between taking the exam and beginning service. Here too, a new classification of Police Corps Volunteer could help reconcile the program with civil service requirements. Program participants, for example, could be allowed to take the test once

upon recruitment and again during the course of their college education.

* Unionization. Police Corps officers could be non-union, could belong to their own collective bargaining organization, or could join the police union where they serve. The first option is unlikely, given the role that unions now play in municipal police forces. With a lower salary and a fixed term of service, Police Corps officers might not be concerned with long-range economic benefits, but they would share the regular officers' concerns with such issues as working conditions, discipline, grievances, and equal treatment under line command.

The second option -- a bargaining unit comprised of Police Corps officers -- would enable the participants to deal directly with the state agency that makes economic decisions affecting them. However, a separate Police Corps union would tend to exacerbate the distinction between the participants and the jurisdiction's regular officers when negotiating on such matters as departmental regulations, manpower allocations, and grievances.

Representation by an existing union would subject the Police Corps officers to the same work rules as regular officers, thus encouraging the idea that they are equal partners in the police force. Further, since program participants will be assigned to different departments throughout the state, affiliation with local unions may be the simplest way of incorporating these officers into the local police force without disrupting existing collective bargaining arrangements.

* Overtime. Police departments often use overtime to provide additional manpower without hiring new officers, thereby economizing on pensions and other benefits. The use of Police Corps personnel might mitigate the need for overtime, and regular officers (and their union) might regard the loss of such assignments as a reduction in wages.

A second consideration is whether Police Corps officers -- whose salaries are paid by the state -- will themselves receive overtime assignments. Legislation could prohibit such assignments, obligate the state to fund overtime expenditures, or put the burden on the local police agency. The last option is probably the most straightforward. It allows departments to assign Police Corps officers to overtime if needed, while eliminating the possibility of fiscal abuse. (The California legislation takes this approach with respect to overtime pay, as well as court pay, standby pay, and call-back pay.)

Financial responsibility

* Funding. Whatever funding mechanism the legislature chooses should be incorporated into the legislation.

* Disability. Since a Police Corps officer takes equivalent risks, disability coverage equivalent to that of a regular officer is probably appropriate, and would reinforce the idea that the two kinds of officer are serving on same basis. The authority to make disability determinations would most logically be vested in the board or commission empowered by the local department to make such determinations. However, if the local

Jurisdiction is required to bear the potential funding burden, some municipalities might hesitate to participate in the program. The legislature might therefore choose to create a statewide disability fund applicable to participants in the program.

* Liability. Courts may hold the state responsible for the misconduct or negligence of a Police Corps officer, on the ground that the state's business -- e.g., reducing the crime rate -- is being served by the program. Alternately, they may hold the local jurisdiction responsible, on the ground that the municipality is supervising the officer. Should the legislature decide to resolve the issue of dual liability without waiting for a judicial ruling, it can include an indemnification clause in the legislation, defining the terms of the state's liability.

Reporting requirement

Legislation often requires a regular report by the responsible official as to the status of the program. In the case of the Police Corps, the report might include the number of individuals accepted into the program, the number assigned to each jurisdiction, and the structure of the program, its progress, and any perceived strengths and weaknesses. The legislature should specify who is to make the report, and whether any independent boards within the Police Corps structure (e.g., a training board or assignment board) should also be required to file reports.

Relationship with other programs

Legislation creating new programs often includes boilerplate language authorizing and directing all state agencies to provide assistance, services, and data to aid administration of the new program. Such cooperation would be essential to the Police Corps.

6 - SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings of the study

In 1974, the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment seemed to challenge the "common sense" assumption that increasing police personnel will help reduce crime, and those charged with implementing the Police Corps should recognize that there are ways increases in police manpower could be wasted. The kind of routine daytime car patrol tested in Kansas City may be one of these. However, a review of social science research showed that other ways of utilizing an increased police presence can be productive, including foot patrol, slow patrol at night, aggressive patrol, patrol in business districts, and patrol in subways or enclosed areas. Adoption of the Police Corps could enable departments to develop these effective strategies to full advantage.

* Student survey. A significant number of the college students surveyed found the Police Corps an attractive proposal. Interest may have been slightly higher among black students, while students considering criminal justice careers were distinctly attracted to the program. With respect to gender, there was little discernible difference in the interest levels of males and females.

From the student point of view, the optimal program appeared to be one providing \$6,000-\$7,000 a year for college costs in return for three years' service as a police officer at a salary of \$15,000-\$16,000 a year. Among the options that would increase the program's appeal would be a paid summer training program and job preference for entry into the police department after completing the mandatory term of service. Larger numbers of women and blacks would be attracted by a higher level of college support, by paid summer training, and by the possibility of desk assignments in lieu of patrol work.

■ Police survey. Based on the response to our questions regarding manpower, we conclude that a significant and widespread disparity exists between workload and available personnel. To state that this disparity exists in every department would be absurd,. Furthermore, it proved difficult to measure with great precision the depth or extent of the need for additional officers. Nevertheless, the information we collected confirms that many if not most departments are understaffed and would welcome the opportunity to obtain additional officers.

The survey data suggested a desire on the part of significant numbers of police chiefs to take "a strategic approach to fighting crime (pro-active) rather than random patrol," as one administrator phrased it. There is also an interest in strategies that bring police officers in contact

with the communities they serve. We conclude that, should additional officers be made available, they would be employed in a variety of ways that are not now possible, ways that police chiefs believe would improve the safety and security of the communities they serve.

The overwhelming majority of police administrators said they would accept Police Corps officers in their departments. Their most frequently expressed reservation was whether these young officers would be sufficiently dedicated to work in law enforcement. In the large departments, concern about union opposition (and, by extension, departmental morale) also ran high. Small-department chiefs tended to worry about the potential for high turnover, and some felt that this would be an insurmountable problem. Finally, there were a number of chiefs whose opposition to the Police Corps concept was so firm as to make implementation of the program in their jurisdictions an impossibility.

Minority participation

The police function best when they are seen as part of the community they seek to protect, yet in most major American cities, minority representation in the police force is only a fraction of the minority percentage of the city population. The Police Corps offers a singular opportunity for improvements in minority representation without the imposition of racial quotas.

Since most Police Corps volunteers will be assigned to their own neighborhood police forces, states may wish to develop a recruitment process drawing a disproportionately large number of volunteers from high-crime areas. The need for Police Corps members will be greatest in just these areas, and this policy would in itself serve to expand minority involvement.

In some minority communities there is hostility between the community and the police force, and young people are therefore disinclined to envision themselves as police officers. An affirmative recruitment plan may be necessary in these areas, by using minority police officers (and Police Corps volunteers) as recruiters, by taking part in career days and similar programs to inform minority group members about job opportunities, by maintaining contact with individuals and groups that can assist in recruiting qualified applicants, by developing materials recruiters can use in discussing race-related issues with potential applicants, and by personal contact with successful applicants to encourage them to participate.

Recommendations

The feasibility of the Police Corps concept rests primarily on three basic propositions: 1) that police administrators want additional officers and are willing to employ Police Corps volunteers, 2) that a significant number of college students are willing to participate in a Police Corps program, and 3) that a fiscal savings can be achieved by augmenting police forces through the use of Police Corps volunteers rather than through standard hiring procedures. The data tend to confirm all three propositions. The vast majority of responding police administrators expressed a need for

additional officers and enthusiasm for the Police Corps concept. The surveyed students strongly indicated interest in the Police Corps. Finally, budgetary projections suggest that considerable savings can be accrued by supplementing personnel with Police Corps volunteers rather than regular officers. Thus, the Police Corps appears to be a viable and cost-effective method for augmenting police forces.

Some imponderables remain. For example, will fears about the dedication of recruits or turnover of officers be borne out in practice? Will Police Corps officers be deployed productively, employing strategies that increase public safety? These and other concerns cannot be addressed through additional research and study, but can only be resolved through implementation. Based on our research and data, we recommend that pilot Police Corps projects be established in several urban and suburban communities. Given the interest expressed by police professionals in the target states, it should not be difficult to identify several large and medium-sized departments willing to participate in such a program. Funding could be provided on the state level, perhaps with Federal assistance with respect to training costs, personnel, and facilities (e.g., unused military bases).

A pilot program or programs would afford an opportunity to obtain definitive answers to the remaining questions regarding the Police Corps concept, and would offer law enforcement officials the chance to evaluate and build upon the experience of a working structure rather than a theoretical model.

APPENDIX 3.—LETTER TO HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN FROM RICHARD W. PRESGRAVE, PRESIDENT, VIRGINIA ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE, OCTOBER 30, 1989



NOV 1 1989

VIRGINIA ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE

1500 FOREST AVENUE, SUITE 218
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23288
804-285-8227

October 30, 1989

The Honorable Robert K. Dornan
U.S. Congressman
301 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Dornan:

I am responding to your letter, of October 20, 1989, to Lt. Col. John Pearson; seeking support of the "Police Corps Act (H.R. 2798) by the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police.

The Legislative Committee of our Association addressed the "Police Corps Act" on October 26, 1989.

Our Association greatly appreciate the intentions and efforts by you and other members of Congress in regards to H.R. 2798.

However well intentioned this proposal is, we feel it has many adverse consequences which have not been adequately evaluated.

We fully endorse the concept of improving the education of career police officers, but believe the monies that would be needed to be dedicated to the Police Corps Act (H.R. 2798) could be applied to accomplish the goals of law enforcement in a more effective way.

Therefore, the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police opposes the enactment of the Police Corps Act (H.R. 2798) as currently proposed, but encourages Congress to conduct hearings to address concerns of law enforcement as it relates to education, hiring, and retention of career law enforcement officers.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Presgrave
President
Virginia Association of Chiefs
of Police

cc: Mr. John Pearson, Executive Director, VACP
Congressman William Hughes (D-N.J.)
Senator Arlen Specter (R-Penn.)
Virginia Sheriff's Association
Executive Board Members of VACP

APPENDIX 4.—PREPARED STATEMENT OF STERLING EPPS, LEGISLATIVE COCHAIRMAN, FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 2, 1989

Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee, ladies and gentlemen...

I appreciate the opportunity to be able to comment on the need for establishing a Police Corp.

The Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association endorses the concept of providing a scholarship program for those wishing to go into state and local law enforcement. Faced with no less than a low intensity war on the streets of our cities, it is most certainly time that public safety had its own unique version of ROTC.

For years police administrators and scholars have argued over ways to transform the nation's law enforcement institutions. They have struggled with ways to blend public service functions with criminal enforcement, ways to meld police operations with the need for sound fiscal practices, etc. The truth is that all these reforms are more or less meaningless if the quality of men and women entering public safety does not steadily improve. The Police Corp, I hope, will prove to be a profoundly important step in gathering the best and brightest to police ranks.

The FLEOA also feels that the Police Corp concept of rigorous training, during two eight-week summer sessions at federal installations will offers young recruits better basic law enforcement training and will inculcate them against many bad habits.

Since the program, is directed towards recruits with a wide variety of academic backgrounds, it also should draw better educated, more well-rounded men and women into law enforcement as well.

Recent federal policy in this country has emphasized state and municipal responsibility for public safety but has often failed to provide the additional funds needed to carry out these added responsibilities. The Police Corp is an important step towards correcting that.

With emphasis on patrol the Police Corp concept is properly focused also. Patrol work allows young officers to mature in the job. Observing an officer's face-to-face contact with street problems enables a department to weed out the "crazies", the inept and the corrupt. Patrol duty allows the new officer to look inside and see if he or she really wishes to pursue a law enforcement career. It tempers people. With four or five years of patrol experience under their belt, individual learn and experience enough to enter detective work or other areas of criminal investigative on a sound footing.

If the primary goal of the Police Corp is to bring in top quality people ability must, I repeat must, supercede all other

recruitment criteria. The Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association favors very, very intensive efforts at bringing the best and brightest minorities into the program. We also believe that if the financial incentives offered by the program are competitive and the program is promoted properly there will be little problem getting minorities and the financially underprivileged to enter. But first and foremost Police Corp recruits must meet quality standards regardless of his sex, race, or national origin. In FLEOA's opinion today's public safety crises must be addressed before any long-term social objective, regardless how noble the cause.

FLEOA would like to insure the quality of recruitment by basing entrance to the program on a combination of standardized testing, grade point average and interview. We would also like to endorse the notion of a uniform curricula offered at the three federal training centers. By creating uniformity in core curricula fundamental disparities in state and local police training are corrected. We recognized, of course, the program must be tailored to state and local needs, but given that the fundamentals should be same.

The Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association believes the Police Corp is not only a great idea whose time has come, but a grand new opportunity for excellence in police work. We believe that with proper quality controls its graduates are destined to be the future leaders of our nations law enforcement institutions.

APPENDIX 5.—PRESS RELEASE FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, FEBRUARY 26, 1982, WITH ATTACHMENT, AN EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF "GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSES TO CRIME" BY HERBERT JACOB AND ROBERT L. LINEBERRY, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, CENTER FOR URBAN AFFAIRS AND POLICY RESEARCH, JANUARY 1982



Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1982

NIJ
202-724-7762

The number of police officers for each reported violent crime fell from 3.32 in 1948 to 0.5 in 1978, according to a Northwestern University study of crime in America done for the National Institute of Justice in the U.S. Department of Justice.

The study, which took 3 1/2 years, included 396 cities--every city in the nation with more than 50,000 inhabitants. It showed that while there was a four-fold increase in crime, there was only a two-fold increase in crime-fighting resources.

For the 31-year post war period, dramatic crime rises appeared in virtually every city in the United States, it said. In cities of 100,000-250,000 population, violent crime rates rose from an average of 1.0 per 1,000 population in 1946 to 6.6 per 1,000 in 1978. Property crimes rose from 16.3 per 1,000 in 1948 to 69 per 1,000 in 1978.

Statistical data, newspaper accounts, and other information was gathered in 386 of the cities. In-depth studies--with researchers living in the cities for up to two years--were done in the other ten cities--Atlanta, Boston, Houston, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Newark, Oakland, Phoenix, Philadelphia, and San Jose.

(MORE)

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In these latter cities, violent crime rose from about 1.2 per crimea per 1,000 population in 1950 to 7.3 in 1970. Property crime rose from 18.4 per 1,000 in 1950 to 65 per 1,000 during the same period.

The study emphasized that although the number of police-officeraper capita also rose--from 1.7 per 1,000 to 2.3 per 1,000--during this period, this increase in personnel did not keep abreast of the crime rate.

Some of the study's other major findings were:

--Changes in local crime rates seem to be influenced by nationwide social and economic trends, the sharply increase^d affluence in the country and the availability of more portable items to steal from homes and stores, such as TV sets, stereo sets, cameras, electric typewriters, etc., and a decline in what the study calls guardianship--as homes have both parents working with a resulting decrease in home supervision.

--Crime was a major item on the urban political agenda during the 1970's. It was a major issue in the political campaigns and was given a major amount of space on the front pages and editorial pages of newspapers and magazines.

--Resources for courts and prosecutors have grown more rapidly than has the increase in arrests, although court backlogs have continued to grow. The researchers attributed these in part to changes in the requirements for legal representation for defendants.

(MORE)

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--Cities rarely amended their criminal ordinances, but in those that did the net effect was to criminalize more behavior and increase the penalties.

--During the period studied judicial and administrative discretion in sentencing was reduced. Many states went from indeterminate sentencing to determinate sentencing. State legislatures assumed to a greater or lesser degree the power to set sentences.

The study--"Governmental Responses To Crime"--was done by Northwestern's Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research under a \$922,986 grant. The project team was headed by Herbert Jacob and Robert Lineberry, both Northwestern professors of political science, and Ann Heinz, a research associate at the center who served as project manager.

James L. Underwood, director of the National Institute of Justice, said the study was of "enormous value because it was the first in-depth research study of its kind that covered such an extensive period and that created such a vast new research data base."

"Certainly criminal justice resources did not keep pace with the rising crime rate during the 31-year period," Underwood said. "Police per capita rose by approximately 50 percent during the period while crime increased some 400 percent on the average."

(MORE)

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"Changes in the education and training of police departments and improvements in their equipment and other resources, however, may have helped to keep the level of crime from growing even larger."

The project produced three reports; "Crime on Urban Agendas," "Legislative Responses to Crime," and "Crime and Government Resources in American Cities." They will be published in the near future by the Government Printing Office.

Copies of the executive summary "Governmental Responses to Crime" are available from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Box 6000, Rockville, Maryland 20850.

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GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSES TO CRIME

Executive Summary

by

Herbert Jacob

Robert L. Lineberry

Northwestern University
Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research

January 1982

This is the Executive Summary of the Governmental Responses to Crime Project which studied the ways in which governments -- primarily city governments -- responded to the rise of reported crime during the period 1948 to 1978. It examined in detail the developments in Atlanta, Boston, Houston, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Newark, Oakland, Philadelphia, Phoenix, and San Jose. Herbert Jacob was Principal Investigator, Robert L. Lineberry was Co-Principal Investigator, and Anne M. Heinz was Project Manager. The research was funded by Grant 78 NI-AX-0096 from the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice. The points of view and opinions stated in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official positions or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

ABSTRACT

The Governmental Responses to Crime Project investigated the growth of crime and local governmental responses to it during the period 1948-1978. A great deal of the information collected relies upon primary source material from ten American cities: Atlanta, Georgia; Boston, Massachusetts; Houston, Texas; Indianapolis, Indiana; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Newark, New Jersey; Oakland, California; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Phoenix, Arizona; and San Jose, California. These cities vary enormously in their regional locations, growth patterns, and political structures.

The summary focuses on four major findings. (1) Rising crime rates are a national rather than local phenomenon. (2) Crime became the leading item on urban agendas. (3) Local governments responded to crime by increasing criminal justice agency budgets and personnel rosters but these agencies were unable to convert these additional resources into effective crime fighting activities. Crime rose more rapidly than police resources but court resources kept ahead of rising arrest rates. (4) Legislative responses took the form of altering the description of prohibited behaviors by criminalizing some and decriminalizing others and also increasing penalties for offenses. However, despite a massive data collection effort, the study makes clear that a continuous effort to collect relevant information about crime and criminal justice policies needs to be initiated in a handful of communities if we are to improve substantially our understanding of how and how well governments respond to crime.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This Executive Summary of the Governmental Responses to Crime Project represents the capstone of several years' collaboration between the authors and many other people. At one time or another, more than a hundred persons, ranging from undergraduate assistants to professional scholars, have worked together.

Much of the data for this project were collected by our field directors who were in charge of the data collection in their own city. They were: Jack Tucker (Atlanta), Susan Greenblatt (Boston), Kenneth Mladenka (Houston), Harold Pepinaky and Philip Parnell (Indianapolis), Marlys McPherson (Minneapolis), Dorothy H. Guyot (Newark), David Graeven and Karl Schonborn (Oakland), Peter Cope Buffum (Philadelphia), John Stuart Hall and David L. Altheide (Phoenix) and Kenneth Aron Betsel (San Jose). Without the tireless efforts of these field directors and their staff assistants, we would not possess the data on which this Executive Summary and our other papers have been based.

We owe a very special debt to the graduate assistants who played a key role during the last months of the project in analyzing the data and co-authoring the technical reports. They are Janice A. Beecher, Michael J. Rich, and Duane H. Swank. They devoted many extra hours to our work and contributed to every phase of our analysis.

The central staff in Evanston coordinated the field efforts, collected some of the data, managed the data base, and assisted in myriad ways during the data analysis. They made our work truly collaborative. This staff was most ably presided over by Anne M. Heinz, our project manager. In addition to the authors listed, our research associates were Lenore Alpert, Stephen C. Brooks, Mark Fenster, David Kusnitz, Sarah-Kathryn McDonald, David McDowell, Jack Moran, Delores Farmer, Marilyn Schramm, and Sharon Wetson. Our secretarial staff, without whom all our word processing would have been for naught, included Elaine Hirsch, Barbara Isrealite, Leonie Kowitz, Nita R. Lineberry, Brigitta Messelli, Ann Wood and Norma L. Wood.

Others, too have contributed to our thinking and have expedited our work. Our colleagues in the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research and the Department of Political Science at Northwestern provided us with intellectual stimulation as well as a comfortable environment in which to

work. Ms. Marjorie Carpeoter of the Northwestern University Interlibrary Loan Department helped us borrow thousands of reels of microfilmed newspapers, a project of unprecedented dimensions for her small staff. Ms. Mina Hohlen and other consultants at Vogelback Computing Center answered countless questions.

One other group of individuals, most of whom we have never met, has aided our work in important ways. These are the local officials who helped our field directors secure access to data. Our staff rarely encountered a reluctant official from whom we sought information. It was far more common to find people who went out of their way to help us track down sometimes esoteric sets of information. A sizeable number of individuals also helped us by agreeing to be interviewed as "knowledgeables," shedding light on the patterns of the governmental process in their cities.

It is not uncommon for grantees to complain about bureaucratic nitpicking or meddling from their granting agencies. It is particularly important, therefore, for us to record here our very deep gratitude to the National Institute of Justice and to Dr. Richard Rau, our project monitor. Far from giving the common impression of a rule-bound bureaucracy, they were unflagging in their devotion to expediting our work, respecting at the same time our scholarly independence and integrity, even when disagreeing with some of our conclusions.

The list of persons who have given us aid and comfort is quite a long one. However, we make clear that what follows in this Executive Summary is our responsibility and that neither the National Institute of Justice nor any others should be saddled with its contents. We remain, however, very much in their debt.

Herbert Jacob
Evanston, Illinois

Robert L. Lioeberry
Lawrence, Kansas

December 31, 1981

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Introduction

Studies of the criminal justice system in the United States typically describe single communities over short periods of time. The Governmental Responses to Crime Project was designed to overcome such limitations. It examined crime trends and governmental responses to crime in ten major cities spread across the United States for a 31 year period from 1948 to 1978. It provided an unprecedented opportunity to examine the ways in which crime grew, how it took a leading place on urban agendas and how government responded to it. The principal findings are reported in three Technical Reports: Crime on Urban Agendas, Crime and Governmental Responses in American Cities, and Legislative Responses to Crime.

The project's major findings are:

Rising reported crime rates are national, not local phenomena. Local characteristics are not closely related to them.

Crime was the major item on the urban political agenda during the 1970's.

Police and court expenditures and personnel increased in apparent response to rising crime rates, but police activities and court dispositions did not show a corresponding rise.

Police resources, although increasing, lagged behind the rise of crime during the 31 years studied but resources for courts and prosecutors have grown more rapidly than the rise in arrests.

Cities rarely amended their criminal ordinances but when they did, the net effect was to criminalize more behaviors and increase potential penalties. Over time, state legislatures played an increasingly active role in defining

offenses and penalties and in reducing discretion in sentencing processes.

B. Research Approach and Data Sources

1. Research Questions. The project addressed four principal concerns:

- a. What characterized the rise of crime in the United States during this period?
- b. How did attentiveness to crime change over the period?
- c. What were the connections between the structures and patterns of urban governments and their responses to crime?
- d. How did the urban communities' principal responses to crime change over time?

2. Research Sites. Our focus was primarily, though not exclusively, on the local community. In the United States, local governments have always possessed the major responsibility for responding to crime. Police slowly evolved from the unpaid watch system of colonial times. At no point were state or national governments entrusted with substantial responsibility for policing. Despite a steady growth in federal expenditures on criminal justice, only 12.4 per cent of all criminal justice expenditures in 1978 were made by the federal government. An additional 27.7 per cent were made by states but 59.4 per cent came from local governments (Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Flanagan, 1981: 7). Even elements of the system which are funded and managed by state and national officials are physically located in, and often influenced by, local communities. Our focus, though mainly on city governments, did not preclude investigations of some county, state, and national responses to crime, though it is their implementations at the city level upon which we concentrated.

Our analysis did not attempt to study superficially all local communities. Rather we drew heavily upon intensive studies of ten American cities. We tracked their crime problems, their attentiveness to crime, their political and governmental processes, and the policies chosen by those processes. These ten cities were:

Atlents, Georgie
 Boston, Messechusetts
 Houston, Texas
 Indianspolis, Iodiene
 Mioneapolis, Minoesots
 Newerk, New Jersey
 Oeklend, Californie
 Philedelphie, Pennsylvloeie
 Phoenix, Arizona
 Seo Jose, Californie

These cities do oot constitute e representetive ssmple of American communities, but they represent e broed spectrum of American urbeo life. They represent distinct clusterings on perticular dimensions of cities which sre theoreticelly end practicelly interesting to us. Three cities, Newerk, Atlente, end Oeklend, elected bleck meyors during the period. Three others, Minneepolis, Houston, end Philedelphie, ere noted for their politicelly active police departmeots end two of these (Mioneapolis end Philedelphie) elected police officials es meyor. Three cities (San Jose, Oekleod, eod Phoenix)) ere "reformed" local governments with e city meneger pleo, while the others ere not.

Moreover, these ten cities very coosiderably with respect to their fiscal strength. Meoy indices of fiscal conditions have been proposed in recent yeers (Schoeider, 1975; Louis, 1975; Nethen end Adams, 1976; Bunce end Glickmeo, 1980). Regardless of the index used, the ten cities exhibit enormous diversity. Table 1 reports, for exmple, the scores from Hsrold Bunce end Normen Glickmsn's "needs index" for 58 cities with 1970 populstions lerger than 250,000 (Bunce end Glickmsn, 1980). This is probably the most influential of the various city reoking efforts, lsgely because it wes developed to evaluate HUD's ellocotions of Community Development Block Grant moeys. The "needs iodex" is e factor score composed of more theo 20 indicetors of community ege end decline, density, end poverty. As Table 1 indicetes, the teo cities selected for this project anchor both ends of the spectrum. Newark is the worst-off Americsn city by this calculation; Atlente, Boston, end Oeklend ere among the twelve most distressed cities. At the other eod of the reoking ere three more of our ten cities, Phoenix, Iodieneapolis end Sen Jose, scoriog es the three best-off cities smng the 58. Minneepolis scored elmost at the medien.

Other indices, constructed for somewhst different purposes, arry large cities in different weys, but confirm the "spread" of our cities on verious dimensions. Two of these indices ere reported in Table 2. One is Nethen end Adams' (1976) renkiog of central city "herdship", the degree to which the central city is disdvntsged io relationship to its

suburbs. Another is Arthur Louis's (1975) popularized and often-cited ranking of the quality of life among 50 large cities. His assessments represent the average ranking of 24 separate indicators ranging from parkland to Who's Who listings from the city. The third and final index, listed in Table 3, is particularly useful for our purposes, because it is the only one to provide rankings at two points in time. Fossett and Nathan (1981) developed an "urban condition index" score for large cities in 1960 and 1970. Among our cities Boston and Newark rank as the most distressed while San Jose and Phoenix were relatively well off in both years.

All of these indices demonstrate that our ten cities vary widely as places to live, work, or govern. In comparison with other large American cities, these ten communities are not concentrated in a narrow band with respect to key variables. They provide us with ample variations in key socioeconomic dimensions, regional location, and the overall measures of the quality of urban life.

The period of our study was chosen to capture the years when reported crime rose rapidly in the United States. The year 1948 was selected as the beginning point because by then most of the temporary dislocations caused by World War II had passed and the nation was electing its first post World War II, post FDR president. The year 1978 was chosen to mark the end of a decade of federal grants from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and because it was the most recent year for which data could be obtained during the time that the study was funded.

3. Data Sources. Much can be learned about the rise of crime and the policy choices of urban governments from standard sources. But a good deal of information, especially qualitative, historical, and contextual information, can only be retrieved by on-site research. To secure this primary source material, the Principal Investigators retained the services of one or two Field Directors in each of the ten cities. Each of these Field Directors was a local social scientist, typically one with some experience in urban studies, criminal justice, or both. These Field Directors were normally employed by the Project on a half-time basis during the summer of 1979 and the academic year 1979-1980. The availability of these social scientists for considerable periods of time enabled us to draw upon their services not only for primary data collection tasks, but also for the equally important task of deepening our understanding of the complex processes of local governmental response to crime.

A great deal of statistical and descriptive data were collected from the ten cities. These data included information over the full 31 year period on changes in the activities, focus, and resources of local police departments, courts, prosecutorial systems, and correctional institutions. Of

course, annual, quantitative measures cannot capture fully the complex process of governmental responses to crime. Elements of decision-making about crime vary from one city to another and from time to time in a city. Therefore, a substantial component of our field work involved an effort to reconstruct urban political histories in a systematic way. Our method here relied heavily on the use of local "knowledgeables," informants who were each asked a series of closed and open ended questions. To capture the rich and varied histories of these cities, though, systematically coded data are not sufficient. Thus we also asked our field directors to prepare an "urban profile" for each city. These documents were based on standard historical sources, interviews with urban leaders, and the statistical and descriptive information compiled for each city. Some of these profiles will be published separately (Heinz, Jacob, and Lineberry, forthcoming).

Not all of the research tasks of the Governmental Responses to Crime project were conducted in the field. The central office staff was responsible for three major efforts. The first of these was the preparation of a very large "baseline" data set with which the ten cities could be compared to other cities in the United States. To accomplish that, we collected information on all cities that had a population of 50,000 or more in 1950, 1960, or 1970. The data file we created is unique for both its length and its breadth. We collected Uniform Crime Report data on Part I offenses for each of these 396 cities for the 31 year period. In addition, we obtained data from the U. S. Census Bureau on various characteristics of their population. Finally, we also obtained annual information on several indicators of police resources for each of the baseline cities.

A second central office task was the analysis of attentiveness to crime and criminal justice issues in newspapers. This content analysis involved one of the ten cities. Because newspapers are both a barometer and, quite possibly, a cause of public worries about and attention to crime, we investigated whether there were systematic links between newspaper attentiveness and the crime rate, as well as local responses to crime.

Finally, we investigated one of the most obvious and important, but also one of the most neglected, public policy responses to crime, changes in laws and ordinances. These laws and ordinances are not only themselves responses to crime, but they also constrain the behaviors of actors in the criminal justice system. By systematically coding changes in local ordinances and in state law, we were able to focus on two key dimensions of legal change: criminalization or decriminalization, and the severity of the penalties.

Figure 1 summarizes the intersection between our different data sources and some of the principal research questions

addressed in this Report. As the figure indicates, almost every question is addressed by two or three sets of data. This triangulation strategy was one of the key features of the project.

C. The Nationalization of Crime

1. Reported Crime Rates and Their Correlates. Because cities vary considerably along demographic and political dimensions, it seems plausible that their rates of crime and changes in their rates of crime should also vary accordingly. Surprisingly, relatively little research has attempted to link the various social characteristics of whole cities with their rates of crime or changes in their crime patterns over time. Our understanding of changes in reported crime comes from analyses of the base line data set which is composed of information from 396 cities with populations exceeding 50,000 in 1950, 1960, or 1970. We are concerned with reported crime rates in this study even though they reflect the actual incidence of crime only imperfectly. The most important reason for using such rates is that governments respond primarily to reported crime. In addition, no more accurate information about the incidence of crime exists for individual cities over a period of time. Prior research has suggested a number of city characteristics which may be associated with reported crime rates. Our data permit a test of these effects based on a comprehensive set of cities. We first look at cross-sectional bivariate relationships between crime rates and population size, population change, race, youthful population, poverty, and income inequality. Then we examine the multivariate relationships, and finally we analyze these effects in the framework of the 31 year time series that our data constitutes.

Our principal concern in this analysis is to choose between two alternative perspectives on crime. The first sees crime as the correlate of the particular characteristics of the cities we are examining. The second sees crime as the correlate of national trends which erase individual city differences and produce relatively uniform consequences throughout the country.

2. Population Size and Reported Crime. Examining only the 32 largest American cities, Skogan (1977) found that population size was inversely related to crime rates until about 1960. thereafter it was very moderately related in a positive direction. That there is a relationship and that it is increasingly important, especially for violent crime, is suggested by Figures 2a and 2b. The cities in these figures are grouped according to their 1970 populations; the same relationship exists if we used 1950 or 1960 population data. For almost every year larger cities had higher rates than the

next smaller category of city. This relationship holds both for property crime rates and for violent crime rates. However, when we calculate the correlating coefficients between city size and crime rates, we discover that they are very small. As Figure 2 suggested, the relationship is stronger for violent than for property crime rates. The correlating coefficients range from .07 (violent crime) and -.02 (property crime) in 1948 to a high of .35 in 1969 for violent crime and .12 in 1968 for property crime. The range of coefficients is in every case smaller than that which Skogan reported for the 32 largest cities.

3. Population Change and Reported Crime. Our data also allow us to systematically examine the effects of population growth and decline on crime rates. Decline in urban America conjures up the images of St. Louis, Cleveland, and Newark among many others; all suffer from what appears to be substantially higher than normal crime rates. Growth suggests such cities as San Jose or Phoenix which to outsiders appear to be safe cities.

Our data provide only partial support for the hypothesis. Figures 3a and 3b show for 396 cities grouped by the amount of population change between 1950 and 1975. As we would expect, the relationships are unclear in the early years of the period before most of the population change had occurred. However, by the mid 1960s the two groups of declining cities had the highest violent crime rates and by 1970 those cities which maintained more or less stable populations ranked third. The three groups of growing cities are clustered very closely together with lower crime rates which, however, also show increases. This suggests that as we hypothesized, population decline is more strongly related to the rise of violent crime than is population growth.

The relationships are quite different for property crime rates as Figure 3b shows. All cities show almost the same growth pattern. However, by 1960 two groups of cities -- those with the most decline and those with the most growth -- had especially high property crime rates. The high growth cities retained their high position until 1976 when they fell into the pack of all the other cities. Clearly, the differences between declining and growing cities are not as large for property crime rates as for violent crime rates. Thus our hypothesis that growing cities would be especially vulnerable to property crime is not confirmed.

4. Race and Reported Crime.

The relationship between race and crime has often been investigated (for a thorough review of this literature, see Silberman, 1978: 117-166). Although there is much controversy about the causes of the association, it is clear that blacks are disproportionately involved in crimes of the sort measured

by the UCR. Our data permit us to investigate the extent to which a city's crime rates are related to the proportion of its population that is non-white (which for most cities means black). The relationship between the size of the non-white population in cities and the property and violent crime rates is shown in Table 4. Two things are evident from these data. The relationship between the proportion non-white and the reported violent crime rate is much stronger than the relationship between the size of the non-white population and the reported property crime rate. Secondly, although both relationships have increased between 1950 and 1970, the association with violent crime rates has increased much more than that with property crime rates. In the latter instance, the percent non-white in a city's population accounted for almost 50 per cent of the variance in violent crime rates among the 396 cities. The fact that a city had a large proportion of non-whites in its population was apparently much more closely related to its violent crime rate in 1970 than in 1950 when no other demographic characteristics are taken into account.

These data allow us to conclude that when we look only at the bivariate relationship of race to crime, cities which have large fractions of their population that are non-white generally have higher rates for violent crimes. There are numerous exceptions to that rule because the correlation is far from perfect. There are many more exceptions to the association between the non-white population and property crime rates.

5. Youth and Crime. There has also been considerable speculation about the covariation of reported crime and the size of the youthful population because most arrested offenders are under the age of 25 (Wilson, 1975: 17-22; Silberman, 1978: 49). Cities vary in the size of their youthful populations. The mean for the 396 cities in 1950 was 15 per cent with a standard deviation of 3.5 per cent; in 1970, the mean was 18.2 per cent with a standard deviation of 4.1 per cent. The bivariate relationship between the proportion of youth in a city and crime was, however, small for the entire period as shown in Table 5. At no time did the proportion of the youthful population account for as much as five per cent of the variance in either violent or property crime rates. For both, the relationship was slightly stronger in 1950 than the decade before or the decade after. This analysis leads us to conclude that the size of the youthful population was not by itself significantly related to the reported crime rates in cities during this period.

6. Poverty and Crime. Crime has also been attributed to poverty. Poverty is both an absolute and relative concept. People are poor because they lack the income needed to sustain themselves decently; they may also feel poor because they live in an area where others are much more affluent. Thus we can deal with poverty both in terms of the proportion of persons in

a city who have poverty-level incomes and in terms of the income inequality of the metropolitan area in which they live. As Table 6 shows, neither our measure of absolute poverty nor the two Danziger measures of income inequality demonstrate a substantial relationship between them and crime. The number of poor people in a city is only marginally related to either property or violent crime; only in 1970 does it account for a substantial proportion of the variance -- 33 per cent. The measure of inequality which is based on metropolitan-wide distribution of income shows even less of a relationship. Cities in metropolitan areas with much income inequality or a substantial increase in income inequality do not regularly have higher crime rates than other cities. The lack of relationship between crime rates and poverty supports Braithwaite's earlier (1979) analysis. However, he suggests that income inequality has a much larger effect and we do not find that. Our finding also conflicts with Danziger's (1976) which concludes that income inequality is related to robbery and burglary rates in an analysis of 222 SMSA's in 1970. The difference between our findings and his may be due to a different crime rate measure, to our focus on cities rather than whole metropolitan areas, and to our use here of bivariate tests.

7. The Combined Effects of Demographic Variables on Reported Crime Rates. All of these demographic characteristics, of course, exist together. One should, therefore, examine their joint relationship on reported crime rates. Using a backward, step-wise regression technique, however, we find that only some of them are related to crime when all the others are taken into account.

First, we examine the relationships for all cities without the income inequality measure which is available only for some of them. Table 7 shows these analyses for three census points: 1950, 1960, and 1970 for both violent and property crime rates. For reported violent crime rates, the proportion non-white is always the most significantly related variable; it is paired with city population size. By 1970, these two variables account for half the variance between cities. The proportion of the population that is youthful has a small statistically significant beta only in 1960; poverty is not statistically significant at any of the time points.

Different sets of variables are significant for reported property crime rates but they account for much less of the variance. Race is again always the most powerful variable. It is not teamed with city population size but with poverty in 1950 and with youth in 1970. It is important to note that poverty in 1950 is inversely related to property crime rates. For that year the more affluent a city, the higher its reported property crime rate, indicating that opportunity to steal may have been a more powerful influence on property crime rates than the proportion of poor people who might become offenders. In any case, even the best equation (for 1970) accounts for

only a tiny 12 per cent of of the variance.

When we add Danziger's measure of inequality for 1960 and 1970 as in Table 8 for the smaller number of cities for which we have it, the proportion of the variance explained is increased for both violent and property crime rates. Although inequality is not statistically significant for violent crimes in 1960, its marginal effect makes youth a statistically significant factor; in 1970, inequality itself just misses statistical significance. Race and population size remain the more important factors. For property crime, inequality is just below statistical significance in 1960 but well above it in 1970. With it, we now account for almost 30 per cent of the variance by 1970.

These regression models are weaker although generally consistent with those that have been developed by others including Danziger (1976). They show the importance of examining multiple factors simultaneously. They indicate that individual city characteristics are modestly successful in accounting for inter-city variation in reported crime rates. However, none of these characteristics are subject to much control by city governments. Only the size of the city is sometimes subject to its direct control; cities can regulate their growth by zoning and annexation policies. They have less control over population decline. Racial composition, the proportion of youth, the amount of poverty, and the extent of income inequality in the metropolitan area are all factors fundamentally beyond the control of city officials. Many are the consequences of national population movements and economic trends which affect individual cities differently even though they swing through the nation as a whole.

8. Crime Rate Changes Over Time. Figures 2a and 2b show more than rising crime rates. They also show a markedly similar rise in the reported crime rates for cities with quite different characteristics. Both the Newarks and the Houstons of the United States have experienced substantial rises in their reported crime rates. Those increases, moreover, occurred at about the time and with the same velocity for all kinds of cities. The results are the same when we inspect similar figures (not presented here) for cities categorized by the size of their non-white population, by the size of their poverty level population, or by the size of their youthful population.

An analysis of this change using demographic characteristics is quite unsuccessful as Table 9 shows. Only a fraction of the variance is accounted for by change in demographic traits. Increasing violent crime rates are slightly related to racial change and decreases in poverty. Increasing property crime rates are slightly related to racial change and population decline. Changes in the youthful population and income inequality are not related either to

changes in violent or property crime rates. This does not mean that race, age, and poverty are unrelated to changing crime; it does mean that such characteristics cannot differentiate between the various cities of the United States.

In part this may be the result of dramatically declining differences between cities over the 31 years we studied. Table 10 shows that the variability of city crime rates declined over the period we studied. In each decade the coefficient of variation declined even though we have data from more cities in the later periods than in the earlier ones. By 1978, variability for crime rates was only two-thirds what it had been in 1948.

9. The Nationalization of Crime. One conclusion that can be drawn from our analysis is that the rise of reported crime is more a national than a local phenomenon. It was neither isolated to one kind of local community nor was it apparently driven by local characteristics that could be controlled at the local level. This conclusion is reinforced by an examination of the experiences of individual cities. All of the ten cities we studied experienced considerable rises in their reported crime rates. The situation was worst in Newark where property crime rates increased by a factor of seven and violent crime rates by more than a factor of eleven. Yet even the booming cities of San Jose and Phoenix experienced more than a doubling of their property crime rates and more than a quadrupling of their violent crime rates. We get the same results when we look at the Cleveland suburb of Lakewood, a place called by one author, "America's safest city" (Franke, 1974: 15). Lakewood's violent crime rate rose by a factor of six while its property crime rate increased more than Newark's. However, in 1978 as in 1948, Lakewood was among the cities with the lowest crime rate of all those with more than 50,000 inhabitants. Although some cities experienced a sharper rise of reported crime than others, the dominant fact is that the rise occurred everywhere. It was a national rather than a local phenomenon.

The national character of the rise in reported crime rates may well be the result of nationwide changes in the conditions that nurture crime. The work of a research team at the University of Illinois (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Cohen, Felson and Land, 1980; Cohen and Cantor, 1980) has suggested that crimes occur when three conditions coexist: first, there must be property or persons who might be the object of a crime; second, these possible targets must be vulnerable to attack; and third, a person inclined to commit an offense must be present. Cohen, Felson, and Land concentrate their efforts on identifying changes in the availability of targets and their vulnerability during the last 30 years rather than on an increase in the number of persons who are criminally inclined. They show that two variables go far in accounting for the rise

of several offenses. These are the size of the youthful population which produces not only more potential offenders but also more potential victims since victimization surveys indicate that the young are the most likely to be victimized. Secondly, they compute a "household activity ratio" which is based on the number of women in the work force who leave homes unprotected during the work day. Unprotected homes make much property vulnerable to burglars. They find these two variables are powerful predictors of burglary, robbery, non-negligent homicide, rape, and aggravated assault.

As shown above, we did not consistently find the proportion of youths in cities to be related to crime rates. But when we relate the national household activity ratio and another indicator of opportunity -- the percentage of households with televisions -- to the crime rates of our ten cities, we obtain striking results, as we show in Table 11. In eight of our cities, more than half of the variance in property crime rates is accounted for. As we would expect, the measures for opportunity for theft have a lower relationship to violent crime although seven of the cities with satisfactory auto-correlation coefficients have an r-square above .5. Note that the results reported in Table 11 are achieved by applying national data for the household activity ratio and television ownership to city crime rates. One would expect substantial error in the goodness-of-fit. In fact, however, there is very little slippage. The success of using national opportunity indicators in accounting for local crime rates supports the view that the rise in crime between 1948 and 1978 was fundamentally a national rather than a local phenomenon.

10. The Nationalization of Crime in Newspaper Portrayals. Another dimension of the nationalization of crime was the greater focus of newspapers on non-local crime news during much of this period. A principal way in which both citizens and public officials obtained news about crime and other public problems was through the newspaper. Attentiveness to crime is likely to be heavily influenced by the coverage of crime in the other major media of mass communication, but there is no way of retrieving past levels of local crime news coverage on television and radio. Accordingly, we analyzed a random sample of 21 newspaper front pages over each of the 31 years for nine of the ten cities (Newark newspapers were not coded). A great deal of information was coded about each crime-related story, including the nature and location of the incident, the stage of the criminal justice process it represented, and whether it was a personal crime of a predatory nature or a public and political one. In addition, information was coded about crime-related editorials, public statements about crime, and policy changes related to crime.

As Figure 4 shows, state-national news took an increasing portion of the crime news coverage until 1974 by which time more than 60 per cent of all crime incidents on the front page

concerned events outside the metropolitan area. The proportion then dropped to 45 per cent and began rising again. Thus casual newspaper readers saw more news about crime elsewhere than in their home city for most of the period.

The exposure to national crime news was quite substantial in absolute as well as relative terms. Figure 5 shows the average front page crime coverage over the 31 years. Some cities (not necessarily those with less police recorded crime) had less coverage than others. In general, between one-seventh and one-fifth of all front page stories concerned crime and 40 to 60 per cent of that was about national crime incidents. Moreover, the share of newspaper stories devoted to crime increased over the period examined here. In percentage terms, the increase is not large, but the front page, of course, is of fixed size and must devote space to competing stories. Thus, by the end of our period, there was more crime news, more of it was about violent crime, more of it was about crime in the public or political arena, and more of it was about crimes outside the local community. This, too, suggests a nationalization of the crime problem.

D. The Crime Issue in Local Politics

Coverage in newspapers and other media is not the only way in which a community's attention can be focused on crime. Crime can and did become a significant issue on the urban political agenda. City political systems themselves underwent a significant set of changes during this period. New groups became activated, many of them spurred by the civil disorders of the 1960s and by federal anti-poverty programs. The problem of crime was an important issue to many of these groups and, of course, to local politicians.

We analyzed political responses to crimes largely by focusing on mayoral incumbencies for our ten cities. This is not a perfect unit of analysis, but one can recapture information about patterns during a particular incumbency more reliably than for periods such as years or decades. There were 55 of these incumbencies over the period in the ten cities. For all but one of them, we were able to collect information through knowledgeable informants on four aspects of a community's political system: urban elections, the configurations of community power, attributes of city mayors, and the urban issue agendas and the place of crime upon them.

The period 1948-1978 included the emergence of a "law and order" period in the American city and the nation as a whole. The patterns of urban elections confirm the importance of crime as a local issue. Figure 6 shows the distribution of all issue-mentions in newspaper descriptions of mayoral campaigns. Of all the issues mentioned during the election period, only

one overshadowed the law and order in mayoral campaigns. This was the somewhat catchall category of "mayoral leadership." The issue of law and order figured far more frequently in local campaigns than such problems as race, economic growth, governmental reform, and municipal corruption. Mayors were elected on campaign pledges to control or reduce crime, and two of our cities, Philadelphia and Minneapolis, elected former police officials as mayors.

We come to the same conclusion if we examine the issues on the urban agendas. We reconstructed local political agendas from our interviews with knowledgeable. We asked them to rate the importance of 13 issues for the mayoral incumbency they were describing. Table 12 shows some of our results. In the early years of our period, crime was not the most salient issue. Instead, tax policies, the local economy, and the quality of municipal services attracted the most attention. By the second portion of our period, crime was tied in second place with economic issues. After 1974, it was the most salient issue.

Political conditions, however, vary over time and from city to city and one would expect that crime would not be equally prominent in all situations. Different groups may have differential influence in a particular city or at a particular time. The mix of community power and influence patterns comprise what we have called the urban power configuration. Variations in power configurations from one incumbency to another can be compared systematically. The axes of urban influence vary along two dimensions, as shown in Figure 7. One dimension is the source of power and the other is the number of persons exercising it. Where few exercise political power we find political elitism, i.e., where elected officials have disproportionate power. Where few in the private sector exercise power, we have business elitism, i.e., where local business leaders are described as quite influential. Where many exercise political power, we have a bureaucratic-centered system, in which local administrative agencies operate with a high degree of autonomy. Finally, where many exercise power based on the private sector, we find a pattern identified as pluralism, in which strong groups vie with one another for the ability to control public policy. In our incumbencies, business elitism seemed to be the most prevalent type of urban power, but bureaucratic influence increased steadily over time, while pluralism surged during the 1960s and then diminished again. These power configurations seem to be related to variations in the prominence of the crime issue. The correlation coefficients in Figure 7 show that the more bureaucratic or pluralistic a city's political structure was, the more likely it was that crime was a salient issue. No such relationship existed for political elitism or business elitism.

Reported crime rates appear to be related to the place of crime on the political agendas and the composition of the urban

crime agenda. Table 13 shows the simple correlation coefficients between reported crime rates and several aspects of urban issue agendas. All but one of the relationships is statistically significant and moderately strong. Both violent and property crime appear to be equally closely related to the placement of crime on the crime agenda. However, much of the variance in the salience of crime on the political agenda remains unaccounted for in this analysis.

These findings suggest strongly that any simple "stimulus-response" model of governmental reactions to crime is insufficient. While there was a rough correspondence between the rise of reported crime and the increasing saliency of crime as a political issue, the political agenda does not automatically react to crime merely because the crime rate goes up. Local political considerations play an important role in shaping the level and the nature of the response.

E. Criminal Justice Resources and Activities During an Era of Rising Crime

1. Police Expenditures. The high placement of crime on the urban agenda and its key role in election campaigns have been linked with demands to devote more resources to policing cities. Yet public expectations about the way police should, can, and actually do respond to crime often diverge from the realities of policing. Only a small part of police energies can be devoted to conventional law enforcement functions related to crime (Blumstein, Cohen, and Nagin, 1978: 35). The resources devoted to police departments are, to be sure, on the increase. As Figures 8a and 8b demonstrate, both police expenditures in 1967 dollars and police officers per 1,000 population increased over the period for cities in all the population categories shown. Moreover, the upward trend is similar for all the cities. Not only did the number of police officers increase, but their numbers per 1,000 population increased. In 1948, cities over 50,000 population maintained an average of 1.33 police officers per 1,000 population, while by 1978, 1.96 officers were employed for every 1,000 people. These increases, however, are small in comparison to the increases in police costs, even when those costs are measured in constant dollars. Over the 31 year period, police officers per 1,000 population increased less than one and a half times; police expenditures in constant dollars increased 3.4 times.

Figure 9 presents the data on standardized per capita police expenditures for the ten case study cities for the entire 31 year period. As the figure illustrates, expenditures rose only slightly in six of the ten cities (Atlanta, Houston, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Phoenix, and San Jose), most of which grew in size between 1948 and 1978. After 1970 per capita expenditures began to rise more rapidly in this group of

cities, with Atlanta and Phoenix recording the sharpest increases. In the remaining four cities which also experienced declining populations -- Boston, Newark, Oakland, and Philadelphia -- standardized per capita police expenditures rose substantially throughout most of the period. Figure 3.1 also shows that in the latter part of the period studied (after 1974) police expenditures, when adjusted for inflation and population, declined in five of the ten cities (Atlanta, Boston, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, and Newark). Per capita police expenditures fall most sharply in Newark, declining from \$80.60 in 1976 to \$55.81 in 1978.

The first column of Table 14 reports the results of our analysis of the effects of Part I crime rates on police expenditures. Since the coefficients reported were obtained by controlling for the lagged value of the dependent variable, these coefficients may be interpreted as the effect of a one unit increase in the Part I crime rate upon annual changes in the amount of per capita dollars allocated for police protection, independent of any trends in prior levels of police expenditure. In eight of the ten cities (all but Indianapolis and Newark) significant positive associations were found between the level of crime and changes in police expenditure. Our analysis indicates that Boston and Philadelphia appear to be the most responsive cities to changes in the crime rate. For example, in Philadelphia a ten unit increase in the Part I crime rate is associated with an increase of \$2.21 per capita in police expenditures, net of any trends in prior levels of expenditure. Similarly, an annual increase of ten units in the Part I crime rate in Boston is associated with an additional \$1.91 in per capita police expenditures. In Oakland, police expenditures were less responsive to increases in the crime rate. In that city, a ten unit increase in the Part I crime rate is associated with only an additional 31 cents per capita in police expenditures, net any trend in previous per capita police expenditures.

In addition, both Figure 9 and Table 14 suggest both regional and growth/decline distinctions among the ten cities. For example, the three cities with the greatest per capita police expenditures throughout the entire period are older, Northeastern cities (Boston, Newark, and Philadelphia). Of the remaining seven cities, Oakland and Atlanta -- cities that more closely resemble the older, declining cities of the Northeast than the growing central cities of the South and West -- consistently spent more for policing. In short, the neediest cities (Atlanta, Boston, Newark, Oakland, and Philadelphia) exhibit the highest level of per capita police expenditures during the post war era and generally show larger mean annual changes, although in the latter 1970s expenditures in these cities declined or leveled off whereas expenditures in the growth cities (particularly Houston and San Jose) continued to increase substantially.

2. Police Officers. Although there is a relatively strong relationship between police expenditures and police officers, more dollars for policing does not necessarily imply that a city has hired more police officers. However, perhaps the most common local governmental response to the soaring crime rate was the hiring of more police officers. Figure 10 displays the data on the number of police officers per 1,000 population for the ten case study cities for the period 1948-1978. Overall, the figure suggests two quite distinct clusters of cities -- Boston, Newark, and Philadelphia on the one hand and the remaining seven cities on the other. While the data suggest that cities have roughly the same proportion of police officers to population in 1978 as in 1948, there are a few noticeable distinctions. Newark and Philadelphia both substantially increased the size of their police forces when adjusted for population. In Philadelphia police officers per 1,000 population rose from 2.34 in 1948 to 4.72 in 1978. Similarly, police officers per 1,000 population rose from 2.64 to 4.59 between 1948 and 1978 in Newark. The size of the Newark police force increased most rapidly during the period 1972-1974 when Newark was a participant in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's (LEAA) High Impact Anti-Crime Program. However, as Newark's participation in this program came to a close the city was forced to dismiss a number of police officers it had previously hired with federal funds. Overall, the city's police force increased from 1,266 officers in 1972 to 1,603 in 1974 and then declined to 1,453 police officers by 1978. Boston, which had the highest ratio of police officers to population throughout most of the period, illustrates a steady and dramatic decline beginning in 1970 as police officers per 1,000 population dropped from 4.36 in 1970 to 3.31 in 1978, a 24 per cent decline. However, because Boston was also losing population during this period, the actual decline in the size of the city's police force was much greater (over one-quarter) as the number of sworn officers declined from 2,798 in 1970 to 2,102 in 1978.

Atlanta shows a distinct break from the cluster of the other seven cities in 1970 as the proportion of police officers to population steadily increased between 1970 and 1974, a period in which the size of the Atlanta police force increased by more than 600 officers. Much of the growth in the size of the Atlanta Police Department during this period was made possible by the city's selection as one of eight cities to participate in LEAA's High Impact Anti-Crime Program (Jordan and Brown, 1975). Of the 18 million dollars in federal funds received by Atlanta through this program, nearly two-thirds (11.3 million dollars) was allocated to the city's police department where it was used to fund, among a number of other things, several specialized crime prevention units (for example, burglary, robbery, and rape) and to increase preventive patrol manpower in two high crime areas within the city. The subsequent decline in departmental manpower begun in 1974 appears to be the result of two factors: a court case over

hiring practices which froze police hiring for several years and the completion in 1976 of the federally-funded projects and activities. By 1978, the Atlanta police department had 468 fewer police officers than in 1974, which represents nearly a one-third reduction in the size of the Atlanta police force.

Clearly, what we have is a set of cities -- Boston, Newark, and Philadelphia -- which appear to have "labor intensive" police departments. Even when Boston's ratio of police officers to population declined significantly in the latter years, it remained well ahead of the other seven cities in the ratio of officers to people. Toward the end of the period, Atlanta came closer to membership in this list of labor-intensive departments. The three Northeastern cities have lost significant numbers of people over the years, but they have nonetheless managed to maintain relatively high ratios of police officers to population, much higher levels in fact than the more rapidly growing cities in other regions. Our evidence shows that police forces grew with the rise in reported crime.

Examination of the second column of Table 14, which reports the effects of the Part I crime rate on the number of police officers per 1,000 population, shows that this relationship was statistically significant in eight of the ten cities (all but Newark and Philadelphia). In two of the eight cities with significant relationships (Boston and Indianapolis), the association between changes in the crime rate and changes in the number of police officers per 1,000 population was negative. This is the result not only of smaller changes in years in which the crime rate increased but also of an actual decline in the ratio of police officers to population in years in which the crime rate increased. In Indianapolis, for example, the ratio of police officers to population declined in 16 of the 31 years. In Boston, this ratio has declined steadily since 1971. Among the cities with positive associations, Atlanta, Houston, and Minneapolis responded similarly to increases in the crime rate. In each of these three cities each additional 1,000 offenses reported to the police is associated with an increase of more than five additional police officers. A similar increase in Oakland is associated with only one additional police officer.

3. Summary: Police Resources and the Crime Rate. Thus far we have shown that each of the ten cities increased their level of police expenditures, when adjusted for population and inflation, and that nine of the ten cities (all but Indianapolis) reported a mean annual increase in the ratio of police officers to population. Furthermore, when we controlled for the previous level of resource commitment and examined the effect of crime on resource allocation, we generally found that this relationship was both positive and statistically significant, suggesting that cities indeed were responding to increases in the rate of serious crime. The question that

remains, therefore, is how substantial was this response? In other words, have resources kept pace, fallen behind, or actually exceeded the rise in reported crime?

Increases in police resources look quite different when we compare them to the incidence of reported crime. In 1948 there were 3.27 police officers for every violent crime and .11 police officers for every property crime, on the average, among the 396 baseline cities. Thirty-one years later, the number of policemen per violent crime had dropped to .5 and for property crimes to .03. Thus, in relation to the crime problem as measured by recorded offenses, police officers dropped to one-sixth of their 1948 strength for violent crimes and one-quarter for property crimes. Clearly the rise in the number of police officers did not keep pace with the rise in crime. Similarly, police expenditures also did not keep pace with the rising crime rate. In constant 1967 dollars, police expenditures fell from 15 cents to six cents per violent crime while expenditures per property crimes fell from .6 cents to .4 cents between 1948 and 1978.

Another way of examining whether or not police resources kept pace with crime is to examine the mean annual percentage change, 1948-1978, in the crime rate, standardized per capita police expenditures, and police officers per 1,000 population. Figure 11 presents these data for each of the ten case study cities. The figure highlights a number of important points. First, the figure suggests that the ability of a city's police resources to keep pace with increases in the crime rate is largely a function of the rate of increase of reported crime. Expenditures exceeded the crime rate in cities where the crime rate increased relatively slowly. Thus, in all four of the cities with a mean annual percentage increase in the crime rate of less than five per cent (Indianapolis, Philadelphia, Phoenix, and San Jose) the mean annual percentage change in standardized per capita police expenditures rose faster than crime. Figure 11 clearly illustrates that in every city the crime rate far outpaced the mean annual percentage rate of change in the number of police officers per 1,000 population. In sum, our analysis of police resources indicates that while cities have allocated additional funds for police protection and manpower, these increases have been outpaced by the soaring rate of serious crime.

4. Police Activities and Rising Crime Rates. To impact on crime the resources of departments must be translated into activities. To measure police activities we examined the arrest-offense ratio, arrests per police officer, moving violations per officer, and the police focus on violent, as opposed to property crimes.

Over the time period, there is a small decline in the arrest-offense ratio for all of the ten cities except Oakland, Philadelphia, and Phoenix. Thus in most of our cities, total

arrests increased, but they did not keep up with the rise in offenses.

Over the period of the study, the number of arrests for serious offenses made annually by the average police officer ranged from a high of 15 to a low of less than three arrests, as shown in Figure 12. But there is a great deal of variation from city to city in the number of arrests made by the average officer. In the three "labor intensive departments," Philadelphia, Boston, and Newark, arrests per officer are consistently lower than in the other departments. In Atlanta, the number of arrests per officer dropped sharply. In Table 15, we show the effects of the Part I crime rate on three measures of police activity as estimated by regression equations which hold constant the previous year's level of those activities. Very few of the effects are statistically significant. Where the relationship is statistically significant, the arrest/offense ratio appears to have declined with the rise of crime, but arrests per police officer increased. No statistically significant relationship exists for the crime rate and police focus on violent crimes. This lack of a consistent response to rising crime rates by police activities is not associated with increasing traffic enforcement. Nor did police departments with relatively larger forces arrest more offenders per officer on serious charges than departments with smaller forces.

Our findings on police activities suggest that departments were more successful in winning larger budgets and personnel rosters from city councils than in transforming these resources into changes in the kinds of activities we measured. This may be the consequence of diseconomies of scale and bottlenecks in the law enforcement process. In our opinion, however, it most probably reflects the lack of an effective technology for combatting crime which would permit the police to use their greater resources to better advantage.

5. Expenditures and Personnel for Courts and Corrections. The courts, prosecutorial, and correctional systems of local government could almost be described as a "lost world." Very little systematic information is collected about them, and very little of that is available on a longitudinal basis. We were indeed less successful in obtaining information about them than about the police.

It has become commonplace to argue that courts and prosecutors have consistently been underfunded and understaffed over the post World War II period. The picture commonly painted is that these local criminal justice agencies are beset by severe criminal case backlog in the courts, and understaffing of local courtrooms and district attorneys' offices. It was this image that we sought to examine as we explored changes in the resources and activities of courts and prosecutors.

There are many constraints on this effort, of course. Data are often fragmentary. Even when available, jurisdictional differences preclude the exact matching of arrests and police activities with courts and prosecutorial trends.

Despite these difficulties, we examined a variety of indicators of resources and activities of these local criminal justice agencies. For the courts, we collected information on the number of felony judges, court support personnel, defendants processed, and cases closed. For prosecutors, we collected information on the number of assistant district attorneys and their salaries. For correctional institutions, we gathered data about expenditures and average daily jail populations.

While stressing the cautions which must be associated with these analyses, we nonetheless found that the resources of these local criminal justice agencies had increased. That the numbers of personnel have gotten larger, of course, is not surprising. More important was to compare these changes to two indicators of demand on the courts and prosecutorial systems. The crime rate is one measure of the work load. Even more significant, though, is the arrest level, because one of these institutions begins their work until an arrest is made. Figure 13 shows the changes in prosecutors, judges, and court support personnel relative to the arrest rate. Despite the widely publicized image of the court and prosecutorial systems falling farther and farther behind in their work because of lagging resources, the figure shows that actual resource levels typically kept pace with, or even exceeded, crime and arrest rates. On the other hand, the indicator of defendants processed, increased only very slowly in relationship to the crime rate and the arrest rates. Our regression analysis as shown in Table 16 indicates that far less than one defendant was processed for each additional arrest in those cities where we have sufficient data. Of course, not all arrests lead to trial, but this analysis shows that despite increasing resources, courts fell further behind in their work. In other words, each case demanded increasing resources over the years to bring it to conclusion despite the fact that most cases were closed with a dismissal or guilty plea.

Table 17 reports the results of our analysis of the impacts of Part I offenses and arrests on correctional expenditures. All expenditure figures are in constant (1967) dollars. As the table reveals, the impact of both Part I crimes and arrests on probation budgets is positive and statistically significant in a majority of cities for which data are available. For example, an annual increase of 636 additional Part I crimes is associated with an increase of over 600,000 dollars in the probation budget of Atlanta. For Phoenix, an annual increase of 410 additional serious crimes "produced" an additional one million dollars of probation

expenditure. With respect to jail budgets, fewer significant coefficients are observed. While all but one of the coefficients are positive, only two are statistically significant. These occur with respect to the effect of Part I crimes in Boston and Part I arrests in Newark.

How significant we believe the changes that we found are depends on what we compare them to. In per capita terms, resources increased. In comparison to docket backlogs, resources lagged. They contrast in an important way with changes in police resources. Over the 31 year period, police resources fell behind increases in the principal measure of demand, the official crime rate. Over the same period, the resources of courts and prosecutors stayed even with, or actually increased faster than, the demands on them, measured by crime and arrest rates.

F. Changing the Law as a Response to Crime

Changing the law is one of the most direct ways by which governments respond to crime. By making decisions which define criminal behavior and assess punishments, state legislatures and city councils make a variety of instrumental as well as symbolic responses. Policy options which might maximize deterrence, rehabilitation, or retribution may be initiated by changing the law.

State and local legislative bodies do not operate in vacuums. Increased legislative activity was related to the place of crime on urban agendas. The selection of particular policy options may be driven by national patterns in the criminal law toward greater specification and differentiation. In addition, court decisions may structure the policies adopted by the legislative bodies. While most of this study focused on the city as the unit of analysis, the study of changes in the law must examine both state and local levels because city police enforce both state law and city ordinances and because city ordinances can operate only in those areas specified by state law. Generally, states have the primary responsibility for defining crimes and setting penalties. Cities, however, can also act independently to elaborate or supplement state authority in particular areas.

Changes in state and local laws were examined in each of the ten cities for offenses involving disorder, morality, and public safety. For eleven such offenses, we traced changes in statutory definitions at the city level for six of the eleven offenses, changes in state definitions were also examined. Our scope measure counts the number of empirically-derived descriptors of the offense which are addressed in the language of the statute or ordinance and thus describes the variety of acts which are defined as offenses. A summary criminalization index assesses the direction and magnitude of the intervening

changes. It describes the effect that each definitional change has in making more or fewer behaviors criminal. The penalty severity index indicates whether a penalty change increased or decreased the severity of the punishment which might be imposed. When a law decreased judicial or administrative discretion in sentencing, it was scored as increasing the severity of the law. To show trends in the content of the legal changes, the net effect of each change was added to create a cumulative net criminalization and penalty severity score.

The ten cities of our study varied markedly in the scope of behaviors which were defined as criminal. The initial variation is shown in Table 18 which displays the scope index we constructed for each of the ten cities and nine states in our study. The scope scores among the cities differed much more than among the states, indicating in part the variability in the power of the cities to define offensive behavior. States had more comprehensive criminal codes and made more changes in their provisions than their cities, even for order maintenance offenses which are usually classified as petty.

The complexities of the relationship between city and state are illustrated by gun control legislation. Three cities adopted significant restrictions on the sale and possession of guns. All were located in states with modest state-level gun control provisions of their own. In two states, Pennsylvania and Arizona, however, the state legislature subsequently revoked local power to regulate guns.

At the state level, the scope of offenses was gradually expanded over the 1948-1978 period. In only one state did the number of acts defined as an offense decrease. But the variability across states in statutes diminished over time, suggesting a national trend toward greater specification of the law.

Across the nine states there was also a trend toward greater criminalization of behavior and increasing severity in the penalty policies as shown in Figure 14. However, magnitude of the trends varied markedly across the states. For several of the states the early 1950s were times of modest increases. Seven of the nine states made major moves to further criminalize certain types of behavior in the late 1960s, the time of rapidly increasing reported rates of crime and increased attention to crime on the political agenda. Another important development at the state level was the reduction of judicial and administrative discretion in sentencing. The introduction of mandatory minimum sentences and, even more, determinate sentencing have resulted in assigning formal sentencing decisions to legislatures rather than to judges, prosecutors, and correctional officials. Between 1976 and 1978, four of the nine states in which half of the cities in our study were located adopted some form of determinate

sentencing another state adopted such a law in 1979. Here, too, is evidence for some nationalization of governmental responses to crime.

Such changes, however, were not a regular event nor were more minor amendments of criminal statutes frequent. During the whole 31 year period, only Atlanta and Minneapolis adopted more than an average of one change in all the statutes combined per year; Boston passed only seven changes and Indianapolis, eight. On the average, a change in criminal ordinances occurred in these ten cities only once every two years. Although a relatively inexpensive policy choice, code changes often incurred significant political costs. Clearly, in part for political reasons, passing a law was not a major response to crime at the city level.

G. Implications

We are often told by social researchers that appearances are misleading, that things are not what they seem to be. Crime and governmental responses to it are no exception. Our research has shown that if we look at the development of crime over the past generation and the ways in which local governments have sought to cope with it, we find some unexpected features.

Of transcendent importance is our finding that crime has become a national problem. We draw this conclusion not on the basis of the interstate movement of criminals, although there may be some of that. We do not depend on the growth of interstate links between criminals in so-called mafia families, although some of that also occurs. Rather, we have shown that the crime problem has grown more serious in all kinds of communities in the United States over the past generation. Like unemployment, crime affects people living in a particular locale; like higher prices, it is felt at particular locations. But like unemployment and inflation, crime is the result of national forces which are mostly beyond the control of local governments. The growth of crime appears to be the result of fundamental changes in the life styles of Americans. It is the result of the greater affluence of Americans which made more valuable goods available for theft, a condition which was aggravated by the greater propensity of Americans to leave goods unguarded in empty homes and to expose themselves to dangerous situations in travelling around their cities. It is also the consequence of there being a larger pool of potential offenders for reasons that are not well understood by criminologists. The consequence of these developments is that crime has surged everywhere in the United States regardless of local efforts to stem the flood tide. Whether local officials engaged in herculean efforts or none at all, the crime wave affected their community. Indeed, even newspapers have

reflected this phenomenon by reporting an increasing number of crimes from other places, so that the reading public has been exposed to more national crime and relatively less local misbehavior.

This rhetoric of law enforcement continues to stress local responsibility. We believe that this misleads both the general public and the policy making community. Our research does not pinpoint policies which might succeed in controlling crime. To some degree, past traditions and structures make some cities relatively safe, but even these are subject to the same pressures that the most dangerous places face. Local efforts cannot change life style trends that are national in scope; indeed, it is unclear whether the national government can alter them. Consequently it is unlikely in our opinion that local law enforcement activities by themselves can succeed in decreasing the growth of crime. If it declines, it will do so as a response to macro level social changes.

Efforts to contain crime have involved greatly increased expenditures and the commitment of more personnel both for the police and for the courts. Police expenditures have grown enormously in constant dollars, that is, they have grown much more than the rate of inflation. The number of police officers per capita has risen more modestly. The number of judges, assistant district attorneys, and court support personnel have also risen. Nevertheless, when we compare these increased outlays with the rise in reported crime, we find that police expenditures and police personnel have fallen behind the reported crime rate. Court outlays have stayed abreast or pulled ahead of the volume of arrests, but court dockets have fallen further behind. Clearly, more has not been enough. Even the period during which federal aid to law enforcement efforts through LEAA grants rose significantly did not fundamentally alter the situation. One plausible explanation of these failures is that the police and courts lack an appropriate technology to transform the additional resources into effective actions. Consequently, the additional resources may have produced little else than extreme slack.

We should know from past experience that additional expenditures alone will not reduce reported crime rates. What are needed are fundamental, step-level changes in the ways which Americans cope with crime analogous to the creation of organized police departments in the nineteenth century which for a time stemmed the rise of crime. We do not know what solutions to propose.

It may be tempting for others to suggest in the light of our analysis that an appropriate solution might be a national police force or more intrusive electronic devices to stem the upsurge of crime. No evidence from our studies support either measure. Indeed, it is more likely that in the absence of plausible solutions, the problem will suffer from benign

neglect which may lead people to be more accepting of a relatively high level of crime. Individually, they may also take more precautions with themselves and with their property. It is unlikely, however, that such individual private actions will overcome the national trends which seem to generate crime.

There is also a popular impression that the way in which Americans attack a problem is to throw legislation at it. Our examination of state and local law-making shows that such an assessment is widely off the mark. City councils, and to a lesser degree state legislatures, do not often change the ordinances regulating disorderly or dangerous behavior. Not can one simply summarize law making activity as being directed to increasing the harshness of criminal sanctions. That has been one ingredient, but at the same time, law makers have also decriminalized certain activities, narrowed the scope of other laws, and reduced the discretion granted court and administrative agencies. The result is a mosaic of activities which give the impression of additional harshness but which do not always move in that direction.

The link between the crime problem and governmental policies -- whether they be expenditures, reorganizations, or different laws -- is the political process. Our analysis indicates that crime has become the most prominent issue in local politics and that it is most salient in cities which are characterized by a pluralistic or bureaucratic political process. However, because of fiscal constraints and because cities know of no certain solutions to the crime problem, the link between city politics and city actions is a weak one. On the basis of what we have learned, we cannot recommend any particular reforms of city government to make cities more effective in combatting street crime.

Our detailed examination of ten cities over 31 years has impressed on us the limitations of our knowledge. We know so little about crime because it is a complex set of phenomena and because our information about it and about the actions of criminal justice agencies remains so rudimentary. Many public agencies kept poor records in the past; few maintain consistent records over a long enough time period to permit careful analysis of their activities and their effect on crime.

If the nation really wants to learn more about how governmental programs affect crime, we must designate some locales as study centers so more information will be systematically and routinely collected from ongoing activities of governmental agencies over the next generation. Such a research program requires great patience. We cannot accelerate social developments as geneticists can speed up their research by using mice or monkeys. It will take almost a generation before the data will prove their worth. Many will call such an idea impractical. However, the "practical" alternative is to continue basing public policy about crime on misleading and incomplete information.

TABLE 1

NEED SCORES AND NEED RANKINGS, CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OVER 250,000

<i>Rank</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Need Score*</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Need Score*</i>
1	Newark	1.448	30	Kansas City	0.042
2	New Orleans	1.166	31	Los Angeles	0.017
3	St. Louis	1.022	32	Denver	-0.030
4	Cleveland	0.782	33	Fort Worth	-0.117
5	Birmingham	0.777	34	St. Paul	-0.134
6	Baltimore	0.764	35	Sacramento	-0.142
7	Washington	0.663	36	Portland	-0.160
8	Detroit	0.626	37	Columbus	-0.165
9	Atlanta	0.590	38	Toledo	-0.168
10	Boston	0.556	39	Baton Rouge	-0.178
11	Cincinnati	0.543	40	Long Beach	-0.202
12	Oakland	0.524	41	Seattle	-0.221
13	Chicago	0.521	42	Oklahoma City	-0.242
14	Buffalo	0.513	43	Dallas	-0.249
15	New York	0.507	44	Charlotte	-0.260
16	Philadelphia	0.495	45	Jacksonville	-0.331
17	Louisville	0.485	46	Houston	-0.356
18	Pittsburgh	0.484	47	Wichita	-0.363
19	San Antonio	0.467	48	Albuquerque	-0.365
20	Miami	0.459	49	Omaha	-0.389
21	Norfolk	0.341	50	Austin	-0.399
22	El Paso	0.322	51	Tucson	-0.435
23	Memphis	0.316	52	Honolulu	-0.476
24	Rochester	0.299	53	San Diego	-0.510
25	San Francisco	0.219	54	Tulsa	-0.517
26	Tampa	0.155	55	Nashville-Davidson	-0.556
27	Milwaukee	0.060	56	Phoenix	-0.564
28	Minneapolis	0.059	57	Indianapolis	-0.567
29	Akron	0.048	58	San Jose	-0.892

* The average need score for the population of the 483 metropolitan cities included in the needs analysis is zero. Large cities as a group are somewhat needier than average.

Source: Bunce and Glickman (1980: 525)

TABLE 2

RANKINGS OF GRC CITIES ON CENTRAL CITY HARDSHIP INDEX
AND "WORST AMERICAN CITY" INDEX

	Nathan-Adams Ranking of Central City Hardship (55 cities ranked) ^a			Louis Ranking of "Worst American City" (50 cities ranked)		
	City	Rank	Hardship Score	City	Rank	Score
Most Disadvantaged ↑ ↓ Least Disadvantaged	Newark	1	422	Newark	1	41.6
	Atlanta	7	226	Philadelphia	12	31.0
	Philadelphia	14	205	Atlanta	15	30.0
	Boston	15	198	Boston	17	29.6
	San Jose	18	181	Houston	23	27.4
	Minneapolis	32	131	Oakland	25	25.9
	Indianapolis	36	124	Phoenix	30	23.3
	Houston	46	93	Indianapolis	35	20.6
	Phoenix	47	85	Minneapolis	43	18.8
				San Jose	47	15.6

Sources: Nathan and Adams (1976: 51-52); Louis (1975: 71).

^aOakland was not included.

TABLE 3

FOSSET-NATHAN URBAN CONDITIONS INDEX

	CITY	1960 SCORE	1970 SCORE
Most Disadvantaged ↑ ↓ Least Disadvantaged	Boston	201.0	193.2
	Newark	196.3	207.0
	Philadelphia	166.2	168.5
	Minneapolis	144.5	154.7
	Oakland	120.7	106.6
	Atlanta	70.7	67.0
	Houston	40.2	27.7
	San Jose	27.7	13.3
	Phoenix	9.8	18.5

Source: Fossatt and Nathan (forthcoming, Table 1). Indianapolis is not included in this ranking.

TABLE 4

RELATION BETWEEN PROPORTION NON-WHITES POPULATION
AND VIOLENT AND PROPERTY CRIME RATES 1950 - 1978.

YEAR	NON-WHITE AND VIOLENT CRIME RATE	NON-WHITE AND PROPERTY CRIME RATE
1950	.51 **	.08
1960	.60 **	.25 **
1970	.70 **	.32 **

** p < .01

TABLE 5

RELATION BETWEEN CRIME RATES AND PROPORTION OF
POPULATION AGED 15 - 24

ZERO ORDER PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

YEAR	VIOLENT CRIME RATE	PROPERTY CRIME RATE
1950	.13**	-.02
1960	.18**	.15**
1970	.03	.13**

** P < .01

TABLE 6

RELATION BETWEEN PROPORTION POOR AND MEASURE OF INEQUALITY
AND CRIME RATES: ZERO-ORDER PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	1950	1960	1970
Σ Poor and Violent Crime	.33	.00	.58
Σ Poor and Property Crime	-.03	-.03	.35
Income Inequality in 1965 and Violent Crime	Not Available	Not Available	.09
Income Inequality in 1965 and Property Crime	Not Available	Not Available	.17
Change in Income Inequality 1959-69 and Violent crime	Not Available	Not Available	.02
Change in Income Inequality 1959-69 and Property Crime	Not Available	Not Available	.00

TABLE 7

MULTIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (EXCLUDING INEQUALITY)
AND CRIME RATES, 1950-1970, FOR CITIES OVER 50,000 POPULATION
(STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS)

	VIOLENT CRIME RATES			PROPERTY CRIME RATES		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Population size	.12*	.21**	.14***	NS	NS	NS
Race	.50**	.55**	.72**	.17**	.23**	.38**
Youthful pop.	NS	.09*	NS	NS	NS	.13*
Poverty	NS	NS	NS	-1.6	NS	NS
Constant	.43	.13	1.82	17.79	17.67	37.84
R ²	.27	.41	.50	.02	.08	.12
F	57.15	60.45	114.24	3.69	16.78	15.3
Sig	.000	.000	.000	.026	.000	.000
N	298	364	343	298	364	343

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

TABLE 8

MULTIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (INCLUDING INEQUALITY)
AND CRIME RATES, 1960-1970, FOR CITIES IN SMSA'S
(STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS)

	VIOLENT CRIME RATES		PROPERTY CRIME RATES	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
Population	.19**	.19**	NS	NS
Race	.66**	.72**	.31**	.44**
Youthful Pop	.15**	NS	.14*	.26**
Poverty	NS	NS	NS	NS
Inequality	NS	NS	NS	.19**
Constant	-2.09	-3.69	-7.33	-46.82
R ²	.61	.63	.15	.29
F	58.65	104.49	11.76	24.80
Sig	.000	.000	.000	.000
N	201	185	201	185

* p < .05

** p < .01

TABLE 9

THE RELATION BETWEEN CHANGE IN DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CITIES
AND CHANGES IN REPORTED CRIME RATES, 1950-1970
(STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS)

	CHANGE IN VIOLENT CRIME RATES	CHANGE IN PROPERTY CRIME RATES
Pop Change	NS	-.24**
Race Change	.29**	.21**
Youthful Pop Change	NS	NS
Poverty Change	-.15*	NS
Inequality Change	NS	NS
Constant	8.55	2.98
R ²	.11	.12
F	9.02	16.3
Sig	.000	.000
N	233	233

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

TABLE 10

THE DECLINING VARIABILITY OF CITY CRIME RATES: COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATIONS*
1948-1978 FOR 396 CITIES WITH POPULATIONS EXCEEDING 50,000

	PROPERTY CRIME RATE	VIOLENT CRIME RATE
1948-57	54.2	111.5
1958-67	47.0	100.3
1968-78	36.0	82.5

* Coefficients in table are the mean coefficients for each time period. The number of cities included in the calculation varies each year according to missing data; it ranges for a low of 271 in 1948 to 389 in the late 1970s.

TABLE 11

REGRESSION OF PROPERTY AND VIOLENT CRIME RATES FOR TEN
CITIES WITH HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITY RATIO AND PER CENT HOUSEHOLDS
WITH TV, 1950 - 1977, CORRECTED FOR AUTO CORRELATION

	PROPERTY CRIME RATE		VIOLENT CRIME RATE	
	R ²	DURBAN-WATSON	R ²	DURBAN-WATSON
Phoenix	.84	1.477	.52	1.684
Oakland	.48*	.869*	.88	1.95
San Jose	.52	1.473	.84	1.934
Atlanta	.88	1.565	.54*	1.182*
Indianapolis	.46	1.420	.63	1.780
Boston	.86	1.338	.77*	1.238*
Minneapolis	.82	1.628	.79	1.60
Newark	.66	1.657	.60	1.59
Philadelphia	.87	1.179	.57	1.40
Houston	.95	1.741	.29	1.371

* Unsatisfactory correction for auto-correlation. To be satisfactory the Durban-Watson statistic should be not less than 1.28 and preferably exceed 1.57. Correction was accomplished by using estimate of rho for each variable as outlined by Wonnacott and Wonnacott, 217ff.

TABLE 12
POLITICAL AGENDAS OVER TIME, 1948-1978

<u>Issue</u>	<u>1948-62</u> <u>(n=23)</u>	<u>1962-74</u> <u>(n=18)</u>	<u>1974-78</u> <u>(n=13)</u>	<u>1948-78</u> <u>(n=54)</u>
Transportation	3.74	4.00	4.92	4.11
Energy	1.13	1.50	3.00	1.70
Employment	3.43	3.61	4.46	3.74
Public Education	3.30	3.89	4.31	3.74
School Desegregation	2.17	4.28	3.46	3.19
Quality of Municipal Services	4.61	4.44	5.00	4.65
Civil Disorders	1.35	4.50	3.00	2.80
Budget and Tax Problems	4.91	4.78	5.54	5.02
<u>CRIME</u>	<u>3.43</u>	<u>4.78</u>	<u>5.77</u>	<u>4.44</u>
Economy	4.65	5.28	5.38	5.04
Race and Ethnic Relations	2.65	4.67	5.08	3.91
Government Corruption	3.35	2.44	2.92	2.94
Urban Redevelopment	3.43	4.78	4.85	4.22

Key: 1 = not an issue of significance

7 = a very salient issue

TABLE 13

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between Political Responses to Crime and Reported Crime Rates*

	<u>Violent Crime Rate</u>	<u>Property Crime Rate</u>	<u>Overall Crime Rate</u>
Crime as a Salient Election Issue	.34*	.21	.24*
Crime on the Political Agenda	.58**	.54**	.50**
Crime Agenda Desnity	.45**	.40**	.42**
Violent Crime on the Crime Agenda	.53**	.53**	.55**
Property Crime on the Crime Agenda	.43**	.56**	.56**

* The Pearson statistic is a measure of association between two variables. The number of cases for this analysis is 54. Statistics noted with (*) are significant to the .05 level; those noted with (**) are significant to the .01 level. The rate of rape of excluded from both the violent and overall crime rates due to missing data.

TABLE 14

 THE EFFECT OF PART I CRIME RATE ON STANDARDIZED PER
 CAPITA EXPENDITURES, 1948-1978^a

ATLANTA	.100**
BOSTON	.191**
HOUSTON	.051**
INDIANAPOLIS	.035
MINNEAPOLIS	.046**
NEWARK	.121
OAKLAND	.031**
PHILADELPHIA	.221**
PHOENIX	.078*
SAN JOSE	.060*

* p .05

** p .01

^a Coefficients reported in the table are unstandardized regression coefficients. They were obtained by regressing standardized per capita police expenditure (time t) on its lagged value (time t-1) and the Part I variable (time t).

TABLE 15

EFFECTS OF PART I CRIME RATE UPON POLICE ACTIVITIES^a

	ARREST OFFENSE RATIO	ARRESTS PER POLICE OFFICER	FOCUS ON VIOLENT CRIME
ATLANTA (1965-78)	-.0030**	-.048	-.0037
BOSTON (1959-78)	-.0004**	.016**	-.0029
HOUSTON (1966-78)	-.0008	-.024	.0037
INDIANAPOLIS (1960-78)	-.0019*	.041*	-.0031
MINNEAPOLIS (1958-78)	-.0003	.034**	.0010
NEWARK (1958-78)	-.0004*	.010	-.0031
OAKLAND (1969-78)	-.0015	.038	.0018
PHILADELPHIA (1958-78)	.0002	.048**	-.0012
PHOENIX (1958-78)	-.0005**	-.014	.0015
SAN JOSE (1965-78)	-.0018	-.035	-.0154

* p .05

**p .01

^a Coefficients reported are understandardized regression coefficients. They were obtained by regression police activity variables (time t) on their lagged value (time t-1) and the Part I variable (time t).

TABLE 16
THE EFFECT OF ARRESTS ON COURT OUTPUT INDICATORS

	CASES CLOSED	DEFENDANTS PROCESSED
ATLANTA	.02	.21
BOSTON	-	.16
HOUSTON	-	.16
INDIANAPOLIS	-	-
MINNEAPOLIS	.08*	-
NEWARK	.14*	.14*
OAKLAND	-	-
PHILADELPHIA	.07	-.05
PHOENIX	-	-
SAN JOSE	-	-

^e Coefficients reported are unstandardized regression coefficients. They were obtained by regressing the court variables (time t) and their lagged value (time t-1) and the Part I variable (time t).

TABLE 17

THE EFFECT OF PART I OFFENSES AND ARRESTS ON
CORRECTIONAL EXPENDITURES, 1948 - 1978 ^a

CITY	PART I OFFENSES PER 1000 POP		PART I ARRESTS	
	PROBATION BUDGET	JAIL BUDGET	PROBATION BUDGET	JAIL BUDGET
ATLANTA	657,262.0 *	--	6846.0 *	--
BOSTON	2,333,946.0	1,629,964.0 *	44,698.0 *	17,785.0
HOUSTON	--	--	--	--
INDIANAPOLIS	152,243.0	--	275.0	--
MINNEAPOLIS	148,607.0	-1881.0	1489.0	2933.0
NEWARK	458,606.0	607,947.0	7928.0	9123.0 *
OAKLAND	4,166,619.0 *	--	--	--
PHILADELPHIA	6,587,623.0 *	670,292.0	12,392.0	37,067.0
PHOENIX	1,374,007.0 *	--	101,796.0 *	--
SAN JOSE	1,051,873.0 *	--	49,449.0 *	--

^a Coefficients reported in the table are unstandardized regression coefficients. They were obtained by regressing the correctional variable (time t) on its lagged value (time t-1) and the Part I variable (time t). All expenditure variables are in real (1967) dollars.

* $p < .05$

TABLE 18

Characteristics of Offenses Specified in City Ordinances and State Codes as Per Cent of All Characteristics Potentially Mentioned, 1948

	City Ordinances Characteristics Specified		State Codes Characteristics Specified	
	Per Cent	Rank	Per Cent	Rank
Atlanta	58	1	71	7
Phoenix	55	2	65	9
Minneapolis	39	4	68	8
Houston	39	4	77	3
Oakland	39	4	96	4
San Jose	30	6		
Indianapolis	25	7.5	72	6
Newark	25	7.5	85	1
Boston	16	9	80	2
Philadelphia	3	10	75	5

FIGURE 1
A Summary Linkage of Principal Research Questions and Major Data Bases

Research Questions	Data Bases							Urban Profiles
	Baseline Data	Statistical Data	Descriptive Data	Newspaper Content Analysis	Knowledgeable Interviews	Code and Ordinance Analysis		
1. In what ways and to what degree did <u>crime rates</u> change over the period?	X	X						
2. How were social and economic changes related to both crime and policy responses?	X	X					X	
3. What was the attentiveness to crime and its position on the urban policy agenda?				X	X		X	
4. What was the structure of government and the policy-making process and how were they related to policy responses?			X		X		X	
5. What were the major policy changes in urban policing?	X	X	X		X		X	
6. What were the major policy changes in courts, prosecu-tional systems, and corrections?		X	X		X		X	
7. What were the major legislative policy responses to crime?								X

FIGURE 3a MEAN VIOLENT CRIME RATE BY YEAR FOR CITIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO POPULATION CHANGE 1950-1975

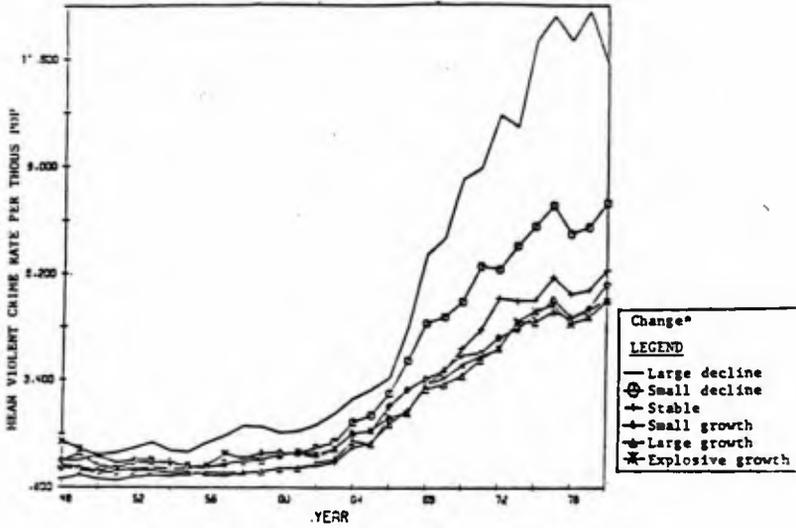


FIGURE 3b MEAN PROPERTY CRIME RATE BY YEAR FOR CITIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO POPULATION CHANGE 1950-1975

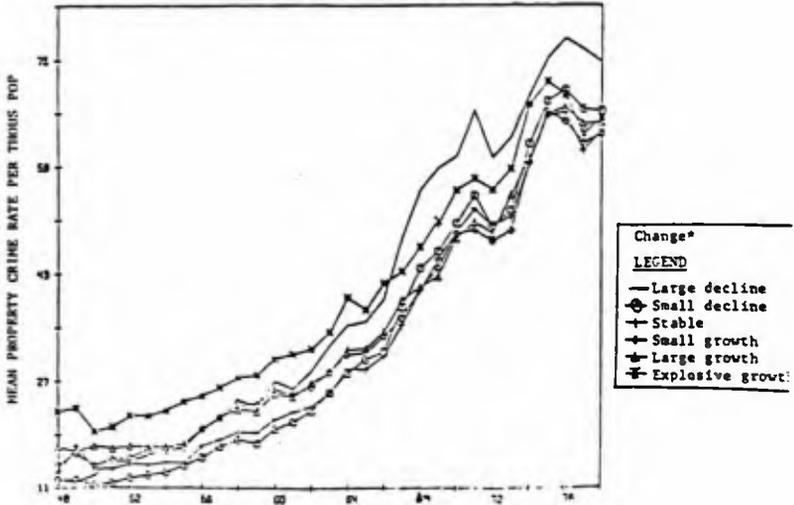


FIGURE 2a
 MEAN VIOLENT CRIME RATE BY YEAR FOR CITIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO POPULATION

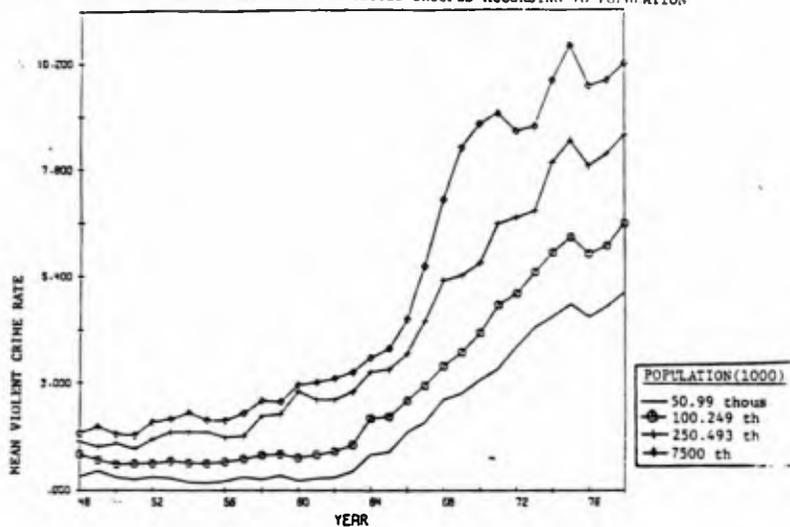


FIGURE 2b
 MEAN PROPERTY CRIME RATE BY YEAR FOR CITIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO POPULATION

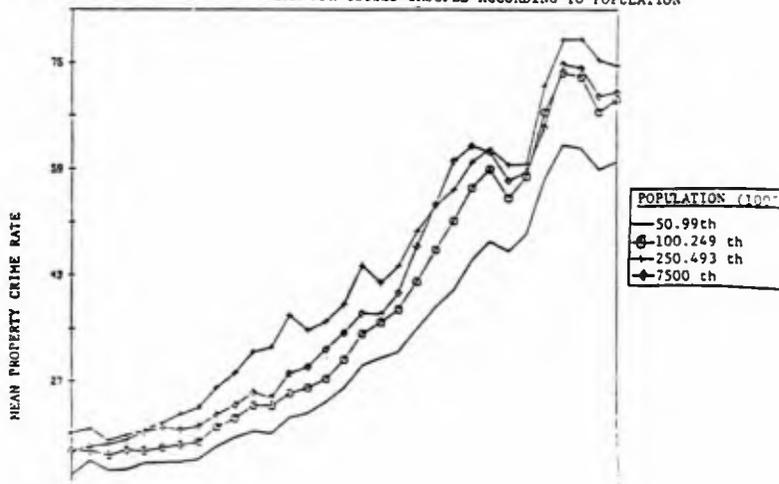
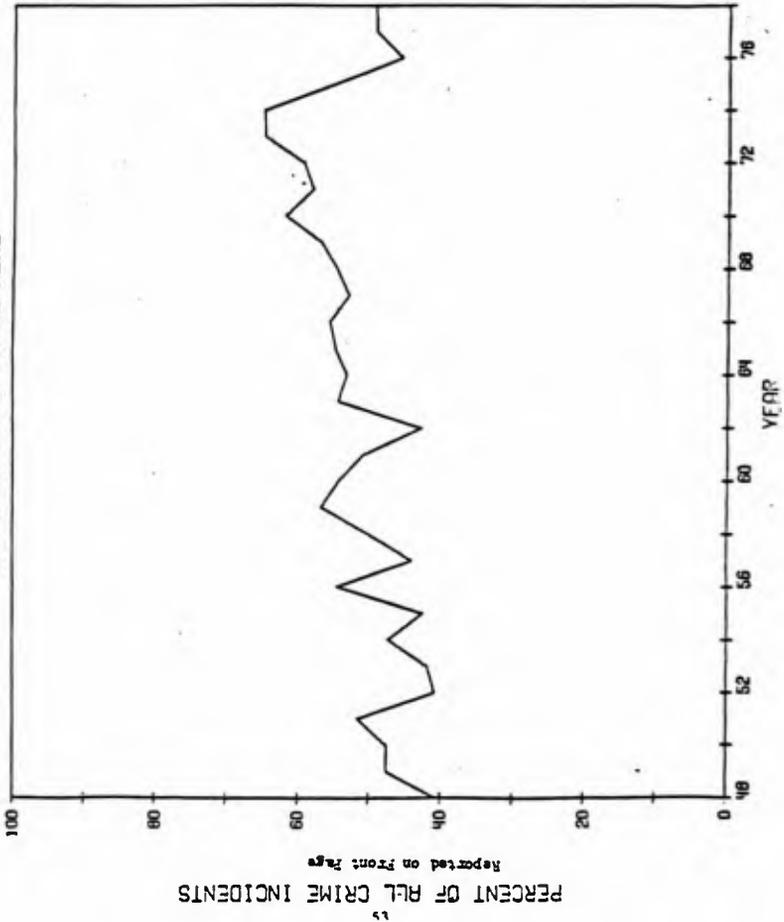


FIGURE 4
STATE-NATIONAL CRIME NEWS



front page crime news in nine cities

FIGURE 5

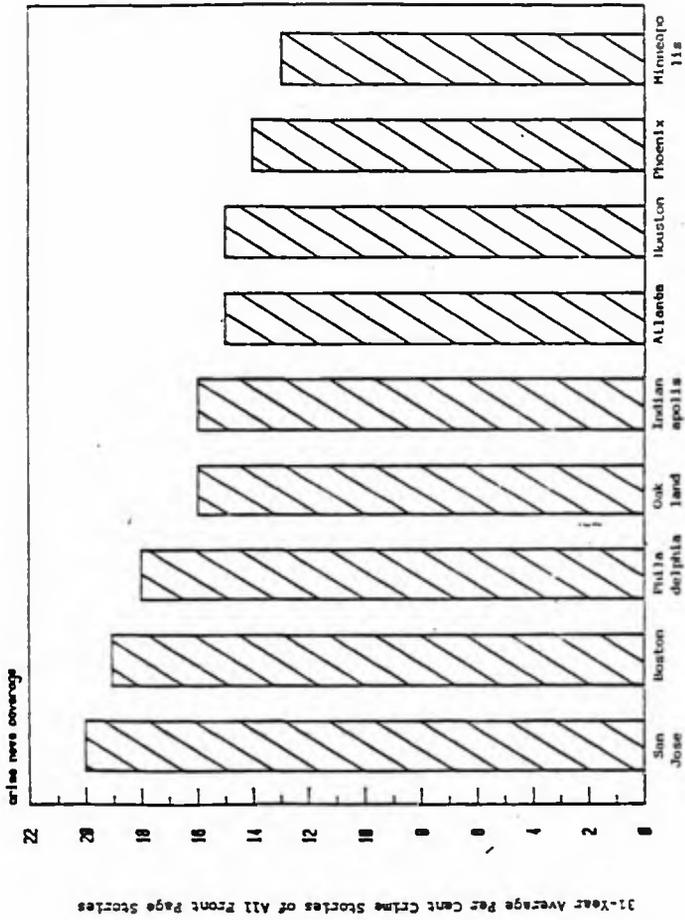
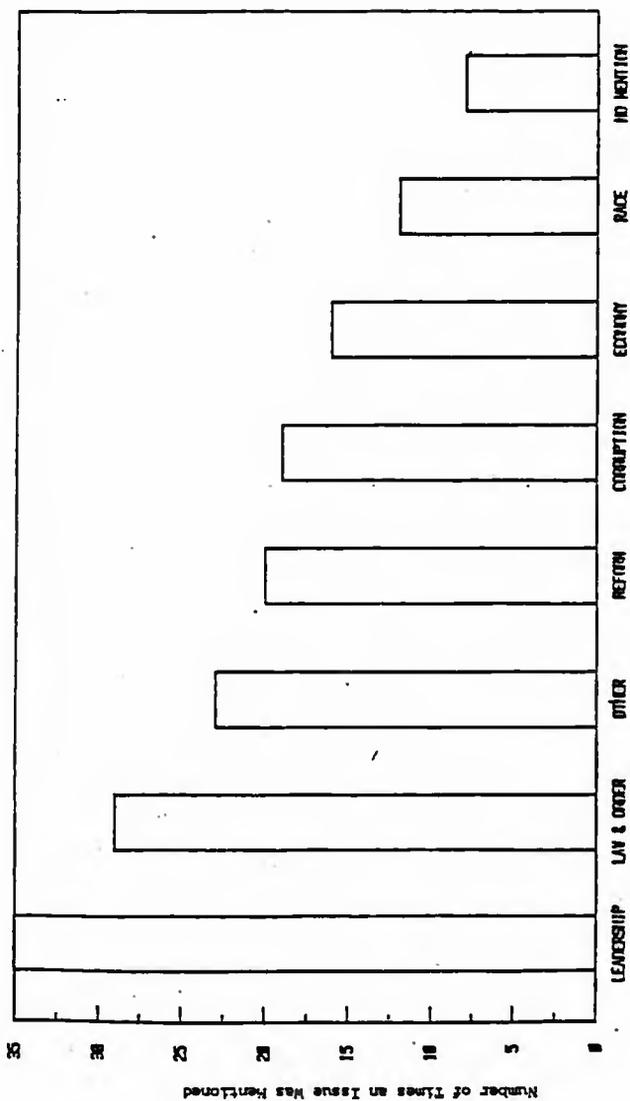


FIGURE 6 Salient Local Election Issues: 1948-1978

NUMBER OF TIMES EACH ISSUE WAS MENTIONED AS A SALIENT ELECTION ISSUE*



* For 54 local elections; three possible issues per election.

FIGURE 7
A TYPOLOGY OF POWER AND INFLUENCE^e

		SOURCE OF POWER	
		Political	Private
NUMBER EXERCISING POWER	Few	Political elitist (.01)	Business elitist (.06)
	Many	Bureaucratic (.28*)	Pluralistic (.37*)

* $p < .05$

^e The numbers in parentheses represent zero-order correlation coefficients between the type of power and the salience of crime on the political agenda.

FIGURE 8a
POLICE EXPENDITURES IN U.S. CITIES IN CONSTANT DOLLARS

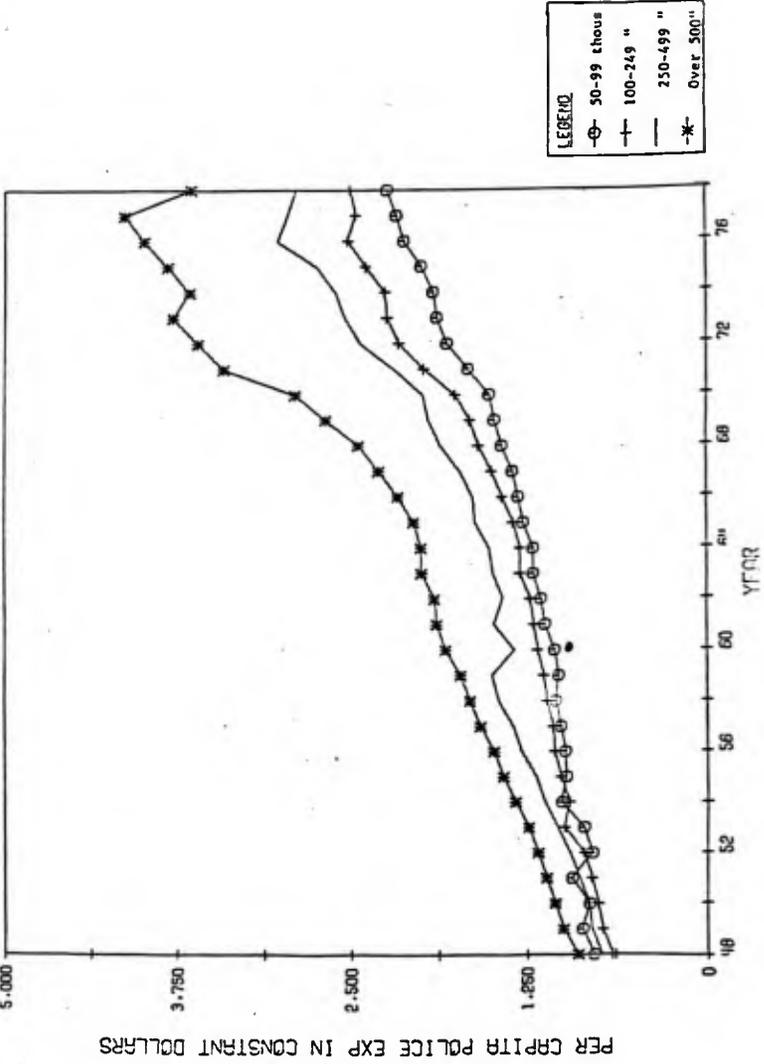
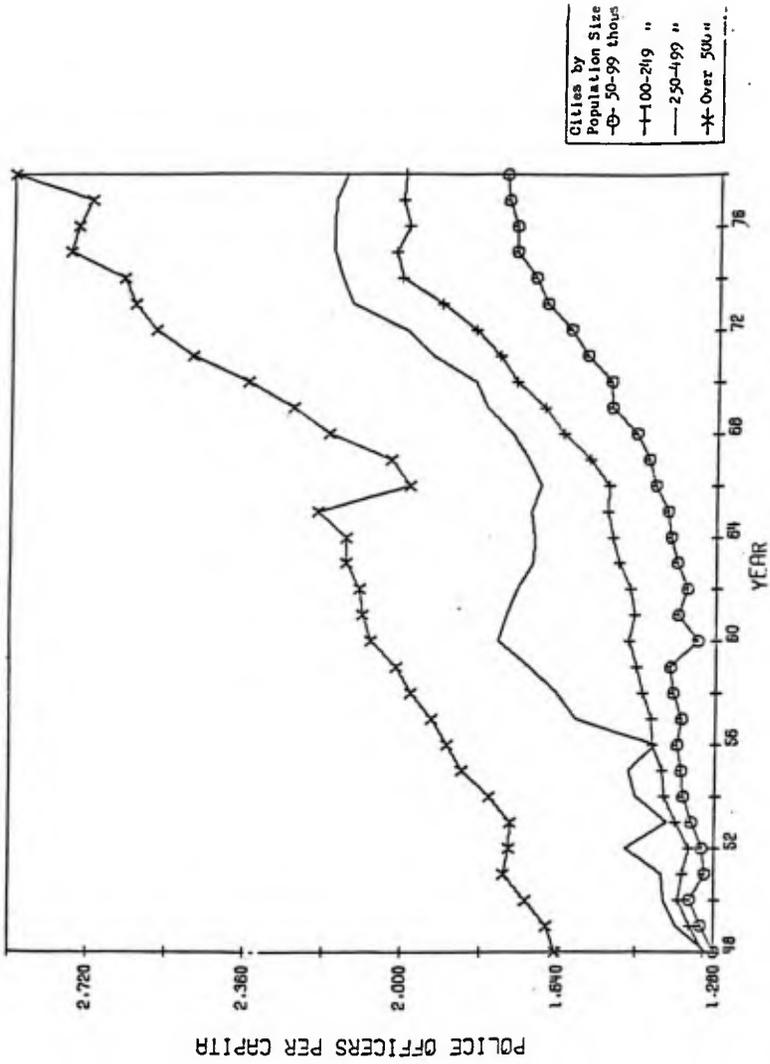


FIGURE 8b
POLICE OFFICERS PER CAPITA



85

FIGURE 9 STANO. PER CAPITA POLICE EXPENDITURES.

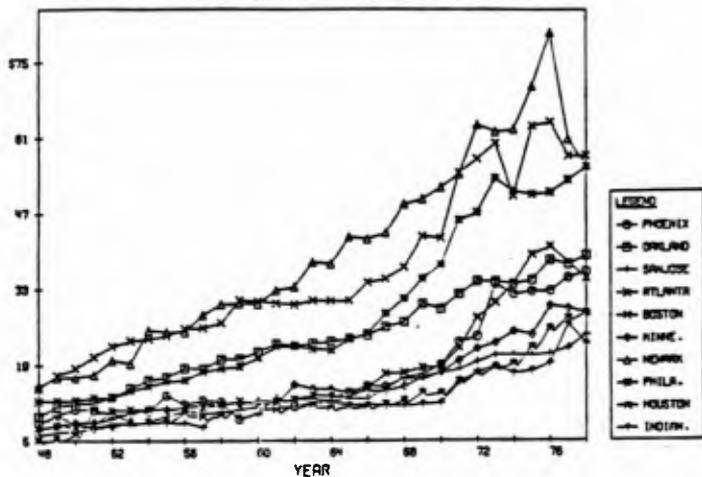


FIGURE 10 POLICE OFFICERS PER 1000 POPULATION.

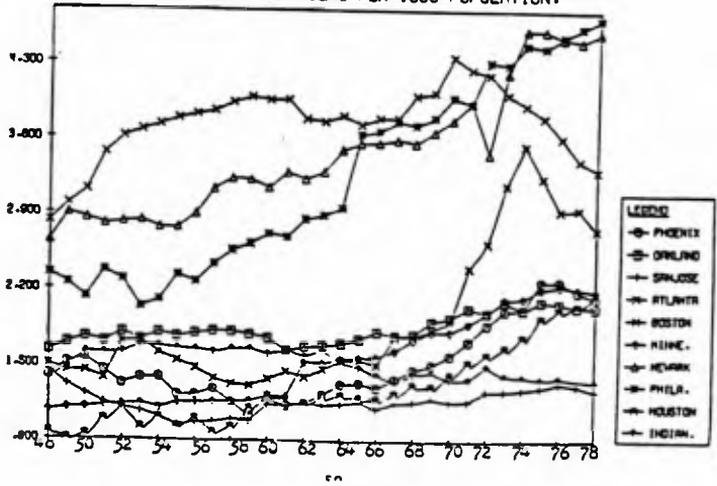


FIGURE 11

Mean Annual Percentage Change in the Crime Rate, Standardized Per Capita Police Expenditures, and Police Officers per 1000 Population, 1948-1978, By City.

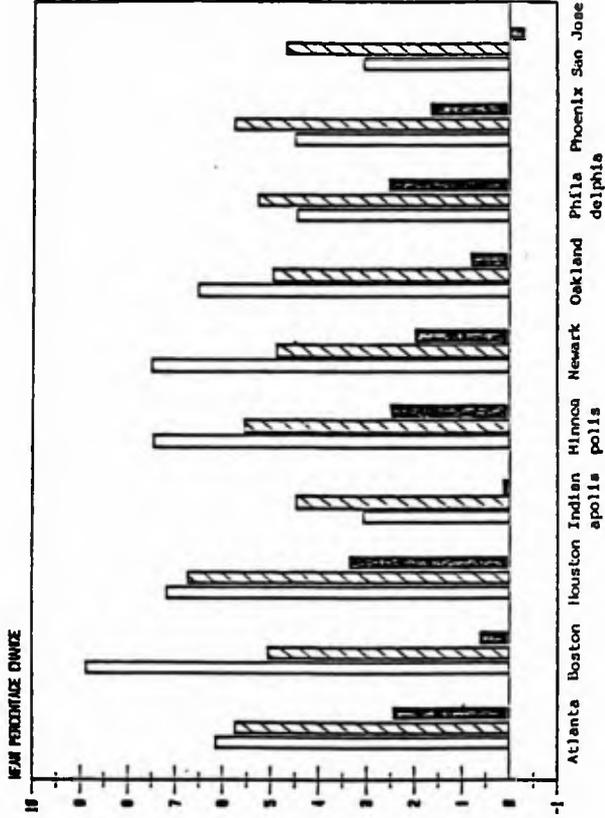


FIGURE 12
ARRESTS PER POLICE OFFICER.

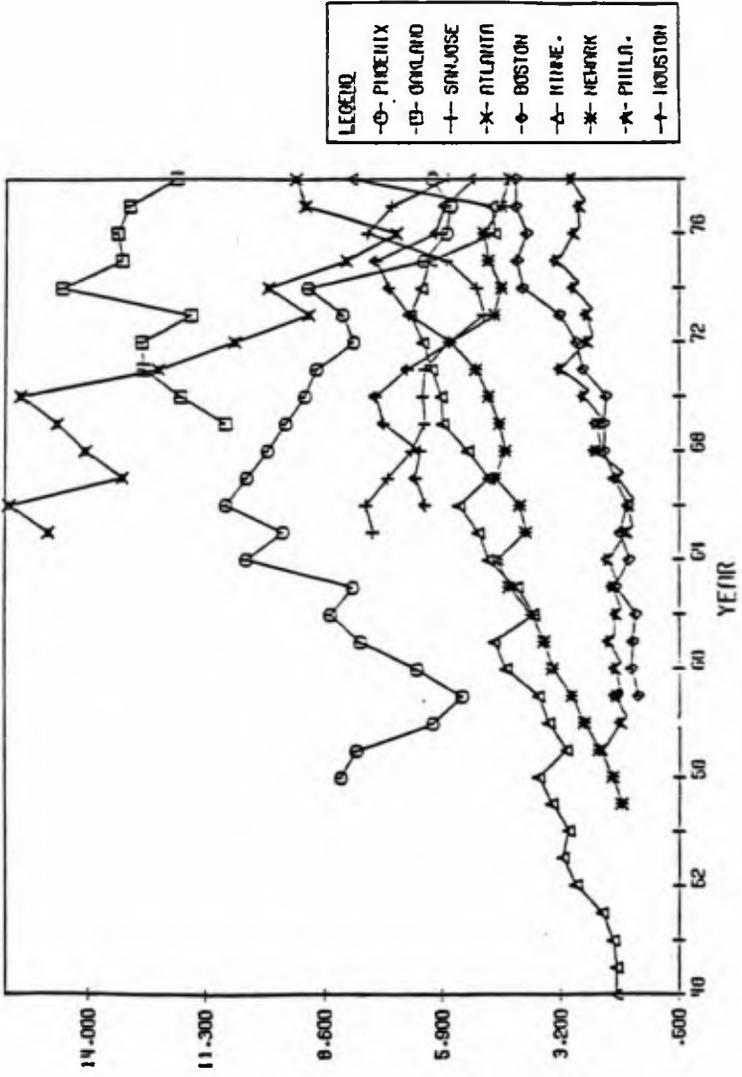


FIGURE 13
 Annual mean change in arrest rate, assistant prosecutors, court support personnel
 and felony judges, 1948-1978.

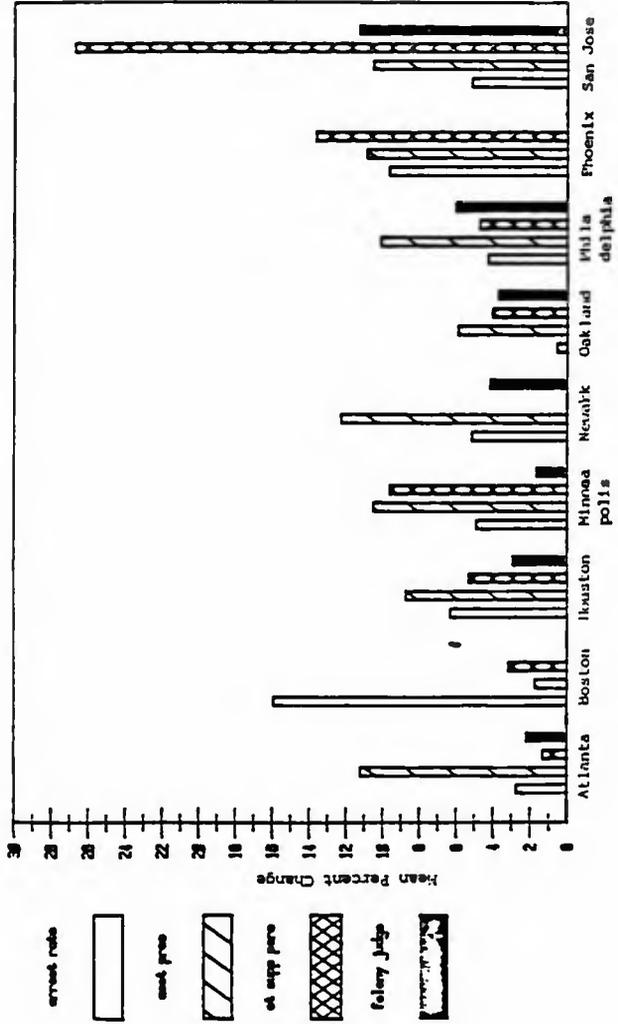
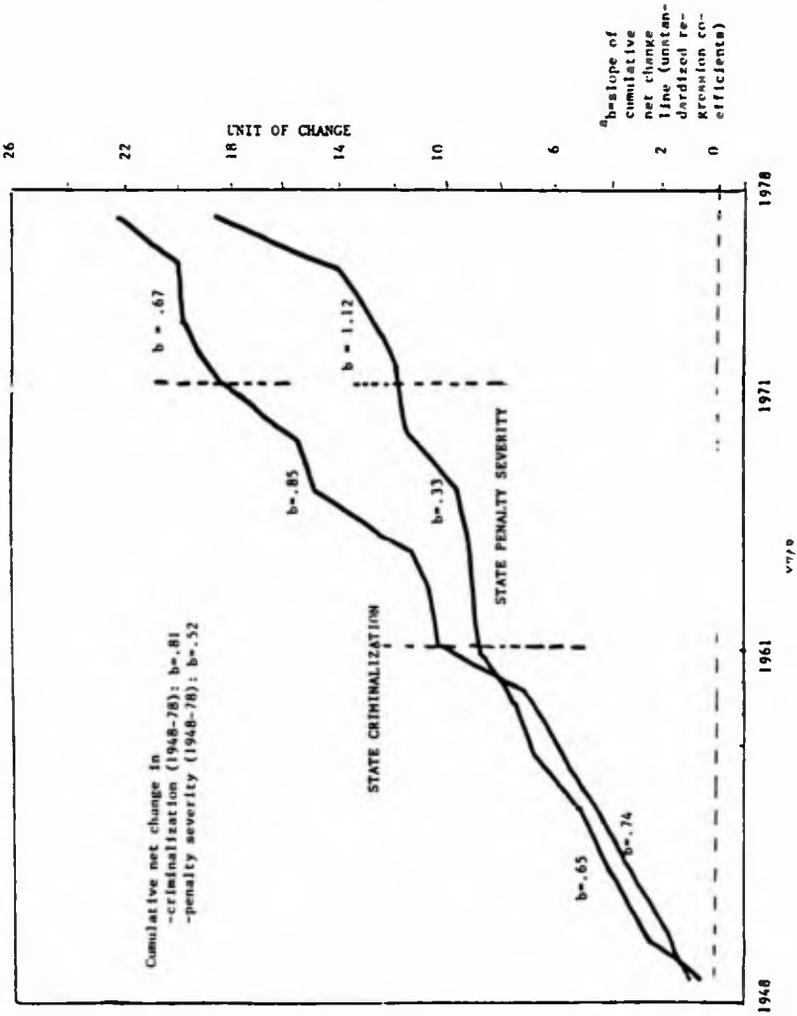


FIGURE 14
 CUMULATIVE NET CHANGE IN CRIMINALIZATION AND PENALTY SEVERITY PER OFFENSE FOR NINE STATES^a



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APPENDIX 6.—A PROPOSAL BY THE POLICE FOUNDATION, "AN EVALUATION OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE CADET CORPS," MAY 18, 1987

AN EVALUATION OF THE NEW YORK CITY
POLICE CADET CORPS

A Proposal for Continuation Funding
Submitted to the
National Institute of Justice

by the

Police Foundation
1001 22nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

May 18, 1987

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THE POLICE CADET CORPS: A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT	5
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Abstract

The first members of the New York City Police Department's Cadet Corps program entered the program in June of 1986. During their first summer, the Cadets received two weeks of training and were assigned for eight weeks to perform various tasks in precincts throughout the city. This program, by recruiting college students and providing them with special training and work experiences, was designed to increase the educational level of the members of the department, increase their attentiveness to community concerns, and enhance their leadership skills.

The National Institute of Justice awarded the Police Foundation a grant (86-IJ-CX-0025) to conduct an evaluation of the initial stages of the Cadet Corps program. That evaluation effort, which was to last eight months, was to be concerned primarily with the following issues:

- o How program recruitment and training were implemented.
- o Why Cadets decided to apply for the program.
- o What were the expectations and role concepts of the Cadets.
- o How the demographic characteristics of Cadets differed, if at all, from those of the usual department recruits and other city college students.
- o How representative the Cadets were of the city's population as a whole.
- o What the Cadets' summer experiences consisted of and how it affected their attitudes.
- o How the Cadets' supervisors evaluated their summer performance.
- o What types of Cadets survived (or did not survive) the first phase of the program.

- o What Cadets liked most--and least--about the program.
- o How feasible the Cadet selection and screening process would be for application to police officer applicants in general.
- o What types of data should be collected during later stages of the evaluation in order to determine the impact of the program on the goals it sought to achieve.

A preliminary evaluation report has been submitted to the National Institute of Justice that provides information about these concerns. Because demographic data concerning race and sex of city college students were not available by school, it was not possible to compare those characteristics with those of Cadets or recruits in as much detail as desired. In addition, because supervisor evaluations of Cadets were not available until the report was completed, those data were not included in the preliminary report. Furthermore, because only 130 Cadets were selected in the first cohort, inferences about that group are more limited than would have been the case if the original goal of 200 had been met. However, because of the extraordinary level of cooperation demonstrated by the police department, we were able to provide data about reasons for entry, perceptions, and attitudes from recruits entering the department during the summer of 1986, data that we had not originally anticipated being collected until the second stage of the evaluation.

This proposal requests funding for the second stage of the process evaluation phase of the study. During the twenty-four months of this stage of the evaluation we would focus on the following issues:

- o What training and work experience is provided to the initial cohort of Cadets during their junior and senior years? How does this compare to the training they received during their first summer?
- o How does the second year program experience affect the perceptions and attitudes of the first cohort of Cadets?
- o How many first cohort Cadets continue through the entire program? How does the attrition rate of the first cohort compare to that found among members of the second cohort?
- o How do the ratings on the oral assessment interview, the civil service examination, and the supervisor ratings compare to each other and to the measures of perceptions and attitudes provided by the questionnaires?
- o How well do Cadets perform in the police academy, compared to their classmates--recruits with and without a college degree?
- o What refinements should be made in the collection of impact data, based on the experiences of the Cadets and the comparison groups during academy training?

Because the first cohort of Cadets was considerably smaller than had originally been expected, we propose to collect data from the second cohort as well. If it can be determined that the first and second cohorts do not differ significantly from each other on any major dimensions, the two cohorts will be pooled to permit more powerful analyses to be performed. If, on the other hand, the two cohorts differ in any important respects, the differences will be examined to ascertain why those differences occurred.

In addition to these basic issues, this portion of the evaluation will seek to analyze the differential success rates demonstrated by members of various race and sex groups for the several subcomponents of the psychological examination. We will also seek to obtain data on Cadet grade point averages and

Scholastic Aptitude Test scores and to relate those data to outcome performance measures.

A report summarizing the findings concerning these questions will be submitted at the end of the second part of the process evaluation phase. In addition, reports summarizing the status of the evaluation effort will be submitted quarterly.

The Police Cadet Corps: The First Six Months

For years, a debate has raged concerning the desirability of recruiting more highly educated persons to serve as police officers. The creation of the Cadet Corps by the New York City Police Department offered an outstanding opportunity to test competing hypotheses about the contributions that could be provided by increasing the number of college graduates in a major police department. The Police Foundation submitted a proposal (included as Appendix A) to the National Institute of Justice to conduct an evaluation of the first six months of that program. That effort, funded as grant 86-IJ-CX-0025, was to provide information about the following issues:

- o How program recruitment and training were implemented.
- o Why Cadets decided to apply for the program.
- o What were the expectations and role concepts of the Cadets.
- o How the demographic characteristics of Cadets differed, if at all, from those of the usual department recruits and other city college students.
- o How representative the Cadets were of the city's population as a whole.
- o What the Cadets' summer experience consisted of and how it affected their attitudes.
- o How the Cadets' supervisors evaluated their summer performance.
- o What types of Cadets survived (or did not survive) the first phase of the program.
- o What Cadets liked most--and least--about the program.
- o How feasible the Cadet selection and screening process would be for application to police officer applicants in general.

o What types of data should be collected during later stages of the evaluation in order to determine the ability of the program to achieve its goals.

A preliminary evaluation report has been submitted to the National Institute of Justice that addresses these issues. A copy of that report is included as Appendix B. As that report indicates, 1,479 applications for the program were received, approximately five percent of the eligible full-time sophomores in the city. Of those, 1,060 were determined to be eligible for the program; a total of 684 appeared for an orientation meeting. No more than 373, however, are recorded as having taken the medical examination; only 251 appeared for an oral assessment.

Only 134 applicants successfully passed the medical examination, psychological tests, background investigation, and oral interview. Of those 134, 53.7 percent were white males, 15.7 percent white females, 9 percent black males, 6 percent black females, 8.2 percent Hispanic males, and 6 percent Hispanic females. The rest were Asians or from other ethnic groups. Blacks and Hispanics were notably less likely to pass the psychological tests and the background investigations than were whites.

A questionnaire, designed to measure perceptions, attitudes, and role expectations, was administered to the Cadets on their first day in the program. The original evaluation design did not anticipate being able to elicit similar information from recruits until the Cadets entered the Police Academy. However, because the New York City Police Department determined that this research was of vital importance, they agreed to allow a similar

instrument to be administered to the class of recruits entering the Police Academy during the first summer of the Cadet program.

According to their questionnaire responses, the largest percentage of Cadets had heard about the program over a local radio station. The most important reasons for entering the program were to find out whether policing was an attractive career option, the excitement and challenge of the job, the opportunity to get a good job, the chance to advance their career, and the occasion to work in the community.

Both Cadets and the recruits entering the Academy during the summer that the first cohort of Cadets began the program had generally favorable impressions of the job of police officer, although recruits tended to perceive the prestige of the job to be somewhat higher than did Cadets. Both groups also tended to have favorable perceptions of police officers, although recruits generally had more positive views.

Both Cadets and recruits generally agreed that the relationship between police and citizens is good and that it was important to be concerned about the citizens in the areas they might patrol and to treat them in a civil manner. Both also agreed that officers should use restraint in their use of force, although recruits were somewhat more likely to express such an attitude.

Both Cadets and recruits tended to disagree with the proposition that they like to be their own boss but also generally disagree that they are uncomfortable when working on a project requiring quick action affecting others.

The Cadets provided generally positive evaluations of the training they received, especially the class on communications and the general department orientation. Of the Friday sessions during the summer, they thought that the gym exercises were the most useful; the morning sessions, including speeches, were perceived as least useful.

Among their activities while assigned to precincts, the Cadets found the most useful to be walking foot patrol, riding in a patrol car, and learning about the precinct station. The activities perceived to have been least useful were such clerical duties as typing and working at a reception desk.

Almost 71 percent of the Cadets said they felt very positive about enrolling in the program on their first day. By the end of the summer, 82.5 percent felt very positive.

Certain changes in perceptions and attitudes of the Cadets from their first day in the program to the end of their first summer were statistically significant. First of all, they came to perceive the job of police officer as more boring, more repetitious, less exciting, and requiring more paperwork, than they had originally anticipated. They also became less likely to think that police officers require college degrees. Nevertheless, the Cadets became more likely to believe that police can distinguish criminals by their appearance and less likely to think that police use excessive force while making arrests. Cadets also became more likely to believe that citizens view the police as a hostile force, that citizens do not understand the problems of police, and that officers must be on guard against

citizens to prevent them from taking advantage of them. They also became more likely to believe that some of the ideals of politeness and decency taught in the academy are not workable for police officers on the street.

At the end of the summer, Cadets were more likely to think that police should use discretion in enforcing laws and more convinced that they currently do so. They also became more likely to think that citizen complaints are a common part of police work and that a citizen's word is taken over that of a police officer in investigations of such complaints. They became less likely, however, to believe that investigations of police misconduct are biased in favor of police. Finally, the Cadets became more likely to think that family problem-solving is a part of real police work.

As of October 1, 1986, only five of the original 130 Cadets had left the program, three of whom left to go directly to the Police Academy. Furthermore, most Cadets indicated that they had become even more enthusiastic about the program during their first summer.

The Police Cadet Corps: A Preliminary Assessment

It is premature to reach any firm conclusions about the extent to which the Cadet Corps has achieved, or will be able to achieve, its goals. The first class of Cadets has not yet completed their first year in the program. Assessments of the Cadets' work performance have not yet been provided by all sergeants. Cadets' scores on the civil service examination have not yet been analyzed. Although the department administered a

second wave questionnaires to measure the perceptions and attitudes of recruits at the end of their academy training, these data have not been processed and analyzed. Neither the Cadets nor the recruits have been evaluated while on actual duty as police officers. Furthermore, data concerning grade point averages, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, and scores on separate components of the psychological examination have not yet been available. Finally, as with any new program, the Cadet Corps is being modified as new information is obtained and fresh lessons learned.

Despite these limitations, the preliminary evaluation report attempts to make an initial assessment of the extent to which the program has accomplished its original goals: (1) increase the educational level of members of the department, (2) test a more rigorous selection process, (3) make the uniformed force more representative of the population it serves, (4) increase the department's community orientation, and (5) improve the leadership skills among members of the department. As described in greater detail in the evaluation report, the Cadet Corps program to date has, in fact, been able to recruit persons who are more representative of the New York City population than are currently found in the latest recruit class or the sworn personnel in general. The Cadets recruited were, in fact, generally community-oriented, although, based upon their questionnaire responses, somewhat less so than recruits. Furthermore, the tendency to be community-oriented appeared to decline somewhat after being assigned to a precinct for the

summer. The program has been able to recruit an initial group of college sophomores who, if they obtain their degrees and go on to enter the department, will increase somewhat the educational level of the uniformed force. However, a much broader recruitment effort will be required to effect a significant change in the educational level of the almost 30,000 members of the department. Finally, it is too early to determine the effectiveness of the Cadet selection process or to judge whether the Cadet program can improve the leadership skills of department personnel.

Evaluation Strategy

Our primary goals during this portion of the evaluation will be to focus on the following issues:

- o What training and work experience is provided to the initial cohort of Cadets during their junior and senior years? How does this compare to the training they received during their first summer?
- o How does the second year program experience affect the perceptions and attitudes of the first cohort of Cadets?
- o How many first cohort Cadets continue through the entire program? How does the attrition rate of the first cohort compare to that found among members of the second cohort?
- o How are the ratings on the oral assessment interview, the civil service examination, and the supervisor ratings related to each other and to the measures of perceptions and attitudes provided by the questionnaires?
- o How well do Cadets perform in the police academy, compared to their classmates--recruits with and without a college degree?
- o What refinements should be made in the collection of impact data, based on the experiences of the Cadets and the comparison groups during academy training?

Because the first cohort of Cadets was considerably smaller than had originally been expected, we propose to collect data

from the second cohort as well. If it can be determined that the first and second cohorts do not differ significantly from each other on any major dimensions, the two cohorts will be pooled to permit more powerful analyses to be performed. If, on the other hand, the two cohorts differ in any important respects, the differences will be examined to ascertain why those differences occurred.

In addition to these basic issues, this portion of the evaluation will seek to analyze the differential success rates demonstrated by members of various race and sex groups for the several subcomponents of the psychological examination. We will also seek to obtain data on Cadet grade point averages and Scholastic Aptitude Test scores and to relate those data to Cadet performance measures.

Schedule of Work

The schedule of work will be essentially that indicated in the original proposal, although certain changes will be necessitated by the revised and expanded work plan. Figure 1 represents the revised schedule of work in graphic form. As that figure indicates, the critical events during this stage of the evaluation will be the following:

April-May, 1987 o Process second wave perception and attitude data from 1986 recruit class; merge with first wave data; analyze differences between first and second waves; revise instruments.

- June, 1987
- o Collect first wave data from second Cadet cohort concerning reasons for entry, perceptions, and attitudes; compare results with those from first cohort of Cadets and 1986 recruit class.
 - o Interview sample of 1987 applicants to Cadet program who decide to withdraw from the selection process to determine reasons for withdrawing.
- July, 1987
- o Collect first wave data from July 1987 recruits concerning perceptions and attitudes.
- August, 1987
- o Collect third wave perception and attitude data from July 1986 recruits.
- September, 1987
- o Collect second wave perception and attitude data from second Cadet cohort.
 - o Collect third wave data from first Cadet cohort concerning perceptions and attitudes.
- October-
November, 1987
- o Collect data from CPOs concerning the summer performance of first and second cohort Cadets.
- December, 1987
- o Revise data collection instruments.
- June, 1988
- o Collect perception and attitude data from first Cadet cohort and other members of their academy class (with and without college degrees).
- September, 1988
- o Collect third wave data from second Cadet cohort concerning perceptions and attitudes.
- October-
November, 1988
- o Collect data from CPOs concerning the summer performance of first and second cohort Cadets.

- December, 1988 o Collect perception and attitude data from first cohort Cadets and other members of their academy class upon completion of their academy training.
- January-February, 1989 o Analyze data.
- March, 1989 o Draft report.
- April, 1989 o Submit report concerning evaluation findings from process evaluation stage.

Products

In addition to submitting quarterly progress reports to the National Institute of Justice, we will meet regularly with representatives of the New York City Police Department to keep them informed of the latest results from the evaluation as they develop. Such regular meetings will allow the department to alter the program in response to needs as early as possible. A report summarizing the findings of the process evaluation phase will be submitted at the end of the twenty-fourth month of this phase. In addition, with the permission of the National Institute of Justice and the New York City Police Department, the most important findings from this research will be communicated to the research community, at professional meetings and in scholarly journals.

Institutional Capacity

The Police Foundation is one of the most experienced research organizations in the field of evaluating police strategies, tactics, and programs. It has recently completed experiments aimed at reducing domestic violence, curtailing the

fear of crime, increasing police effectiveness, enhancing community crime prevention, preventing crime in public housing, deterring drunk drivers, arresting shoplifters, improving police-prosecutor relations, arresting repeat offenders, and various other issues. Its prior experiments evaluated motorized patrol, foot patrol, field interrogations, and many other police strategies. The Foundation has a reputation for innovation and research integrity and has extensive contacts in both the policing and research communities.

The Principal Investigator, Antony Pate, has been on the staff of the Police Foundation since 1972. He was assistant director of the Foundation's evaluation of the Kansas City preventive patrol experiment and director of several other Foundation projects, including its study of response time, location-oriented and perpetrator-oriented patrol, foot patrol, police stress, and public housing anti-crime efforts. He was co-director of the Foundation's fear reduction studies in Newark and Houston and is currently completing an evaluation of the relative effectiveness of foot patrol and "ombudsman policing" in Baltimore.

Sampson Annan, the Police Foundation's Survey Research Director, has directed national surveys to evaluate the effectiveness of a Census Bureau media campaign to encourage cooperation with the 1980 census and the 31-site evaluation of the Section 8 housing program. Working with Mr. Pate, he has managed the Foundation's survey efforts to evaluate public housing anti-crime programs in 15 cities, the fear reduction

programs in Houston and Newark, and the "ombudsman policing" experiment in Baltimore. He was also the co-author of the Foundation's study of the effectiveness of various sanctions for drunken driving in Minneapolis and is the Project Manager of the NIJ experiment on the same subject.

Management Plan

The overall project would be administered by the Police Foundation. The New York City Police Department would have responsibility for implementing and supervising the Police Cadet Corps program; the Foundation would monitor the progress of this effort to insure that the research design is maintained. Data analysis would be performed at the Foundation using its computers.

The project personnel would consist of the Project Director, the On-Site Evaluator, the Survey Research Director, and a data entry firm.

A. Project Director

The overall research effort will be managed by Antony Pate, the Project Director/Principal Investigator. He will be responsible for coordinating all work and for insuring that tasks are completed on schedule. He will consult with the police department on the progress of the program and will monitor its implementation. In addition, he will supervise the refinement of the questionnaire to be administered to Cadets and recruits; monitor data collection activities; direct the data analysis; and be principal author of all reports.

During the first three months of the project, Mr. Pate will spend 20 percent of his time supervising the processing of second wave recruit data, analyzing those data, and revising survey instruments and data collection procedures. For the next 18 months, he will spend 15 percent of his time monitoring the program implementation and supervising data collection. Mr. Pate's commitment to the project will increase to 100 percent during the last three months of the project when he oversees the impact data processing and analysis and writes the final report.

B. On-Site Evaluator

The On-Site Evaluator, Mr. Thomas Ferris, will supervise the administration of questionnaires, collect archival data, monitor and observe all aspects of the Police Cadet Corps program, and serve as liaison between the Police Foundation and the New York City Police Department. Mr. Ferris, who performed this role during the initial phase of the evaluation, will work under the direct supervision of Mr. Pate, to whom he will report regularly. During the summer months, Mr. Ferris will work full time. During the rest of the year, only part-time work will be required.

C. Survey Research Director

Sampson Annan, Survey Research Director for the Police Foundation, will participate in the refinement of the questionnaires to be administered to Cadets and recruits and be responsible for pre-testing those questionnaires. In addition, he will be responsible for supervising data coding editing, and data entry; preparing a clean data tape for analysis; and writing a technical report detailing the data collection procedures and

data format.

Mr. Annan will spend 20 percent of his time on this project during its first three months, assisting in the refinement of questionnaires and other data collection instruments and procedures. When appropriate, he will supervise data preparation and entry. During the remainder of the project, he will spend five percent of his time updating the data base.

D. Data Entry Firm

The data entry and machine editing will be performed by Mycom, Inc., the firm that assumed similar responsibilities for the Foundation's public housing anti-crime and fear reduction studies as well as for the initial phase of the Cadet Corps evaluation.

BUDGET NARRATIVEA. PERSONNEL

The Project Director will be Antony Pate, who will maintain the relationship with the New York City Police Department, be responsible for coordinating all work and for insuring that tasks are completed on schedule, oversee all data collection, insure adherence to the research design, and write the reports.

The Survey Director will be Sampson Annan, who will assist in designing all field observation and interview procedures, pre-testing the questionnaires, and supervise the data coding editing and data entry.

The secretary will maintain project files; type correspondence, field notes and reports; and arrange project travel and meetings.

B. FRINGE BENEFITS

The standard Police Foundation fringe benefit package includes 18.2 percent for vacation, sick, holiday and personal leave, 11.8 percent for pension contribution, 9.2 percent for health premiums, and 10.3 percent for payroll related taxes, contributions and tuition benefits. No costs for vacation, sick, holiday and personal leave are included in the salary figures.

C. TRAVEL

Travel to New York City is anticipated for the project director and survey director to make site inspections to monitor program implementation and supervise data collection activities.

D. EQUIPMENT

None.

E. SUPPLIES

Based on previous Police Foundation experience, an average cost of \$20 per person per month is anticipated for office supplies.

F. CONTRACTUAL

The data entry and machine editing for the survey data will be performed by MYCOM, Inc.

G. CONSTRUCTION

None.

H. OTHER

The On-site Evaluator, responsible for all data collection activities, will be hired as a consultant. Temporary workers will be employed to code and edit data.

The Police Foundation's current rent is \$27.00 per square foot per year for office space.

Since long distance contact between the project director, survey director, on-site evaluator and police department officials will be required, we estimate from past experience that telephone costs will average \$150.00 per month.

Postage expenses are estimated on the basis of previous Police Foundation experience with similar projects.

J. INDIRECT COSTS

The Police Foundation's most recent indirect cost rate was 60 percent of total direct costs, less subcontract costs in excess of \$20,000. However, during the period covered by this award, we anticipate that our indirect costs will be 50 percent of total direct costs.

APPENDIX 7.—VARIOUS NEWSPAPER ARTICLES PERTAINING TO POLICE CORPS

LOS ANGELES TIMES, Thursday, October 19, 1989 - B3

Gates, Block Oppose U.S. Plan for

By PAUL LIEBERMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Los Angeles County's two top law enforcement officials have come out against a national plan to establish a "police corps" of college students who would receive scholarships in exchange for commitments to spend at least four years in police jobs.

Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl F. Gates and Sheriff Sherman Block voted against the plan which was narrowly endorsed at a recent meeting of the heads of the nation's largest law enforcement agencies in Louisville.

The group—which calls itself Major Police Chiefs—voted 12-11 to support the "police corps" bill introduced in Congress last summer. The corps has been promoted as a way to solve police manpower shortages across the country.

But Gates, the group's chairman, complained Wednesday that the measure would "set up kind of an elite corps" who "would be resented" by current officers. He said the money should be set aside instead for further education of established police officers.

Block used even stronger language to criticize the plan, calling potential participants "mercenaries, for lack of a better term. People who are going into law enforcement for a short time because it would benefit them."

He predicted that participants would "be counting the days" until they could leave police work.

"I really question the level of commitment these people would have," Block said. "Would they be willing to roll around in the dirt like the job requires?"

The plan would enroll 25,000 future officers in college each year. Modeled after the military's Reserve Officer Training Corps

(ROTC), the federal government would pay up to \$10,000 a year in college expenses for each participant.

To make sure students do not renege on their four-year commitments, the plan calls for the government to pay the funds only after the work has been completed. While they are in school, the students would have to obtain loans to finance their educations.

The bill would create an Office of the Police Corps within the Department of Justice, with a director appointed by the President. The annual cost has been estimated at \$50 million for fiscal 1990, rising to \$490 million in 1993.

The corps' supporters range from Rep. Robert K. Dornan, the conservative Republican from Garden Grove, to Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), one of the most liberal members of Congress.

"This is certainly not an ideological issue," Dornan has said. "This is a survival issue."

A crime study group headed by New York lawyer Adam Walinsky, a former aide to the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, developed the idea for a police corps in 1982.

San Jose Police Chief Joseph McNamara, who supports the proposal, once called it "one of the real innovative ideas to come along in the last 10 years."

Another long-term supporter, Assemblyman Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica), has proposed state legislation that would help create a police corps in California.

He said Wednesday that he had talked to Gates and Block.

"I think it rankles their idea of law enforcement," he said. "I just think [they are] worried about having an echelon of people who might not be staying for the long haul. I think you'd get some to stay and some would move on. But it's a hazardous obligation. I don't think it's something a student would take

an lightly. It's not like a three-year vacation."

Hayden said that when he asks local police officials "about where are they going to get more cops, I don't get a good answer."

The Los Angeles Police Department is recruiting 900 new officers to reach an authorized force of 8,400 by July.

In trying to make his case against the plan to generally conservative police chiefs, Gates said he "just pointed out that this issue was raised in California by Tom Hayden. And I reminded them who Tom Hayden was—a friend of Jane Fonda."

Hayden, however, predicted that even critics such as Gates and Block will go along if it is adopted.

"I can't imagine a sheriff or chief of police turning down new personnel," he said. "I think they'll hem and haw a little bit then see how it works and put in an application."

ROTC-Like 'Police Corps'

from the evening sun

How to Fight Crime

FROM this week's news

- A woman is fatally shot on a street in Little Italy, long considered one of the city's lowest crime areas. Citizens demand more police protection.
- A 27-month-old boy walking with his mother on a West Baltimore street is seriously wounded by a stray bullet meant for a man who had gotten into an argument. There is no place in this city that is safe to raise a child, a neighbor tells a reporter.
- Meanwhile in South America, Colombian drug cartels declare "absolute war" on government efforts to bring them to

By Sara Engram

justice, bombing the offices of two political parties and setting fire to the homes of two politicians. For Americans, these events are a reminder of the terror drugs are bringing to cities and towns across this nation.

It's not paranoia — crime really is more threatening. As unsettling as the violence itself is the fact that citizens have less protection from the police.

Statistics tell a scary story. In 1951, cities with a population over 50,000 had more than three police officers for each violent felony reported that year. Today the ratio is reversed: for every officer, there is an average of three violent felonies.

In Baltimore, the ratio is even worse — five such crimes for every officer on duty. But the problem isn't confined to the city. Even Baltimore County exceeds the national average, with at most four violent felonies for each officer. Clearly, law enforcement efforts have not kept pace with crime.

There's more. Even though police salaries have sharply increased, departments report a drop in the quality of their recruits. In some cities it is said that functional illiterates can meet the recruiting standards. Most cities report that recruits are less disciplined and less motivated than in previous years.

That's not the reassuring news worried citizens want to hear. It does, however, frame the kind of issue that can bring together politicians as different as California's right-wing Congressman, Bob Dornan, and liberal Massachusetts Rep. Barney Frank, two of the many co-sponsors of legislation that would create a national "Police Corps." The plan is reminiscent of the ROTC program, another innovative effort designed to meet an urgent national need.

By offering significant aid for college education, ROTC has provided the armed forces with a steady supply of educated junior officers. In a similar vein, the Police Corps would attract talented young people into police work, offering scholarship aid in return for two summers of internship plus four years of full-time police work following graduation.

These young graduates could not be used to replace existing officers; the idea is to use them to increase the size of the force — to make it possible, say, to add more street patrols in Little Italy or West Baltimore or in Essex, Cantonville or Haver de Grace.

Yes, the program would require more money from hard-pressed municipal governments. But the federal — and advocates hope state governments too — would provide matching funds. That would give police spending the kind of priority other federally aided programs now have. Local governments are reluctant to cut those programs since each local dollar cut means an actual loss of \$2, \$3 or \$4 when the matching funds are taken into account. Moreover, police corps graduates local governments would be spared the substantial cost of funding pensions for these officers during their four-year terms.

The idea, says Adam Walinsky, the New York lawyer who has been pushing this idea for years, is to give law enforcement the kind of priority in local government budgets that welfare spending or road building programs have enjoyed for years.

The police corps wouldn't be free to cities. But it would make significant numbers of young, high-quality officers available to police departments at less cost. And it may be the best hope we have of giving local governments the resources to meet their basic obligation to citizens — making our streets and homes safe places to live.

WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1989

73 A14

Police Corps Plan Is Poor Weapon Against Crime

By LAWRENCE W. SHERMAN
 For the first time in 20 years, Congress is spending money on a police corps. The plan is to add as many as 100,000 state and local police officers to the 550,000 or so currently employed. Cost estimates range from \$200 million to \$1.4 billion a year, depending on the number of officers hired and the kind of training they would be a kind of ROTC for police, with \$40,000 in college loans forgiven for graduates completing four years of service.

Skeptics might remind Congress that the 1968 legislation to fight drugs has not yet been fully funded. Nonetheless, there seems to be serious support in both houses, for a new kind of conscription, for the National Police Corps. It is being pushed by New York attorney Adam Waisman and Jonathan Rubenstein, a respected author on police issues.

The congressional proposals come at a time of a national crisis in recruiting police personnel. In one department after another, the ranks are thinning. In some, the last three years. The seeds of this crisis were sown in the late 1960s, when race riots and rising crime spurred many cities to hire more police officers. As the World War II generation retired, the Vietnam generation replaced it in even greater numbers. But with police officers typically earning less than other public employees or service, the Vietnam era officers will soon be gone.

Many police departments already are scrambling to replace the retirees. The

congressional goal of increasing total strength by nearly 20% seems almost impossible. The police are facing a number of competing practices. Recruiting college students with generous scholarships is certainly a radical change, but it is hardly the best way to spend hundreds of millions of dollars a year to fight crime.

There are also proposals to step up training for police recruits. One major cause of the police recruiting crisis is the "baby bust" reductions in the number of people turning 21. The current options are either to lower personnel standards, or to include older men and women.

Some of the other proposals are to hire and use other physical force staffs, and more adept at talking suspects into cooperating. Younger officers also have more traffic accidents. It is possible these traits are linked to inexperience at any age.

Since police departments produce little in the way of profits, they are not subject to the same pressures. But as criminologist James Q. Wilson and others note, most violence in most societies throughout history, has been committed by young men. By age 25, testosterone poisoning generally starts showing substantially.

Hiring more young women might be one way to reduce crime. But that has not been a serious police recruitment issue for many reasons. Police departments have not been able to hire more than a relative handful of women since the legal barriers to their

prefer federal support for prisons and jail construction. The police are also being asked to do more. They are being asked to do more assembly line justice and assembly line defense. Some criminology professors may benefit from a Police Corps through larger enrollments, but my own preference is a National Institute of Justice graduate would be a better use of the same dollars than research and development.

Federal spending for research on health is \$26 per American per year. We spend eight cents per person for research on crime control. We spend 10 times more on health care than we do on the National Institute of Justice. The National Institute of Justice is the primary source of money for crime research. We have an agency for crime control. We have an agency for crime prevention. We have an agency for crime and development.

Police work needs more brains than brawn, and that controlled experiments in police methods could help to fight crime. Police chiefs around the country are eager to conduct such experiments, but there is enough funding available for only a few. If we must spend the money as Police Corps, we can spend it more wisely.

We can use the money for actual police salaries of newly recruited college graduates of all ages, rather than educational loans for the young. This would encourage them to raise their academic educational requirements for post-high school or into graduate school. It would also encourage them to raise their age distribution in police recruitment.

The war on crime is too complicated to be left to the market. We need more veterans to help turn the tide.

Mr. Sherman, a University of Maryland criminology professor, is president of the Crime Control Institute in Washington.

(4)

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

WEDNESDAY, JULY 26, 1989

Mobilizing a Police Corps

This may well be the year that will finally see the creation of a Police Corps to provide local police departments with a pool of college-trained officers.

The bill authored by Sen. Arlen Specter has going for it several elements that previous measures that would have set up an ROTC-like program for police did not.

A key advantage is a diversity of co-sponsors in the House as well as the Senate to ensure the bipartisan support necessary to not only sell the concept in the Congress but provide the necessary financing, perhaps as much as \$500 million a year.

The Pennsylvania Republican's legislation also has the support of a number of major police organizations, groups traditionally opposed to such an approach, because they saw Police Corporations undercutting their pay scales. As now worded, Sen. Specter's bill would require that they be paid the same salaries as officers not hired through the

program. It also makes active police officers eligible to participate.

The bill also promises to attract more qualified minority candidates to police work by requiring states administering such programs to give special emphasis to minorities in recruiting and promotion efforts.

Under the program, applicants would have up to \$40,000 of their college costs paid in exchange for agreeing to serve four years as police officers on graduation. They would also be required to undergo 16 weeks of training as law-enforcement officers each summer.

It is a costly program but offers a much-needed means of upgrading the level of professionalism of police departments across the country by providing a supply of up to 100,000 college graduates who have also received intensive public-safety training. As we observed before in an earlier editorial, it is an imaginative approach. It deserves Congress' support.

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

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JAMES HOSE, Publisher and President
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Fighting crime with the Police Corps

Americans are demanding that government do something about crime. Like other elected officials, members of Congress feel the pressure to act. That's why they're giving overdue attention to a smart idea: the Police Corps.

The program is similar to college ROTC. Young men and women would receive federal scholarships for four years. After graduation, they would enter a police department for training and four years of service. That should do for law enforcement what ROTC does for the armed services: Add numbers and quality at an affordable cost.

Affordability. Police Corps cops will work for standard pay in their departments — a point police unions insist on — but they won't draw pensions and seniority raises. So the departments will get full-time, fully qualified officers at about two-thirds the cost of career cops — an enormous saving.

Quality. Police professionals agree that college training makes for better cops. But departments are having a hard time recruiting people with advanced education. The Police Corps will put thousands of college grads in blue uniforms. And — key point — they'll be young and energetic. A survey of police chiefs found that young officers make 30% of all arrests far more than older officers.

Numbers. The Police Corps is a way for beleaguered cities with federal backing to expand their police forces without busting their budgets. And expansion is essential because crime is outstripping the cops. In 1961 in America's medium and big cities, there were three officers for every reported violent felony. Today, the ratio is reversed — one cop per three violent felonies. And that's just the average. In New York City, it's 5.4 felonies per cop. In Los Angeles, 9. Oakland, 10.7.

The Police Corps isn't a magic bullet. But it is a long step toward beefing up police muscle. And if properly run at the entry level, it can put more minorities on police forces.

Legislation to launch the Police Corps has been introduced in Congress with heavy-eight sponsorship from both conservatives and liberals. National police groups that were once skeptical or even hostile now back the program. That should increase chances for approval. But the best chance rests on a simple fact: The Police Corps is an idea whose time has come.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1989

Putting Graduates on the Streets

Bill Proposes College Scholarships in Return for Service as Police

By Paula Yost
Washington Post Staff Writer

If a coalition of conservative and liberal federal legislators has its way, thousands of students who earn college degrees will end up on the streets—as beat cops.

The branch of New York City lawyer Adam Walinsky, the Police Corps, introduced as legislation yesterday in the Senate, would be similar to the Peace Corps or the Reserve Officers Training Corps. Students would receive college scholarships in return for promising to serve on state or city police forces for four to five years after graduation.

The proposal would try to attract 100,000 Police Corps graduates to the ranks of the nation's 250,000 patrol officers—increasing the street forces by 40 percent.

"We could use the help," said Gary Hankins, chairman of the Fraternal Order of Police of the Metropolitan Police Department in the District. "We do need more people on the street."

The nation's police departments are devoting fewer officers to fighting violent crime today than 30 years ago. Sen. Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.), one of the bill's sponsors, said at a news conference yesterday.

Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), a co-sponsor, gave these statistics: In 1948, 3.22 police officers walked the street for every violent crime reported. In 1987, only one officer worked per five violent crimes.

Today's police departments not only face strained budgets, they have trouble finding qualified applicants. Law enforcement, perceived as losing the war on crime, is not drawing the numbers it once did,

said Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-Calif.), co-sponsor of an identical House bill introduced June 29.

Dornan said that disillusioned inner city police who come from generations of officers are encouraging their sons and daughters to find another line of work. Patrol officers, he said, are telling their children: "We're outgunned out there. We're outmuscled, and this is no longer a rewarding profession."

Legislators who are normally political toes came together to back the legislation. At yesterday's news conference, Dornan, one of the House's most vocal conservatives, joined outspoken liberal Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) to push the House version of the Police Corps Act of 1989.

"I see avowed liberals who are proud of it and I see avowed conservatives who are proud of it," said Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.), "and I think what brings us together is the harsh reality of crime."

The harsh reality of crime hit Walinsky in 1982, when the former aide to Robert F. Kennedy read a Justice Department report that said police forces were dwindling while drug peddling, murder, rape and robbery were on the rise. Walinsky, former chairman of New York's State Investigations Commission, hit on the idea of a police corps. Walinsky spent seven years honing the idea, which he said is ripe for congressional support.

Dornan said the proposal's only opposition should come from the Office of Management and Budget, which he expects will argue that the federal government does not have the \$1.4 billion needed to run the program every year.

"I just keep saying two things

over and over, 'Preventative maintenance, preventative maintenance,'" Dornan said. "We all put off tuning our car, and then something blows . . . With violent crime, it is not just blowing a cylinder in a car, it's dead people lying in the street. We have to invest money to save lives, to save property."

Sponsors of the bills have recruited the backing of police unions, but their support did not come without concessions.

Walinsky initially wanted to pay Police Corps graduates less than officers recruited in the normal manner, which would have saved local police departments money. "We think kids would have taken less, but police unions prevailed on senators and congressmen to provide pay that would be equal" to salaries of permanent police officers, Walinsky said.

Dornan and Frank said that police officers should not view the idea as a way to make law enforcement a more elite profession. "We've got good cops. They're just spread too thin," Dornan said.

Hankins, of the D.C. police union, said some officers might be skeptical of the college grads-turned-police officers because they will not be perceived as "full-time, committed professionals."

Like "regular Army and draftees, they all work together very well, but there is a delimitation among their own peers," he said.

Sasser said he will try to make sure the District spending bill will include a provision to allow the Metropolitan Police Department to hire 50 Police Corps graduates.

It will be at least October before the House and the Senate vote on the proposal, legislators said.

Plan for police backed

100,000 officers would be added

By Jeff Barker

AP/WIDE WORLD

WASHINGTON — An unlikely coalition of liberal and conservative groups said yesterday that it would back a plan to add 100,000 officers to police forces around the nation.

"This is certainly not an ideological issue. This is a national issue," Rep. Bob Dornan (R-Calif.) said at a news conference discussing the Senate bill.

Rep. Bernard Frank (D-Mass.), as liberal as Dornan is conservative, also has been an outspoken backer of the measure, the Police Corps Act of 1974, which would trade scholarships for service.

Dornan, Frank and Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy 2d (D-Mass.) introduced a similar measure in the House last month. They appeared yesterday with their Senate colleagues to offer bipartisan support.

The bill is designed to boost state and local police forces by up to 25 percent while producing college-educated officers to cope with challenges such as racial tension and gang warfare. It would add up to 25,000 officers a year during the first four years of the program.

The idea was developed in 1963 by a crime study group headed by New York City lawyer Adam Walsh and Jonathan Popenstein, a police expert who has worked with the Philadelphia police.

After seven years of lobbying, Walsh be-

lieves, the time is ripe for congressional action.

Participating students would get federally guaranteed education loans and have up to \$40,000 repaid by the government when they completed four years in the state police or a local police department in a sponsoring state.

Another sponsor, Sen. Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.), said he wanted to create a pilot program in the District of Columbia providing 50 students with scholarships in exchange for four-year work commitments.

"Washington, D.C., has become a paradigm of the nation's growing problem with violent crime," Sasser said. "It will provide a rigorous test for the Police Corps concept."

The measure envisions bringing the nation's total police force to \$60,000 within four years of the program's implementation.

The cost is projected to rise each year as the program builds — from \$50 million in 1991 to \$290 million in 1995 and more later, said Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), another sponsor.

The measure has the support of the national Fraternal Order of Police and the National Association of Police Organizations, which represents 90,000 rank-and-file officers.

Other Senate sponsors include Democrats Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, Bill Bradley of New Jersey, John Kerry of Massachusetts and Harry Reid of Nevada, and Republicans Warren B. Rudman of New Hampshire and Trent Lott of Mississippi.

Bill Helps Cops to Hire Education

Offers College Ride For Police Service

By Jeff Barker

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A plan to create a national Police Corps of young college graduates received backing yesterday from an unusual liberal-conservative congressional coalition which said it hoped to test the idea on the District of Columbia streets. Unveiled yesterday, the Police Corps Act of 1989 would trade scholarships for police service. It is designed to boost the strength of state and local police forces by up to 22 percent while creating a new brand of college-educated officers to cope with racial tensions, gang warfare and other special challenges.

The idea was developed in 1982 by a crime study group headed by New York City lawyer Adam Malinsky and Jonathan Rubenstein, a police expert who has worked with and studied the Philadelphia police.

"My thought is that this is a great idea whose time has come," said Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa., a bill sponsor.

An unusual group of House supporters has formed around the plan, including Reps. Barney Frank, D-Mass., Joseph P. Kennedy II, D-Mass., and Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif. The outspoken liberal Frank is rarely on the same side of an issue with Dornan, an equally conservative conservative.

Participating students would get federally guaranteed loans for their education, then have up to \$40,000 repaid by the government once they complete four years in the state police or a local force.

The test program would provide 50 students with scholarships in exchange for commitments to serve in the D.C. police force for four years.

While the government would pay for the scholarships, it would still be up to municipalities to pay the additional officers' salaries. But Specter said the officers would be "premium applicants" and would be cheaper than others because they would not likely participate in pension plans.

Cost is one reason the plan has taken since 1982 to gain momentum on Capitol Hill.

The bill envisions adding 100,000 officers to the 480,000 on the job today. The cost is projected to rise each year as the program builds — from \$50 million in 1990 to \$200 million in 1992.

Barkers point to already stretched local law enforcement budgets, and to statistics showing that the nation allocates to violent crime just one-sixth of the police pay or compared with 30 years ago.

"We have an historic precedent," said Specter, the former Philadelphia district attorney. "In times of national emergency, the bulk of our military officers have been drawn not from the career forces but from the citizenry at large. They have been volunteers who after their tour of duty returned to their civilian occupations."

Bill links police duty, student aid

By Kerry O'Rourke
Special to The Tribune

WASHINGTON—Legislation authorizing the federal government to pay the college costs of 100,000 students if they agree to serve four years as police officers after they graduate was introduced Wednesday in the Senate.

Cities could put more officers on the beat if Congress approves the legislation calling for the formation of a national Police Corps, which its sponsors have compared to ROTC and the Peace Corps.

The corps would beef up overworked and understaffed police departments that are finding it hard to attract new recruits, the bill's proponents say. It would cost \$1 billion when fully operational after four years, according to Sen. Arlen Specter (R., Pa.), a primary sponsor of the legislation.

Under the plan, the corps would take up to 25,000 students each year and pay up to \$40,000 for their four-year education. Each state would be required to recruit minorities.

The measure, also introduced in the House last month, has bipartisan support.

"What brings us together is the harsh reality of crime in our country," said Rep. Robert K. Dornan of California, a conservative Republican who is sponsoring the bill with Rep. Barney Frank, a liberal Democrat from Massachusetts. "This is certainly not an ideological issue. It is a survival issue."

The legislation also is backed by the Fraternal Order of Police and other police organizations.

The plan for a national corps was developed seven years ago by Adam Walinsky, a New York lawyer and former legislative aide to the late Sen. Robert Kennedy, Jonathan Rubenstein, a former Philadelphia police officer, and others.

Walinsky said he became further convinced of the plan's need after visiting the Henry Horner Homes in Chicago in 1987. At the public housing development he said he found "the worst abandonment" of American citizens he'd ever seen.

Fewer people are choosing police work as a profession, Dornan said. Forty years ago, there were three times as many police officers as there were violent crimes reported, said Sen. James Sasser (D., Tenn.), a main sponsor of the legislation. Today, the proportion is reversed.

"In the nation as a whole, we are devoting to violent crime one-ninth of the police power we mobilized in the 1950s," Sasser said.

The bill calls for the Police Corps to have a director appointed by the president and approved by the Senate who would decide how many new officers would be allocated to each state based on a plan submitted by the states. The corps would be overseen by the U.S. attorney general.

Matt Rodriguez, deputy superintendent of technical services for the Chicago Police Department, said in a telephone interview that any plan to bring college-educated officers into the force is beneficial. Studies have shown that better-educated officers are more productive and effective, he said.

Thursday
July 13, 1989

Final news

Herald Examiner

Congress develops proposal to unleash the 'Police Corps'

By Jeff Barker
Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A plan to create a national "Police Corps" of young college graduates was boosted yesterday by an unusual liberal-conservative congressional coalition, which said it hoped to test the idea on the District of Columbia streets.

Unveiled yesterday, the Police Corps Act of 1989 would trade scholarships for police service. It is designed to boost the strength of state and local police forces by up to 22 percent while creating a new brand of college-educated officers to cope with racial tensions, gang warfare and other special challenges.

The idea was developed in 1982 by a crime study group headed by New York City lawyer Adam Walinsky and Jonathan Rubenstein, a police expert who has worked with and studied the Philadelphia police.

"My thought is that this is a great idea whose time has come," said Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa., a sponsor of the bill.

An unusual group of House members has formed around the plan, including Reps. Barney Frank, D-Mass.; Joe Kennedy, D-Mass.; and Bob Dornan, R-Garden Grove.

The outspoken liberal Frank is rarely on the same side of an issue with Dornan, an equally combative conservative.

"I see on this stage avowed liberals who are proud of it and avowed conservatives who are proud of it," Dornan said at a news conference. "This is certainly not an ideological issue. This is a survival issue."

Another sponsor, Sen. Jim Sasser, D-Tenn., said he will include language in a District of Columbia spending bill creating a "Police Corps" pilot program in the nation's capital. He said the Senate Government Affairs Committee is scheduled to consider the bill later this week.

Senate sponsors include Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., the former state attorney general; Warren Rudman, R-N.H.; Bill Bradley, D-N.J.; Chris Dodd, D-Conn.; Trent Lott, R-Miss.; John Kerry, D-Mass.; and Harry Reid, D-Nev.

The test program would provide 50 students with scholarships in exchange for commitments to serve in the city's police force for four years.

Police corps cadets would start 16 weeks of training at a federal police training center after their junior years of college and receive rookie wages for their entire four years of college.

Participating students would get federally guaranteed loans for their education, then have up to \$40,000 repaid by the government once they complete four years in the state police or a local police department in the sponsoring state.

While the government would pay for the scholarships, it would still be up to municipalities to pay the additional officers' salaries. But Specter said the officers would be "premium applicants" and would be cheaper than others because they would not likely participate in pension programs.

The bill envisions adding 100,000 officers to the 480,000 on the job today. The cost is projected to rise each year as the program builds — from \$50 million in 1990, to \$200 million in 1992 and more after that, Specter said.



Unusual allies: Liberal's like Joe Kennedy, left, joined Bob Dornan and other conservatives to propose the "Police Corps."

Backers point to already-stretched local law enforcement budgets and to statistics showing that the nation allocates to violent crime just one-sixth of the police power compared with 30 years ago.

Police officials acknowledge there might be concerns about elitism, but the measure has gained the support of the national Fraternal Order of Police and the National Association of Police Organizations.

BOSTON HERALD - July 9, 1989

Lawmakers to propose \$5.2B plan to beef-up street patrols by police

WASHINGTON — A broad coalition of lawmakers will propose a \$5.2 billion plan today to put 100,000 rookie police officers on the streets within five years.

The plan would forgive college loans of up to \$40,000 for college graduates who serve four years in the police department.

It is modeled after similar government loan forgiveness programs for soldiers, Peace Corps volunteers and doctors who work in medically deprived areas.

Sen. Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) and Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), the main sponsors, will propose starting the program on a pilot basis with a class of 50 recruits for the District of Columbia. As of yesterday morning, Washington had had 228 homicides this

year, compared to 159 at the same time last year.

Cosponsors range from liberals like Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) and Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) to conservatives like Rep. Robert Dornan (R-Calif.) and Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.).

And Senate Democratic leader George Mitchell of Maine has told Sasser he wants to include it in an anti-crime package later this year.

The measure is touted as a way to quickly bolster police department ranks, and its chief aim is to put more police officers out on patrol to deter crime.

"Murder, robbery and rape are literally out of control in some of this nation's major urban areas," Sasser said, while

police efforts have been dwarfed by the unprecedented growth of crime in the streets.

In 1987, according to a Justice Department study, there were 322 police officers for every reported violent felony a year. Now there are an average of 31 violent crimes for every officer.

There are now 380,000 police officers nationwide, with about 250,000 assigned to patrol duties. The goal of the bill is to add 100,000 new patrolmen after four years.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the program would cost \$4 billion for 25,000 graduates a year, with an average four year loan cost of \$13,000 and administrative and training expenses.

—Herald Staff Services

Democrats Lead Assault on Crime

Democratic lawmakers are leading a bipartisan effort in Congress to make a real assault on crime, tackling head-on one of the issues which has hurt the party badly in recent national elections.

The Police Corps legislation introduced by D.C. member Sen. Jim Sasser of Tennessee attacks increasing crime rates by providing more police officers. If fully implemented, the plan would add 100,000 new officers to the ranks of police across the country, using the



Sen. Jim Sasser

accepted for the program would receive police training during summer vacations and then serve in state or local police forces for a minimum of four years after graduation.

As with ROTC scholarships, admission into the program will be highly competitive, ensuring that participants will be some of the



Rep. John Lewis

long-standing and highly successful college ROTC program as a model.

"The Police Corps," said U. S. Rep. John Lewis (GA), a co-sponsor of the bill, "tells all of our people that we are not helpless before the ills of modern life, or before the savagery of man. . . . It will allow all of us, black and white, to join as citizens in the work of recapturing our community."

Under Sasser's proposal, the Police Corps will provide up to \$40,000 worth of college tuition assistance over four years. Students

Questions and Answers

Q: What is the Police Corps?

The Police Corps is modeled after the ROTC program. It would give loans to pay for the college education of participants who agree to be full-time members of local police forces after graduation. After the graduates complete four years of full-time police duty, the government would assume repayment of the loans.

Q: How will this help fight crime?

It would help fight crime by putting 100,000 new police officers on the streets—an increase of 40 per cent in the nation's police manpower. This not only provides a significant deterrent to committing crimes, but also results in a higher number of arrests.

Q: How will it work?

Participants would be selected competitively by the Office of the Police Corps, which would be established as a part of the Justice Department. During their college summer vacations, the Police Corps students would be given special physical and police training. After graduation, they would join state or local police departments as regular duty officers for four years.

Q: Who would participate?

The Police Corps will recruit students into an extremely competitive application process, which will ensure that the program attracts young men and women who are among the brightest and most talented in the country. Bringing these students, many of whom would not have considered police service before, into the war against crime will be one of the biggest benefits that this program will give to society.

Over time, the Police Corps will become a routine point of entry into the

most promising young people in the country.

"With one stroke," Sasser told a press conference unveiling the Police Corps proposal, "we provide a mechanism for increasing and diversifying our law enforcement resources, at the same time as to be offering needy young people a new avenue to higher education."

"The legislation we introduce today will recruit some of our finest young people into police service—an injection of commitment and energy that could shift the balance back toward the rule of law in our urban communities."

The need for more police is acute. In 1948, for every violent crime that was committed, there were 3.32 police officers. That ratio is now reversed. For every police

Police Corps Provisions

- Students receive loans for tuition of up to \$40,000.
- During summer vacations, they receive special police training.
- After graduation, participants become full-time members of the local police forces to which they have been assigned.
- When four years of police service have been completed, the federal government assumes repayment of the student loans.

officer in America, there are 31 violent crimes. Clearly, as Sasser and

others pointed out, this is no way to effectively fight crime.

The nation's police forces need reinforcements. Hopefully, the Police Corps, which is attracting support from all parts of the political spectrum, will provide the kind of new recruits that can make a real difference in the effort to make neighborhoods safe again.

Initially, Congress is expected to act on only a pilot program in Washington, D.C.—a city that has been very hard hit by violent crime, to test the Police Corps concept. Supporters of the idea hope that it will soon become a reality nationwide if the pilot program proves successful.

This plan, the longstanding project of New York attorney Adam Walinsky, a former top aide to Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, has already attracted the support of a large number of Senators and Representatives from across the political spectrum. Sen. Arlen Specter, R-PA, is co-sponsoring the measure in the Senate.

In addition to Sasser and Lewis, a number of other DLC members are also actively supporting the bill, including Sens. Dick Bumpers (AR), Joseph Lieberman (CT), and Harry Reid (NV).

Even though the Police Corps concept has bipartisan support in Congress, it will likely give a boost to the Democrats' image, which has suffered in recent national elections from the perception that criminals' rights are more important than victims' rights.

As the 1988 Presidential campaign demonstrated, a majority of the American people will not vote for a candidate who they feel is "soft" on crime. The Police Corps, in the best Democratic tradition, is a program that can make a profound difference in the way on crime, and at the same time promote the values of community service and education. For Democrats, and for America, that is a welcome development. ■

law-enforcement community. Students with ambition to become judges, prosecutors, or criminal lawyers will vie for spots in the Corps, adding to the competitiveness of the program and ensuring that in the future, these professions will attract more people who understand and sympathize with the complexities, dangers, and difficulties of police work. This will help to unify society's efforts to win back our streets.

Q: Who will benefit from the Police Corps?

There are several beneficiaries of this program. The simplest answer to the question, though, is that everyone will gain. Our streets will be safer, our lives less constricted by the terrifying fear of crime, and our society filled with people who understand the realities of law enforcement.

Members of minority communities in particular will benefit from this program. Poor, black neighborhoods have been the ones hardest hit by crime.

Obviously, the students who enroll in this program will stand to gain from it also. Police Corps students will have their lives changed in a profoundly positive way by having their tuition paid and through service to their country and community.

Q: How has this idea been received?

The Police Corps has been welcomed by law enforcement officials across the country, including representatives of some police unions.

In the news media, support has come from such divergent sources as William F. Buckley and *The Progressive*. News-spreaders like *The New York Times*, *The New York Daily News*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* have all given their editorial endorsement.

In short, this is a concept that all Americans can get behind, which is a great part of its value and appeal. This widespread support sends a clear message: that America is ready to take on crime and to reward those who choose to join that fight.

Ward Seeks More College-Educated Officers

By DAVID E. PITT

New York City Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward asked college officials yesterday to join him in a new drive to recruit college-educated people who might otherwise have thought of police work as a career.

Currently, Mr. Ward said, 17.8 percent of the uniformed staff of the Police Department has at least a bachelor's degree. Among officers below the rank of sergeant, the figure is 12.5 percent.

If the latest drive succeeds, 50 percent of the police will be college educated by the department's 150th anniversary in 1995, according to Dr. Gerald W. Lynch, the president of John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Over coffee and pastries at Police Headquarters yesterday, Mr. Lynch, along with Undersecretary S. Murray and Dr. Joyce Brown, acting vice chancellor of CUNY, helped the commissioner describe the program to about 80 educators, including Dr. Roscoe Brown, president of Bronx Community College and Dr. Leon Goldstein, president of Kingsborough Community College.

Going Beyond the Cadets

Finding college-educated police officers, especially women and minority-group members, has long been a cherished goal of Mr. Ward's, particularly since September 1985, when he and Mayor Koch inaugurated the Police Cadets Corps, a program to recruit students from schools and universities in New York City, Westchester and Nassau Counties.

What makes the new drive different, Mr. Ward said, is that in the past, "the people who found the Police Cadets attractive are people who would have found the Police Department attractive anyway." He added, "In the new program we are trying to bring in people who may not otherwise have considered it a career."

In the old days, Mr. Ward reminisced, doors did not exactly swing open for police officers who happened to be attending college.

"When I was in the Eight-O Precinct and going to college, the 41-year-old commissioner said, 'I generally told people that this is a reward job for something they're doing but that you were going to college.'"

'Make Something of Yourself'

Fellow officers who learned the awful truth about younger colleagues, Mr. Ward recalled, would invariably dispense advice about quitting school "so you can learn to be a sergeant and make something of yourself."

Such has changed, however, then, said Chaudhry, who noted that 12 colleges in the City University system account for 50 percent of the Police Cadet enrollment of more than 300.

Nearly 40 institutions are involved, ranging from Columbia and St. John's Universities to Wagner College and the Fashion Institute of Technology.

Dr. Brown, CUNY's vice chancellor in charge of student affairs and special programs, said: "I think this program is about opportunity for the city. For students, it's about sharing labor and power and authority — and about

learning the inherent respect for differences among people, which are so important to the success of this city."

Under the program, cadets who enroll in their sophomore year at college would receive \$10,500 in city aid toward their college costs, \$3,000 of which is considered a loan that is later forgiven if they become police officers. The loan is pegged to the \$750 a semester tuition at City University.

Crack as a Scapegoat

By Adam Walinsky

The crack wars are far from over. The New York City police have seized within 36 cars belonging to alleged buyers, Mayors and governors have been arrested on the subject, and the FBI is now in the field, demanding drug abuse on national television. Yet the reality in the streets remains the same: the crime rates continue their steady increase.

Overall crime rates are not increasing because of crack or any other drug. Reported crime is up 3.5 percent from last year all over the country. Yet so far, crack is available in only 10 percent of the country's steadily consumption of cocaine is up only marginally and marijuana use may even be declining slightly. Besides, most drugs—certainly cocaine—are consumed by citizens whose incomes are rising, who are engaged in trade, tax evasion or driving over the speed limit.

The true cause of increasing crime rates is elsewhere. Most street crimes are committed by young men who are not in the country's most needy groups, the most dangerous years are from the early teens to the early 20's. These young men come by circumstance from disintegrating families and neighborhoods.

Yet the crime rate is not beginning to ease out of their most crime-prone years, those of 13 to enter them. Today's 20-year-old was born in 1946; all today's children born in New York City in 1946 were born to parents who were married to the mothers. Of all Hispanic births in New York City in 1966, 80 percent were born to such married couples. By 1972, the year of the first generation of black babies in New York City, the percentage of such marriages will be 100 percent.

Adam Walinsky, a lawyer, was chairman of the New York State Commission of Investigation.

were being born to married couples, less than 70 percent of Hispanics were.

The watershed was 1974, when today's 15-year-olds were born. In that year, more than half of all black children and 45 percent of all Hispanic children were born to single mothers. The causes of this radical shift are complex and less than clear, but the consequences are stark: by 1980, more than 55 percent of all the black children born nationwide were born to single mothers. In

Blame family and neighborhood disintegration

1960, about 77,000 male children of single mothers reached their 13th birthday; in 1975, 120,000. This year, it will be 150,000.

This rising proportion of illegitimate births is both effect and cause of wider patterns of community unraveling. Educated blacks particularly have dropped up and away from the old neighborhoods. As their numbers decreased, life there became ever more disorganized and dangerous, and still more people fled. In 15 years, it has lost at least a third of its population. In the past few years, the study of what has happened in the inner city has been heated during the fiscal crises of the 1970's, and have not been rebirth in the Reagan 1980's. Schools, bereft by violence and disorder, largely abandoned their traditional role of educating children, indeed, many educators must have coped with relief as each disruptive youth dropped out. Meanwhile, new immigrant populations, legal and illegal, have arrived, bring-

ing many less-agers whose violence and delinquency are being attributed to mothers and disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Poverty does not excuse crime: Indeed, there is plenty of evidence on Wall Street that poverty does not even explain crime. But we are preparing a study on the subject, and we are confident of an unacculturated, uneducated and undisciplined lump of young men, undereducated for any useful work, without any organic connection to the United States or to the world we live in. We are confident that we know how to avert his personality and his self, will look for a possibility of acting in the world. And for an increasing proportion of these young men, crime is the definition of the world he sees.

Of course, the world he sees. As long ago as 1965, Donald Patrick Meyershan, Lyndon B. Johnson and Robert F. Kennedy called target attention to these problems. Today's politicians, however, prefer to ignore them. They are not interested in socially fashionable when they are in Johnson's shoes. Yet it is difficult to ignore the results, with New York City alone the scene of 100,000 robberies a year and commissions of all races committed.

For our politicians, crack is a double-edged sword — a solution from the sky. After all, our officials can hardly be blamed for the Columbian peasant who stole a few dollars from a grocery store or for the black man who stole a few dollars from a store. But we can blame crime on crack. Our politicians are off the hook. For our politicians are the limited schools, the municipalities, the police departments, the neighborhoods, the welfare programs. Only crack is to blame. One is tempted to think that if crack did not exist, someone somewhere would have received a federal grant to do something about it.

There are useful and necessary measures we can take. One would be a great effort to law enforcement to re-establish basic order and security. Another would be welfare reform: so-

It isn't the main cause of crime

cial programs should no longer encourage single parenthood, and should encourage marriage. We should encourage fathers. Still other steps would include extensive efforts to reach the more than 400,000 new children of single mothers who will have their 13th birthday this year. At the best, we should hope to reach 20 percent of a black illegitimacy rate in excess of 60 percent, with all that entails. We must commit ourselves to providing minority youth with a future that is not based on crime or the marketplace.

All these things are difficult but possible. It is long past time that our leaders stop their hysterical grandstanding about new drugs and get to work on the old, persistent problems of crime, race and poverty.

More cops? This idea is among the Finest

THE BERNHARD GOETZ affair has hit everyone in New York who has a car. The laws are there, and we need to enforce them. Indeed, we may be looking squarely at the old saw that tells you that the best way to modify an unsatisfactory law is to enforce it.

The unsatisfactory law we speak of has to do with pistol licenses. We know that criminals in New York feel no inhibition about carrying handguns. Why do so all the time, and use them with a specific Bernard Goetz spirit and after witnessing other motorists as they denied his application, purchased a handgun—anyway—as anyone apparently can do with about the same difficulty one has in purchasing an illegal tike of marijuana—and then used it against four screwdrivers armed with sharpened

And yet—and yet, the law is there, and prosecutors are bound by oaths of office. So where do we go from here? Surely it is time to reexamine the proposal of Adam Wallinsky, a proposal now several years old: a college ROTC for cops. Here are the pieces in the jigsaw:
 1. In 1982, 7 million calls were made on the police emergency line, 911.

Police men were available to act on only 5 million of those 7 million calls. That means statistically that if a burglar or rapist is breaking into your apartment and you call the police, you have less than a 60-50 chance that a cop will be available to help you.

The figures are all the more intimidating when you note that most crimes take place in circumstances in which there is no opportunity to use the telephone. They don't have phones in the parka, or in the middle of a street, or in subway cars. And these are the favorite beats of the criminal.

In 1981, New York had 18,000 policemen and 15,012 instances of violent crime. Thirty years later, New York had 22,000 policemen and 157,028 violent crimes. One thousand per cent more crime, 15% more cops. The odds overwhelmingly favor the criminal.

Is the solution as simple as hiring more policemen? Sure. By the same reasoning, the solution is as simple as everyone hiring a private bodyguard. There is the slight matter of cost. A rookie cop costs the city \$50,000 a year.

3. Enrollment in primary and secondary schools has dropped in New York State by 500,000 pupils, the baby boom having been processed. There are unused facilities in the state colleges. And able: Night school is available for education, as fewer students are required to put up the money to finance existing educational facilities.

Enter Mr. Wallinsky, a former think-tanker for Bobby Kennedy, now associated with such conservatives as Lewis Lehrman. His plan: Let the state provide four years of college for needy students in exchange for their pledges to repay the state by contributing three years service to the police corps.

The principle is like that of the ROTC, or even West Point and Annapolis. You train them and you pay back for the training by doing service at less than market price for a stipulated period of time.

Mr. Wallinsky estimates that the City of New York, which would inherit 70% of the 30,000 cops trained every year under the proposed system, would need to pay only \$20,000 a year per cop

Inasmuch as there would be no retirement commissions or other costly perquisites. The idea is to put these cops, well-motivated and well-trained, on the street, there, by their presence, to discourage criminals.

The plan was opposed two years ago by uninventive types who complained about the difficulty in keeping the graduates in uniform in the event they thought better of it and decided not to serve. Wallinsky's answer: They would then be required to repay the state the cost of their education, as what is this net loss from the graduates?

SOME POLICE officials don't like the proposal because they smell elitism in the air, to which Wallinsky responds that the whole police corps would benefit from the infusion of young, educated students, many of them black or Hispanic. Moreover, the relatively brief careers spent as policemen would not mean long-range competition for the better jobs. Indeed, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association has not disapproved of Wallinsky's idea.

Perhaps the Goetz dilemma will act as the solvent. Indeed, perhaps the Wallinsky corps members will be referred to as Goetzmen.



William F. Buckley Jr.

