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Subscription Information

Critical Issues in Justice and Politics is a refereed (peer-reviewed) journal which contributes to the theoretical and applied nature of justice and politics. We are a scholarly journal which requires all articles to undergo an extensive review process for both content and format. Our emphasis is on the exchange of qualified material in order to generate discussion and extend the often limited boundaries of scholarly exchange.

Critical Issues in Justice and Politics is sponsored by the Department of Political Science and Criminal Justice at Southern Utah University. The editorial board is comprised of faculty from the department as well as select faculty and practitioners from around the United States.

Published twice a year (March and September) *Critical Issues in Justice and Politics* focuses on emerging and continuing issues related to the nature of justice, politics, and policy. A special emphasis is given to topics such as policy, procedures and practices, implementation of theory, and those topics of interest to the scholar and practitioner alike.

Nature of Electronic Publication:

Critical Issues in Justice and Politics is considered a serials publication under definitions by the Library of Congress and the International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) system. The ISSN number, along with identifying information for the serial publication, appears on all copies of the journal. The journal may be obtained online or through many of the traditional research databases in academia.

Because we publish online we provide a wider audience than most small, scholarly journals. The cost of other journals can be restrictive; often making purchase and use of the journal difficult for

the average faculty member. With our electronic format we provide access to the journal at no cost to qualified subscribers. This provides a larger audience with increased opportunity for those who wish to publish.

Copies are distributed via email and online access to subscribers first. Authors receive access to the electronic copy and may purchase print copies.

We are an electronic journal which is published using the Portable Document Format (PDF).

Submission Guidelines

Critical Issues in Justice and Politics welcomes submissions from anyone who can write a high quality scholarly article. We are especially interested in scholarly, critical, and constructive articles which focus on an emerging or continuing issue in justice and politics. We also seek review essays (reviews of recent literature on a given topic), reports of significant justice or political issues, book reviews, and position papers worthy of scholarly review and comment.

It is the editorial policy of *Critical Issues in Justice and Politics* to accept submissions from all disciplines so long as the material relates to justice and politics. We also encourage submissions from practitioners, students, and others who have an interest in the topics.

Simultaneous Submissions

We prefer manuscripts which are not under review by other journals or publications. We endeavor to review all manuscripts in a timely fashion, so simultaneous submissions are not usually necessary. Refereed submissions are submitted within forty-eight hours of acceptance and we generally ask reviewers to complete their

assignment within 10 working days. In most instances an editorial decision may be reached within a month of submission.

Non-refereed materials usually receive attention within the first week of submission. An initial editorial decision is often made within 5 business days.

All papers submitted for refereed publication will be sent to at least two reviewers. We use a blind-review process which submits papers in anonymous format. If there is a clear split between the reviewers then a third reviewer may be used when necessary for clarification or additional comment. We do rely very heavily on our reviewers for insight and recommendations. All of our reviewers hold the appropriate degree and experience to qualify them for the particular project.

Reviewers are asked to evaluate manuscripts on the basis of their scholarly competence as well as the potential contribution to appropriate theory or related areas. Authors may not contact reviewers during the process, and reviewer names are not disclosed unless the reviewer agrees for such disclosure.

Authors who dispute the findings or suggestions of a reviewer may submit their response in writing. Final decisions on publication remain the domain of the editorial board.

For more information or to submit an article or other material for review please see our webpage.

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From the Editor

Iron sharpens iron; scholar, the scholar.
William Drummond (1585-1649)

With this issue we begin our third year as an academic journal, and look forward to the challenges of our next year. I want to begin by thanking my Associate Editor, Sandi Levy. Without her efforts this publication may have well collapsed many months ago. She not only keeps me focused and organized, she is a great editor. Her eye for detail, and especially for quality substance, has added significant value to our journal.

Also at the top of my list is our growing base of outstanding referees. The anonymity of a peer-reviewed system often demands that these individuals forego recognition in favor of validity for the journal itself. While the author's name is prominently displayed with each article, the names of the people who put in the time to review and critique the work is missing. To our peers, this is your accolade, and I thank you for the hard work that has been done.

In the coming year we will expand our use of graduate students from our Masters of Public Administration degree program. In our initial proposal to the Utah Board of Regents, we estimated that the MPA program would have 25 students at the end of five years. Like the Journal, our MPA program is still young, and I am proud to announce that we have more than doubled our expected growth rate, and in only three years. Our graduate students are used to help in proof-reading, management of assignments, and in the day to day work necessary to put out a journal.

The last topic I want to address is that of result. Of course, as Drummond suggested, one result of any academic journal is to help sharpen the scholar. In our case, though, we can demonstrate a more concrete result, and that is financial support. Our Journal now helps to support a scholarship fund for students at SUU. In these difficult economic times, even a small bit of help can make a big difference to a student, and I want to thank our subscribers for that help. Even individual purchases go directly to the scholarship fund, so please keep that in mind when considering the purchase of a single volume or a yearly subscription.

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Fighting Campus Crime: Perceptions of Police Canines at a Metropolitan University

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Campus police departments across the United States work conscientiously to maintain a friendly policing stance for the communities they serve; yet at the same time, many have been forced to take a more law-and-order approach to fight encroaching criminal activity. Although trained police canines are not the norm in the campus environment, they have been deployed as a method to assist police agencies in controlling illegal drugs, and as a proactive measure against explosives and acts of terrorism. Specifically, this paper examines student perceptions of the effectiveness of campus police canines following the implementation of such a unit trained in narcotics and explosives detection at the University of Central Florida. Findings indicate that students tend to view police dogs in a positive light. The results of three multiple regression models suggest that certain social construction variables were significant predictors of perceptions of canine effectiveness.

Introduction

While university and college police departments and campus safety agencies have largely escaped the light of public attention, violent encounters at centers of higher learning have prompted more awareness of campus safety and the tactics used by campus police. Many decades ago, the university campus was viewed as a haven from the violence and criminal activity of the outside world. However, over time, crime in various forms has begun to appear in this once sacred environment (Bromley, 2003; Paoline & Sloan, 2003; Trump, 1998; Wolf,

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2001). Illegal narcotics, gang activities, acts of terrorism, and violent person-to-person crimes have been reported throughout the nation at institutions of higher learning (United States Department of Education, 2007). This growing threat has placed increasing responsibilities on campus police officers and campus law enforcement agencies to respond with better, more adept, proactive and reactive tactics. While violent crime and illegal drug use both continue to grow, so does the threat of civil litigation against the institutions that fail to meet every expectation to prevent victimization (Wolf, 2001).

The last several decades have yielded unprecedented growth both in physical size and enrollment at American higher education institutions. While this growth has provided new and expanding educational opportunities, campus crime has also matured. Crime problems that were once found only in large metropolitan cities have expanded to the college campus; institutions that label themselves as suburban and rural can no longer be viewed as sanctuaries from criminal activity (Bromley, 2003; Kingsbury, 2007). It is apparent that campus safety can no longer be provided through unarmed uniformed security in many locations; campus policing has evolved to provide police officers that have the training, investigation capability, and patrol tactics and practices often found only in the most progressive police agencies in the United States.

Municipal, county, state and federal law enforcement agencies around the country have successfully utilized canine units as an additional measure in their crime control strategy for decades. However, this option appears only very recently to be utilized in the college and university setting, possibly because of the fear administrators may have over the perception of police canines on campus. This paper will examine the problem of campus related crimes and analyze the impact of implementing a canine unit as a policing alternative, exploring the issue of a university campus as an extension of the larger community and investigating the issue of fear of crime on university campuses. The study focuses on the perceptions of students at a large, metropolitan university in Orlando, Florida. The University of Central Florida (UCF) is one of only a handful of colleges and universities utilizing trained canines in some law enforcement function, however the trend is rapidly increasing across the United States (Mesloh & Wolf, 2002).

Review of the Literature

In recent years there have been a number of studies conducted about campus crime. Disturbing trends have been identified that have influenced policy decisions, and independent acts of violence may pave the way for additional changes in the future. The literature in this area tends to fall into distinct categories: crime, victimology, perceptions of police, and illegal drug use. As

these categories certainly do not exist in a vacuum, discussions on the facets of campus crime need to be multidisciplinary in the sense that they need to be able to address multiple problems simultaneously. An additional factor of importance to this study is the fact that campus police have struggled with the prevailing idiom of campus watchmen. Administrators often resist allowing campus police from acting too much like municipal police, while at the same time asking them to act as a deterrence of criminal activity and as professional investigators.

While the role of campus safety officers has slowly evolved from security to that of full-service police, this shift has been necessitated by the more serious crimes and investigations occurring on campus (Kingsbury, 2007; Wolf, 2001), in addition to a drive for professionalism (Bromley, 2003; Bromley & Reaves, 1998; Foster, 1986). Campus police have become largely autonomous, fully operational police departments, often with a strong resemblance to their municipal counterparts in administration, organization, resources, hiring practices, and training (Bromley, 2003; Wolf, Pressler, & Winton, 2009).

Crime on Campus

In the first half of the 20th century, college campuses were largely peaceful, crime-free havens. When campus security officers first became a part of the college environment, their role was that of watchman, to protect college property and keep students in order. Many factors, including the 1966 University of Texas-Austin tower sniper incident and the 1986 murder of Jeanne Clery at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania, influenced the shift from security department to police department. By 1990 forty-four states had granted at least some police authority at public-supported institutions (Bromley, 2003; Kingsbury, 2007; Wolf, 1998).

The amount of campus crime has a relationship to both campus and non-campus variables, the proximity of a campus to urban areas of high unemployment was determined to be a strong predictor of campus crime (McPheters, 1978). Fox and Hellman (1985) determined that the size of the campus was directly related to the crime rate, while the location of the campus was found to be correlated with the proportion of violent crime. This review of crime on college campuses began to shed light on an increasing problem in what was formerly considered a safe environment. Nourse (1991) examined the relationship between campus crime rates and certain demographic variables. A number of interesting relationships were found, including: 1) higher rates of FBI U.C.R. Part 1 Crimes were linked to the percentage of students living on campus; and 2) higher rates of robbery and burglary were associated with the location of the institution in relation to high-density populations of a city. Today, nearly half of all higher education institutions describe themselves as “urban,” and

another 30% describe themselves as “suburban or metropolitan” (Wolf, 1998), making campus location important in the study of perceptions of police response to crime. While often linked by crime, campus police and municipal or county police often do not work closely together, and often do not follow similar policing models.

In 1990, the “Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act” passed, requiring any public and private college or university that receives federal student financial aid to report information on campus crime. Each year, eligible schools are required to report on their security policies and the most recent three years of crime statistics. The Clery Act statistics are the standard for measuring reported crime in school environments, but have also been called “weak, confusing, and lacking aggressive enforcement” (Kingsbury, 2007, para. 6).

Sloan (1994) conducted a review of Congressional hearings on the problem of crime on college and university campuses. During the period of 1985-1989, campus crime had steadily increased and 80% of reported crimes involved students victimizing other students. Additionally, Sloan reviewed crimes reported to 494 campus law enforcement agencies during the 1989-1990 academic years. Burglary, theft and vandalism made up 83% of the reported crimes, while 6% were violent crimes. Further analysis showed drinking/drug offenses were significantly related to violent crime. This was followed by a report by Toch (1994) who documented that during 1992-93, reports of robberies on campuses climbed 12% over the previous year. During the same reporting period, auto thefts and aggravated assaults both rose 3 percent. Burglaries declined 4% while the number of murders dropped slightly from 18 to 17. The schools also reported 466 rapes and 448 forcible sex offenses in 1992-93 (see also: Bromley, 1996). Seymour and Sigmon (2000) corroborated these findings, for each of the years 1992 through 1994 violent crimes were reported by about 25% of postsecondary campuses. They also reported that on-campus arrests for liquor law violations, drug abuse violations, and weapons possessions were reported by about 10% of the institutions in each of the three years.

While crime continued to get more frequent and more violent on college campuses, many campus police agencies were unwilling or unable because of political and other pressures to change their policing methods. In fact, a 2009 report by Wolf, Pressler, and Winton disclosed that a majority of the campus police agencies at public institutions surveyed in that study did not acquire Conducted Energy Devices (CEDs), more commonly known as Tasers, due to public opinion about the weapons. Studies conducted by the Campus Violence Prevention Center at Towson State University report that 36% of students surveyed indicated that they had been victims of crimes perpetrated on campus.

Indicative of the need for campus administrators to prove their campuses as safe, however, college presidents did not perceive security as one of the more important campus issues (McConnell, 1997). This is particularly relevant to the current study as there is a void in the literature concerning student perceptions of campus police tactics to fight crime.

Bromley (2003) conducted a comparison of campus and municipal police agencies, their policing practices, and crime. His research showed that campus police agencies, like city police departments, often fail to provide Community Oriented Policing training. However, campus police agencies were more likely to assign officers to foot and bike patrol compared to their municipal counterparts, even in the same-sized departments. Bromley also reported that student participation in at-risk behaviors and the growing numbers of students on American college campuses would continue to contribute to student victimizations.

Perceptions of Police

While perceptions of university police remain largely void from the literature, there have been studies on students in secondary education levels and their perceptions of police (Brown & Benedict, 2005). A study of perceptions at the secondary school level, Brown and Benedict's analysis focused on student perceptions of school police officers and security officers, and showed that the percentage of students who view the police favorably was less than the percentage of adults who viewed the police favorably. Several key factors analyzed in their study included gender, year in school, and race/ethnicity of the student. While gender had varying impacts on the measures of attitudes toward police officers, neither year in school or the student's race/ethnicity had an impact on perception. Earlier, Hopkins (1994) completed a qualitative analysis of eighty-one 14-year old students in group discussions regarding their perceptions of the police in schools. This review of student perceptions showed that students had different reactions to police officers who patrol on campus compared to those that patrol neighborhoods.

While scarce in the literature, there are several studies that examined college-level student perceptions of police and the perceptions of campus police officers. Goldhaber, Fossum, and Black (1972) studied the perceptions of students at the University of New Mexico and their perceptions of police in general, not campus police. Foster (1986), examined the perceptions of campus police officers and job satisfaction and community attitudes. As part of a larger study composed of many issues, Miller and Pan (1987) analyzed the perceptions of Purdue University college students on crime and their understanding of the university police. Their study found that men generally believed their campus to

be safe from crime, while women indicated that they were largely in fear for their safety. Both genders believed that the university police had inadequate resources for investigating crime. This study also found that students' opinions of the campus police were swayed by personal background and whether or not they had received a traffic ticket from the police. In 1998, Hummer, Austin, and Bumphus studied students, faculty, administrators, and staff at SUNY-Fredonia on perceptions of allowing the campus police to carry firearms. Their analysis indicated that those who feared crime on campus were the most likely to support arming the police.

A very important aspect of understanding the campus environment in relation to crime and crime theory, Davis (1995) examined the issue of unreported crime on the university campus. During qualitative interviews, student victims expressed shock at being a victim of a crime on campus after previously underestimating their likelihood for becoming victimized. These findings are at odds with Lamplugh and Pagan (1996) who found that people in general often overestimate the risk of crimes and violence. This feeling of safety from crime-on-campus may stem from the *en loco parentis* philosophy of many higher education institutions when dealing with criminal activity.

Turner (1998) studied the relationship between student perceptions of crime and involvement in campus activities. Turner showed that student perceptions of crime significantly impacted their extracurricular activities, and participation in nighttime activities was discovered to be the most significantly impacted by fear of crime. In 2000, del Carmen, Polk, Segal and Bing examined the perceptions of 561 students and their fear of crime. This study showed that race and gender were significantly related to the fear of violent crime, and students that claimed to be criminal justice majors were significantly less likely to fear crime than their non-criminal justice major counterparts.

Since the late 1990s, campus police departments have strived to reach a level of professionalism equal to that of other police officers. Most states now require that sworn campus police officers now have the same type of training, same certifications, and same continuing education as other police. After the Virginia Tech tragedy in 2007, Kingsbury described "the tools that have now become standard issue for campus police: bomb- and drug-sniffing dogs, stun guns, bulletproof vests, and pepper spray. And at some schools, select officers receive advanced weapons training...quite a departure from year's past." There is a void in the literature, however, of the perceptions that students have, as citizens and residents of the college community, of these advanced training and tactics.

Illegal Drug Use

Sloan's (1994) review of Congressional hearings on the problem of crime on college and university campuses during the period of 1985-1989 found that 95% of all reported offenses on campuses involved alcohol or drugs, thus supporting Nichols' (1987) earlier statement that a "significant number of drug-related crimes occur on campuses" (p.32). Extremely important for this current study, Fernandez, McBride, and Lizotte (1997) found a statistically significant relationship between the rate of drug violations on campus and the rate of weapon violations. Of 2,400 campuses, 18% reported at least one weapon violation on campus each year. Of those campuses reporting weapons violations, the average number was about 3.5 weapon violations and at some campuses as many as 40 such incidents each year. The authors stressed the need for clear and precise drug and violence prevention policies.

Page and Scanlan (1999) examined the prevalence of marijuana use among college students in the United States. They found that 35% of the males and 28% of the females surveyed had used marijuana in the past month. These results are consistent with the findings of Lucey, et al. (1999), who documented that 34% of the college students they surveyed had used marijuana in the year prior to responding. Seymour and Sigmon (2000) found that for each of the years 1992, 1993, and 1994, arrests for liquor law violations, drug abuse violations, and weapons possession were reported by about 10% of the institutions in the study.

The United States Department of Justice (1999) released the findings of a 1995 study of violence against women on college campuses linking alcohol to 74% of the sexual assaults. Students who engaged in binge drinking were seven to ten times more likely to engage in unprotected and unplanned sexual activity (Rivers & Shore, 1997). Additionally, the use of drugs such as Rohypnol and GHB to subdue sexual assault victims has been documented and is on the rise, particularly in the Orlando area (Curtis & Johnson, 2000), which is the home to the University of Central Florida. As shown in the extant crime and drug literature, campuses suffer from the same ills that many cities do. As a result, campus administrators have sought new means and methods to reduce crime on their campuses.

The Use of Canines

The perception of police dogs have been exemplified in the personification of canines as equivalent to human officers with personalities and traits of heroism, sacrifice and loyalty (Mesloh & Surette, 2002). Around the country today, law enforcement agencies use specially trained dogs for a variety of purposes. A primary reason is that they are a cost-effective tool in crime

control (O'Block, Doeren, & True, 1979; Lilly & Puckett, 1997), which may also offer a great benefit to campus law enforcement. Prior research has quantified the cost of a non-aggressive narcotics detection dog ranging from \$1.98 to \$2.38 per hour (Mesloh & Wolf, 2002). While certainly not the norm in campus policing, there are universities and college campuses that have successfully implemented a police canine program.

Although the early history of the police dog as a violent means of social control may negatively affect current perceptions within institutions of higher learning, the modern paradigm is significantly different from the freely biting monster found in historical videos of military and police actions. Not only can canines be viewed as a modern cost-effective crime fighting instrument; utilized properly they can be viewed as public relations friendly, thereby making them an integral, and cost effective, part of any community policing endeavor. According to Williams et al. (1997), "the dog and its handler remain the most widely used, broadly sensitive, accurate, fast, mobile, flexible, and durable system available for detecting illegal drugs and explosives" (p.1). A trained dog's alert can be used as probable cause to search or obtain a search warrant (United States Drug Enforcement Agency, 1995). This was reaffirmed by the conclusions of Mesloh, Henych & Wolf (2002), and upheld in 2005 in *U.S. v Thirty Thousand Six Hundred Seventy Dollars (\$30,670)*.

The term "non-aggressive" refers to a canine that has not received training in apprehension (or bite techniques). While a multipurpose dog cross-trained in both apprehension and scent detection has more benefit to a law enforcement agency, this type of training may tend to not be as readily embraced by students, parents, administrators or staff at a university. Additionally, the use of non-aggressive canines offers the ability to gain student support through high visibility interaction in a public relation type role that has been documented at other university canine programs (Mesloh & Wolf, 2001). While many agencies utilize a non-aggressive canine for a singular purpose such as explosives or narcotics detection, it is also possible to train the dog for additional deployments such as tracking and evidence searches, thus increasing the utility and cost benefits of a canine program; this may result in reductions in related street crimes and their consequent liabilities.

Citizen perceptions of aggressive police tactics, including aggressive traffic stop strategies, have been the subject of prior research. For example, Chermak, McGarrell, and Weiss (2001) examined citizen support for aggressive traffic enforcement strategies. Their study showed that citizens were generally very supportive of aggressive patrol programs, and living in an area undergoing a crackdown did not decrease that support. There is no mention in the literature,

however, of perceptions of police canine tactics or training, particularly when related to campus policing.

Methodology

The current study seeks to add to this body of knowledge by examining the perceptions of students of one of the many tactical patrol advances made by campus police departments in the last several decades, that of a trained drug- and bomb-detection canine team. Although past studies have reviewed the perceptions of effectiveness of the police (Miller & Pan, 1987), crime and victimization on college campuses (del Carmen, et al., 2000; Fox & Hellman, 1985; McPheters, 1978), illegal drug use on college campuses (Fernandez, McBride, & Lizotte, 1997; Sloan, 1994), and the benefits of utilizing canines for crime prevention (Lilly & Puckett, 1997; Mesloh, Henych, & Wolf, 2002; Mesloh & Surette, 2002), none have focused on the perceptions of potential police crime-fighting tools on a college campus, such as a canine unit.

Having reviewed the literature on campus crime, perceptions of police, campus use of illegal drugs, and police canines, this study sought to examine them in the context of campus police dogs being utilized and perceived as a deterrent for these factors. The current inquiry, using survey methodology, captures student perceptions of the use of police canines on the campus of the University of Central Florida.

Data and Method

To study the perceptions that students have of campus police canines and their impact on crime reduction and drug use, a self-report survey instrument was used to collect data on these concepts. Survey questions were designed to address the core concepts under study. The survey instrument was administered over a one-week period in March of 2002 to students in large general education courses at the University of Central Florida. The sampling method for the survey was convenience based; however, the researchers randomly selected general education courses to obtain a cross section of the University's student population. When the basic demographics from the survey sample were examined, they were representative of that of the university as a whole, indicating that this was indeed a valid sampling frame (see table 1). A total of 598 usable surveys were returned, out of approximately 725 (82.5%) total available respondents (this figure is approximate, as some students may not have been in class when the survey was administered; additionally, students were advised not to complete more than one survey if they happened to be in more than one class where they received the survey).

Table 1:
Comparison of Sample Demographics to University Population

	<u>Sample</u>		<u>University Population</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Gender (n = 595)				
Male	255	42.6	18,416	44.8
Female	340	57.1	22,686	55.2
College Status (n = 593)				
Freshman	175	29.5	7,404	31.2
Sophomore	160	27.0	6,623	19.5
Junior	141	23.8	8,304	24.4
Senior	117	19.7	11,633	34.2
Race (n = 589)				
White	414	69.2	28,191	71.2
Black	74	12.4	3,302	8.4
Hispanic	47	7.9	4,580	11.6
Asian/Pacific Islander	26	4.3	1,948	4.9
Indian/Alaskan Native	2	.3	214	.5
Other	26	4.3	N/A	N/A

Note: Not all respondents completed every survey item. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

The survey instrument consisted of 65 questions, which were designed to collect information about:

- Basic respondent demographics
- Drug and alcohol use
- Effectiveness of campus policing
- Fear of crime
- Perceptions of police dogs

A five-point Likert scale measured the majority of the responses and students were asked to rate their answers from: 1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”. Indexes were then created to capture concepts for use in later regression analysis. Reliability coefficients were produced for these concepts, which indicated that the indexes accurately measured the same core concepts.

Dependent Variables

Three main dependent variables were identified that captured specific concepts related to the perceptions of police dogs. These variables were chosen

as they represent different aspects of campus related problems and can be used to measure the perceived effect of the K9 intervention.

Crime Reduction. This variable was operationalized with a five-point Likert scale (1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”). Respondents were asked whether they felt that a trained police dog would reduce crime on campus.

Drug Reduction. This variable was operationalized with a five-point Likert scale (1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”). Respondents were asked whether they felt that a trained police dog would reduce drug use on campus.

K9 is a Waste of Money. This variable was operationalized with a five-point Likert scale (1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”). Respondents were asked whether they felt that a trained police dog was a waste of money for the University.

Independent Variables

The independent variables selected were based upon the literature’s identification of key factors related to crime control on campus.

Drug Use. These variables included self-reported drinking and use of marijuana, cocaine, amphetamines, sedatives, hallucinogens, opiates, GHB, steroids or ecstasy. Students were asked to respond to the question: “When have you consumed the following substance?” and were given the choices of “Never,” “More than a Year,” “Last Year,” “Last 30 days” as possible choices.

Perceived Ability. Respondents were asked to rate (1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”) their perception of a police dog to accurately locate and alert concealed drugs. This became a measure of the students’ perceptions of the canine’s ability.

Legal Knowledge. Respondents were asked to rate (1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”) their perception of an exterior sniff of a motor vehicle as to whether this was considered to be a search. According to case law, a canine can be walked around a vehicle without a warrant and any subsequent alert provides probable cause to perform a warrant-less search. This was used as a measure of the respondent’s knowledge of law.

Media Construction. Respondents were asked to rate (1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”) their perceptions of the media’s coverage of police dogs. The question asked if respondents believed the news media accurately portrayed police dogs.

Fear of Crime Index (Chronbach alpha = .92). Six fear of crime questions were modified from the National Criminal Victimization Survey. Each question was measured on a five-point Likert scale. Students were asked to rate how worried they were about the following scenarios: “Someone trying to attack you

while you are outside your current residence,” “Someone trying to break into your residence while no one is there,” “Becoming the victim of a violent crime on campus,” “Becoming a victim of a violent crime in your residence,” “Becoming a victim of a violent crime in your current residence,” and “Someone stealing things that you might leave outside your residence overnight.”

Effectiveness of Campus Police Index (Chronbach alpha = .89). Ordinal questions measured satisfaction with campus police efforts. These questions asked students to rate “The quality of the UCF Police Department’s services to the public,” “Response times for UCF police officers,” and “Courtesy of UCF police officers.”

Demographics. Basic measures of demographics were captured. This included age, gender, race, and major in college. A final variable *fear of dogs* (0= no, 1=yes) was utilized as a control variable since this may have had a potential to impact a student’s perceptions.

Results

A total of 598 respondents completed the survey. Referring to Table 1, the sample closely approximates the demographic makeup of the University as a whole. Table 2 presents the correlations of the study’s key variables. The table shows that the three variables utilized to measure police dog effectiveness are moderately correlated. The zero-order correlation between *crime reduction* and *canines deterring drug use* is .625 and the correlation between *crime reduction* and *canines are a waste of money* is -.465. Lastly the correlation between *canines deterring drug use* and *canines are a waste of money* is -.546.

As expected, a positive correlation exists between *crime reduction* and *drug reduction*, while *K9 as a waste of money* and *crime reduction* and *detering drug use* are negatively correlated. In other words, those who feel that canines deter drugs and crime are less inclined to view them as a waste of money. This was corroborated by descriptive statistics, which revealed that sixty-seven percent of the students felt that the presence of the canine reduced crime, while seventy percent felt that the dogs deterred drug use. Conversely less than twelve percent viewed the dogs as a waste of money.

Table 2:
Correlation Between Measures of Police Dog Effectiveness

Variables	Crime Reduction	Deter Drug Use	K9 Is Waste of Money
Crime Reduction	1.00		
Deter Drug use	.625**	1.00	
K9 is Waste of Money	-.465**	-.546**	1.00

Note: **p < .01. (two tailed)

Table 3 provides the results of OLS regression of the three models exploring the nexus between canines on campus and crime control. This table displays the R^2 , the unstandardized coefficients, intercept, and standardized regression coefficients for each variable. For these models, examining normal probability plots of residuals and scatter diagrams of the residuals tested assumptions necessary for regression. No violations of normality, linearity, or heteroscedasticity were noted. In addition, box plots revealed no evidence of outliers.

Table 3:
OLS Regression of Student Perceptions of Police Canine
Within Three Constructs of Effectiveness

Variable	Crime Reduction			Drug Reduction			K9 is Waste of Money		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Marijuana use	.044	.033	.064	.146	.038	.185***	-.159	.039	-.204***
Underage drinking	-.034	.099	-.016	.085	.114	.035	-.059	.116	-.024
Cocaine use	.062	.102	.027	.054	.117	.021	.017	.120	.007
Perceived ability	.453	.052	.390***	.353	.059	.266***	-.363	.060	-.279***
Legal knowledge	.089	.032	.127**	.113	.037	.141**	-.080	.038	-.102*
Media construction	.149	.042	.151***	.166	.049	.147***	-.033	.050	-.030
Fear of dogs	-.126	.122	-.046	-.221	.141	-.071	.213	.144	.069
Gender	-.089	.096	-.042	-.077	.111	-.032	.192	.113	.080
Major	.016	.097	.008	-.101	.112	-.042	.287	.113	.121*
Fear index	.036	.014	.116*	.027	.017	.077	.006	.017	.020
Police index	.052	.017	.138**	.070	.019	.163***	-.057	.020	-.134
White	.257	.169	.104	.238	.194	.084	-.071	.198	-.026
Black	.306	.227	.079	.567	.262	.128*	-.121	.266	-.028
Hispanic	.420	.226	.108	.348	.260	.079	-.101	.265	-.023
F	13.17***			12.15***			9.61***		
R	.569			.554			.509		
R ²	.324			.306			.259		
Adjusted R ²	.299			.281			.232		

NOTE: B = unstandardized coefficient, SE = standard error, β = standardized coefficient.

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two tailed)

For comparison purposes, Table 3 presents the three key models. It must be pointed out that directionality of *K9 is a Waste of Money* is influenced by the nature of the question, which was negatively phrased. Thus, negative betas in this model indicate support for canine programs, while positive betas indicate support in the other two models. Additionally, independent variables remain consistent in directionality across all three models, when this is taken into consideration.

In the model where canines are used to reduce overall campus crime, five variables were significant at the .05 level or better. In terms of individual relationships between the independent variables and the crime reduction variable, perceptions of ability ($p < .001$), media construction ($p < .001$), fear of crime ($p < .05$), legal knowledge ($p < .01$) and perceptions of police ($p < .01$) each significantly predicted perceptions of crime control.

In the second model where canines are used to reduce drug use on campus, six variables were significant at the .05 level or better. In terms of individual relationships between the independent variables and the drug use reduction variable, marijuana use ($p < .001$), perceptions of ability ($p < .001$), legal knowledge ($p < .01$), media construction ($p < .001$), perceptions of police ($p < .001$), and black students ($p < .05$) each significantly predicted students' perceptions of drug use reduction.

In the third model where canines were viewed as a waste of money, five variables were significant at the .05 level or better. In terms of individual relationships between the independent variables and the perceptions that canines are a waste of money, marijuana use ($p < .001$), perceptions of ability ($p < .001$), legal knowledge ($p < .05$), college major ($p < .05$), and perceptions of police ($p < .01$) each significantly predicted students' perceptions of the canine as a waste of money.

Overall, marijuana use, perceptions of ability, legal knowledge, media construction, and the perceptions of police index were the most important predictors in at least two out of the three models. Perceptions of canine ability to locate drugs was the only variable to be significant across all three models at the $p < .001$ level. Consequently, this is the most reliable predictor when examining perceptions of police canines on campus. The influence of the other factors varied across the three models. Furthermore, the police index and legal knowledge were also significant predictors across all three models, albeit at different levels of significance.

A number of variables had little or no significant predictive value in the analysis of these models. Underage drinking and cocaine use (two of the three drug use variables) were not significant predictors in any of the models. Race was a poor predictor (although black respondents were significant in one model)

as was gender and college major. The fear of crime index was surprisingly a predictor in only one model implying that canine deployments may have little affect on students' general fear of crime.

Conclusions

This study shows the perceived value by students of police dogs to fight and deter various crimes in the college and university environment. This is emphasized through the role that canines fill in reducing violent crime and drug use on campus and students' perceptions of whether canines are worth the investment. This exploratory research was successful in identifying a number of key variables that were consistent across the three models. This finding alone may offer other researchers a starting point when exploring the perceptions of canines and their nexus with social order on campuses.

Another initial finding indicates that race was not a major predictor across the three models. Little variation in scores was present between the race categories. This is encouraging when considering the early history of the police dog as a violent means of social control. Furthermore, it would appear that the utilization of canines on campus as a crime control mechanism offers campus and law enforcement administrators not only a cost-effective means to reduce crime but also a politically sensitive one.

The results also revealed that certain key factors in the social construction of canines are associated with the perceptions that police dogs reduce crime and drugs. It is acknowledged that most individuals in society have little or no interaction with a police dog, especially in an academic environment. Consequently, consistency across the three models indicates that the perception of police dogs is a socially constructed concept that may be produced by the different forms of media. Three variables, *perception of ability*, *legal knowledge*, and *media construction*, relate directly to this concept and are almost universally significant across all three models.

No research is completely without flaw. If this study were to be replicated, the researchers suggest the inclusion of additional measures which could have added to the overall models. Prior contact with law enforcement and police dogs were not addressed in the survey instrument and their contribution to the model should be addressed in future research. Randomization of respondents would have been ideal. However, due to logistical issues, this was not a possibility. Despite this caveat, the sampling frame did in fact closely represent the University as a whole.

Although the present study was able to identify factors that were predictive of crime reduction, drug reduction, and perceptions of cost effectiveness, it generates as many questions as answers. Clearly additional research on canines

on campus is needed to develop a more complete picture. This study provides a good foundation and starting point for future research and details some of the key variables which would need to be incorporated into that examination.

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White Collar Criminals on Capitol Hill: Case Studies in Political Skullduggery

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“Crime does not pay...as well as politics.” – Alfred E. Newman

There are several definitions of white collar crime. Sutherland (1940) offered the classic offender-based definition of white collar crime as one committed by a respectable person of high social status in their course of their occupation. The offense-based approach advocated by Edelhertz (1970) and others states it is characterized by the use of deceit or guile and nonphysical means in the commission of property crime. Felson's (2002) position is that white collar crimes are those of specialized access. Regardless of the preference of the reader, the criminality of elected officials usually fits the bill. Despite the regularity with which white collar criminal politicians have been exposed, investigated, prosecuted, and incarcerated in recent years, relatively little scholarly work has focused on their activities as a form of white collar crime. Some of the most egregious examples in political white collar crime in the history of the United States will be examined in an effort to better understand this neglected form of white collar crime.

Introduction

Discussions of white collar crime inevitably conjure images of bank embezzlers, antitrust violators, health care fraudsters, and even environmental polluters. For whatever reason, seldom does the image of the political white collar offender come to mind. This is despite the fact that since the turn of the century there have been a number of high profile political scandals involving elected officials. The scandals of interest here are those in which elected officials have used their high status positions, considerable influence, and specialized access to engage in white collar crimes. These cases typically involve bribery, influence peddling, “pay-for-play” schemes, and other forms of unethical conduct for personal gain (e.g., awarding contracts to companies in which the politician has some stake, war profiteering).

As an illustration of the importance of studying white collar crimes of elected officials, several of the most infamous and financially costly examples in white collar crime will be presented as case studies in political chicanery. These case studies draw on corrupt political figures dating back to the days of the Civil War, up through headlines straight from today's news stories (e.g., the attempt by Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich to “sell” then-President-Elect Obama's

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senate seat). Case studies are recognized as a legitimate and valuable tool for studying and understanding criminal justice and criminological issues, especially when quantitative data on specialized topics is not available (Davies, 2004). Indeed, political white collar crime is a particularly elusive topic considering the already private nature of politicians in the media age. Even when such data are readily available, case studies provide rich details surrounding particular criminal events/criminals, and aid the development and refinement of theory.

A brief discussion of white collar crime generally, and the inclusion of crimes by politicians as a specialized form of white collar crime, will be presented. The case studies will then be presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest examples, moving forward. Due to space limitations, only the basics of the crime and brief biographical information about the perpetrator will be provided. In addition, the cases presented will be limited to those infamous cases of historical note (e.g., Vice President Spiro Agnew's resignation following accusations of tax evasion), and those involving extreme examples of financial corruption (e.g., William Marcy "Boss" Tweed). The point is not to provide a complete historical accounting of each incident, but rather to point out the significance of the incident as an example of white collar crime in a long tradition of political corruption and white collar offending in America.

White Collar Crime

The term *white collar crime* was first coined by Sutherland, which he defined as "a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation" (Sutherland, 1983). Sutherland also pointed out that the crimes of which he spoke were primarily those of business managers and executives, and did not include more pedestrian street crimes such as murder, as these crimes are not committed in the course of one's occupation. Since Sutherland's time, his definition of white collar crime has been the subject of much debate, attracting the attention of both supporters and critics (Benson & Simpson, 2009). Sutherland's approach is an offender-based approach, which accounts for much of the reason for the controversy surrounding his definition. In essence, Sutherland proposed using characteristics of the offender to define the crime. Other scholars have carried on this tradition by defining white collar crimes as those committed by persons of high social status, power, influence, trust, and respectability (Reiss & Biderman, 1981). On the other hand, Shapiro (1990) has argued that such an approach is unnecessarily confining and that the defining characteristic of white collar crime is an abuse of trust on the part of the offender. Offense-based approaches to white collar crime have also been popular among white collar crime scholars and researchers (Benson & Walker,

1988; Hagan & Nagel, 1982; Wheeler, Weisburd, & Bode, 1982). These definitions of white collar crime identify the crimes based on the nature of the offense, (e.g., property offenses carried out through deceit or guile such as insider trading) (Edelhertz, 1970). In line with this viewpoint, Felson (2002) has suggested that the essence of white collar crime is that it is carried out by taking advantage of legitimate access to white collar crime opportunities, and Benson and Simpson (2009) advocate considering white collar crime from an opportunity perspective (see Felson & Clarke, 1998). Regardless of the definition preferred, crimes committed by politicians are clearly a form of white collar crime. Governors, Congressmen, Senators and other elected officials plainly occupy positions of power, trust, influence, and respectability. In addition, depending upon the nature of the office that these officials have been elected to, they are afforded legitimate access to white collar crime opportunities. Despite the fact that Sutherland identified politicians along with businessmen and executives as potential white collar offenders, surprisingly little has been written on politicians as white collar criminals. Sutherland reportedly was of the opinion that businessmen were far more corrupt and criminal than those in politics. This may explain why there has been so much emphasis on the former by scholars (Geis, 2007). This paper is an attempt to shed light on white collar criminals on Capitol Hill.

Case Studies

The case studies presented below, many of which reached the distinction of being called scandals in the American political theater, are not limited to that label. A scandal simply requires a loss of prestige brought on by some kind of moral impropriety, and often political scandals and the public's reaction to them are shaped by the media's coverage of the event (Simon, 2002). However, while all of the case studies discussed below meet the criteria of a scandal, a scandal is not necessarily a white collar crime. For example, in 2004 Governor Jim McGreevey (D) of New Jersey resigned because of the backlash created when he appointed a personal friend (and lover) as his Homeland Security Advisor. While this example¹ of a political scandal amounts to a violation of trust and poor judgment on the part of the governor, his actions in this incident did not amount to a white collar crime. To further make the point, a political scandal erupted in August 2007 when Senator Larry Craig (R-ID) was arrested for lewd

¹ During McGreevey's time in office, there were rumors of pay for play schemes and extortion accusations, but no criminal charges ever materialized.

conduct in a Minneapolis St. Paul airport men's room. The subsequent media coverage and Craig's insistence that he did not intend to plead guilty to disorderly conduct (a crime) elevated this incident to the level of a political scandal, but it certainly didn't amount to a white collar crime. The cases discussed below not only qualify as political scandals, but exhibit a level of criminal wrongdoing on the part of the politician involved allowing them to be labeled as white collar criminals. In many of these examples, the offender used their position of access, respectability, and authority for their own personal and financial gains.

Nineteenth Century

Schuyler Colfax

Schuyler Colfax (R-IN) was a U.S. Representative from Indiana, and later served as the 17th Vice President of the United States (1869-1873) under President Ulysses S. Grant. He was unsuccessful in his bid for a second term as Vice President because of corruption charges for his role in the Crédit Mobilier of America scandal. The scandal involved the Union Pacific Railroad and another company called Crédit Mobilier. The two companies were in partnership, wherein the Union Pacific Railroad was contracting with Crédit Mobilier to build an intercontinental rail line. The crime entailed a very complicated scheme, bilking Union Pacific and the government out of incredible sums of money by overcharging for the construction work. Union Pacific presented receipts to the government, generated by Crédit Mobilier for work done; the railroad then sought to collect from the government payment on the receipts in the form of land grants and loans. The underlying deception was fraud involving shared ownership of the companies – the individuals submitting (Crédit Mobilier) and accepting (Union Pacific Railroad) the bids, where actually the same people. In effect, they were contracting with themselves. Reportedly, \$72 million in contracts had been paid out to Crédit Mobilier, but only \$53 million in work had been done. The historical record is not completely clear as to Colfax's role in the scandal, but as noted, he was replaced on the subsequent Vice Presidential ticket for his suspected involvement.

Simon Cameron

Cameron (R-PA), who had a reputation for corruption, was President Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of War during the pivotal time when the Civil War broke out (1861-1862). Cameron's corruption was so legendary in fact, that when President Lincoln asked Thaddeus Stevens about his honesty, Stevens is believed to have replied, "I do not believe he would steal a red hot stove" (The Lincoln Institute, 2009). Cameron proved not only incompetent as Secretary of

War, but also unethical in his vital position in Lincoln's cabinet. For example, Cameron invested heavily in the Northern Central Pennsylvania Railroad which was the only railroad with tracks running from Harrisburg to Baltimore. As Secretary of War, Cameron was soon shipping troops and supplies on the very railroad of which he was part owner (Olbermann, 2008). After only ten months in Lincoln's cabinet, Cameron was fired for corruption, incompetence, and his unauthorized endorsement of emancipation (The Lincoln Institute, 2009).

William Marcy "Boss" Tweed

"Boss" Tweed (D-NY) held various elected positions for the State of New York, such as New York State Senate, U.S. Representative from New York, and the New York City Board of Advisors. By 1870, Tweed had control over a ring that ran New York City's municipal government, and through his position and associations, controlled all of the city's construction work and thousands of employees. Tweed is believed to have stolen as much as \$250 million dollars from the city and its residents in only a few short years. Much of this money was obtained through overcharging the city for construction costs. For example, in 1861, the \$3 million New York County Court House actually cost approximately \$13 million to build. Olbermann (2008) described Tweed's corruption and graft as "...on the scale of the Gods. All who came before him are comparative trivia; those who have followed, frustrated wannabees unable to emulate the greatest of the great." Estimates place the amount of money taken by Tweed in the billions of dollars by today's dollars. Tweed was eventually ousted and arrested for his corrupt practices and held on \$8 million bail. He served one year in prison, and was then rearrested and taken to civil court by New York State. In 1875, Tweed escaped to Spain and worked as a deck hand on a Spanish ship until he was tracked down and returned to New York. In 1878, he died in a city jail of pneumonia.

William W. Belknap

Belknap (R), another Secretary of War, served under President Ulysses S. Grant from 1869 to 1876. Belknap used his position of influence to appoint an associate to operate Fort Sill (OK), a lucrative U.S. trading post in Indian Territory. In exchange for the appointment, Belknap received regular kickbacks over the next five years totaling over \$20,000² (Senate Historical Office, 2009). Belknap's corrupt practices in office earned him the dubious distinction of being

² To put this figure in context, Belknap's salary as Secretary of War was \$8,000 per year.

the only Cabinet member in history to be impeached. In March of 1876, as the House of Representatives was mere minutes from voting on articles of his impeachment, Belknap raced to the White House to give President Grant his resignation (Senate Historical Office, 2009). This did not stop the House and Senate from pursuing his impeachment. In August of that same year, the Senate voted on five articles of impeachment, but each failed to attain the two-thirds vote necessary to secure a conviction.

Twentieth Century

Charles R. Forbes

Charles Forbes served as director of the Veterans' Bureau under President Warren G. Harding, beginning in 1921. In his three years in the post, Forbes embezzled over \$250 million by selling hospital supplies meant for veteran's hospitals and taking kickbacks from contractors in the building of hospitals for the Bureau. Forbes' activities eventually came to light, and he was prosecuted for conspiracy to defraud the government on hospital contracts, for which he served a mere two years in prison (U.S. Dept. Veterans Affairs, 2009).

Albert B. Fall

Albert B. Fall (R-NM) was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Warren G. Harding in 1921. As Secretary of the Interior, Fall awarded no-bid contracts to two of his friends (Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny) to drill for oil on Naval Reserves. The subsequent scandal became known as the Teapot Dome scandal after the Naval Reserves in Teapot Dome, Wyoming. After an investigation and subsequent trial, Fall was convicted of conspiracy and taking bribes of nearly \$400,000. He was sentenced to one year in jail.

Andrew J. May

Andrew J. May (D-KY) was a member of the United States House of Representatives and chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee. May was accused of using his position to award highly lucrative munitions contracts during World War II to Murray and Henry Garrson. May did favors for the Garrsons (e.g., speaking on their behalf in an effort to win contracts) in exchange for large cash payments and other awards. After the war, his behavior and the Garrsons' munitions business were investigated, revealing May's role in the awarding of munitions contracts to the Garrsons. He was subsequently convicted on charges of accepting \$53,000 in bribes from the Garrsons while chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, eventually serving nine months in prison.

Otto Kerner, Jr.

Otto Kerner, Jr. (D-IL), was a former United States Attorney, federal judge, and Governor of Illinois from 1961 to 1968. Kerner accepted bribes in the form of stock from the manager of the Washington Park and Arlington Park race tracks in exchange for locating expressway exits near the tracks. In 1973, Kerner was put on trial for accepting bribes, conspiracy, and perjury. He was convicted on 17 counts, fined \$50,000, and sentenced to serve three years in federal prison (Frum, 2000). Following the trial and conviction, Kerner resigned from the bench.

Spiro Theodore Agnew

Spiro Agnew was the 55th Governor of the State of Maryland and the 39th Vice President of the United States under President Richard M. Nixon. It was not until Angew's second term as Vice President that he came under investigation for crimes alleged to have taken place during his time as Governor of Maryland. Agnew was being investigated by the U.S. Attorney's Office in Baltimore for bribery, conspiracy, extortion and tax fraud, and in 1973 Agnew was charged with accepting more than \$100,000 in bribes. As part of a plea deal, Agnew pled no contest to one charge of tax evasion under the condition that he resign as Vice President of the United States. In a later civil suit, Agnew was forced to pay the State of Maryland approximately \$270,000. Spiro Agnew is the only U.S. Vice President to resign as a result of criminal charges.

Jim Wright

James Claude Wright, Jr. (D-TX) served 34 years in the U.S. House of Representatives, including two years as Speaker of the House. In 1989, Wright was accused by the House Ethics Committee of sidestepping the House rules governing the amount that could be earned through speaking fees. Wright was purportedly selling copies of his book, *Reflections of a Public Man* (Wright, 1984), to generate these extra fees and negate the usual channels for receiving fees to speak. In addition, Wright was accused of giving his wife a job and using her position as a way to accept other gifts. Wright resigned as speaker, and on June 30, 1989, he resigned from Congress altogether.

Dan Rostenkowski

Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL) was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1959 to 1995 from Illinois's 8th district. Toward the end of his long and influential career (while the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee), Rostenkowski was accused of a number of crimes surrounding the Congressional Post Office scandal. This scandal involved a

money laundering scheme which implicated employees and members of the House. In 1994, Rostenkowski was indicted on 17 felony charges for embezzling over \$50,000 from the post office, disguising the transactions as stamp purchases for his office. Prosecutor Eric Holder, who is the current U.S. Attorney General, alleged that through the phony stamp purchases, inflating his payroll, and taking kickbacks, Rostenkowski embezzled more than \$500,000. He pled guilty to mail fraud and served 15 months in prison.

Twenty-First Century

James Traficant

James Traficant (D-OH) was a U.S. Representative from Ohio's 17th Congressional district (1985-2002) known for his colorful personality.³ In 2002, he was indicted on federal corruption charges, and in April of that year was convicted on all ten counts against him for the crimes of taking bribes, racketeering, filing false tax returns, and forcing his aides to perform chores on his houseboat in Washington and his farm in Ohio (CNN, 2002). Traficant was sentenced to eight years in federal prison and was later expelled from the U.S. Congress by a vote of 420 to 1. Traficant ran again in 2002 as an independent from his prison cell, but came up short, earning 15 percent of the vote.

Randy "Duke" Cunningham

From 1991 to 2005, Randy "Duke" Cunningham (R-CA), was a U.S. Representative from California. During his tenure in the U.S. House of Representatives, Cunningham was the recipient of a number of bribes, gifts, and favors in exchange for awarding millions of dollars in intelligence and defense contracts to MZM Inc., a defense contracting firm. Among the bribes Cunningham received were a cushy real estate deal that netted the Congressman \$700,000, free reign on a yacht in Washington, hotel rooms, antique furniture, limousines, money (more than \$2 million), and prostitutes (Paltrow, 2006). In 2005, Cunningham resigned from the House after pleading guilty to mail fraud, wire fraud, conspiracy to commit bribery, and tax evasion. In 2006, Cunningham was sentenced to 100 months in prison, and was forced to forfeit the money and gifts he had received (CNN, 2006).

William J. Jefferson

A criminal investigation of Rep. William J. "Bill" Jefferson (D-LA) began in 2005, culminating in June 2007 with an indictment on 16 criminal

³For example, Traficant wore what was obviously a toupee in an outdated pompadour style, out of date suits (e.g., denim), and often yielded the floor of the House by saying, "Beam me up."

counts ranging from solicitation of bribes and money laundering to obstruction of justice and racketeering. The indictment was the result of several instances in which Jefferson is alleged to have performed official acts as a member of Congress in exchange for bribes (e.g., cash, stock). In one instance Jefferson is accused of having attempted to bribe a Nigerian official with \$100,000 in exchange for influence in a joint venture. A substantial portion of this money (\$90,000) was later recovered from Jefferson's freezer in a raid of his home by the FBI. Jefferson served nine terms in the U.S. House of Representatives (after being defeated in 2008 in his re-election bid) and in 2009 was convicted on 11 counts of corruption charges. In November 2009, Jefferson was sentenced to 13 years.

Kyle Dustin “Dusty” Foggo

While not a politician himself, Kyle Dustin “Dusty” Foggo's case certainly makes for an interesting case of white collar crime on Capitol Hill. Foggo served as the Executive Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 2004 through 2006 under CIA Director Porter Goss. In 2007, Foggo was indicted on charges of fraud, money laundering, and conspiracy related to his role in the case of U.S. Congressman Randy “Duke” Cunningham. The bribe was for steering millions of dollars in CIA contracts to the defense firm of his close friend Brent R. Wilkes. For Foggo's part, he reportedly received tens of thousands of dollars in travel, meals, and prostitutes. He pled guilty in 2008 to accepting a bribe while occupying his post at the CIA. Foggo was sentenced to 37 months in prison for his role in the bribery scandal (Johnston, 2009).

Milorad “Rod” R. Blagojevich

When Senator Barack Obama was elected President in the 2008 Presidential election, he resigned his U.S. Senate seat in order to plan his future administration. This presented an opportunity and a duty by law for the Illinois governor to fill the vacant U.S. Senate seat. Blagojevich was accused of trying to sell President-elect Obama's Senate seat to the candidate willing to offer the most in terms of fundraising help for Blagojevich and other special favors. These are known as “pay for play” schemes. In December 2008 Gov. Blagojevich (D) was arrested, along with his chief of staff, on charges of soliciting bribes and conspiracy. This conduct was described by the U.S. attorney for the district of Northern Illinois, Patrick Fitzgerald, thusly, “The conduct would make Lincoln roll over in his grave” (Davey, 2008). The Governor had refused to resign from his post despite the fact that there are hours of recorded phone conversations in which he is heard attempting to “deal” for the

senate seat. In January 2009, during his impeachment trial, the Illinois Senate voted 59-0 to remove Blagojevich from office.

Discussion and Conclusion

White collar crime has been a topic of much debate in criminology and criminal justice since Sutherland coined the term in the late 1930s. Sutherland provided an offender-based definition of white collar crime, while subsequent scholars have argued for offense-based definitions. The case studies presented above provide examples of white collar crimes committed by politicians that satisfy both offender- and offense-based definitions of white collar crime. The case study approach is a fruitful method for studying political white collar crime, particularly since other data examining this type of white collar offender are few. In each of these examples, the offenders used their positions of high social status, power, and respectability to leverage their legitimate access to criminal opportunities into personal gains. In each case, these offenders violated the trust of those who put them into office, instead financially enriching themselves.

It is difficult to identify patterns in offending across members of this group, however a few points warrant note. First, the offenders discussed above were guilty primarily of one of two crimes: they either used their political position to fraudulently embezzle money, or accepted bribes in exchange for political favors. In both cases, these white collar crimes are ones of specialized access, highlighting the important role of criminal opportunities in white collar offending (Benson & Simpson, 2009; Felson, 2002). In most cases, only a similarly situated individual (i.e., another politician) could have committed similar crimes, and many of these offenses were unique to the offender's specific position (e.g., Charles R. Forbes' position as director of the Veterans' Bureau).

Second, until recent years, the consequences of political white collar crime were largely social. While all of these white collar criminals may have suffered a loss of prestige and social standing (e.g., Colfax was not nominated for a second term as Vice President of the United States) as a result of their crimes, most were not sentenced to lengthy prison or jail terms. Those that were incarcerated spent a few months to a few years in prison. Only in recent years have elected criminals been sentenced to lengthier prison terms. For example, Rep. William Jefferson's 13 year prison sentence is the longest ever imposed on a current or former member of Congress for crimes committed in office.

Third, in each of the cases discussed above, the victim of the crime is not readily apparent. These offenses involve violation of the public's trust and denial of honest service for the job they were chosen to perform, making the victim the public at large. Further, crimes such as these erode the public's faith in their elected officials and in their system of government. In this sense, a harm

is also suffered by the government itself. Indeed, few crimes have the potential to victimize an entire nation.

More work is needed in examining the extent, nature, and consequences of political white collar crime. The present study is meant to provide a starting point for examining this important issue. Issues for future researchers in this area to consider include: examining larger samples of political offenders, other types of political crimes, the crimes of elected officials in other countries, and the consequences of these types of white collar crimes.

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Examining Environmental Inequality and Social Disorganization in Upstate New York Cities

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This study draws upon the environmental inequality formation (EIF) and social ecology of crime literatures to inform the quantitative analyses of community social risk factors and environmental burden in urban zip codes from several Upstate New York cities. A more inclusive measure of environmental burden is constructed as an aggregate of five toxic threats to air, water, and land, plus superfund sites drawn from EPA data. Census data are used to construct three social risk factors: racial and ethnic composition, concentrated economic disadvantage, and social disorganization. Each risk factor is dichotomized to reflect either ‘high risk’ or ‘low risk’. Then multiple items are combined to create count measures of concentrated economic disadvantage and social disorganization. Only zip codes with multiple high risk measures of concentrated poverty and social disorganization are related to our measures of environmental burden in multivariate models. Bivariate analysis reveals a direct correlation between high minority racial/ethnic composition and environmental burdens, but once concentrated poverty and social disorganization are entered into the equations, race/ethnic composition is no longer significant. We discuss these findings in light of recent EIF scholarship.

Introduction

Broadly conceived, environmental justice (EJ) has been concerned with “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies” (Environmental Protection Agency, 2010, para. 1). Since its inception, the contemporary EJ movement (EJM) has dealt with environmental quality issues within a broader framework of social justice and class struggle (Girdner & Smith, 2002; Taylor, 2000). This has meant that the EJM has consciously addressed “the intersections between environmental quality and social

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hierarchies” in its efforts to generally improve environmental quality (Pellow, 2000; p. 582). Consequently, environmental justice scholarship (EJS), the theoretical and empirical study of EJ issues, has emerged and evolved along with the EJM.

Quantitative analyses that have explored the distribution of environmentally noxious exposures unequally impacting socially and geographically identifiable communities have formed, and continue to form, the foundation of EJS and bolster the EJM (UCC/CRJ, 1987; GAO, 1983; Bullard, 1983, 1990; Mohai & Bryant, 1992; Ringquist, 2005). Indeed, as Downey (1998) has noted, to deal effectively with unequal environmental risk distributions, we must first establish what the distributions are. As a result, an impressive multidisciplinary approach to the study of EJ has developed in a relatively short time (Szasz & Meuser, 1997). We performed this study with these considerations in mind.

Zilney, McGurrin, & Zahran (2006) note that while relatively few criminal justice scholars have engaged in EJS, it would be desirable given “the evident linkages between accepted areas of criminological scholarship and environmental justice” (p. 47). Our exploration of EJ related issues in Upstate New York is guided by the environmental inequality formation (EIF) conceptual framework (Bullard, 1996; Hurley, 1995; Krieg, 1995, 2005; Pellow, 2000, 2002; Pulido, 1996, 2000; Pulido, Sidawi, & Vos, 1996; Saha & Mohai, 2005; Szasz & Meuser, 1997; Walsh, Warland, & Smith, 1997). The EIF model posits that communities with relatively vulnerable social formations will develop inequalities with respect to various environmental burdens that are commensurate with their unequal position in sociopolitical hierarchies (Pellow, 2002, 2000). We also attempt to bring criminological concepts such as social disorganization and collective efficacy into empirical EJS (Sampson, Morenoff & Gannon-Rowley, 2002; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999; Earls, Brooks-Gunn, Raudenbush & Sampson, 1994).

We examine the distribution of the exposure to environmental pollutants by employing zip code level data drawn from several cities outside the New York City metropolitan area. Though largely unexamined, Upstate NY cities are worthwhile subjects of EJ research. They have experienced a good deal of environmental degradation and social transformation in recent decades. For example, Love Canal in Niagara Falls, NY represents the first nationally recognized environmental tragedy in the modern era (Gibbs & Levine, 1982). The area is still monitored and general access by the public is not allowed.

We focus specifically on urban areas including the first ring of suburbs that surround each of the selected cities. Very few quantitative environmental justice analyses have focused on these cities (see Krieg’s 2005 study of Buffalo for a rare exception). To consider whether or not burdensome exposure to environmental hazards is unequally distributed across Upstate New York urban areas we estimate multivariate models that include as independent variables measures of community racial/ethnic composition, economic distress, and social disorganization as independent variables.

Environmental Justice as Environmental Inequality Formation (EIF)

The emerging environmental inequality formation (EIF) model formalized by Pellow (2000, 2002) represents the most sophisticated theoretical expression of this critical approach to studying the development of environmental inequalities as a manifestation of evolving social inequalities across time and space (Bullard, 1996; Hurley, 1995; Krieg, 1995, 2005; Pulido, 1996, 2000; Pulido, Sidawi, & Vos, 1996; Saha & Mohai, 2005; Szasz & Meuser, 1997; Walsh, Warland, and Smith, 1997).

Environmental inequality is said to be inseparable from other forms of inequality leaving subordinated groups such as the poor, working class, and people of color disproportionately burdened by environmental hazards. At the same time these groups are denied equitable access to the rewards emanating from such risk and denied access to adequate resources to protect their health (Alston, 1990a, 1990b; Downey, 2005; Bullard, 1994a, 1994b; Bryant & Mohai, 1992).

Institutional racism and classism play “decisive roles” in developing EIF (Pellow, 2002, p. 15). Pellow (2002) asserts that institutional racism and classism create community-level social formations that in turn generate EIFs. These forces need to be examined as primary causes of community-level social and environmental inequalities. The overwhelming majority of EJ research reports that people of color and the poor suffer environmental inequalities of various kinds (Bryant, 1995; Bryant & Mohai, 1992; Bullard, 1990, 1993; Mohai, 1998). However, the EIF model is not limited to any particular causal mechanisms or temporal ordering of events (Bullard, 1996). Nor do environmental inequalities need to be reducible to intentional discrimination.

The EIF model further theorizes that it may be valuable to examine ecological risk indicators and social inequalities through a life-cycle perspective (Pellow, 2000, 2002). That is, any stage along the life-cycle of production and consumption – from cradle to grave – may produce empirically important environmental inequalities (Fletcher, 2003). Therefore, multiple dimensions of environmental risk are more analytically instructive than are measures that only focus on one type of pollution exposure occurring at one point in the production cycle (Faber & Krieg, 2001; Krieg, 1995).

Finally, there is a need to understand environmental inequality as involving multiple stakeholder groups with contradictory and shifting interests and allegiances, rather than as a simple perpetrator-victim scenario in which one entity unilaterally imposes ecological burdens upon a resistant group (Pellow, 2000, 2002). Weaker communities and stakeholders excluded from the valued resources and decision-making power get more of the environmental and economic burdens. Those enjoying privileged access to scarce resources can further deny such resources to vulnerable communities and stakeholders and thereby further concentrate disadvantages (Bullard, 1990).

Although it is not explicit, this conceptualization of vulnerable communities, stakeholders, and the idea of concentrated disadvantage is quite consistent with an empirical literature in criminology that uses concepts such as social disorganization and

collective efficacy to explain the distribution of crime rates across geo-political boundaries (e.g., Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999; Earls, Brooks-Gunn, Raudenbush, & Sampson, 1994). Socially disorganized and disadvantaged neighborhoods often suffer from a shortage of what criminologists call collective efficacy, which in turn has been correlated with inflated crime rates – arguably a social toxin rather than an environmental toxin (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Collective efficacy is the “social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good” (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997; p. 918).

Those neighborhoods that experience social disorganization or an absence of collective efficacy may be more vulnerable, and represent “paths of least resistance” in terms of the distribution of environmental risk (Gould, Schnaiberg, & Weinberg, 1996; Saha & Mohai, 2005). Therefore, rather than a conscious decision based upon race or class, the siting of environmentally risky ventures may involve expectations of resistance - - based on the level of collective efficacy -- which may tend to be unevenly associated with various racial and class formations (Cerrell Associates, 1984; Epley Associates, 1989). A neighborhood characterized by concentrated disadvantage, and low collective efficacy, will very likely be characterized by a racial or ethnic minority population combined with the most marginalized segments of the working class such as the chronically unemployed and unemployable as well as the working poor.

Literature Review

Previous EJ researchers have quantitatively examined two basic social constructs, both of which need to be thoughtfully translated into EIF models to the extent that this is possible – the community’s racial/ethnic composition and economic marginalization. An increasing number of empirical studies have examined the relationships between these social factors and environmental risks using census data for a range of geopolitical units serving as proxies for communities including census tracts, zip codes, census block groups, and counties.

While some studies include measures for the Hispanic ethnic populations (e.g., Derezinski, Lacy, & Stretesky, 2003; Stretesky & Hogan, 1998; Stretesky, Johnston, & Arney, 2003; Stretesky & Lynch, 2002, 1999a, 1998), nearly all at least include measures for the size of African American populations (e.g., Allen, 2001; Derezinski, Lacy, & Stretesky, 2003; Downey, 1998; Krieg, 2005; Mennis, 2002; Stretesky & Hogan, 1998; Stretesky, Johnston, & Arney, 2003; Stretesky & Lynch, 2002, 1999a, 1999b; Taquino, Parisi, & Gill, 2002). It is not easy to summarize the findings from these many studies. They tend to produce mixed results with respect to racial and ethnic environmental inequalities when they examine different types of environmental risk across different geopolitical units. But typically, studies tend to find some presence of racial and/or ethnic

environmental inequality (e.g., Taquino, Parisi, & Gill, 2002; Allen, 2001; Stretesky & Lynch, 1999).

Class has also been an important social relation studied in EJ research. At its simplest, class reflects wage-dependent workers in opposition to capital, with the latter possessing private ownership of productive wealth (Pulido, 2000; Wright, 1989). Empirically measuring class is difficult. The vast majority of EJ studies have basically measured community-level class formation as the income or poverty level (e.g., Goldman & Fitton, 1994; Bowen, Salling, Haynes, & Cyran, 1995; Krieg, 2005; 1995; Pollock & Vittas, 1995; Stretesky, Johnston, & Arney, 2003; Stretesky & Lynch, 1999a). But class is not simply reducible to income level (Foster, 2006).

Social scientists tend to use familiar social status variables to measure class along with income level, such as occupational status, educational attainment, and receipt of public support. Although still not optimal, these are pragmatic options given that there is currently no readily available, definitive way of truly measuring class formation in empirical models (Conley, 1999; Pulido, 2000; Wright, 1989). Various EJ studies have incorporated indicators such as these (e.g., Allen, 2001; Stretesky & Lynch, 2002; Taquino, Parisi, & Gill, 2002). It therefore seems sensible to include several of these measures in EIF empirical models whenever possible.

While it is necessary to continue to include race/ethnicity and class measures in multivariate EJ models, we must attempt to go beyond seeing them as independent, competing variables (Downey, 1998). Measuring these as separate variables, EJ studies have sometimes found class-as-income level to be the stronger predictor of environmental inequality (e.g., Bowen, Salling, Haynes, & Cyran, 1995; Goldman & Fitton, 1994; Pollock & Vittas, 1995) while others have reported that race is the stronger predictor. For example, in his review, Goldman (1994) found that in 22 of the 30 studies using both variables, race was the stronger predictor. In other cases, both race and class (income level) appear to correlate with environmental inequality (Mohai & Bryant, 1992).

While the environmental justice literature typically considers race, ethnicity and social class to be social factors that may predict unequal distributions of environmental burden, there has been very little empirical examination of a third major component of the formation of environmental inequality – collective efficacy in the form of organized, powerful stakeholders operating at the community level. No doubt, particular communities, at particular times, may enjoy a high level of collective efficacy, while others may suffer from a deficiency of collective efficacy.

Basically, collective efficacy reflects the community's ability and willingness to define and pursue its shared goals, a normative consensus among community stakeholders, and a willingness to mobilize to promote amenities and minimize burdens (Sampson, 2002). The presence of social disorganization inhibits the formation of social networks, and thus also inhibits the formation of collective efficacy, and much research

has linked high levels of social disorganization to inflated crime rates and other indicators of community disorder (Skogan, 1990; Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

Therefore, we envision an EIF model that considers the role of three different constructs in predicting environmental risk at the community level: the racial or ethnic composition of the community, the class formation within the community, as well as the level of social disorganization in the community. Based upon our review of the available literature, there appears to be a dearth of studies that have seriously attempted to include measures of social disorganization in their empirical analyses of racial and class correlations with environmental inequalities.

We expect that at the bivariate level each of our independent constructs will be related to our measures of environmental risk. As the percentage of minority residents increases, we anticipate that environmental risk will also increase; as the level of economic marginalization increases so too will the environmental risk increase, and finally as our measure of social disorganization increases so also will environmental risk increase. However, what will unfold in a multivariate model is difficult to anticipate. We may find that to the extent that race/ethnicity encourages the formation of urban environmental inequalities, it does so as a function of greater levels of social disorganization and economic distress rather than simply exerting a direct impact.

Sample and Measurement

Krieg's (2005) study serves as a starting point for our own analyses given that it represents a rare effort to empirically investigate environmental inequalities in any industrialized Upstate New York city. Krieg examined racial composition and environmental hazards using zip code level data from the city of Buffalo. Using only the 17 zip codes that fall almost exclusively within the city of Buffalo, Krieg obtained census data on the racial and economic composition of each zip code, and then relied upon EPA data from EnviroFacts to obtain the number companies within each zip code that were EPA regulated. Krieg also included a measure of the amount of toxic releases that occurred in each zip code obtained from the Toxic Release Inventory.

Krieg divided the zip codes into three groups: those zip codes with less than 10% African American in the population (n=5); those with between about 10% and 45% African American (n=6), and those zip codes where African Americans exceed 45% of the population (n=6). He then compared the count of EPA regulated companies within each zip code grouping and the average number of EPA regulated sites in each zip code grouping and reported no relationship between the two constructs, suggesting that at least in Buffalo the notion of environmental racism was not supported.

We expand upon Krieg's study by identifying 88 zip codes from the following urban areas in Upstate New York: Jamestown, Olean, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Rochester,

Syracuse, Utica, Albany, Troy, & Rensselaer. These 88 zip codes represent our sample.¹ Included in the sample are the zip codes that apply to the city proper as well as, where appropriate, the first ring of suburbs around the city boundaries. We then accessed zip code level environmental data from the EPA's Envirofacts webpage (<http://www.epa.gov/enviro/html/qmr.html>).

Independent Variables: We went to the 2000 US Census and obtained data for each zip code. Paralleling other EJ research, we selected the following Census variables and then adjusted each to a percent based upon the size of the underlying population: (1) percent of single-parent households; (2) percent of rental units; (3) percent of those who moved in the previous five years; (4) percent of population between 18 and 24; (5) percent below the poverty line; (6) percent receiving public assistance, (7) percent unemployed, (8) percent without a high school diploma, (9) median income, and (10) percent non-white.

Environmental Exposure: We used the multisystem query at EnviroFacts and entered each of the 88 selected zip codes, one at a time, and each query generated information on each EPA regulated facility in the zip code and whether the company was permitted to have discharges to water, whether the company reported any toxic releases, whether it was a toxic waste handler, whether the facility was either a current or archived superfund site, and whether the facility introduced chemicals into the local air.

Different indicators reflect past and present production and consumption activity (Fletcher, 2003; Krieg, 1995). Consistent with the EIF model, we examine multiple indicators of environmental exposure together to gauge the overall ecological risk levels confronting communities across urban landscapes in Upstate New York. For example, a single facility may be permitted to make discharges to water, may be a hazardous waste handler, and may have reported a toxic release, while another facility may be a hazardous waste handler with no discharges to water, and no toxic releases reported. By simply counting the number of EPA regulated facilities, both facilities in the example above would be given a score of one. However the first facility poses greater risk because it discharges to water and it reported a toxic release, as well as being a hazardous waste handler. In our counting scheme, facility one above would receive a score of three, while facility two above would receive a score of one. If these were the only two facilities in a particular zip code, the total environmental risk score assigned would be a four. Overall, there was rather substantial variation in our environmental risk score ranging from a low of 15 in zip code 13215 (Syracuse) to a high of 252 in zip code 14225 (Buffalo).

¹ In preliminary analyses, we identified an outlier in the Buffalo area. Zip code 14203 is located in the center city, is quite small in terms of square mileage, has a relatively low residential population, and is quite high on our measures of environmental risk. Therefore, all subsequent analysis, including descriptive statistics, is based upon a sample of 87 zip codes.

On average, each zip code has about 61 environmental risks per 10,000 residents and on average about 25 risks per square mile. However, there is much variation across the zip codes. For example, zip code 13215 in the Syracuse area has the lowest environmental risk per 10,000 people at 10.44, while zip code 14614 in Rochester has the highest environmental risk per 10,000 people at 478. Similar variation occurs with our measure of risk per square mile. Zip code 13215 also has the lowest risk per square mile, while 14614 has the highest risk per square mile. Our measures of risk per 10,000 people and per square mile identified the same highest risk and lowest risk zip codes, and the two measures are strongly correlated ($r = .85$). However they do represent somewhat different dimensions of environmental burden.

Further, EJ researchers recognize that mere proximity of a toxic threat to a particular community is not the full extent of an EIF within that community (Szasz & Meuser, 1997). Thus, we evaluate the quantity of environmental risk relative to the geographical size of a community and its population (e.g., Downey, 1998; Mennis & Jordan, 2005). Specifically, we created two environmental risk measures at the zip code level – one based upon the population in the zip code, and one based upon the size of the zip code in square miles. To obtain an environmental risk rate per 10,000 people we divided the environmental risk measure by the size of the underlying population and multiplied by 10,000. To obtain an environmental risk rate per square mile, we divided the environmental risk count by the number of square miles of the zip code.

Data Reduction Strategies: Initially, each census-based measure was placed into one of three categories: race/ethnicity; economic conditions; social disorganization. For the race/ethnicity measure we opted for percent non-white in each zip code (we also estimated our equations with a racial heterogeneity measure as well as a percent black measure with substantively similar results). Both the economic conditions construct and the social disorganization construct are based upon multiple items.

The census measures included in the economic conditions construct are percent receiving public assistance, percent unemployed, percent without a high school degree, percent living under the federally established poverty line, and median income. Confirmatory factor analysis extracted a single factor solution (eigenvalue=3.80) and each item had a factor loading in excess of .78.

We used the same strategy with four items thought to represent social disorganization: percent of single-parent households, percent of rental units, percent of those who moved in the past five years, and percent of the population between 18 and 24 years old. Again, confirmatory factor analysis resulted in a single factor solution (eigenvalue=2.80), and each item has a factor score in excess of .79.

Next, each census-based risk factor was dichotomized into risk variables at the 75th or 25th percentile depending on which end of the distribution represented risk. The notion of risk and protective factors is well established in the criminological literature (Wei, Loeber & White, 2004; Hoeve, Smeenk, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, van der Laan,

Gerris & Dubas, 2007). Derezinski, Lacy, & Stretesky (2003) have used a dichotomous dependent variable in their EJ research, and using dichotomous measures “greatly simplifies the presentation of results and produced meaningful findings that are easily understood to a wide audience” (Farrington & Loeber, 2000: 102). Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics on our measures of environmental risk as well as each of the census based risk factors.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for both Dependent and Independent Variables (n = 87)

Variable Name		
Variable Name	Mean	Standard Deviation
Dependent Variables		
Environmental risk per 10,000 people	60.91	68.51
Environmental risk per square mile	25.15	29.64
Independent Variables		
	High risk category	Low risk category
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>	(1)	(0)
Non-white	69.18%	17.34%
<i>Economic Conditions</i>		
those over 25 without a high school diploma	37.34	16.04
those living below the federal poverty line	37.45	12.54
those receiving public assist	59.27	38.06
those who are unemployed	19.62	5.99
median income	\$17,866.76	\$38,970.12
<i>Social Disorganization Conditions</i>		
single-parent households	60.20%	28.60%
rental units	78.22	37.96
mobility	61.24	39.29
population between 18 and 24	19.22	8.04

Each of the independent variables, as one would expect, has a mean that hovers around 25%, which translates to 21 of 87 zip codes. However, to understand the difference between the high risk and low risk classifications across the zip codes, we present the distributions of each risk factor in the high risk zip codes and the low risk zip codes in Table 1. For example, when considering the risk factor of percent non-white, those placed in the high-risk zip codes are on average about 69% non-white, while those receiving a low-risk classification are on average about 17% non-white – a fairly substantial difference between the low and high risk categories. A similar pattern can be seen with each included risk factor (independent variable) in Table 1. The average median

income is about \$18,000 among the high risk zip codes, while among the low risk zip codes the average median income is about \$39,000. Therefore, collapsing each risk variable into a dichotomous variable (1 = high risk) identifies those jurisdictions that are relatively high in the risk factor compared to the other included jurisdictions.

Finally, the dichotomous variables are summed together for each theoretical construct (economic distress ranges from 0 to 5 and social disorganization ranges from 0 to 4). Figures 1 and 2 present the count of social disorganization and economic distress risks. Just under 58% of the zip codes are identified as low risk on our social disorganization scale, about 24% are moderate risk (a score of 1 or 2), and about 18% are high risk in terms of social disorganization. This means that 18% of the zip codes are in the high risk category for at least three of the social disorganization measures. About 58% of the zip codes are low risk on economic distress (Figure 2). In addition, about 25% of the zip codes score between a 1 and 3 on the economic distress scale (moderate risk), and about 17% score a 4 or 5 (high risk).

Figure 1: Distribution of Social Disorganization Risk Factors

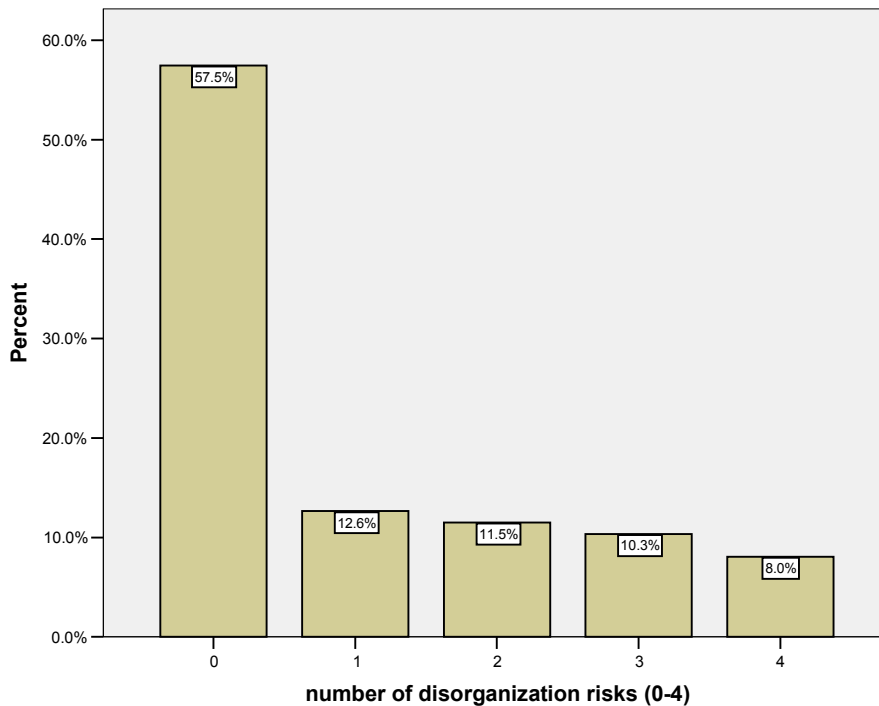
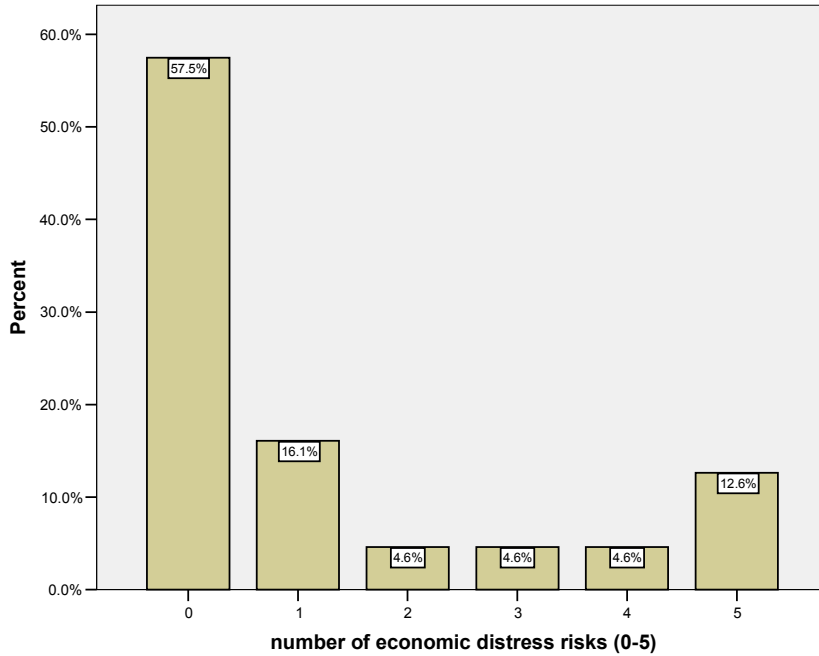


Figure 2: Distribution of Economic Distress Risk Factors



Results

Next, we estimate models to ascertain which, if any, of our independent constructs co-vary with our environmental risk variables. To estimate our equations we use OLS regression. Table 2 presents results when the dependent variable is environmental risk per 10,000 people.² Equation 1 is a bivariate regression equation that includes as the independent variable our measure that identifies disproportionately high minority zip codes compared to disproportionately low minority zip codes. When our race/ethnicity measure is the only independent variable we see that those jurisdictions with relatively high minority populations have significantly higher levels of environmental risk per 10,000 people. Next, in equation 2, we add in our economic distress measure as dummy variables (low economic distress is the excluded variable).

Results from equation 2 indicate that race/ethnicity is no longer significantly related to environmental risk per 10,000 citizens, but that those communities that have numerous economic risk factors present have significantly higher levels of environmental

² We were concerned about multicollinearity, which has been a persistent problem when considering race/ethnicity and measures of poverty simultaneously. Apparently, our risk factor approach addressed the issue of multicollinearity and none of the tolerances fall below .40. Allison (1999) urges caution when the tolerance is under .40.

risk compared to those communities that are relatively low on economic risk factors. Those communities that score moderately on economic distress are no different in terms of level of environmental hazards than are those communities that score low on economic distress.

Table 2:

Relationship between independent variables and environmental risk per 10,000 people

Independent Variables	Equation 1 B	Equation 2 B	Equation 3 B
Non-white (1)	36.03*	-20.47	-28.30
Economic Distress ^a			
Moderate Economic Distress		15.16	-1.62
High Economic Distress		96.46***	78.85**
Social Disorganization ^b			
Moderate Social Disorganization			4.35
High Social Disorganization			50.40*
Adjusted R ²	.040*	.164***	.201***

^aLow Economic Distress is the excluded category.

^bLow Social Disorganization is the excluded category.

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

In equation 3, we have added our measure of social disorganization into the model with race/ethnicity and economic distress. Race/ethnicity remains statistically unrelated to environmental burden. But those communities that are in the high risk category for social disorganization are also significantly higher on the level of environmental burden per 10,000 in the population compared with those communities experiencing low levels of social disorganization. Also, those moderately disorganized are not at greater environmental risk compared to those communities that are in the low risk category for social disorganization. Interestingly, after controlling for our measure of social disorganization, economic distress remains significantly related to environmental risk. Therefore, both economic distress and social disorganization make independent contributions to the level of environmental risk when measured as a rate per 10,000 in the population.

Table 3 simply substitutes environmental risk per square mile for environmental risk per 10,000 people, and we follow the same analytic strategy described above. In general, we obtain rather similar results at those presented in Table 2. Overall, once we control for economic distress, race/ethnicity is no longer a significant predictor of environmental risk. However, both high economic distress and high social disorganization make independent contributions to environmental risk.

Table 3:

Relationship between independent variables and environmental risk per square mile

Independent Variables	Equation 1	Equation 2	Equation 3
	B	B	B
Non-white (1)	31.25***	5.15	0.11
Economic Distress ^a			
Moderate Economic Distress		12.33	0.76
High Economic Distress		44.75***	32.51**
Social Disorganization ^b			
Moderate Social Disorganization			1.82
High Social Disorganization			35.17***
Adjusted R ²	.197***	.346***	.488***

^aLow Economic Distress is the excluded category.

^bLow Social Disorganization is the excluded category

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Discussion

This study is an attempt to respond to the call for criminologists to help develop a “green criminology” and contribute to the burgeoning, and important, interdisciplinary EJS. We have attempted to inform our empirical analyses with insights gleaned from the social ecology of crime and EIF literatures, which have developed independently of one another despite their implicit affinity for an attention to the social formation of community-level vulnerability to burdensome and noxious phenomena appearing to unequally afflict racially and class disadvantaged neighborhoods across urban landscapes.

We examine demographic and environmental data from several Upstate New York cities that have not been subjected to much quantitative study despite their interesting social and ecological histories. Although researchers are welcome to examine specific pollutants separately to the extent that they are interested in those pollutants, we believe that there is wisdom in the suggestion that researchers use more inclusive measures. Commensurate with the EIF perspective’s suggestion that researchers examine multiple types of ecological hazards that reflect toxins and pollutants occurring across the production cycle, we use a more inclusive, comprehensive measure of ecological burden.

We draw an analogy to the social ecology of crime perspective’s emphasis on dependent variables that encompass a wide range of crimes, forms of deviance, and manifestations of disorder afflicting communities. Despite the legal importance that researchers and experts might attribute to a particular crime, it may be that a wide range of socially noxious behaviors, particularly large numbers of less serious acts of deviance, for example, that may severely impact communities both subjectively and objectively. Likewise, we have approached ecological hardship measured as an aggregate of five threats to air, water, and land, along with superfund sites rather than focusing on any

particular ecological burden, regardless how serious it may be by itself. We think that this strategy represents a more inclusive index of environmental hardship afflicting each community.

The selection and construction of our independent variables have also been guided by the EIF and social ecology of crime literatures. We have posited that community-level characteristics might reflect social risk factors that combine to make those communities more vulnerable to the formation of environmental inequality. Thus, while we have used independent variables familiar to EJ researchers, we have differed from the norm and have drawn upon the social ecology of crime literature to construct three theoretically grounded measures that we believe may better capture the notion of social vulnerability to EIF. These social risk constructs are race/ethnicity, economic distress, and social disorganization. The last two constructs each reflect the accumulation of specific hardship variables, the combination of which connotes economically distressed or socially disorganized communities.

Downey (1998) reported that his bivariate analyses of urban Michigan zip code data were consistent with institutional models of environmental racism. Our bivariate analyses revealed that greater proportions of non-white residents are correlated with higher levels of environmental pollutants. This is notable in part because our sample includes the same Buffalo zip codes that Krieg (2005) used. He reported (using raw counts) no significant correlation between race and environmental hardship. However, when using rates instead of raw counts, we do indeed find clear evidence of environmental racism at the bivariate level.

In our multivariate models, the racial correlation identified at the bivariate level is no longer significant, leaving us with clear, direct correlations with economic distress and social disorganization as community-level risks for environmental inequality. This is conceptually important as the EIF literature has stressed the importance of structural processes reflecting “white privilege” through which communities form across a racialized landscape (Pulido, 2000; Pulido, Sidawi, & Vos, 1996). Race matters as minority groups are discursively distributed and segregated into neighborhoods marked by unequal distributions of social and economic risk factors. Commensurate with the social ecology of crime perspective, racialized populations of “truly disadvantaged” may be segregated and trapped into neighborhoods that suffer levels of economic distress and social disorganization that researchers posit will exert direct causal influence on levels of problems such as crime and deviance (Wilson, 1987), and possibly environmental degradation.

Therefore, our findings seem consistent with the EIF perspective’s emphasis on racial environmental inequality as a formation process, rather than a simple direct discrimination against a minority population as such. When we see environmental inequality as a formation of the economic distress and social disorganization that racially segregated communities in industrialized cities experience, we should not disregard the significance

of environmental racism. Instead, we should attempt to understand its causal nature. In this regard, we think that our novel data reduction strategies, and the incorporation of theoretically important social formation constructs, produce some compelling findings.

We dichotomized each of our social risk factors to place about 25% of the zip codes into the high risk end of each distribution. That is, we examined whether or not communities with particularly high concentrations of minority residents, economic distress, or social disorganization really experience disproportionately high levels of environmental hardship. In fact, we found that it was only when these risk factors are relatively high and numerous that community environmental inequality is noticeable.

It is possible that there are “tipping points” (Weatherburn & Lind, 2001) at which social risk factors accumulate at some high level, so high that the community changes qualitatively. While we wish to draw conclusions carefully, our findings seem to suggest that such a process may be occurring in our sample with EIF. The quantitatively high level of accumulation of community risk factors may represent a community having crossed a threshold into a qualitatively different kind of community that is then particularly vulnerable to severe environmental disadvantage.

Collective efficacy has been a central concept in the social ecology of crime literature. Scholars have used it to gauge a community’s cohesiveness and thus relative protection from particularly noxious conditions. While our social disorganization construct is instructive, it is meant to serve as a rough proxy for this collective efficacy factor. It is therefore important that EIF researchers attempt to employ more direct measures for collective efficacy in lieu of our social disorganization construct.

Furthermore, we recognize that the unit of analysis for EJS remains a contentious issue, and our results may be, in part, the result of our decision to operationalize community at the zip code level. We opted for this unit of analysis to parallel and build upon Krieg’s (2005) research on Buffalo, NY. Debate over the unit of analysis will persist, but a comparison study that varies the unit of analysis within the same large geographic area may begin to empirically address the question of the most appropriate unit of analysis for EJS.

Third, the data we have collated suffer from any of the errors that flow from the data collection initiatives at both the U.S. Census and the EPA. Fourth, our analysis cannot untangle the causal sequences between community factors and environmental risk. Nevertheless, which came first – the environmental risk or the economic distress and social disorganization – does not take away from the finding that environmental risk is not equally shared. Finally, we selected Upstate New York urban areas for this study, but it would be interesting to replicate the findings reported here in other parts of the country, or with predominately suburban or rural communities.

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Community Policing: Developing an Action Plan

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The purpose of this paper is to understand the fundamental elements of a strategic action plan in preparing for the implementation of community policing policy. This paper is intended to serve practitioners in the field as well as the researcher. This paper outlines the action steps that the police department should plan before implementing community policing. This paper advocates a planned change that is intended to occur within police organizations and communities – philosophically, organizationally, tactically, and strategically. Methodologically, this is a theoretical paper that addresses the importance of strategic planning in police reforms. In this context, it attempts to lay out the relationship between the elements of a strategic action plan and the implementation of community policing policy.

Defining Community Policing

Before an action plan can be discussed, it seems reasonable to start with a brief introduction of what community policing is. There needs to be a single definition upon which all stakeholders can agree, i.e., police departments, police unions, the community, schools, elected civic officials, the business community, other agencies (public and non-profit), and the media. Community policing means different things to different people (Rosenbaum, 1994). Some believe that community policing means to have specialized units working in crime-prone areas, a form of place-based type of policing, while others believe that community policing is more general approach of policing that focuses on a management strategy that encourages joint responsibility of the police and the community members to promote safety (Cordner & Perkins, 2005; Palmiotto, 2000; Skogan, 2004). In this context, community policing, unlike traditional and other forms of policing which are primarily focused on maintaining order and protecting citizens, calls attention to an involvement of the police in the community in the pursuit of solution to the problems (Roh, 2004). Thus, community policing is defined as the delivery of police services, resulting from a community and police partnership that identifies and resolves issues to maintain social order (Gutierrez, 2003; Oliver, 2008; Roh, 2004). Social order, in this case, is accomplished by addressing community issues and concerns which contribute to a safer environment.

One of the most researched definitions of community policing and broadly approved by the scientific community and many police departments is

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that of Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994). According to Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux community policing is defined as follows:

Community policing is a philosophy [a new way of thinking] and an organizational strategy [the new innovative way of carrying out this multidimensional philosophy] that promotes a new partnership between people and their police. It is based on the premise that both the police and the community must work together to identify, prioritize, and solve contemporary problems such as crime, drugs, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and overall neighborhood decay, with the goal of improving the overall quality of life in the area. (p. 2)

According to Marcinkowski (1998), community policing employs a wide range of tactics and strategies. As a new policing policy, it gives police officers the knowledge and the tools to analyze the reasons that certain incidents arise and help them devise interventions that will reduce some of the underlying causes of crime and disorder. Furthermore, unlike other criminologists, Trojanowicz and Carter (1998) argued that community policing is “a philosophy and not a specific tactic. Community policing is a proactive, decentralized approach, designed to reduce crime, disorder, and by extension, fear of crime” (p. 12). However, this does not translate that community policing does not employ specific tactics in preventing crime. It only means that community policing, in a broader sense, is a way of thinking – a philosophy.

In summary, there are many ways to define community policing. Unfortunately, there is no consensus on a single definition. The most compelling definition, however, is that of Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux’s (1994). In their definition, we can identify four main dimensions of community policing; namely, philosophical, tactical, strategic, and organizational. This suggests that community policing is multidimensional. Most of those who have attempted to define community policing, have been primarily focused on one or two of those four dimensions. Unfortunately, lack of a clear definition of community policing leads to many problems that may not allow this policing policy to be properly implemented (Oliver, 2008).

One of the key concepts behind the idea of community policing is presented as being local. Community policing is featured as being based on local accessibility, distinctly local problems, local knowledge and resources, local solutions and the general belief that the smaller and the more local, the better. All those propositions surrounding the definition of community policing, clearly depart from traditional police idea that there is one organization-wide blueprint

for intervention against crime and disorder that could uniformly be applied to all settings (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988). What needs to be known about community policing is that it claims to be associated with a shift of police organization from centralized, functional organizational structures to decentralized geographic structures that encourage closer ties with local communities (Moore, 1992). A distinctive definition of community policing, although not yet agreed upon by all stakeholders, including the scientific community, helps police agencies prepare for the implementation of this new policing policy. When an agreement to the meaning of this new policing policy – namely community policing – is reached, at least at the local departmental level, then the goals and outcome objectives of community policing can be brought to life.

The Importance of the Action Plan

Once the meaning of community policing – narrowly tailored for each community – is constructed, coupled with the meaning of what constitutes community, namely police definition of “community,” then an action plan can be outlined. An action plan is the blueprint of community policing, and as such, it reduces many problems with the actual implementation of community policing. An action plan for community policing includes setting general goals and specific outcome objectives to be achieved based on the multidimensional and philosophical principles of community policing.

In addition to goals and objectives of community policing, an action plan is important for several other reasons; namely, it contains resource allocations and data collection methodology. This includes how to get in touch with the community and how to determine whether there is a need, which is a lack of something that affects the safety of the community, or a problem, which is the presence of something that affects the safety of the community, and potential foreseeable obstacles, i.e., resisting forces such as departmental and community resistances (Palmiotto, 2000; Welsh & Harris, 2004). An action plan is “the entire sequence of activities” (Welsh & Harris, 2004, p. 152) and analysis or thinking that the police agencies do before they can start implementing a new policing policy –community policing. In simple terms, an action plan is the product of the root cause analysis which attempts to identify strategies that a police organization intends to implement. Without an action plan, the implementation of community policing would most likely be abortive. The following few sub-sections discuss some of the elements of the early stages of an action plan. Since an action plan is the blueprint of community policing or a new policy or program, the discussion that follows will be focused on things that need to be considered for the planning of community policing, for those police agencies that have not yet implemented community policing policy.

Goals and Objectives of Community Policing

The first stage of preparing for community policing is to identify its goals and objectives. The primary goal of community policing is to solve safety problems through a partnership between the police and the community. A second goal is to create an atmosphere in which the community members actively and willingly cooperate with the police in solving crime problems (i.e., report witnessed crimes to the police). A third goal is to strengthen community involvements in social control. A major objective of community policing is to establish an active partnership between the police and the community that can analyze problems, design, and implement solutions that are truly community-based and that can be achieved within a specific time-frame. After the partnership between the police and the community is established, other objectives include:

1. to ensure effective protection of communities and better quality of life
2. to ensure that the police address the needs of the community and are accountable to them
3. to provide communities with a visible and accessible police presence that help enhance public confidence in the police
4. to reduce fear of crime
5. to increase public support for the police

(See Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Langworthy & Lawrence, 1999; Palmiotto, 2000; Gutierrez, 2003; Oliver, 2008 for an extended discussion of goals and objectives of community policing).

The goals of community policing are broad in scope and they can be assumed as applicable to all police departments that have implemented, or that are in the process of implementing, community policing. The objectives of community policing, on the other hand, vary by the needs of the community, and as such, they can not be applicable to all communities uniformly. This means that different communities have different needs and problems, i.e., some communities are run down by gangs, high crime rates, and social disorganization, whereas others may not have the same problems. This suggests that police departments should set outcome objectives based on the information they possess about the communities they serve. In other words, the objectives of community policing should be data-driven and narrowly tailored to fit the needs of each community. It is noteworthy that the objectives of community policing should not be confused with the goals of community policing.

Strategic Planning

The second stage of planning the implementation of community policing is to communicate departmental values to the community itself. As mentioned

above, a good way to start preparing for the implementation of community policing is to clearly identify goals and objectives, but most importantly, to identify the values for which the police department stands. Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994) argue that police departments should solicit input from the groups that represent the community as well as within the department (i.e., the chief of police should hold a series of meetings with representatives from various levels of the department). The purpose of this would be to motivate the community – to prepare them for change – as well as the police department itself. The departmental values, goals, and objectives should be communicated to the community itself. The central idea of communicating departmental values (i.e., service, safety, cooperation, empowerment, courtesy, respect, commitment, integrity, involvement, etc.) to the community is to have the representatives of the community consider the nature of the relationship between the police and the community, which is one of the central principles of community policing (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994).

The next step would be to gather information about crime, disorder, and fear of crime in the community since neighborhoods and their problems differ. In this context, the analyses of the problems in the community need to be place-specific, time-specific, offense-specific, and offender-specific. This step will be identified as the exploratory stage, which is narrowly focused on the identification of problems in the community and building a foundation for the implementation of community policing (Morash & Ford, 2002). This step can also be helpful in changing or modifying outcome objectives stated above. In short, this step focuses on the information gathering to define issues that need to be addressed, which later on, will serve to identify the stakeholders in the community and their interests.

Following the data collection about the problems or needs of the community, the next step would be to educate the public about the history of community policing and how it could address the existing problems and needs of the community. The idea is to convince the public that community policing will best serve community needs. Many police departments have already taken this very step. This step further improves the action plan by obtaining feedback from the community regarding what they perceive as the biggest problem in their neighborhoods (Alpert & Piquero, 2000; Gutierrez, 2003). By soliciting feedback from the community, police agencies create new relationships with the community. They will also be able to identify areas for improvement. Moreover, frequent police meetings with community members encourages them (community members) to express their concerns about crime prevention. Together with the community, the police can solve some of the issues regarding safety and the quality of life (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994). This step is

part of the preparation stage as well as the implementation stage because it is consistent with the philosophy of community policing itself.

Resources for the Implementation of Community Policing

The next stage would be to identify the resources that are needed to successfully implement community policing. Needless to say, it is hard to imagine that community policing can be fully implemented. There are many barriers that actually cause problems while trying to implement community policing. First, there are organizational barriers that prevent officers from adopting community policing and problem solving techniques in their daily work (see *Departmental Resisting Forces* section below). Second, although most police officers agree with the philosophy of community policing, significant barriers such as lack of resources, may prevent its full implementation in the real world. Thus, a successful implementation of community policing includes identifying resources (by developing a resource plan) needed to fully implement all components of community policing, which are as follows: (1) philosophical – building relationships with the community, (2) organizational – shifting from traditional to community policing by translating the philosophy of community policing into practice, (3) tactical – methodologies that police organizations use to reach the objectives, and (4) strategies – long-term plans or policies or a set of police tactics that can be envisioned as an on-going process that will help maintain the achieved results.

The resources for the implementation of community policing are rooted in the federal government. The federal government provides grants for developing programs that are aimed at reducing crime and improving the safety and security in the community (Gutierrez, 2003). For easier access to federal funds, the police agencies should have clearly defined goals, outcome objectives, and ways for achieving those objectives. If the preliminary phase of the implementation of community policing does not produce a desirable outcome, then the police agencies run the risk of losing funding from the federal government. Additionally, the outcome objectives should match with the available resources. If the outcome objectives are not matched with the resources (in other words, if the objectives of certain police strategies or tactics do not produce a desirable outcome), then they are no longer supported and this funding is cut. In short, the financial resources are allocated based upon the level of foreseeable success in achieving objectives of a particular police crime prevention strategy, tactic, program, or policy (Welsh & Harris, 2004).

Community and Departmental Resistance to Community Policing

The last stage before the actual implementation of community policing, the most problematic stage, is conflict resolution – managing resistance and

conflicts. There are two kinds of resisting forces that many researchers have identified and that may affect the implementation of community policing: community resisting forces and departmental resisting forces. First, within the community, there are people that do not approve the idea of having the government monitor their every move (Cole & Smith, 2001). Some people simply do not want to be responsible for the safety of the community since community policing partially places the burden of social control on the community members (Robin, 2000; Mastrofski, 1998; see also Bayley & Shearing, 1996; Langworthy & Lawrence, 1999). The second resisting force is traditional officers or traditional police agencies that resist the idea of proactive policing because community policing at the strategic and tactical level is a proactive form of policing. Some of them prefer to use a reactive approach and thus minimize governmental involvement in the private lives of the community members. Needless to say, the resistance to community policing is inevitable since community policing requires change. Change, in many instances, is equally perceived as an incoming threat by both the community members and the police. This is an expected reaction, because people usually fear the unknown. A change, in this case, creates a degree of uncertainty (Welsh & Harris, 2004), which is a natural human reaction to the unknown. This does not mean that police departments that have not yet implemented community policing should avoid conflicts that these resisting forces may present to this change. It only means that they should recognize the fact that change does not come easily and that it requires the determination to move forward. It is suggestive, however, that the supporters and implementers of community policing should look at the positive side of resisting forces since these forces provide the opportunity to resolve many misunderstandings about community policing before its implementation.

Community Resisting Forces

The resistance against community policing may take the form of two major concerns (Hughes, 2000). First, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper, this new policing policy lacks a specific definition of what is to be considered community policing and the definition of the community itself (Hughes, 2000; Robin, 2000; Oliver, 2008; also see Langworthy & Lawrence, 1999). Defining “community” is perhaps the most important departmental concern when trying to deal with external resisting forces, namely community resisting forces. Hughes (2000) argues that as a result of not knowing who in a geographic place is to serve as “the community,” when implementing a community policing model, the police are forced to select certain people that may or may not represent the community; yet they may serve as community

representatives. These individuals will be asked to provide insight and feedback for community policing efforts. The problem with this is that these “selected” individuals may attempt to create an atmosphere favorable to themselves (to represent their own interests) by providing feedback/information to the police agencies about community needs and wants. This means that they may attempt to speak up on behalf of the community when, in fact, they do not represent the community and have no intentions of representing the interests of the entire community. In many instances, for these “community representatives,” the police may be seen as a mechanism for enforcing their own conception of what the community behavioral norms should be (Hughes, 2000; also see Langworthy & Lawrence, 1999; Wilson, 1968; Robin, 2000; Bayley & Shearing, 1996; Mastrofski, 1988).

Furthermore, those individuals that supposedly represent the community are able to get their interests represented in the implementation of community policing; thus ensuring that certain values – not those of the community – get incorporated in the implementation of community policing. Politically powerful individuals may direct the implementation of community policing to support their own interests. What constitutes “community” and who represents community should be viewed in a critical way by the police agencies because policing then may only serve a minute number of people while mistakenly assuming that it serves the whole community. The community policing policy is intended to serve the community and not only a handful of people within that community. If this is the case, then the rest of the community members may be more reluctant to welcome community policing.

A second major problem with the implementation of community policing – in fact, a resisting force – concerns its acceptance in the community. Communities may not wish to engage in a closer relationship with the police or to bear the burden of maintaining social control (Hughes, 2000; also see Grinc, 1994). Sometimes communities that do not desire a closer relationship with the police may have such a situation forced upon them. The police may be forced into a wide range of situations where they are not welcomed. The creation of an unwelcomed environment may produce complaints against the police as well as law suits, which could be costly. In this context, the police departments should not assume that all members of the community will embrace police involvement in their lives. In fact, they should plan to improve positive police-citizen contacts, but never attempt to impose such contacts upon them. Hughes (2000) argues that, in many cases, if citizens’ contact with the police is undesirable, then it would seem they would be going into the interaction negatively predisposed. This may upset a lot of people, and those people who would be negatively predisposed to the police, would be more likely to bring forth law suits. Thus,

imposing community policing upon those who do not desire it may increase departmental liability exposure, which is not one of the goals or the objectives of community policing (Hughes, 2000; see also Bayley & Shearing, 1996). After all, it's the community that needs to have the final word on how they want to be policed.

Furthermore, while contemporary policing can be classified more of a community oriented policing (most police agencies have adopted community policing already), there are still preferences within the community aiming toward traditional policing. Cole and Smith (2001) argue that

“in a free society people do not want the police on every corner asking them what they are doing. Thus, the police are mainly reactive (responding to citizen calls for service) rather than proactive (initiating actions in the absence of citizen request)” (p. 167).

Departmental Resisting Forces

Departmental resistance is expected only in those police agencies that still support a traditional style of policing – being reactive rather than proactive. The sentiment that exists in those police agencies considers the police as an ultimate authority responsible only for law enforcement. By contrast, the philosophy of community policing requires the police to think they are the public and the public are the police (Cole & Smith, 2001; Palmiotto, 2000). The police are to be considered one department among many responsible for improving the quality of life.

In the community policing era, listening to costumers is the essence of the police job. For many police officers, who are accustomed to traditional policing, this new role is unacceptable because it requires change. Unfortunately, resisting change in some cases involves the entire police department. In fact, the greatest resistance in the process of preparing for change – moving from traditional policing to community policing – may come from within the police agencies (Miller & Hess, 2001). Sparrow (as cited by Miller & Hess, 2001, p. 378) argues that:

Police organizations...have a considerable momentum. Having strong personal commitments to the values with which they have “grown up,” police officers will find any hint to proposed change in the police culture extremely threatening. Moreover, those values are reflected in many apparently technical aspects of their jobs – systems for dispatching patrols, patrol officers constantly striving to be available for next call, incident-logging criteria, etc.

The chief executive who simply announces that community policing is the order of the day, without a carefully designed plan for bringing about change, stands in danger of both “loosing traction” and of throwing his entire force into confusion.

Traditional policing agencies that have adopted a reactive approach in dealing with problems in the community may find it difficult moving from reactive to proactive policing. Traditional policing, in general, is considered a reactive entity and does not include proactive efforts. Comparatively, in community policing, proactive efforts are considered, and in fact are given priority, anytime the police make legitimate arrests for crimes without victims, which is an important feature of community policing (Cole & Smith, 2001).

Additionally, within traditional police agencies, there is a false belief that moving from traditional (reactive) policing to community (proactive) policing will create an organizational imbalance. There is an assumption among traditional officers and traditional police departments that this “change” (moving from traditional to community policing) will come so rapidly and so radically that the whole project of “change” will occur within a short period of time (Miller & Hess, 2001). This is a true misconception that makes the traditional police officers and traditional police organization oppose community policing. They are misinformed about what constitutes “change” and at what pace this “change” occurs. It is suggested, that the police departments fully understand the values of community policing, yet they should understand that, fundamentally, community policing is not much different from that of traditional policing. It only requires that the police work to incorporate philosophical and analytical components of social control.

Finally, the greatest resistance comes from those police agencies where the process of recruitment of new police officers tends to favor recruits who have military background. The training is based on a military model that emphasizes the coercion (Forcese, 1992). Those agencies tend to maintain the police role as being the central authority responsible for law enforcement. Unfortunately, there is not much that can be done to speedily fix this problem. It requires time for those agencies to change and finally accept the fact that the absence of calls for service is considered success in policing and not the number of calls served, which emphasizes the presence of crime.

Executive Plan of Community Policing

This stage of the action plan mostly deals with police tactics and strategies (that some police agencies have actually implemented) that need to be written out before the implementation of community policing takes place. It is

the last suggestive stage that includes the technicalities of police operations and assignments. Such police actions include: philosophical based actions, tactical, and strategic. At the philosophical level, this refers to assigning officers to specific geographical locations, preferably to those neighborhoods in which the officers actually live. The central idea here is to build trust within the community and create support for the police. However, evidence shows that most police departments fail to meet this criterion. In fact, some police departments prefer their police officers to be assigned in beats other than those in which the officers live.

The second element is developing police tactics (short-term operations) to deal with immediate problems such as targeting specific offenses and specific offenders at specific locations at specific times. Evidence shows that some police tactics have been successful in preventing crime (e.g., gun suppression, lever-pulling, proactive arrests, hot spots policing, etc.) (Sherman, Farrington, Welsh, MacKenzie, 2006; Weisburd & Green, 1995; Sherman, 1995; Sherman & Weisburd, 1995; see also Braga, 2001; Koper, 1995; Martin, 1986; Martin & Sherman, 1986; Braga, 2006).

The last element is to develop long-term strategies. This can be a set of police tactics that are envisioned as an on-going process that are aimed at reducing crime and improving the lives of citizens.

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