CHAPTER 15

Personnel Performance Evaluations in the Community Policing Context

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Acknowledgments

This monograph is supported by grant #96-CK-WX-K001 awarded to the Community Policing Consortium by the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS). Points of view or opinions contained within this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice or the Community Policing Consortium.

Introduction

Police executives implementing community policing face the challenge of altering fundamental roles and responsibilities of personnel throughout the organization. No role is more important than that of patrol officers, who are entrusted with the re-

sponsibility and authority to provide critical quality services to citizens. Role changes for officers are reflected in new training efforts that communicate the role expectations, and supported by new performance evaluation processes that reinforce these expectations. This chapter discusses the role expectations of community policing, identifies multiple evaluation perspectives and describes a performance evaluation model. It identifies evaluation purposes and requirements and offers suggestions for altering various components of traditional police performance measurement systems.

The Context of Community Policing

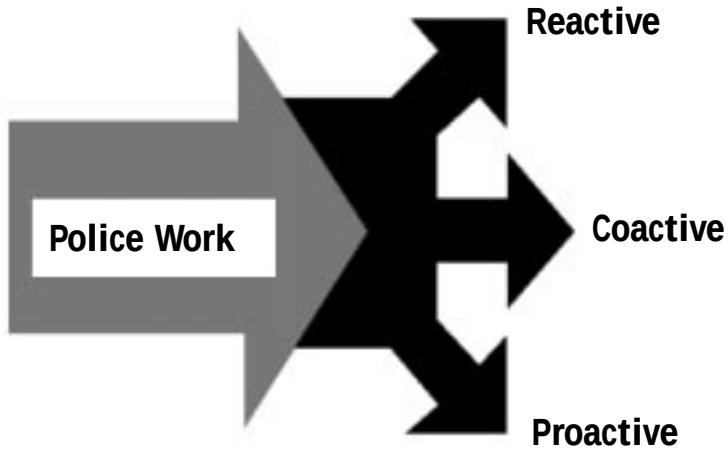
Community policing is an approach to service delivery that recognizes the varying characteristics and needs of different parts of a community. Rather than being seen as an undifferentiated entity, a city—viewed from a community policing perspective—is seen as consisting of many neighborhoods, each of which has a particular combination of qualities and service needs. In adopting community policing, police agencies commit to tailoring their service to meet the specific needs of individual areas of the community.[1] As defined by the Community Policing Consortium (1994), community policing consists of two complementary core components: community partnership and problem solving. Community partnership is the means for knowing the community; problem solving is the tool for addressing the conditions that threaten the community's welfare. To attack crime and disorder problems at their roots, police officers and managers need to be fully familiar with the nature of the problem in a given area; the

[1]What separates departments striving to become community-based from the "pretenders" is management's conviction to pursue a different set of assumptions that guide the implementation of operational and managerial initiatives. Many of these assumptions are grounded in police research conducted over the past 20 years. Evaluation efforts should measure the effectiveness of changes in processes, programs and strategies linked to these assumptions.

cause of a crime pattern in one area may be quite different from the cause of a similar crime pattern in another area. Effective problem solving depends on knowing the territory and the people who reside and work there. They are the ones who can best inform officers about the nature of the neighborhood and its problems and resources, and their involvement is essential to creating effective and enduring responses to problems.

Community policing is full-service policing. It is a way of more effectively delivering all of the services citizens have always needed from police. It can be seen conceptually as consisting of three functions (Oettmeier 1992). (See Figure 1.)

Figure 1. Functional Continuum of Policing



The elements of this model represent an evolution in thinking about the police role. The reactive function is the traditional response to a cry for help or other requests for service from citizens. Citizens initiate and police respond. In the 1990s, the most common response is the rapid dispatch of an officer to a 911 call.

The proactive function includes activities initiated by police, examples of which are directed patrol, crime prevention pro-

grams, repeat offender programs, police-initiated investigations, etc. The expansion of proactive efforts was characteristic of policing in the 1970s and 1980s.

From the early 1980s to the present, the profession has broadly embraced the idea that effective policing is the result of coactive citizen and police partnerships. Either party can identify conditions that need to be addressed to increase the neighborhood safety, but citizens and police will work together to define and design the response to threatening conditions. The coactive element does not replace the reactive or proactive elements; these first two remain critical to the police role. The third element enhances the police role by expanding the capacity to address causes of crime and disorder. This expanded definition of the police role means that officers will continue to handle calls for service, write traffic citations, conduct investigations and respond to citizens' needs for service. Officers will continue their proactive efforts to catch burglars, robbers, murderers, dopers and rapists. When criminals prey on their victims, the public expects the police to take quick and decisive action. These functions remain the same, but community policing further requires officers to form active partnerships with citizens residing and working in neighborhoods to develop coactive strategies to address short- and long-term neighborhood crime and disorder problems.

In an effort to incorporate the coactive function, many police chiefs and sheriffs have used specialization to implement new efforts that are labeled as community policing programs. Despite the fact that, in a national random sample of police and sheriffs' agencies, 73 percent of executives said that community policing ought to be the responsibility of all personnel (Wycoff 1994), agencies commonly relieve officers of patrol duty and place them in community policing squads or designate them as community policing officers. In some cases, this specialization results from executives not perceiving community policing as full-service policing. In some others, specialization is a beginning effort to implement community policing, although the agency

may have a long-term goal of departmentwide implementation. And, in some cases, it may be a "quick fix" response to federal funding initiatives. In any case, the intent of this specialization is to equip people to address neighborhood problems that may require more time to handle than is available to a "regular" patrol officer.

While the newly appointed community police officers may enjoy perks (e.g., special equipment, flexible work schedules, unusual autonomy), the "real" police officers are left struggling in the trenches with fewer personnel and resources. Confusion, frustration and animosity among personnel are common results of this specialization, and frequently there is a lack of service delivery coordination at the local level.

Such specialization may be the quickest, easiest and most familiar way of organizing a department in response to a particular goal. However, when the focus is on a local area or neighborhood rather than on distinct role functions, specialization is not so obvious an answer. Communities or neighborhoods have complex service needs that citizens do not categorize as reactive, proactive or coactive. They see themselves as needing an officer—preferably, their officer. The local-area focus of community policing is important because different communities have different mixes of service needs. Every area will have needs for reactive, proactive and coactive police responses, but the nature and magnitude of each will vary across neighborhoods, by time of day in any given neighborhood and across time. The needs on the north side of town differ from those on the south side. In either area, the needs are different at 9 p.m. than at 9 a.m. As a general rule, evening shift officers spend the bulk of their time responding to calls for service. Night shift officers have more time to implement directed patrol strategies, while day shift officers are in the best position to implement community engagement strategies. Finally, needs in any area may be different in 2006 than in 1996.

Theoretically, the most efficient and effective way to meet these varying demands is for the officers who serve these areas

to be capable of interpreting the needs and delivering the appropriate type of response. One style of policing cannot effectively address diverse service demands. In any neighborhood, handling a call effectively is as important as handling a problem-solving project. Catching a thief is as important as working with community members to close down an abandoned house that is a front for illegal activity. Officers need to deploy a variety of responses.

While it may seem relatively easy to create special units along functional lines, it would be almost impossible for a manager to oversee several geographic areas and effectively distribute special units in appropriate response to ever-changing needs in an area. When community policing is viewed as full-service policing, the management challenge is to prepare officers to accurately identify and respond to the needs of the areas they serve. The management challenge is to determine how officers can use existing resources more effectively and efficiently in working with citizens to develop innovative or unique approaches— both to attack crime and disorder and to prevent it from occurring in the first place.

If management can enhance and improve the knowledge, skills and attitudes (KSAs) of officers, these officers will be able to provide a wider array of quality services within neighborhoods. A most effective, but largely untapped, resource for facilitating the professional development of personnel is performance evaluations. Research has demonstrated that well-designed performance evaluations can be used as a catalyst to shape behavioral responses and facilitate organizational change (Wycoff and Oettmeier 1993a). Performance evaluations can be used to alter the service expectations, policing styles and responsibilities of patrol officers.

The trick is to develop evaluations that accurately reflect the work officers are expected to do. The need to develop such evaluations is neither new nor unique to community policing. Probably the majority of police agencies have needed for years to revise performance evaluations to reflect the reality of police

work, regardless of the philosophical context in which that work is done. The advent of community policing has simply enhanced consciousness about this need and has focused fresh attention on both the potential substance and methodology of the evaluation process.

Evaluation Perspectives For Policing

Most performance evaluations currently used by police agencies do not reflect the work officers do. Evaluations typically consist of compliance audits, statistical comparisons or descriptive summaries of events. Mastrofski (1996) notes that:

> A contemporary police department's system of performance measurement remains substantively rooted in the perspective of the reform wave that was gathering force in the 1930s under the leadership of August Vollmer, J. Edgar Hoover, the Wickersham Commission, and others. More effort is put into recording UCR data (e.g., arrests, clearances, reported crime, etc.) than any other indicators (pp. 209–210).

According to Whitaker et al. (1982), these measures have a number of well-documented technical weaknesses and an even more compelling limitation at the policy level. Because they do not reflect the work officers do and are seldom used for the purpose of making individual career decisions, it is not surprising that police personnel tend to perceive evaluations as academic exercises that have neither relevance for them nor utility for their departments.

There is nothing simple about constructing a valid and reliable evaluation process and few individual agencies are staffed for the task. Many agencies lack basic planning and research units, and those that do have such units seldom have the resources to hire staff with evaluation expertise. And these units are not typically expected to do this kind of work; they more

commonly function as an administrative arm of the executive. They may be used to develop new programs and initiatives, conduct phone or mail surveys, or generate statistical reports. They seldom serve as a repository of significant police-related research findings that could influence managerial decision making, and they seldom conduct empirical evaluations that could guide policy decisions. While the thinking about performance evaluations will be advanced by some individual agencies, the largest gains are likely to result from the combined efforts—through national agents such as the Community Policing Consortium—of departments to trade ideas and information. That exchange can be enhanced by a common framework for thinking and talking about evaluation and related issues. One such framework is presented in Figure 2, in which individual performance measurement is viewed in the larger context of organizational assessment.

Figure 2. Evaluation Perspectives for Policing

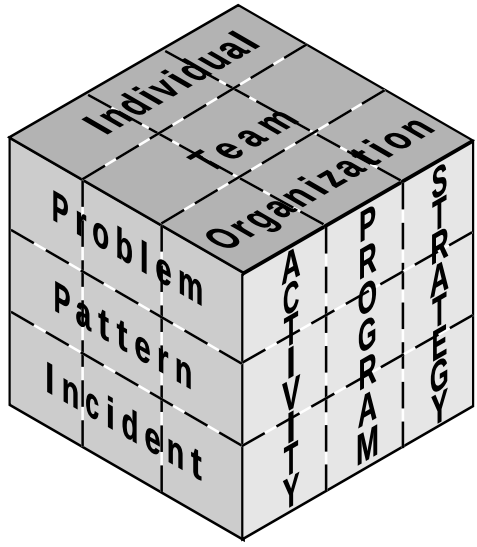


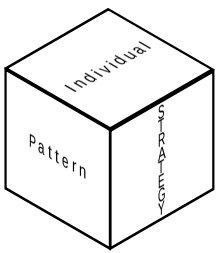
Figure 2 contains three categories of variables, represented by the three dimensions of the cube, that probably can include the universe of evaluation measures of police effectiveness. The top face of the cube represents the actor variable; the actor can be the individual member of the organization, a team (or division unit) or the entire organization. The horizontal face represents service demands, which can be analyzed and treated as incidents, patterns or problems. The vertical face reflects responses, which may be in the form of activities, programs or strategies. The entire cube should be nested in the context of organizational goals, so that measurement related to any of the 27 separate cubes will also reflect those goals. The result will be that performance measurement at all levels will consistently reinforce organizational philosophy and goals. Evaluations can be designed to assess the effort of activity within any of the smaller cubes. (See Figure 3.)

Take mini-cube 1 as an example. In this instance, we are interested in evaluating how an individual implements a strategy to address a crime or disorder pattern. Once an officer becomes aware of a pattern of traffic accidents occurring at a specific location, we expect the officer to properly analyze the problem, implement an appropriate strategy (e.g., prevention via increased ticket writing, erecting traffic control signs or discussing the situation at local civic club meetings) and assess the results of those efforts. Or, instead of traffic problems, officers may be alerted by crime analysts to a series of other crime patterns occurring in their neighborhood. Evaluation efforts could focus on how well officers implement an interdiction strategy (e.g., via directed patrol or surveillance). We could also evaluate the officer's KSAs used to address this problem.

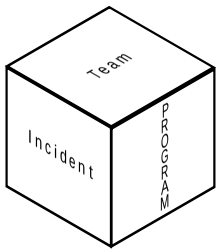
For mini-cube 2, evaluation efforts could focus on how well a team implements a program aimed at addressing a series of incidents. Groups such as Ministers Against Crime are working across the country with the police to prevent additional churches from being burned. Truancy squads are working with school officials to help keep children in school and off the street where

Figure3. Evaluation Perspectives for Policing

- Traffic Enforcement
- Surveillance
- Arrests
- Citizen Contacts
- Surveys/Profiles
- Prevention Tactics
- Visibility Patrols
- Self-Initiated Activities
- Directed Patrols



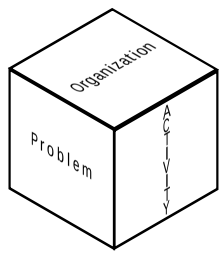
Mini-Cube #1



Mini-Cube #2

- Police/Citizen Disciplinary Review Councils
- Crime Analysis Units
- Family Violence Units
- DWI Squads
- Citizen/Police Academy Alumni
- Citizen/Police Problem Solving Teams
- Courtroom Monitoring Teams
- Truancy Squads
- Ministers Against Crime

- Performance Evaluation
- Discipline
- Training
- Managing Calls for Service
- Resource Allocation
- Managing Criminal Investigations
- Managing Patrol Operations



Mini-Cube #3

they are apt to cause trouble or become victims. DWI teams work with local media outlets to apprise the public of where they will be working during the holidays and weekends to keep people from leaving drinking establishments in an inebriated state. In each of these instances, criteria can be developed to monitor and assess the effects of team efforts.

Mini-cube 3 represents yet another evaluation perspective in which the organization revamps internal activities (i.e., procedures) to address certain problems. For example, departments may find their disciplinary system is inadequate, as it neither prevents illicit behavior from occurring nor offers supervisors adequate discretion to handle a wide range of violations. The chief may authorize a task force to examine the issue and develop a new disciplinary system with procedures that provide administrators ample flexibility to respond to different types of behavioral problems. Or the chief may be dissatisfied with the processing of calls for service in the emergency communication center. The agency might then take steps to develop differential response procedures that alleviate the bottleneck and increase the efficiency of police response. In these situations, process evaluations are used to assess organizational efficiency and effectiveness at addressing specific administrative or operational problems.

For the purpose of this monograph, we will focus on redesigning performance measurement systems to more effectively evaluate officer performance. The evaluation should center on measuring differences in individual knowledge, skills and attitudes; the nature of officer's effort; and/or the attainment of results.

A Model of Performance Analysis

An evaluation process requires an initial definition of concepts and a model that links them. For the purpose of this monograph, the term "performance analysis" refers to the collection of activities or analyses that identify and evaluate purposive work. Purposive work assumes an objective to be accomplished. In the case of policing, that purpose might be to have an officer available to respond to calls in a specified area for a specified period

of time, to close a drug house, to reduce the probability that citizens will become victims, to increase community structure in a given neighborhood, etc. For any objective, performance can be analyzed in terms of the components presented in Figure 4.

Role definition involves identifying types of tasks to be undertaken by the police. Before any evaluation instrument is designed, consensus must be attained among citizens, officers, supervisors and managers as to the scope of work responsibilities. Failure to attain consensus will lead to confusion over who is responsible for which work assignments. This aggravates the ability to conduct valid and reliable performance evaluations.

Inputs are any resources that contribute to the delivery of police service. In most instances, inputs include support mechanisms in the organization or community that facilitate the attainment of results through work efforts. Examples of this support include identifying crime patterns through crime analysis; modifying standard operating procedures; training and education; availability of personnel to implement an action plan, strategy or tactic; time; equipment, etc.

Outputs are the activities or strategies used, and can be analyzed in terms of content, quantity, quality and motivation. The content (what is done) is the act or set of acts performed or strategies implemented. Quantity (how much is done) refers to the number of specified acts within a given period of time. Quality (how well the act is done) is a function of the competence with which actions are performed and the style in which they are performed. Competence depends on knowing what needs to be done and how to do it. The style refers to the personal manner of the person(s) conducting the act.[2] Motivation refers to the reason why the act is performed.

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[2]In the case of a police officer, for example, an act might be conducted competently by an officer who does everything required by the department, and yet be conducted in either a positive or negative style, depending on whether the officer is civil or uncivil and rude (Wycoff 1982a:11).

Figure 4. A Performance Analysis Model

Outcomes are the results, effects or consequences of the work that is done. The outcome that is assessed will be determined by the purpose of the work. For the examples given above, appropriate outcomes could include the number of calls for service answered during the shift, the fact that the targeted drug house was closed, a reduction in the victimization rate in a neighborhood, or action taken by neighborhood residents who worked with the police through organized community meetings.

At each stage of the model, the process of analysis requires both documentation, or enumeration, and evaluation. For role definition, the question is whether a decision has been made about how to address an issue. In the case of inputs, one asks what the inputs were (enumeration) and whether they were the right ones and in sufficient quantity (evaluation). For outputs, the questions are what actions were taken (enumeration) and what the quality of the actions was (evaluation). For outcomes, the question is whether the actions taken accomplished the objective (evaluation) and whether the nature and magnitude of the results merited the combination of inputs and outputs required to achieve them (cost/benefit analysis).

The model can be applied to any unit of organizational analysis; it can be used to conceptualize the performance of an organization, a unit or team, and (as most commonly applied) individual employees. An organization committed to

- accountability to a governing body,
- meeting the needs of customers,
- meeting the needs of employees,
- efficient management of resources, and
- the continual improvement of the organization's ability to keep the first four commitments

will create and regularly employ performance analysis of each type outlined above for all divisions and levels in a system.

The Challenge of Performance Measurement

Creating a valid and reliable means of measuring performance in the workplace is a continuing challenge in the life of any or-

ganization (Gabor 1992), and involves issues of timing, unit of analysis, purpose, content and requirements for performance evaluation systems.

Timing. Scholtes (1987) notes that an employee's work, including the work of managers, is tied to many systems and processes that have a direct effect on individual performance. For example, patrol officers cannot perform their job effectively without appropriate input from dispatch, training, information or technological support systems. In some departments, a rush to implement community policing has led to the development of new roles for patrol officers without concomitant changes in the support systems available to them. This makes the timing of the development of new performance measurement systems a significant issue, since it would be both unfair and counterproductive to hold employees accountable for performances that are not adequately supported by the organization.

Unit of Analysis. An early management decision will need to address the unit of analysis or the target of the performance evaluation. Most performance measurement systems are based on the premise that individuals work alone. In reality, most work is the product of a group of people. Scholtes (1987) argues that performance evaluation encourages "lone rangers" and is a divisive influence keeping individuals from working together consistently over time. The manager who is implementing community policing will need to decide whether a performance evaluation should emphasize individual or team work, whether the individual should be evaluated at all, and if so, whether separate criteria need to be developed for individuals and teams. Organizations that retain individual evaluations may abandon them as a means of differentiating among employees for the purpose of rewards and, instead, use them to help individual employees identify and meet their own career goals (Gabor 1992).

Rather than being used to "grade" employees, individual evaluations might still

- inform governing bodies about the work of the organization—accountability that will become ever more critical in the face of shrinking resources;
- determine the nature of problems in various neighborhoods and the strategies that are most effective in dealing with them;
- permit officers to record and "exhibit" the work they are doing; and
- determine career objectives and progress for individual employees.

Purpose of the Evaluation. What is measured and how it is measured should depend on the reasons for collecting the data. Mastrofski and Wadman (1991) identify three principal reasons for measuring employee performance:

1. administration—to help managers make decisions about promotion, demotion, reward, discipline, training needs, salary, job assignment, retention and termination;
2. guidance and counseling—to help supervisors provide feedback to subordinates and assist them in career planning and preparation, and to improve employee motivation; and
3. research—to validate selection and screening tests and training evaluations, and to assess the effectiveness of interventions designed to improve individual performance (p. 364).

From research conducted within the Houston Police Department on performance evaluation in the context of community policing, three more reasons are added:

1. socialization—to convey expectations to personnel about both the content and style of their performance, and to reinforce other means of organizational communication about the mission and values of the department;
2. documentation—to record the types of problems and situations officers are addressing in their neighborhoods and the approaches they take to them; such documentation provides for data-based analysis of the types of resources

and other managerial support needed to address problems and allows officers the opportunity to have their efforts recognized; and

3. system improvement—to identify organizational conditions that may impede improved performance and to solicit ideas for changing the conditions (Wycoff and Oettmeier 1993a).

In an organization that is undertaking a shift in its service-delivery philosophy, these last three functions of performance measurement are especially important. A philosophy that is articulated and reinforced through the types of activities or performances that are measured should be more readily understood by personnel than a philosophy simply espoused by sometimes remote managers.

This operational articulation is needed not only by officers but by their supervisors as well. Sergeants and lieutenants who are the first to be introduced to community policing will have less familiarity with the operational implications of the philosophy than will the officers they supervise and manage. As much or more than their subordinates, supervisors may need a new performance assessment system as a guide to, or validation of, appropriate role behaviors for the employees they supervise.[3]

When the new service philosophy calls on officers to identify problems in areas they serve, the systematic documentation of these problems will be the best data available for the guidance of management decisions about resources and other types of support officers may need.

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[3]A patrol officer in Houston suggested that his peers exercise patience with sergeants who initially did not know what was needed from them as supervisors working in the context of neighborhood-oriented policing. He pointed out that existing sergeants had never performed the roles they were now expected to supervise. As an unavoidable result, they knew less than the officers who were only now in the process of recreating and redefining the roles (Wycoff and Oettmeier 1993b:3).

The ability to identify impediments to improved performance is important at any stage in the life of an organization. Conditions, both internal and external, that can affect the quality of performance can change constantly (if imperceptibly) and must be regularly monitored. But this need is perhaps never greater than when the organization is in the midst of a shift in its service philosophy that will require deliberate realignment of organizational policies and practices. Management must be able to determine what, if anything, is preventing employees from doing what is expected of them.

A department may be interested in designing a new performance measurement system to accomplish any or all of these purposes. Multiple purposes are not always easy to accommodate with the same process. For example, it is not easy to design a system that meets administrative needs while providing guidance for the officer, and the conflict between these two objectives can be stressful for the evaluator. McGregor (1957) believes that managers are uncomfortable with the performance appraisal processes not because they dislike change or the techniques they must use, or because they lack skills, but because they are put in a position of "playing God." He feels the modern emphasis on the manager as a leader who strives to help his subordinates achieve both their own and the company's objectives is inconsistent with the judicial role demanded by most appraisal plans. A manager's role, he claims, is to help the person analyze performance in terms of targets, and plan future work that is related to organizational objectives and realities. Rather than focusing on weaknesses, the employee needs to better identify strengths and accomplishments.

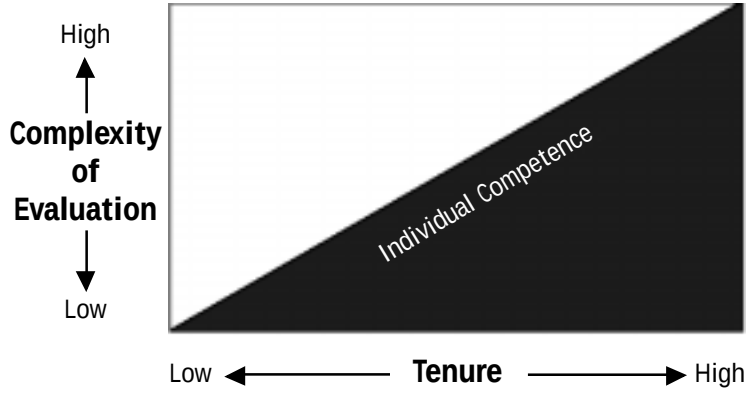
Since the purpose will determine the nature of the evaluation, it will be essential for managers to identify the organizational purposes of the evaluation before beginning the redesign process.

Content of the Evaluation. Decisions also must be made about what is to be measured. Traditional assessments frequently report what might be called officers' administrative behaviors

(punctuality, accuracy and completeness of reports, etc.). Most, however, have relatively little to say about the nature of the officer's work behaviors, a fact that Levinson (1976) argues causes most performance appraisal systems to be unrealistic. An analysis of behavior could include documentation and evaluation of the content of work done, the amount of work done, its appropriateness, the style with which it is done and the results of the effort. The issue of style or the way in which the work is done concerns Levinson (1976), who claims that a crucial part of any manager's job, and the source of most failures, is informing subordinates "how" work is to be done.

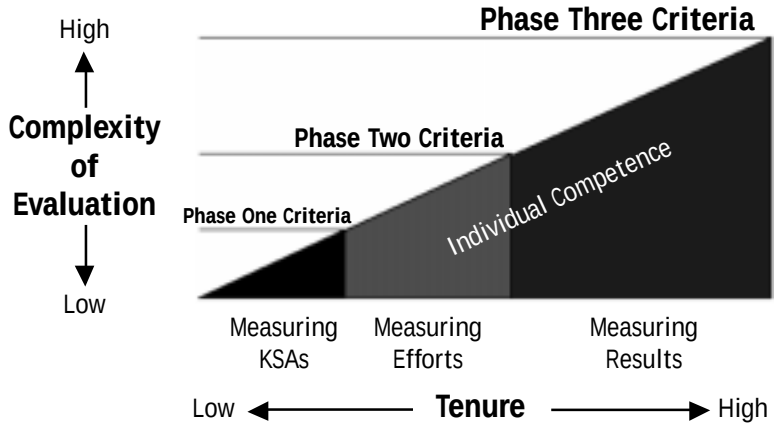
Consideration of content raises the question of whether all employees should be evaluated with the same criteria and, specifically, whether a given employee should be evaluated with the same criteria across the span of his or her career. It is reasonable that as an employee's tenure lengthens, his or her competency should increase. (See Figure 5.)

Figure 5. Individual Competence Compared to Employee Tenure and Evaluation Complexity



Early in a career, it is important to determine whether the employee has the requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes (KSAs), ability, and willingness to do the job. In other words, early evaluations should determine if the employee has the capacity to do police work. Once this is established, performance assessment might more reasonably focus on whether the employee effectively uses his or her KSAs in the field. Evaluation is used to determine whether the officer is consistently doing things correctly. At some advanced stage of the career, assessment could focus on whether the officer does the right thing—in other words, whether the officer is able to select the correct response to fit the service needs of the area for which he or she is responsible. (See Figure 6.)

Figure 6. Performance Evaluation System



Over the course of a career, assessment moves from an initial focus on ability to a focus on effort and, finally, to a focus on judgment and the results of an officer's efforts. Each of these stages would require using different performance criteria, instrumentation and assessment processes.

Requirements for Performance Evaluations. In addition to the wide range of decisions managers need to make about performance evaluations, there are at least five standards that an employee performance measurement process should meet: validity, reliability, equity, legality and utility (Mastrofski and Wadman 1991).

If the process is valid, it accurately reflects the content of the job an employee is expected to perform, as well as the expected quality of the job performance. The validity of an evaluation process is tied to job task analyses for the positions in question. The purpose of a job task analysis is to determine what specific tasks are performed by employees. Employees are asked to provide feedback regarding the frequency and criticality of tasks associated with their respective assignments. The tasks are prioritized, followed by the identification of associated KSAs. Performance criteria are then developed to represent those KSAs that should be evaluated.

The Achilles heel of a job task analysis in the context of organizational change is that it describes a position as it currently exists, and not as it is planned for the future. An evaluation process that is meant to promote and sustain change of the police role has to reflect the desired behavior while still reflecting current performance. As organizations modify responsibilities to reflect community policing, new performance criteria need to be developed. This issue is one reason why a performance evaluation process should not be fixed; it should change as often as necessary to reflect the changing nature of the job.

A reliable process will result in the same performance being given the same evaluation across evaluators and across repetitions of that performance. Any time one person is designated to evaluate the performance of another, subjectivity will be a factor. The challenge, irrespective of the type of evaluation used, is to minimize the subjectivity. According to Lawler (1971), the more subjective the rating system, the higher the degree of trust is required to make it work. Oberg (1972) suggests that management identify appraisal techniques designed to achieve a par-

ticular organizational objective; such "results-focused" appraisals would be less vulnerable to subjective influences. There is probably no way to guarantee full objectivity of performance assessment; objectivity is best maximized by good training for the evaluators.

An equitable process allows employees doing the same or similar work to receive equal evaluations. This process is especially critical in an organization where performance evaluations are used to determine pay, transfers or promotions. In such organizations, it is not uncommon for one evaluation point or even a fraction of a point to separate the rewarded from the unrewarded employee. This issue is difficult for policing because the nature and frequency of performance occur, to a large degree, in response to external conditions that vary by temporal and geographic variables. This element is accentuated under community policing because of the need to provide customized services within different neighborhoods.

Legality is a significant issue in departments for which certain requirements of the evaluation process are established by law—either state law, city ordinance or civil service code. It is also an issue for those agencies using performance evaluations to determine rewards and punishments for employees. Legality and validity are usually interwoven. People challenge performance evaluation systems that are invalid because they result in management decisions that are inherently unfair to employees deserving equal treatment and consideration.

Utility refers simply to the evaluation's purpose. If nothing is done with it, and if employees see no benefit from the evaluation for either the organization or themselves, the process will not only be useless, but it will also breed contempt for management among employees.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to instruct the reader in the various ways of meeting each of these standards. These issues are discussed extensively in Whitaker et al. (1982) and by Mastrofski and Wadman (1991), whose works provide technical reference of value to agencies struggling with these topics.

The need for assessment procedures to be valid, reliable, equitable, legal and useful exists regardless of an organization's philosophy. Meeting these requirements is a difficult task given the high probability of conflicts among them. The goal of equity, for example, may conflict with the goal of validity. When patrol jobs are dissimilar because of geographical assignment or duty time, the need for equity may reduce the evaluated job dimensions to the most common elements of the role. This could result in an evaluation that fails to reflect any officer's actual job responsibilities.

Concerns for both legality and reliability have pushed departments toward quantifiable performance indicators. The increased emphasis administrators placed on crime-fighting aspects of the police role in previous decades (Kelling and Moore 1988) also created pressure for quantifiable measures. The indicators most readily available were those associated (even if spuriously) with crime fighting (e.g., rapid response, numbers of arrests, etc.) and with administrative regulations (e.g., tardiness, sick time taken, accidents, etc.; see Kelling 1992). When important behaviors or activities cannot be counted, then the ones that are counted tend to become those that are considered important (Wycoff 1982b).[4]

Performance Measurement in the Community Policing Context

Revision of performance measurement systems to reflect the diverse responsibilities of an ever-broadening police role is some-

[4]The record of researchers is no better in this respect than the record of police managers. Despite their disclaimers about the validity and reliability of such indicators, researchers continue to use recorded crime data, arrest data and administrative data as indicators of performance and outcome because other indicators are unavailable or are too costly or time consuming to create. This fact led to Kelling's (1978) call for "a modest moratorium on the application of crime related productivity measures" until the full range of the police role could be documented and decisions about how to measure a much wider range of police activity (and results) could be made.

thing many executives still need to accomplish in the 1990s, regardless of whether they have any interest in changing their organization's current approach to policing. Changes in policing philosophies only make more apparent the need for managers to acknowledge and support activities that effective officers have conducted but that have gone officially unrecognized. As Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1992) note, the challenge is (as it always has been) one of

> finding ways to express a quality as quantity, in other words, to make quality a countable commodity.□.□.the challenge is to identify quantifiable outcomes that truly relate to the job and to ensure that this does not corrupt "community policing" [or any other orientation to policing] into policing by the numbers.

Community policing draws attention to other issues about employee performance evaluation, including

1. the means by which supervisors and managers can hold officers accountable for the greater discretion they are permitted;
2. the inclusion of the community in the evaluation process; and
3. the evaluation of team, unit or organization as distinct from the evaluation of the individual officer.[5]

Weisburd, McElroy and Hardyman (1989) suggest that the paramilitary model of policing facilitates close supervision of the officer's traditional role but is inappropriate for the broader,

[5]There is also the issue addressed by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1992), Wadman and Olson (1990) and others of the need to develop outcome or impact measures that correspond to the problems officers are trying to solve in communities. We do not deal with that issue in this discussion, since it is beyond the scope of this chapter.

more discretionary role associated with community policing (see also Goldstein 1979 and Bittner 1972).[6] While it is debatable how many sergeants effectively "supervise" their officers in departments that restrict what officers are allowed to do, it is clear community policing will require a reformulation of the sergeant's role that corresponds with changes in officers' roles.

Official expansion of the officer's role will require sergeants, for example, to support the use of, and to hold officers accountable for, the greater discretion they are permitted. To support the work of officers, sergeants will need to become more efficient managers, team builders and group facilitators. Sergeants should develop the capacity to build resource capabilities for their officers. They should be active participants in devising more global approaches to addressing problems of crime and disorder. Of critical importance is their ability to sense and interpret local opportunities for, and hindrances to, officers' actions.

To accomplish this, sergeants, like officers, will need to seek more effective means of getting information from the community. Generally, the only significant form of citizen feedback has been in the form of complaints about improper police activity. Notwithstanding the importance of attending to citizen complaints, departments need to collect data about services citizens want and about whether citizens believe their service needs are being met. A number of strategies have been advocated for accomplishing this. Numerous departments have used community meetings as a forum for eliciting service needs and preferences (e.g., Houston's Positive Interaction Program). Some have employed door-to-door surveys conducted by officers (e.g.,

[6]Discretion and the greater flexibility it gives an officer for how, when and where to work is not a new issue for supervisors. It has always been an issue for rural police departments and sheriffs' agencies in which officers and supervisors may never have occasion to meet after roll call (and sometimes not even at roll call). Researchers need to develop information about supervision in these types of agencies.

Grand Rapids, Mich., and Newark, N.J.). A few departments with substantial resources have conducted scientific community surveys. The Madison, Wis. Police Department has surveyed by mail a sample of all citizens who have received service from the department in an effort to measure satisfaction and collect information about ways of improving service.

In addition to recognizing the value of community feedback, community policing has also caused some administrators to question the appropriateness of individual employee evaluations. Some departments are emphasizing focus teams or workgroups rather than individuals. Those retaining individual evaluations may abandon them as a means of differentiating among employees for the purpose of rewards and, instead, use them as a means of helping individual employees identify and meet their own career goals (Gabor 1992).

The appropriate role of employee performance evaluations in a community policing context (or perhaps any policing context) is still being explored. The answers for each department may depend ultimately on the uses the agency wishes to make of the evaluations. Perhaps, as agencies embracing Deming's philosophy of management argue (Scholtes 1987), there is no reason to "grade" individuals relative to each other. Individual evaluations may still be used for other purposes, however, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter titled "Unit of Analysis."

Some organizations may improve individual evaluations to better serve other purposes, and other agencies may design alternative means of accomplishing these ends. One of the valuable consequences of the current interest in community policing should be the creation of a variety of new approaches to performance measurement.

Redesigning the Evaluation System

There are many ways for an organization to approach the redesign of its performance evaluation system. For illustration, this section describes briefly the process used in Houston in the late

1980s; this section also examines issues that will be germane to any agency undertaking redesign, regardless of the specific process used.

The Houston Experience.[7] The redesign of performance measurement in Houston was undertaken in conjunction with the development of neighborhood-oriented policing (NOP) and its implementation at Westside—Houston's first decentralized police facility. The project was directed by an Internal Advisory Committee, which consisted of a project director, a representative from the chief's office, the deputy chief from Westside and the Westside operations captain.

An early meeting with Westside sergeants led the committee to conclude that patrol officer activities under the NOP concept were still not sufficiently articulated to support the redesign.[8] Consequently, a task force of 11 patrol officers, one investigator and two sergeants was created. The group met eight times over a six-month period to discuss the nature of activities being conducted by patrol officers who were attempting to implement the NOP philosophy, and the challenges of measuring these activities. Representatives of the committee visited four other agencies (New York City; Baltimore County, Md.; Newport News, Va.; and Madison, Wis.) to observe and discuss other approaches to performance measurement.

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[7]This summary of the process used to redesign performance in Houston is taken from Wycoff and Oettmeier (1993a), where a more detailed discussion is available (pp. 25–32).

[8]The Westside Command Station represented Houston's first effort to define NOP operationally, and new role definitions were being explored at every level. There were no models of community-oriented policing at the time Houston undertook this effort. Today, departments can undertake redesign with a more broadly shared understanding of the job requirements of community-oriented policing than existed in Houston in 1986.

The committee developed a list of tasks, roles and skills they felt would be essential to the role of officers working in the NOP context. The project manager developed a data collection instrument designed to capture detailed information about the actions of police officers, sergeants and lieutenants at Westside. Eight members of the task force were trained as facilitators, each of whom was to identify six other officers to complete the instrument. Data from these forms was then analyzed to identify attitudes and activities that were considered important for officers implementing NOP.

This process was supported by a two-day meeting with an External Advisory Committee. Eight individuals representing other police departments, police professional organizations, the National Institute of Justice and private corporations spent two days in a seminar setting with the task force, the project's Internal Advisory Committee and other selected department personnel, discussing the nature of performance evaluation, its purposes and the various forms it could take. Following this meeting, the task force designed performance evaluation instruments that were then field tested and revised based on the feedback from the test.

Some aspects of this process (the trips to other cities and the work of the External Advisory Committee) were financially feasible because of a grant from the National Institute of Justice to support the redesign effort. The other parts of the process, however, should be possible for most agencies, without additional funding. It may be necessary to provide overtime pay for task force members, and it should be anticipated that this undertaking cannot be accomplished quickly. It is estimated that in Houston, each task force member contributed approximately two months of time (spread out over a six-month time period), and the role of the project director was also critical.

The project director did a great deal of work between task force meetings that would be difficult for a task force of officers to accomplish without this type of organizational support. The amount of time the process takes will concern managers who are watching budgets and time tables, but this process will

undergird other implementation efforts and should not be rushed. This assignment is difficult, and discussion about it will lead task force members into critical discussions about other systems in the organization that are related to (or should be related to) the performance evaluation system. An effort should be made to capture and utilize information from these discussions for the sake of redesigning other systems.

Observations and evaluation of the Houston experience and of similar experiences in other departments have led to the identification of several issues that need to be addressed in any redesign of performance evaluations.

Adopt New Assumptions. Management has an obligation to provide structure and guidance in developing the performance capabilities of employees. Typically, this structure is provided using multiple formats: training, education, job enrichment, disciplinary action, rewards, incentives and performance evaluation. To be effective, each of these management tools must be flexible in design and application, and each should be governed by a set of assumptions. In the case of performance evaluations, many of the baseline assumptions governing how it should be done have not been changed in years, if not decades. Common assumptions include the following:

- All personnel performance will be assessed at least once (or twice) a year.
- All personnel will be assessed using the same performance criteria.
- All personnel will use the same performance evaluation instrumentation.
- The results of one's performance evaluation may (or may not) be used to help determine promotability, etc.

These assumptions are not necessarily improper or incorrect. In many agencies, they are legal requirements set forth by state statutes, local ordinances or civil service codes. These requirements, however, do not preclude executives from reexamining them to determine what flexibility, if any, they have to make adjustments.

The manner in which performance is assessed should be dynamic. As performance expectations change, the methodology and criteria used to measure effectiveness should also change. The following assumptions may be appropriate under a new evaluation system:

1. Employee competency is expected to improve as a result of experience.
2. Performance evaluation criteria should vary in accordance with an employee's assignment, tenure and competency.
3. The relationship between the number and type of performance criteria and individual competency is *not* linear. People learn at different rates.
4. Performance can be assessed in phases, consistent with individual development.
5. Employees should be allowed to voluntarily progress through an evaluation system at varying speeds.

Define Purposes of Evaluations. In many organizations, performance evaluation is an annual ritual people administer routinely and consistently.[9] Executives and employees alike view it as an administrative duty. As this paper suggests, however, performance evaluations can have much more meaningful objectives.

In organizations seeking to become community-based, performance measurement systems can be used as a management tool to accomplish the following:

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[9]Some departments have abandoned using performance evaluations because of legal liabilities associated with not taking corrective action for poorly performing employees. The rationale for this decision is that if you don't know the problem exists, you cannot be held responsible for not correcting it. Other departments do not use evaluations because they are perceived to have no value to recipients, are not valid or have become an administrative nightmare to complete.

1. enhance officers' and supervisors' knowledge of community policing;
2. clarify officers' and supervisors' perceptions of their respective behavior under community policing;
3. redefine productivity requirements to include changes in the type, amount and quality of work to be performed;
4. build consensus between and among officers and supervisors regarding each other's work responsibilities;
5. improve officers' levels of job satisfaction with department operations; and
6. measure citizens' perceptions of the way in which police deliver service to the community.

These objectives allow executives to recast performance evaluation systems, but require them to think differently about the nature of performance criteria, the design of instruments and the participants in the process.

Performance evaluation must be more than just a means of obtaining information about how well employees improve their KSAs. It should help management gauge, from different perspectives, how well employees are *using* their KSAs, what results they are attaining, and how susceptible they are to accepting and implementing other organizational changes. This information is critical because it helps management decide the pace at which organizational change can occur. Without this knowledge, managers will develop inaccurate expectations of what is occurring in the workplace.

These inaccurate expectations will cause decisions to be made that will heighten resistance among employees. This resistance will be based on the employees' perception that management is out of touch with reality. When this happens, managers will have more difficulty gaining support from employees for any initiatives, let alone those associated with improving the overall performance of the organization.

Identify New Performance Criteria. Determining what should be measured is heavily dependent on the work demands associated with an officer's work assignment and management's

expectations regarding results. Earlier in this chapter, the various functions performed by an officer in a community policing context were classified as reactive, proactive or coactive. Adding the coactive function requires criteria to be developed that reflect this function. And, as suggested previously, many departments still need to develop criteria that accurately reflect reactive and proactive work.

Even within these three functional categories, the "career model" of performance evaluation argues that different criteria need to be applied at different times in an officer's career. Again, this does not mean completely abandoning traditional criteria. It still will be important, for example, to measure the attainment of knowledge, skills and attitudes in the early stages of an officer's career; such information will provide officers with information about their self-development, but it can tell us little about what an officer does to impact neighborhood crime and other problems. At some point, criteria must be developed that tell us what is being done to improve the neighborhood in addition to those that tell us what is done (or needs to be done) to improve the officer.

In response to this concern, Stephens (1996) identified the following performance inputs and outcomes for which executives who are implementing community policing and problem solving are attempting to develop indicators:

- problem solving,
- citizen satisfaction,
- repeat business,
- displacement, and
- neighborhood indicants (e.g., truancy rates, traffic patterns, occupancy rates, presence and actions taken by neighborhood groups, etc.).

The Houston task force (Wycoff and Oettmeier 1993a) based the creation of new performance criteria on tasks and activities officers performed in their neighborhoods. (See Figure 7.) This information was collected from a representative sample of officers who kept record of their actual work during their shifts.

Figure 7. Tasks/Activities

Activities are listed beneath tasks that they are intended to accomplish.

Several activities could be used to accomplish a number of different tasks.

1. Learn characteristics of area, residents, businesses
- a. Study beat books
- b. Analyze crime and calls-for-service data
- c. Drive, walk area and make notes
- d. Talk with community representatives
- e. Conduct area surveys
- f. Maintain area/suspect logs
- g. Read area papers (e.g., "shopper" papers)
- h. Discuss area with citizens when answering calls
- i. Talk with private security personnel in area
- j. Talk with area business owners/managers

2. Become acquainted with leaders in area
- a. Attend community meetings, including service club meetings
- b. Ask questions in survey about who formal and informal area leaders are
- c. Ask area leaders for names of other leaders

3. Make residents aware of who officer is and what s/he is trying to accomplish in area
- a. Initiate citizen contacts
- b. Distribute business cards
- c. Discuss purpose at community meeting
- d. Discuss purpose when answering calls
- e. Write article for local paper
- f. Contact home-bound elderly
- g. Encourage citizens to contact officer directly

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Figure 7. Tasks/Activities (continued)

4. **Identify area problems**
   a. Attend community meetings
   b. Analyze crime and calls-for-service data
   c. Contact citizens and businesses
   d. Conduct business and residential surveys
   e. Ask about other problems when answering calls

5. **Communicate with supervisors, other officers and citizens about the nature of the area and its problems**
   a. Maintain beat bulletin board in station
   b. Leave notes in boxes of other officers
   c. Discuss area with supervisor

6. **Investigate/do research to determine sources of problems**
   a. Talk to people involved
   b. Analyze crime data
   c. Observe situation if possible (stakeout)

7. **Plan ways of dealing with problem**
   a. Analyze resources
   b. Discuss with supervisor, other officers
   c. Write Patrol Management Plan, review with supervisor

8. **Provide citizen information about ways they can handle problems (educate/empower)**
   a. Distribute crime prevention information
   b. Provide names and number of other responsible agencies; tell citizens how to approach these agencies.

9. **Help citizens develop appropriate expectations about what police can do and teach them how to interact effectively with police**
   a. Attend community meetings/make presentations
   b. Present school programs
   c. Write article for area paper
   d. Hold discussions with community leaders

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Figure 7. Tasks/Activities (continued)

10. Develop resources for responding to problem
- a. Talk with other officers, detectives, supervisors
- b. Talk with other agencies/individuals who could help

11. Implement problem solution
- a. Take whatever actions are called for

12. Assess effectiveness of solution
- a. Use data, feedback from persons who experienced the problem, and/or personal observation to determine whether problem has been solved

13. Keep citizens informed
- a. Officers tell citizens what steps have been taken to address a problem and with what results
- b. Detectives tell citizens what's happening with their cases

Other examples of "new" performance criteria include the following:

- having a sense of personal responsibility for an area and its people,
- believing in the importance of improving conditions in an area,
- accessing worthwhile information from citizens,
- collaborating with citizens to address crime and disorder problems,
- working with other agencies or community groups,
- using crime analysis data,
- strategic neighborhood planning,
- managing uncommitted time, and
- developing/implementing/assessing neighborhood action plans.

Measure the Effects of Officer Performance. Goldstein (1990) has contended that traditional management postures have required officers to emphasize means over ends. For example, traffic enforcement is measured by the number of tickets issued for moving violations (e.g., improper turns, running red lights, speeding, etc.). The association is seldom made between the need to issue speeding tickets and the need to reduce minor accidents or fatalities at a particular location. Police managers are only beginning to address the need to evaluate performance in relation to specific problems.

According to Goldstein (1990), evaluating police response to any problem requires the following:

- a clear understanding of the problem;
- agreement on the specific interest(s) to be served in dealing with the problem, and their order of importance;
- agreement on the method to be used to determine the extent to which these interests (or goals) are reached;
- a realistic assessment of what might be expected of the police (e.g., solving the problem vs. improving the quality of the police management of it);
- determination of the relative importance of short-term vs. long-term impact; and
- a clear understanding of the legality and fairness of the response (recognizing that reducing a problem through improper use of authority is not only wrong, but likely to be counterproductive because of its effects on other aspects of police operations).

Goldstein cautions against defining success as problem eradication, because many problems by their very nature are intractable or unmanageable because of their magnitude. Despite this limitation, there are a sufficient number of problems within the boundaries of police control that merit attention.

To differentiate types of outcomes officers might achieve in problem solving, Eck and Spelman (1987) developed five degrees of effectiveness:

- total elimination of the problem,
- reducing the number of incidents it creates,
- reducing the seriousness of the incidents it creates,
- designing methods for better handling of the incidents, and
- removing the problem from police consideration (assuming it is dealt with more effectively by some other entity than the police).

In this context, Goldstein claims that for much of police business, the most realistic goal is to reduce the number of incidents a problem creates and to reduce the seriousness of these incidents.

Correspondingly, he suggests it is helpful to characterize the police role more realistically as "managing deviance" and then concentrate on equipping the police to carry out this role with greater effectiveness. Officers should be involved in identifying the measurable conditions they would expect to see change before they undertake a problem-solving effort, and they should be allowed to identify factors not under an officer's control that can affect outcomes.

Strengthen Verification Process. One of the most difficult aspects for supervisors conducting evaluations is verification of performance. Technically, the assessment of officer performance is dependent on the ability of supervisors to observe what occurred.[10] Unfortunately, the verification of performance doesn't always occur for a number of legitimate reasons. For example, the span of control can make it difficult for a supervisor to consistently view officer performance. Supervising many officers

[10]The St. Petersburg, Fla. Police Department (1994) identified a number of different sources to verify officer performance, among them: reviewing reports, responding to crime scenes, reading complimentary letters from citizens, reviewing internal affairs files, reviewing productivity statistics, monitoring radio communications, monitoring rumors, conducting street inspections, reviewing training records, monitoring community involvement, monitoring sick time, etc.

going in many directions makes it hard to observe performance. Another variable is the type and amount of work officers perform. Officers who constantly respond to calls for service, write numerous reports or patrol indiscriminately do not provide their supervisor with a wide array of settings in which different types of performances can be observed.

Supervisors may not be motivated to observe officer behavior. It is not surprising that supervisors don't always hold performance evaluation as a priority duty. Many are apt to say it requires too much work and it interferes with "my other responsibilities." "Besides," they go on to say, "officers don't really care and it doesn't mean that much to them anyway." In actuality, it means a lot to them. Many officers want feedback, they want their performance to be noticed and they want to be recognized for what they have accomplished. If anything, officers are inclined to feel they don't receive enough credit for all the things they do during their tours of duty.

One way of addressing this conflict is to alter one of the traditional assumptions governing who participates in the evaluation process. Should performance evaluations be limited to the observations of an officer's immediate supervisor? Not necessarily. Granted, the supervisor should have a major impact on determining how well an officer has performed, but not to the extent of ignoring input from citizens, investigators or officers themselves.

As officers increase the amount of time that they work directly with citizens on neighborhood crime and disorder problems, citizens will form opinions about different aspects of their performance. Community leaders, civic club or association personnel, business association personnel and even apartment managers are all capable of providing feedback to a sergeant about an officer's performance. They can provide comments on communication skills, the nature of their relationship and collaborative problem-solving efforts.

Investigators provide another potential source of verification for supervisors. Investigators working in the same neigh-

borhoods as officers often end up conducting follow-up investigations based on an officer's preliminary investigation. Investigators can provide information regarding the officer's written communication skills, procedural knowledge, legal knowledge, and in instances when they are actually working together on a case, the officer's ability to get along and his or her initiative in pursuing a case to its logical conclusion.

Officers should also have the opportunity to contribute to their own evaluations. Their contribution should not be limited to just agreeing or disagreeing with the supervisor's observations. In addition to providing their supervisors with examples of successful work products, officers should be invited to identify efforts that the supervisor may not have known about. They should be encouraged to discuss any perceived failure, including why it occurred and what was learned from the experience.

Should officers be allowed to assess each other's performance? Many Houston officers said "no" for a number of reasons, including the following:

- officers will use it to "snitch off" other officers,
- it will cause conflicts among officers,
- officers are not competent to evaluate KSAs, and
- it will create role confusion.

Verification of officer performance is difficult. One rule of thumb is to ensure that the source of feedback provides current, reliable and practical information about an officer's performance. If there is any doubt about the integrity of the information, it should not be used.

Develop New Instrumentation. The nature of a new evaluation form should be determined by the expectations of officer performance. It should be purposeful and consistent with supporting an officer's career development throughout his or her tenure with the agency.

Management should be concerned about a number of instrumentation questions. For instance, should one form be used to assess all officers, or should forms be developed to support an officer's assignment (e.g., patrol vs. investigative vs. support

assignments)? How many copies of the form are needed? Will the supervisors be required to complete them by hand or will they be automated? If additional forms are created, where will each copy and/or form be filed and for how long? Will it be necessary to provide each supervisor with an instructional booklet? Is training necessary to acquaint supervisors with the new form(s), and if so, how long will the sessions last and who will do the training?

A rule of thumb to follow when developing new instruments is to make sure the forms capture information that adequately reflects what officers are capable of doing and what management expects them to accomplish in their respective neighborhoods.

Solicit Officer Feedback About the Sergeant. Officers cannot perform a full evaluation of their supervisors because they are familiar with only one part of a supervisor's responsibilities. They can, however, provide significant feedback in a number of areas including the nature of officer/supervisor relationships, how well officers and supervisors get along, how responsive supervisors are, whether they act as a leader or coach, the clarity of communications, etc.[11] The process should be designed so that the feedback is couched in constructive terms; otherwise sergeants may have difficulty hearing it. And the process could be designed to be anonymous; otherwise officers may not be inclined to provide this information for fear of retaliation.

Revise Rating Scales. Most performance measurement systems contain rating scales.[12] The criteria used to describe scale points can become dated and should be re-examined periodically.

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[11]See Wycoff and Oettmeier 1993a for additional examples of supervisory criteria.

[12]Departments using open-ended narrations to describe accomplishments may not feel the need to use a rating scale.

Determining the type of scale to use depends on the distinction one wants to make regarding a person's performance. If the interest is in distinguishing between acceptable vs. unacceptable behavior, a pass/fail scale is appropriate. In most cases, supervisors want more discretion in determining how well their officers are performing. The Likert scaling technique, involving a five- or seven- point scale, is a popular format used by many agencies. Seven-point scales tend to include detailed descriptions of a few anchor points (e.g., 1, 4 and 7), while five-point scales are apt to describe each point in detail.

The fewer descriptions of anchor points, the greater the discretion for supervisors and hence, the higher the probability for subjectivity and error. The greater the number of scale points, the less subjectivity there is, but the more difficult it becomes to describe behavioral differences between points.[13]

All scale points for each performance criterion should be clearly defined. Definitions should be specific and not global. The reason most definitions are global is because departments use one form for all personnel regardless of rank or assignment. In constructing scale-point definitions, make sure the descriptive criteria are consistent from one scale point to the next. For example, if five different descriptive criteria are used to define what "unacceptable" means, make sure those criteria are addressed in each of the succeeding scale-point descriptions. Do not use different descriptive criteria from one scale point to the next. This will skew the reliability of the evaluation tremendously.

If possible, develop instrumentation unique to both assignment and rank. Even if legally mandated to use a generic evaluation form, agencies can customize evaluations by developing "worksheets" that feed into the primary instrument.

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[13]For a point-counterpoint discussion on seven- versus five-point Likert scales as it applies to field training programs, see Oettmeier and Wycoff 1994.

Conclusion

A performance measurement system is an important management and leadership tool for police agencies. It should be designed to support individual professional development and behavioral changes. If the decision is made to revise an organization's current performance measurement system, these points are worth bearing in mind:

1. Performance evaluations are not bad in and of themselves. Frustration comes from how the process is administered and the lack of suitable performance criteria.
2. Officers want feedback and a permanent record of their accomplishments and performance.
3. Officers feel they are doing more than they are receiving credit for given the typical narrow design of their evaluation instruments and performance criteria.
4. The goals and structure of the organization should be decided before new performance measurement is developed. Form follows function.
5. There should be separate forms for different assignments (unless law prohibits).
6. Administrative convenience should not be a primary criterion in the redesign. The goal of the performance evaluation should dictate the way in which it is conducted.
7. Any significant alteration of past practices is likely to cause some dissatisfaction among supervisors. It is likely that this, too, shall pass as the new process becomes familiar.
8. Performance evaluation should be reprioritized as a critical supervisory responsibility. Without overreacting to sergeants' concerns, managers should be responsive. Removing meaningless administrative duties from sergeants allows them to spend more time verifying officer performance. In time, what was once considered drastic will become routine, provided it is perceived as having practical value to the supervisor.

9. Citizen involvement is central to performance evaluation. Citizens can be a good source of information about an officer's style and adequacy of effort, and community satisfaction with results. They also can provide valuable feedback about the status of neighborhood conditions. They should not, however, be put in a position of judging the appropriateness of an officer's decisions.
10. The process should be as simple as reasonably possible. This will increase both acceptance and the probability that the information will actually be utilized.

Finally, performance measurement systems are critical to facilitating change in personnel and throughout the organization. Executives who accept the challenge of modifying their system will discover an effective management tool to attain results in neighborhoods and their organizations.

APPENDIX

Assumptions Associated with Community Policing

1. Continued reliance on random, preventive patrol should be minimized. Random, preventive patrol should only be used as a strategy when police visibility is an issue.
2. Citizens will accept a range of response times for different types of calls.
3. Differential police response strategies should be implemented to improve the effective management of the dispatch function.
4. Effective management of the patrol function is dependent on intelligent management of the dispatch function.
5. Effective management of criminal investigations is indirectly dependent on intelligent management of the dispatch function and directly related to management of the patrol function.
6. Case management systems must be developed and implemented to fit the needs of various investigative functions.
7. Work demands and resource allocation studies are necessary to ensure equitable deployment of personnel.
8. The development of crime and operational analysis procedures is vital in managing patrol and investigative functions.
9. The use of directed and self-directed patrol activities for officers should increase when and where appropriate.
10. Officers assigned to the patrol function must be actively involved in criminal investigations (e.g., conducting follow-up investigations, recommending early case closures).
11. Patrol officers need enhanced status and enriched job responsibilities.
12. Attention must be devoted to reassessing the purpose and function of existing beat configurations.

13. Police must take initiatives to identify citizen service expectations and work with citizens in addressing and resolving neighborhood crime and disorder problems.
14. To facilitate the development of stronger ties with the community, policies requiring frequent rotation of officers across shifts must be seriously reconsidered.
15. Regular public forums should be established so frequent exchanges of information can occur between the police and public, preferably between patrol officers and neighborhood residents.
16. Performance measurement systems should serve as a management tool that guides personnel development and facilitates organizational change.
17. More meaningful performance evaluation criteria must be developed to reflect the change in officer roles and responsibilities.
18. Training curricula must be redesigned so they are more relevant and supportive of patrol and investigative operations.
19. Disciplinary processes must become part of a behavioral system that incorporates education, training and counseling as strategies designed to assist officers experiencing behavioral problems.
20. Management styles must be more adaptive to varying situations and personalities.
21. Managers must begin directing their attention toward the qualitative aspects of service-delivery processes and outcomes.
22. Police agencies must cultivate leaders who are comfortable and effective working in an environment characterized by constant demands for change.

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