

# Going Beyond The Uniform



## Community Policing Practices in Ferguson, Missouri

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5496306

Word count: 23548

(FINAL VERSION: 28-07-2019)

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**MA Thesis in Conflict Studies & Human Rights**  
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During the writing of this thesis a police officer by the name of Michael Langsdorf was shot and killed in the line of duty in the Saint Louis County area.

This thesis is dedicated to all the men and women who put on their uniform every day and risk their safety to ensure that of others.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Community-Oriented Policing (COP) is an approach in policing that has been around since the 1990's. Many police organization across the United States have however been slow in adopting this approach. This paper looks at community-oriented policing at the local level by studying the case of Ferguson because several questions regarding the effectiveness and lack of success of this approach have been raised in current academic literature. Since the 2014 unrests, Ferguson has been at the centre of media and academic attention. Much of the current research on police militarization mentions Ferguson as an example. The Ferguson Police Department has a strong focus on community-oriented policing as a result of agreeing to a Consent Decree with the Federal Government. This thesis uses the case of Ferguson to study community policing by answering the question of how community policing practices have shaped the relationship between the police and the community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests. This question will be answered through a qualitative study of policing and police-community interactions in Ferguson. In order to analyse the data collected during fieldwork, this paper proposes the Police Action Model, an analytical tool that will help analyse interactions between police officers and individuals.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Community-oriented policing is an approach in policing that has been around since the 1990's, yet over-all police organizations across the United States have been slow in its adoption (Schaeffer Morabito 2010, 565-566). In recent years the effectiveness of community-oriented policing and its successfulness on a local level have been questioned in a selection of quantitative studies. Questions about COP have been raised in the academic debate ranging from its adoption rates, to the effects of its implementation (Boettke et al. 2015; Schaeffer Morabito 2010). This thesis uses the case of Ferguson to study community policing by answering the question of how community policing practices have shaped the relationship between the police and the community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests.

In August 2014 the Ferguson Police Department was involved in a fatal shooting that sparked protesting and rioting in Ferguson. These events led to what writers have called a 'militarized approach' by the Saint Louis County Police Department and Missouri State Highway Patrol in order to contain the rioting that was going on for days on end in Ferguson (Fox et al. 2018; Koslicki and Willits 2018; Mummulo 2018.). These events led to the investigation of the Ferguson Police Department by the United States Department of Justice

(DOJ) who in March of 2015 published their report, in which the perceived wrongdoings of the Ferguson Police and the City of Ferguson were explained. The DOJ report spoke about policing strategies that led to ‘a lack of trust’ between the Ferguson Police Department and ‘a significant portion of Ferguson’s residents’ (DOJ 2015, 5). As a result of this report by the DOJ the City of Ferguson agreed to a Consent Decree in which the Federal Government would work with the City of Ferguson in order to ‘ensure protection of the constitutional and other legal rights of all members of the community, improve Ferguson’s ability to effectively prevent crime, enhance both officer and public safety, and increase public confidence in the Ferguson Police Department (FPD)’ (Consent Decree 2016, 5).

### *Research Question*

In a plethora of current academic literature regarding policing strategies, Ferguson is mainly mentioned as an example of ‘police militarization’ (Fox et al. 2018; Koslicki and Willits 2018; Mummulo 2018). Many writers about police militarization use the example of Ferguson as if the special response by Saint Louis County Police and Missouri State Highway Patrol is the daily policing reality in Ferguson. The DOJ report shows a very different image of policing in Ferguson, one which is not based on militarization, but on the generation of revenue for the City of Ferguson through aggressive enforcement of traffic laws and the municipal code.

Since 2014 many changes have been made due to the Consent Decree. The Consent Decree has brought a strong focus on community-oriented policing to the Ferguson Police Department. This leads me to the main puzzle that drives this thesis:

*How have community policing practices shaped the relationship between police and community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests?*

In order to answer this research question, many different aspects need to be looked at. Based on 190 hours of observation that I conducted during ‘ride-along’ patrols with the Ferguson Police Department over the course of two months from the end of March 2019 until the end of May 2019, I collected a large amount of evidence. I will use this data to describe policework, to analyse police practices, and to analyse interactions between police officers and community members in Ferguson. I will do this with the aim of answering a set of sub questions that, in turn, will give an answer to the main research question.

## *Relevance*

As I will explain in Chapter One, community-oriented policing is a much discussed and disputed approach within policing. The effectiveness and the success of COP is questioned in the academic debate. This justifies the necessity for further research on COP, in order to contribute to answering these questions regarding the effectiveness and success of COP.

Ferguson is a case of community-oriented policing, adopted by a small police department. The case of Ferguson has received worldwide media and academic attention since 2014. In many of the academic papers in which Ferguson is mentioned however, it is mentioned as a case of militarized policing. However, the actual approach to policework used by the Ferguson Police Department is never studied in these papers .

The Ferguson Police Department makes for a great case to study community policing. This is because of the focus of the Consent Decree on the restoring of trust between the police and the community in Ferguson, which has made Ferguson a clear case of community-oriented policing adopted by a small police department. This thesis will contribute answering the questions regarding the success and effectiveness of community-oriented policing and by taking a qualitative look at the approach to policework taken by the Ferguson Police Department.

Finally, in the analytical framework of this thesis I will propose the Police Action Model, which is an analytical tool with which interactions between police officers and individuals can be analysed. This tool will be used throughout the paper to analyse the data. The Police Action Model is an analytical tool that may prove useful in future research and in the evaluation of police-community interactions. In this way the analytical framework and data presented in this paper not only have academic relevance, but also practical relevance in the field of policework.

## *Chapter Outline*

Chapter One focusses on the theoretical aspect of this thesis. In this chapter I will first outline the theoretical issues and evidence that are the rationale behind my choice for the academic debate and analytical framework. Following this, will illustrate the academic debate in which this paper is situated, set up an analytical framework with which to look at policing and interactions, Discuss the situation in Ferguson and discuss the research method and strategy which this research is built on. In the analytical framework I will propose the Police Action Model, which is a model that is meant to help analyse interactions between police officers and



individuals they interact with. This model will be used in the analysis of the data gathered for this thesis. I will use this model in the following chapters in order to analyse policework and interactions. This chapter will form the theoretical basis for the analysis of policing and the interactions between police officers and community members.

Chapter Two illustrates the empirical setting of this thesis. In this chapter Ferguson will be introduced as a case study. In this chapter I will discuss the events that led to the DOJ investigations and the Consent Decree, the DOJ report and the Consent Decree themselves and finally the current situation of the Ferguson Police Department.

Chapter Three focusses on describing policing practice in Ferguson. The first part of Chapter Three answers three sub-questions: how is day-to-day policework organised in Ferguson; Based on analysis of the crime statistics, what crimes does the Ferguson Police Department deal with on a monthly basis, and; based on observations made during ‘ride-along’ patrols with Ferguson officers, what types of calls do officers respond to on a daily basis? By answering these questions, I will expand on the empirical setting of Ferguson by describing the nature of policework done by the FPD. This forms the basis for the analysis of interactions in later chapters as it gives context to the decisions made and actions taken by officers and individuals in specific circumstances by showing how frequent or infrequent some types of crimes and calls are in relation to others.

In the second section of Chapter Three I will analyse policework by answering the following sub-questions: based on the Police Action Model, how do officers determine what the appropriate approach is in any given situation, and; based on the Police Action Model, how do officers adapt to non-compliance from individuals during police action, in order to ensure compliance? These questions will be answered through the analysis of several examples of calls I have observed during ‘ride-along’ patrols. With these questions I aim to determine whether the FPD’s focus on COP is reflected in the decision making and acting of police officers of the FPD.

Chapter Four aims to describe the nature of the interactions between police officers and community members in Ferguson. The first section of Chapter Four will describe the types and nature of interactions observed between the Ferguson police and community members, by answering the following sub-questions: how does the Ferguson Police Department engage community members in the solving of local crime and disorder problems, and; how do police officers and community members interact outside of police work-related activities? The answers to these questions will show in what ways the FPD interacts with community members, what the nature of this interactions is and how this reflects a COP

approach to policework. Furthermore, the answers to these questions will reflect the nature of the relationship between the Ferguson Police Department and community members based on their interactions.

The second section of Chapter Four aims to more specifically describe the nature of interactions between police officers and individuals while responding to different types of calls. The sub-questions this section answers are: how do police officers interact with individuals who require police assistance, and; how do police officers interact with individuals who get police called on them? These sub questions will be answered through the analysis of observations made during ‘ride-along’ patrols. I will use the Police Action Model for this analysis. The answers to these questions aim to describe how officers interact with individuals during different types of calls, and how this reflects a COP approach to policework. Furthermore, the answers to these questions will reflect the nature of the relationship between the FPD and community members based on their interactions.

Chapter Five consists out of conclusions and recommendations. In this chapter I will formulate my answer to the main research question that drives this thesis based on the accumulation of answers to the sub questions in the previous chapters. Furthermore, I will make recommendations for future research, the use of the Police Action Model and the Ferguson Police Department.

## **CHAPTER ONE: THEORY**

### **1.1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD**

#### *1.1.1 Research Design*

For this research I have chosen to study the Ferguson Police Department and the interactions their officers have with community members through participant observation. This means that the research strategy taken in this thesis is a qualitative strategy. A qualitative strategy can explain the actual process that happens on the local level when studying police – community interactions. Based on findings, I can make recommendations for future research.

The contribution this thesis aims to make is to explain how community-oriented policing practices have shaped the relationship between the police and the community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests. The qualitative strategy used in this thesis is therefore an explanatory strategy, as the research looks to explain how practices have shaped the relationship in the case of Ferguson. As mentioned before, this qualitative explanatory strategy is used in order to fill the gap in the academic debate that has risen due to the overwhelming amount of qualitative and theoretical research about community-oriented policing. A qualitative strategy can explain the actual process that happens on a local level and based on the findings make recommendations for future research.

This strategy is thus consistent with the epistemological and ontological stances of this thesis. Because this thesis specifically looks to explain how COP practices have shaped relationships, the ontological stance of this thesis lies within relational interactions. The data collected consists mostly out of participant observation of police interaction with the community. Using the analytical framework and model for analysis proposed in that, this thesis will be able to explain through analysis of the collected data how COP practices have shaped police-community relationships in Ferguson.

In this qualitative strategy, the sampling method used while collecting data has been ‘snowball sampling’. When arriving in Ferguson it was hard to determine immediately who to contact in order to conduct my research. Access to police was perceived as difficult by me and my initial contacts in the field. By meeting more people in Ferguson, I have managed to broaden my network of contacts. This has led me to specific contacts that had access to the police, through which I was able to conduct interviews and join patrols for participant observation. Added to this, this snowball sampling extended to figuring out exactly what empirical documents contain important data to add to this thesis. The data collection

techniques that followed from this sampling method were the conducting of interviews, participant observation and the accessing of documents.

Over the course of three months, starting February 26<sup>th</sup>, 2019, until May 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019 I have conducted several interviews within the community and the Ferguson Police Department. From late March until the end of May I have been able to collect data during 190 hours of participant observation as a ride along with the Ferguson Police Department. I have ridden with a third of the patrol officers, who were part of three of the four squads. I rode multiple times with most officers, to ensure the accuracy of my observations. While riding along, I rode with officers for their entire 12-hour shifts, during days and nights and in all five sectors that police patrols are divided in in Ferguson.

Finally, based on advice from my contacts and their ability to provide some of the documents, I have accessed both the Department of Justice investigations from 2015, the Consent Decree document and the summary of crime statistics of Ferguson from January up until May. These documents have formed the basis for the earlier description of the situation in Ferguson and will provide context to data collected during interviews and participant observation.

There are limitations to the data collected. The data collection process was done over a relative short time of three months and are thus only a snapshot of how COP practices shape relationships in Ferguson. Added to this, this research is in no way representative of COP practices across the United States. Ferguson is one town of many, and the Ferguson Police Department is one department of many. This data will be used to explain the case of Ferguson in order to contribute to the existing COP literature, by studying the nature of the interactions between police officers and community members at the local level, reflecting on the way community policing practices have shaped this relationship and what implications this may have for the COP debate and future research.

### *1.1.2 Research Method*

The research method used when collecting data consisted out of two elements: describing and understanding policework in Ferguson and describing and understanding police-community relationships in Ferguson. These are two separate, but interrelated components that I collected data on simultaneously. Describing and understanding policework however, is required for the understanding of police-community relationships. By understanding what approaches are taken by the police, and what the police encounter on a daily, weekly or monthly basis, it creates a context for studying the way police officers and community members interact with

each other. By then adding the studying of the way community members and police officers interact with each other, I can illustrate the full image of how community-oriented policing practices shaped the relationship between police and community in Ferguson.

This also creates two different types of actors that are studied in this research: police officers and community members. Police officers are, of course, the officers that work for the Ferguson Police Department, and thus work in Ferguson. Community members on the other hand are all non-police residents of Ferguson. This includes anyone of any perceived group that police officers interact with within Ferguson. In order to not exclude anyone residing in Ferguson from the terms community and community members, I include *anyone* who lives, works, goes to church or goes to school in Ferguson. This thus includes the strong community of unhoused people that reside and go to church in Ferguson. By including all this groups of people in the terms community and community member, I have been able to study anyone the police interact with within the Ferguson city limits.

As mentioned in the previous section, I started with specific recorded interviews with community members and police officers. Being able to start my police interviews by interviewing the Assistant Chief aided to gaining access to the Ferguson Police Department. During the first round of interviews I was able to start riding along frequently with the Ferguson Police in order to conduct participant observation. Participant observation was meant to both understand policing *and* understand police-community relationships. Riding along with the FPD allowed me to not only observe the police or the community, but specifically the way they interacted, during and outside of policework related interactions. While riding along I had to wear a bullet-proof vest with 'POLICE' on the front and the back. This led to community members approaching me and interacting with me as if I was one of the officers.

During the data collection process, I have continued to study the data collected and adapt to changes deemed necessary. Towards the end of the data collection process I had adapted my police interview model in order to interview the Police Chief and the Lieutenant on more specific matters regarding policing in Ferguson. Added to this, the recording of participant observations evolved during the process, from making general notes and comments on what was observed to taking notes on every call we went on, and every other noteworthy interaction. Noteworthy interactions being interactions between police officers and community members that go further than just greeting each other. This evolution in the recording of interactions was combined with the decision to go back to officers I rode with

earlier for a ‘follow up ride-along’. I rode with most officers more than once in order to ensure the accuracy of my data.

### *1.1.3 Limitations and Opportunities*

During the data collection process, I encountered some limitations and opportunities that had an impact on how data was collected. Interviews were an element I encountered both limitations and opportunities. Community interviews were hard to arrange. There were specific community members I have tried to interview, with little to no success. While I was able to interview a variety of community members, I was not able to interview some of the people in specific positions in the community, such as the city council. An opportunity was given to me by a community member who put me in contact with the Assistant Police Chief. The Assistant Chief then ‘opened up’ the department to me for interviews with different officers. The interviews that were conducted were used as a guideline for further data collection, as it gave context to observations made.

The most important opportunity encountered in the data collection process was that the Assistant Chief allowed me to ride along with officers after I requested this. I had not expected to be able to ride with officers to the extent that I eventually did. Because the Ferguson Police Department was very open and receptive to having me ride along, I took that opportunity. I rode for 190 hours, divided over mostly 12-hour shifts. I rode days and nights and with officers from three of the four squads. This opportunity has allowed me to gather more data than expected and make up for the limitations regarding community interviews, as the participant observation has allowed me to observe and talk to the community as well.

The limitations found when trying to conduct interviews was thus countered by opportunities granted and taken with participant observation with the Ferguson Police Department. This has led to a solid collection of data that allows me to answer the questions that drive this thesis.

Finally, in order to protect the anonymity of officers and community members I interacted with, I will not use names when analysing observations made of police work. I will use names when referring to interviews with command staff of the police department, as I have their informed consent and their ranks and positions are important context for the information acquired in the interview. While using names of officers in my observations may not lead to harm, it may lead individuals to recognise the situations and those community members involved in these situations. In order to prevent ethical issues, the anonymity of those observed during the research will be protected.

#### *1.1.4 Objectivity*

Lastly, there is the question of the objectivity of the research. Riding along with the FPD while wearing a police vest led people to approach me and interact with me as if I was one of the officers. The officers I rode with allowed me to be present with them at all times in any situation. It is important to address their awareness of me as a researcher during their work.

The nature of the 12-hour shift is that you quickly become familiar with a person if you spend many hours on end in the same car together. Furthermore, you meet the other officers constantly when they back each other up on calls. Where officers might have been more aware of my presence at first, they quickly became used to having me around because of my frequent riding along. This led to them acting the way they normally would, especially in situations that required their full attention. In turn, this allowed me to conduct my participant observation in an objective manner, as I was no longer seen as an outsider by the police or the individuals the police interacted with.

My unique position of a civilian riding with police has allowed me to observe police-community interactions while being part of that interaction. Even though I have mostly stayed in the background during calls in order to observe how police and community members interact, some situations required me to talk to individuals, during and outside of policework. Being part of the interaction has aided the objectivity of the data collected, as I was subjected to both the police officers' and the community members' sides of the interactions.

I have been part of most interactions that I have observed. I have made an effort to write up my data in an objective manner. The use of the Police Action Model, that will be explained in the final section of this chapter, will allow me to continue this trend and analyse the data in an objective fashion.

## **1.2 ACADEMIC DEBATE**

### *1.2.1 Community-Oriented Policing: Success or Failure?*

The academic debate that this thesis will be linked to shows a very critical view of COP. Community-oriented policing, while seen as an innovation and to have positive effects on the community if implemented correctly, is struggled with in its adoption, execution and effectiveness. The academic debate seems to indicate that smaller organizations have a harder time properly adoption community-oriented policing and effectively practicing it due to a lack of resources and a process of centralization which takes decision making away from the local community members.

As an empirical setting, Ferguson is one of those smaller organizations that is in the process of adopting community-oriented policing practices. Because of the unique presence of the Consent Decree, the Ferguson Police Department has been forced to make changes and adopt a COP approach, without receiving extra resources to do so. Studying how community policing practices in Ferguson have shaped the relationship between the police and the community is thus relevant to the academic debate, as it studies an empirical setting that, in the academic debate, is described as a situation in which COP would be ineffective and unsuccessful.

The academic debate is divided on the success or failure of community-oriented policing. These trends in the academic debate raise certain questions. Despite being an innovation and having positive effects if implemented correctly, why have police departments been slow in the adoption of community-oriented policing, and why is COP seen as unsuccessful and ineffective? I will illustrate the larger academic debate by reviewing literature based on these questions.

### *1.2.2 The Debate*

In her 2010 article, Schaeffer Morabito discusses the adoption patterns of community-oriented policing. COP is defined as a philosophy of conducting policework, rather than a specific strategy. The author defines community-oriented policing as an approach to policework that departs from the traditional police-as-expert model and engages the community as an equal partner to the police in the solving of local crime and disorder problems. This means that police officers are encouraged to engage community members through communications and work together in solving local crime and disorder problems. COP has no set criteria for its implementation, rather, police departments are encouraged to find out what the best approach is according to community needs (Schaeffer Morabito 2010, 564-565). The author argues that COP is an innovation in policing as it is a major change to the structure of procedures of an organization: to implement COP is to change a police organization on all facets. (Schaeffer Morabito 2010, 565-566).

COP is not a new concept, yet police departments in the United States have been slow in its adoption. Schaeffer Morabito argues that despite the flexibility of this approach, police agencies have been slow to adopt the core elements since the 1990's. In order to understand the uneven adoption rates of COP, the author conducted a survey using data from a national sample of 474 police jurisdictions, the Law Enforcement Management and Administration Statistics Survey (LEMAS), the Uniform Crime Reports, City/County Databook and the U.S.



Census. (Schaeffer Morabito 2010, 568). From this study the author found that size is an important factor in the adoption rates of COP. Larger organizations seem to have an easier time dealing with radical changes. The explanation given for this is the availability of resources, such as funds and technical expertise in order to implement these innovations (Schaeffer Morabito 2010, 581). This means that smaller police departments have a harder time implementing COP because of limited funds and technical expertise; the organization can't properly absorb a radical innovation like a larger organization can.

This research thus gives an answer as to why organizations are slow in the adoption of COP: limited funds and resources that limit the organization's ability to absorb radical change. However, the author only looks at the adoption rates of COP, not the actual success and effectiveness of its implementation. This article thus only partially answers my questions regarding the trends in the academic debate. Boettke et al. contribute to the debate by going further by studying the effectiveness of COP when practiced.

In their 2015 article, Boettke et al. argue that community policing has generally been ineffective and in many ways unsustainable. Boettke et al. argue that these failures can be attributed to the interactions between federal, state and local law enforcement agencies. In these interactions the federal level of law enforcement being prioritized over community initiatives. The argument is based on data from The Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis at Indiana University, who conducted field studies in several major cities in the United States.

In their field studies 'The Workshop' found that independent communities are more satisfied with police services than individuals living in larger consolidated regions, in which services like police are centralized rather than being independent police departments in separate municipalities. These findings discredited the idea that the centralization of services such as law enforcement is the only way to effectively provide public goods, such as public safety. These findings have led to the idea of police and community engaging with each other in the coproduction of public safety, which became the base idea of community-oriented policing as defined by Schaeffer Morabito. Advocates of COP thus stress the necessity for decentralization of police organizations, which places the focus on smaller independent police organizations working with their community (Boettke et al. 2015, 305-306).

Boettke et al. argue that the interactions between federal and local law enforcement led to the prioritization of federal law enforcement initiatives over local community-oriented policing initiatives. This means that since local community members are not able to participate in the decision making at the federal level, policies can be implemented that bring

significant costs to local communities and might not fulfil the needs of those communities.

In order to test this, the authors surveyed the empirical results of the study done by the Workshop. (Boettke et al. 2015, 306-307). Boettke et al. found evidence that the centralization of law enforcement services has led to less account for the public safety and needs of local communities, members of which, in turn, have nothing to say in the matter. The authors argue that this undermines the success and effectiveness of community policing practices at the local level. (Boettke et al. 2015, 321).

The articles of Schaeffer Morabito and Boettke et al. shape an image of community-policing that is one of a struggle to adopt COP at the local level due to limited funds and resources, and a failure to properly execute it due to centralization of law enforcement services and a prioritization of federal law enforcement initiatives that do not take into account the public safety needs of local communities. These articles demonstrate a rather negative view on the adoption and effectiveness of COP.

Ferguson is an interesting case related to this debate because the city has been placed under federal supervision after 2016 with the Consent Decree. This has put Ferguson under the decision making of the Department of Justice (DOJ). With this Consent Decree, the DOJ and the FPD take the needs of the local community into account when it comes to adopting and practicing a community-oriented approach. This is a federal initiative in order to enhance public trust in the Ferguson Police Department. The FPD is a small independent organization that is forced to absorb radical change due to federal initiatives but is not given the resources that Schaeffer Morabito argues are necessary to absorb radical innovation. This makes community policing practices in Ferguson relevant to study in relation to the academic debate.

In their 2018 paper, Rukus et al. add to this debate surrounding the success and effectiveness of COP by using the 2013 Planning Across Generations Survey in order to explore questions on how factors related to community-oriented policing relate to perceptions of safety, youth services and community participation. This survey is based on focus groups with city managers and planners that were held around the country in 2012 to discuss community activity to promote planning and service delivery that meets the needs of children and seniors (Rukus et al. 2018, 1863-1864).

In their research based on this survey the authors found that there was a strong focus on youth initiatives in policing and citizen action. They also found however that in this survey community policing is never associated with safety perceptions and that police trust is only linked to the participation of community in low crime areas and the core metro area. The authors argue that these results show that community-oriented policing may work best where

it is needed the least. (Rukus et al. 2018 1873-1877).

Furthermore, the authors argue that while most studies of COP focus on large cities, this research was able to focus on the rural suburbs and the core metro area with the data used. Because the connection found between a positive association of community policing with community participation and low crime areas, the authors argue that COP needs to develop practices that work better in suburban and rural communities, especially those that deal with high crime rates. (Rukus et al. 2018, 1877).

Ferguson is such a suburban community. As will be explored in this thesis, Ferguson deals with high crime rates and a wide variety of crimes. Due to the Consent Decree, community-oriented policing is promoted in order to build community trust. By studying how community policing practices have shaped the relationship between the police and the community, this thesis can add to this debate by studying the success and effectiveness of COP in an area that is described by Rukus et al. to be an area in which COP is least effective.

Rukus et al. thus add to the debate surrounding the success and effectiveness of COP by detailing the types of areas in which COP is and isn't effective. Rukus et al. conclude that COP might be least effective where needed the most. This thesis will add to the debate by studying COP practices in such an area, and how this has shaped the relationship between the police and the community.

Finally, Tillyer (2018) writes on the effects of COP on arrests. Arrest, Tillyer states, is one of the main functions police perform in their work, and it forms a measurable outcome of police practices. Arrest is influenced by many different factors, such as the characteristics of the incident and organizational factors. (Tillyer 2018, 527). Tillyer studies the effects of COP on the likelihood of arrest in violent crime incidents by linking data from the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS) and the LEMAS survey. (Tillyer 2018, 527).

In his research Tillyer found evidence that police departments who merely had a COP unit did not experience any influence on the likelihood of arrest. However, police departments with a greater number of COP related activities, and who have COP in their mission statement did experience an increased likelihood of arrest in violent crime incidents. Tillyer links this to what he argues are the core components of community-oriented policing: community engagement, problem solving and organizational change. (Tillyer 2018, 547-548).

While Tillyer's research only focusses on one facet of policework, the arrest, and the influence COP has on that, this does to the rest of the academic debate in which the authors argue that community policing has in many cases and specific areas been ineffective and unsustainable. The results of Tillyer's research show that when COP is implemented on all

facets of the police organization, it has a positive effect on the likelihood of arrest in violent crime incidents. This type of implementation of COP is what Schaeffer Morabito argues for. The departments that practice COP in this way might in fact be the larger departments who have the capacity and resources to implement COP, where smaller local communities do not.

Tillyer's research adds to the debate by studying a specific part of police work, the arrest, and its relationship with COP. Tillyer's findings show that COP can be effective. However, the research does not show what types of departments and areas experience these results. Tillyer's work provides context for findings from and claims made by other authors in the debate surrounding the success and effectiveness of COP.

Most research done on the subject, and the articles used to illustrate the academic debate, is quantitative research. While this body of quantitative research gives a good insight into the adoption, success and effectiveness of COP, a qualitative study of a relevant case such as Ferguson might add valuable insights to this debate. This thesis aims to add such a qualitative study to the the academic debate by examining how community policing practices have shaped the relationship between police and community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests. This research is meant to look at the practice of COP by a smaller police department. This will add an insight into the day-to-day realities of policework to the over-all academic debate surrounding community-oriented policing.

### **1.3 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: POWER IN A RELATIONSHIP**

When studying the interactions between police officers and community members in Ferguson, an analytical framework is needed that considers the nature of traditional police – community relationships. Naturally, this relationship is based on the authority of the police officer and the legitimacy of this authority. These two concepts find their roots in the concept of power. In order to understand authority and legitimacy, we will thus have to understand the function of power in a relationship.

In his 1989 article Norman Uphoff takes a critical look at the concepts of power, authority and legitimacy as defined by Max Weber. Uphoff looks at the existing English translations of Weber's definitions and tries to redefine them as close as possible to Weber's original definitions.

The three core concepts of this article, power, authority and legitimacy form the basis for police – community interactions. In order to analyse policework properly, these concepts will be defined in relation to each other in order to form the analytical framework that will help analyse police work.

### 1.3.1 Power, Authority, Reflection and Legitimacy

First, in order to define *power*, Uphoff utilizes Weber's definition. This definition states that "power is the *probability* that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the *basis* on which this probability rests." (Uphoff 1989, 299). Uphoff focusses one of the core words in this definition: probability. According to weber, a statement about power is a statement about relationship, meaning that it is a statement about a probability someone will be in the position to achieve his objective, not a certainty (Uphoff 1989, 299). Weber never states power exists or that it is a relationship, he only defines power as a probability. Thus, in order to be specific, the *bases* of the relationships in which power is reported must be analysed (Uphoff 1989, 299). Next, Uphoff moves on to define the concept of authority.

Authority, Uphoff states, does not always have to be seen by everyone as legitimate. However, some legitimacy is usually attributed to authority. Legitimacy should however not be linked to authority by definition. Uphoff states that "the claims of persons in positions of asserted authority must be distinguished from the judgements made about the legitimacy of that authority by those persons toward whom commands for compliance are directed." (Uphoff 1989, 300). Weber states that authority is a special kind of power. Because both his definition of power and that of authority are based on probability, this translates to the definition of authority. Uphoff thus defines authority as "the probability that a command with a specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons, despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which that probability rests." (Uphoff 1989, 300-301).

In order to understand authority, Uphoff states that the *bases* for compliance relationships need to be examined. The core condition for authority is the existence of some special position or role through which a person can make commands in the name of a group and to back those commands with either rewards or sanctions in its name. (Uphoff 1989, 301).

In relation to this research the police can be regarded as having this special position or role through which is person is able to make commands in the name of a group. In this special role, the police can make commands in the name of the state and can back up those commands with sanctions, which range from writing warnings to arresting a person.

This is in line with Weber's definition of the modern state in which the state is a territorially-defined organization with an administrative staff "that successfully upholds a *claim* to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its orders" (Uphoff 1989, 301-302). The keyword here is *claim*. The authority of a state exists if it can

successfully uphold claims for compliance made on its subjects.

Legitimacy, on the other hand, is defined as the conviction on the part of those subject to authority “that it is right and proper and that they have some obligation to obey, regardless of the basis on which this belief rests.” (Uphoff 1989, 302). Authority and legitimacy are thus different in the sense that authority is a claim for compliance, while legitimacy is the acceptance of that claim (Uphoff 1989, 303). If the *police* are the actor that makes that claim for compliance, it is the *community* that accepts that claim. Thus, while police exercise its authority, the community grants that authority its authority if it believes this authority is right and proper and they have some obligation to obey commands based on that authority.

Because legitimacy is granted by those subject to the authority, legitimacy is based on *reflection* on the subject’s part. When authority is exercised, those subject to that authority will reflect on whether this authority is right and proper, and whether they have some obligation to obey. Compliance and legitimacy are therefore based on *reflection* on the part of the subject.

The relationship between police and community is therefore based upon the position of authority that the police hold over the community, the ability to exercise this authority and the legitimacy granted by the community by accepting this authority as right and proper. The bases for the relationship in which we find power between police and community rely on the state’s claim to the monopoly of the use of legitimate physical force in the enforcement of their orders, and the obligation to obey these orders the community feels it has.

According to Uphoff, there are four factors that influence how readily exercises of authority will be complied with: “(1) the *authority* role in question has been properly and acceptably established; (2) its *incumbent* is a right and proper person in that role; (3) the *content* of the decision or command is within the scope of accepted authority, or has been arrived at by acceptable procedures; and/or (4) the *system* of authority as a whole is regarded as legitimate.” (Uphoff 1989, 312). This means that the amount of legitimacy granted to a specific decision is based upon the judgements made about that decision, the person from which the decision comes, and the system of authority the decision is based upon. (Uphoff 1989, 312).

The *authority*, *incumbent* and *content* factors are crucial factors the police has influence on in order to be accepted as a legitimate authority by the community. While the *incumbent* factor is more related to the hiring process of officers and making sure the persons hired are the right and proper persons in that role, the *authority* and *content* factors are related

to proper *communication* and a professional exercise of authority during interactions with the community.

### *1.3.2 Communication and Policing*

This section looks at the role of communication in relation to COP. In their 2014 article on perceptions of policing, Bain et al. state that there is a gap between the service that is provided by local police forces and the perception of those services provided among local community members. Reducing this gap requires effective communication. Bain et al. state that effective communication can make a difference to the outcomes and behaviours of individuals and community groups. This communication must be a two-way street, where police communicate with the community, but the community is also able to communicate their concerns with police (Bain et al. 2014, 274). Mutual communication is thus key to close this gap between the services provided and the perceptions thereof.

Mutual communication is crucial to community-oriented policing. Community-oriented policing (COP) is an approach to policework that departs from the traditional police-as-expert model and is designed to include the community as an equal partner in the solving of local crime and disorder problems. COP is a police philosophy that does not have set criteria for practicing this approach, rather, the approach is meant to be practiced in a way that meets local community requirements (Schaeffer Morabito 2010: 564-565). Engaging the community as an equal partner requires mutual communication, a two-way street.

With mutual communication, police officers can ensure that the *authority* in question has been properly and acceptably established when interacting with the community, and that the *content* of decisions made is within the scope of accepted authority or has been arrived at by acceptable procedures. When these factors are communicated properly and respectfully, acceptance of claims of authority may be improved.

As Bain et al. state, if positive encounters between community and police are fostered, increased confidence in local policing may develop within the community (Bain et al. 2014, 274). In order to foster these positive encounters, communication in the form of dialogue about policing in the community is required. When the community can communicate concerns with the police, more policing can be adapted to the needs of the community, as is the core idea of community-oriented policing.

### *1.3.3 Police Professionalism and Engagement*

This section looks at the ‘counterpart’ to COP, police professionalism, in order to show the relevance of both this approach to policework and COP together.

Sklansky (2011) defines police professionalism as a mindset that is based upon the idea that the police are a “rational, efficient, scientifically organized, technologically sophisticated bureaucracy” operating “independent of local social conflict” and pursuing “objective and aggressive law enforcement.” (Sklansky 2011, 2).

Like police professionalism, community-oriented policing is a mindset, but it is based on the police treating the community as an equal partner in the solving of local crime and disorder problems (Schaeffer Morabito 2010, 564-565). As Sklansky states, these two ideals or mindsets compete (Sklansky 2011, 2). While community-oriented policing is seen as an innovation and a step away from police professionalism, both are prevalent mindsets.

Community policing, according to Sklansky, may be an alternative to police professionalism. Sklansky quotes the advice given by Gil Kerlikowske, a successful practitioner of community policing: “engage, instead of policing” (Sklansky 2011, 12). This advice sums up the core idea of community-oriented policing as mentioned in earlier sections. This concept, *engagement*, can be used as an analytical concept to study COP.

Not all police action can be done through COP and engagement. Sometimes police action as described in the idea of police professionalism are required in order to successfully uphold a claim to the monopoly on the use of physical force in order to enforce police orders. This distinction between ‘professionalism’ and ‘engagement’ should be made in analysis of policework, as different situations call for different or multiple approaches.

### *1.3.4 Analytical Framework*

In the previous sections the core of police – community interactions has been explained. The authority of a police officer, the legitimacy that is related to that authority, and the reflection on this authority and legitimacy by the individual form the bases of the relationship between police officers and community members. Police philosophies like COP are facilitated by engagement through mutual communication in these interactions. Some interactions however do require exercises of authority by the police officer. ‘Engagement’ and the ‘exercise of authority’ are both types of actions found in interactions between police officers and community members.

In order to analyse interactions between police officers and community members, these analytical concepts need to be operationalized in an analytical framework. Power forms



the core concept in this analytical framework yet should be seen as an overarching idea concerning the concepts of authority and legitimacy are the underlying concepts of police action, engagement is a core analytical concept that can be seen as ‘the other approach’ from an exercise of authority, when it comes to dealing interaction with community members. The officer decides which approach to take based on an assessment of the situation and orient themselves through communication with those that are being interacted with. This leads to the following model which is in its core based on John Boyd’s OODA loop, which is a model used as a strategic framework in armed conflict. (Richards 2012, 10).

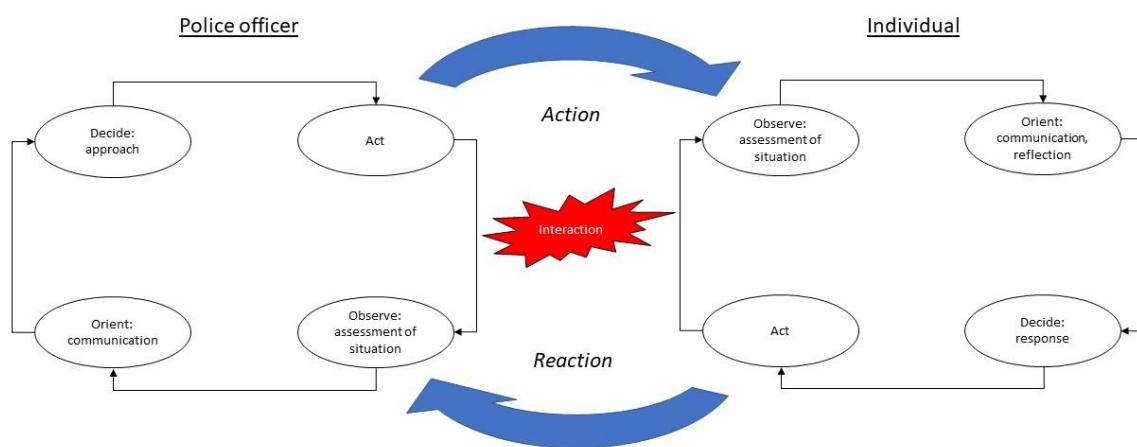


Figure 1.

In Boyd’s OODA loop, we can find four different components that make up interactions found in armed conflict: observe, orient, decide and act. This loop is designed by Boyd in order to find strategies on how to succeed in armed conflict by operating inside opponents’ OODA loops. The core of the model is orientation, which feeds into the other components in this model. Orient shapes observation, shapes decision, shapes action, and is in turn shaped by feedback that is returned to the observation component. (Richards 2010, 3). In armed conflict, the way to success is to cycle through your own OODA loop better and faster than the opponent can through his own OODA loop. Your decision making and acting thus must be faster and more efficient.

In Figure 1, I present what I call the Police Action Model (PAM), through which I will analyse police action in Ferguson. I have created this model by drawing inspiration from Boyd's "Observe, Orient, Decide, Act (OODA)" process loop for analysing armed conflict,

and modified it to serve the purpose of analysing processes within police action. This model can be applied to policework because it incorporates both actors, the police officer and the community member into model that analyses both the police and the individual's OODA loops.

When responding to a call, the officer arrives on the scene and starts with orientation and observation through communication with those on the scene and assessing the situation through observation. A decision is then made on what approach is required in this specific situation, which is acted out. This leads the community member that is interacted with to assess the situation when action is taken by reflecting on the action taken by the officer and communicating with the officer. This then leads to the generation of a response by the individual, which is acted out. The interaction unfolds and creates a new situation. This feeds back to the officer's observation and orientation phases. The officer, through assessment of the new situation and further communication decides on which further actions to take. In addition to all this, the context of the event is important. This is incorporated in the assessment of the situation and the orientation. Developments in the context of the situation can influence the decisions made by the actors.

This model allows for the analysis of every single decision made during an interaction between an officer and an individual. In addition, the model can be expanded when more officers and individuals are present during the interaction, because each actor has his or her own OODA loop. The model allows not only for the analysis of decision, actions and reactions during an event, but also the analysis of the *interaction*.

In the following chapters of this thesis the Police Action Model will be applied to a variety of observations made of interactions between officers and community members. The analysis of the interactions will be done with the use of the model in order to answer sub-questions that help answer the main question that drives this thesis. Not only will the analysis of observations answer the questions that drive this thesis, it will also show the usefulness of the model as an analytical tool.

## **CHAPTER TWO: EMPIRICAL SETTING**

### *2.1.1 The Ferguson Unrests*

Ferguson is a small town that is situated in the suburbs of Saint Louis, Missouri. According to estimates of the U.S. Census bureau of July 2018, Ferguson has about 21,000 residents. This number is then divided into about 68 percent African American residents, and 32 percent Caucasian and other residents. Saint Louis County, the area surrounding Saint Louis City, is a large suburban area that consists out of 89 municipalities, many of which have their own police and fire departments. Ferguson is one of those municipalities that has their own police and fire departments. As has become clear by now, the Ferguson Police Department is the focus of this paper.

In order to look at the current situation in Ferguson under the consent decree, it is necessary to explain what events led to the agreement to a consent decree. According to the summary of evidence presented by the Department of Justice (DOJ), on August 9<sup>th</sup> 2014, Ferguson police officer Wilson responded to a call about a ‘stealing in progress’ at a store called ‘Ferguson Market and Liquor’. Brown stole several packages of cigarettes from the store and pushed the shopkeeper to the ground when confronted. As Wilson arrived near the scene, he saw two males walking in the middle of the road matching the description. After telling them to get off the street he parked his car in the road in order to stop the two males. As Wilson attempted to open his door it came into contact with Brown’s body and it either rebounded closed or Brown pushed it closed (DOJ 2015, 6). Wilson and other witnesses stated that Brown then reached into the vehicle and a struggle for officer Wilson’s firearm ensued, which led to Brown being shot in the right hand. Brown ran away, and officer Wilson pursued him on foot. Brown then turned around and charged the officer, which led to Brown’s fatal shooting (DOJ 2015, 6-8). The DOJ launched two separate investigations, one that investigated the shooting of Brown, and one that investigated the Ferguson Police Department.

This shooting quickly led to protests against police violence. These protests in return rapidly turned violent. Rioting and looting took place over an extended period of time, which led to other police forces, such as the Saint Louis County Police Department (SLCPD) and the Missouri State Highway Patrol, being sent in in order to contain the rioting. On November 24<sup>th</sup> the Saint Louis County Grand Jury did not indict officer Wilson in the shooting of Brown. This led to another wave of rioting in Ferguson. On March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015, the DOJ cleared Wilson of committing any civil rights violations in Brown’s death and simultaneously

published its report of the investigation of the Ferguson Police Department. As a result of this report, many city officials, and police chief Jackson, resigned.

### *2.1.2 The DOJ Report and Consent Decree*

The DOJ investigation of the Ferguson Police Department took place after the shooting of Brown and was published on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015, presenting findings that led to the signing of the consent decree.

The DOJ report has several core findings. The first of these findings is that the City's *emphasis on revenue generation* led to police practices within the FPD that were focussed on the aggressive enforcement of Ferguson's municipal code. This means that the City of Ferguson made sure there was a focus in policework on that which brings in money for the City: the enforcement of municipal code and traffic tickets. The DOJ report states that insufficient thought was given if these law enforcement strategies actually promoted public safety, or if they undermined community trust and cooperation (DOJ 2015, 2). Furthermore, the DOJ stated that this culture within the FPD influenced officers in all areas of policing. Officers were reported to demand compliance even when lacking legal authority, to be inclined to see the exercise of free-speech as unlawful disobedience and seeing innocent movements as physical threats (DOJ 2015, 3).

The second finding of the DOJ report is that Ferguson's law enforcement approach reflects and reinforces a racial bias, including stereotyping. The damage done by Ferguson's police- and court practices are stated to be borne disproportionately by African Americans. The DOJ states that there is evidence that this is partly due to intentional discrimination based on race (DOJ 2015, 4). The DOJ looked at traffic stops, searches at traffic stops, use of force and municipal court practices. In the data from 2012 until 2014 the DOJ found that African Americans accounted for 85 percent of all traffic stops despite making up 68 percent of the population of Ferguson (DOJ 2015, 4). These numbers may not completely support the claims made by the DOJ report. Ferguson consists of several major thoroughfares for residents from surrounding municipalities with larger African American populations than Ferguson. At the time, the 'racial profile' system in which details about traffic stops are filled in did not distinguish residents from non-residents. The numbers are thus not completely representative of the effects of traffic stops on Ferguson residents (Lt. Rettke 2019, Interview).

The third core finding relates to *community distrust*. The DOJ report states that since the Brown shooting the lack of trust between the Ferguson Police Department and a large part of the community has become undeniable. The cause of the distrust has been subject to

debate. The DOJ states that Police, city official *and* Ferguson residents have insisted that the public outcry is done by “outside agitators” rather than “real Ferguson residents” (DOJ 2015, 5). The DOJ states that that view is at odds with their investigation. The DOJ claims that the distrust of the Ferguson Police Department can mostly be attributed to the approach to law enforcement taken by Ferguson. The DOJ states that this approach often resulted in unnecessarily aggressive and at times unlawful policing, reinforced discriminatory stereotypes, discouraged a culture of accountability and neglected the engagement of the community (DOJ 2015, 5-6). The DOJ concludes on this matter that in the recent years (before 2014) the Ferguson Police Department had moved away from the modest community policing practices it had, which reduced opportunities for positive interactions between police and community, and lost familiarity with some African-American neighbourhoods in Ferguson (DOJ 2015, 6). This is significant for the analysis of the collected data, as this thesis looks at the relationship, and thus the interactions, between police officers and community members. The DOJ report speaks of a lost familiarity and a broken trust, thus reflecting negatively on this relationship. Through the analysis of the collected data and answering the sub-questions, this thesis will give insight in this relationship.

The DOJ report includes a list of changes necessary for meaningful and sustainable reform in order to rebuild trust between the police and the community. Most recommendations are centred around municipal court practices and fines, and not so much recommendations about policing strategies. However, the DOJ report concludes that Ferguson as a City has the capacity to reform its approach to law enforcement and that being a small municipality means that there is a great potential for police officers to form partnerships and have frequent, positive interactions with Ferguson residents, in order to repair and maintain police-community relationships. (DOJ 2015, 102).

The DOJ report led to the signing of the Consent Decree, in which the US Federal Government and the City of Ferguson entered into the agreement ‘with the shared recognition that the ability of a police department to protect the community it serves is only as strong as the relationship it has with that community’ (Consent Decree 2016, 1). The main goals of the Agreement are to ensure the protection of the constitutional and legal rights of all community members in Ferguson, the improvement of crime prevention in Ferguson, the enhancement of officer and public safety, and the improvement of public confidence in the Ferguson Police Department. (Consent Decree 2016, 1). The Agreement provides the terms and requirements for the City of Ferguson and the FPD to continue to reform their law enforcement approach and to focus on the engagement of the community. The Consent Decree encompasses all

facets of policing. The core of the Consent Decree however is a focus on community policing and engagement; recruitment and training; transparency, accountability and civilian oversight and; bias free policing. (Consent Decree 2016).

### *2.1.3 The Ferguson Police Department*

The implementation of the Consent Decree is an ongoing process with many requirements for the City of Ferguson and the Ferguson Police Department. This description of the current state of the FPD is based on interviews with the command staff of the FPD and observations made while riding along with the FPD over a period of two months.

Since the events of 2014 there has been a lot of turnover in the Ferguson Police Department, leading to a shortage of personnel, both among patrol officers and supervisors. Out of the 56 officers the FPD had in 2014, there are only 15 left, in combination with 21 officers that have been recruited since the riots. Most of the officers who worked in Ferguson before the riots have thus left the police department, and most of the current patrol officers have been recruited after the riots in 2014. In this Turnover the FPD has also diversified a lot, going from three to seventeen persons of colour, and six females working as officers. (Chief McCall 2019, Interview). There are however not enough patrol officers, which puts a strain on patrols. (Lt. Rettke 2019, Interview).

The Consent Decree has made the recruitment process for officers stricter, presenting many requirements for the background investigation and screening processes for, and the training of new officers. The recruitment process has been very slow however. This is in part because one of the requirements of the Consent Decree for the City has not been met. In the Consent Decree it is stated that the City of Ferguson has to offer salaries that will place the FPD among the most competitive sized agencies in Saint Louis County. However, the City has so far refused to do so, leading to a starting salary that is 6000 USD lower per year than surrounding comparable agencies. This leads to difficulties attracting academy graduates to the Ferguson Police Department. (Assistant Chief Eickhoff 2019, Interview). Over-all the Ferguson Police Department is currently still in the process of implementing all the changes and requirements imposed by the Consent Decree. The FPD has changed its approach to policing since 2014 to an approach that is community-oriented. This thesis will examine how this has shaped the relationship between the Ferguson Police Department and the community since 2014.

## **CHAPTER THREE: POLICE PRACTICES IN FERGUSON**

This chapter is concerned with the *practices* part of the research puzzle: ‘how have community policing *practices* shaped the relationship between police and community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests?’ In order to study police practices, this chapter is divided into two sections.

The first section aims to describe policing practices in Ferguson, by looking at the organization of day-to-day policework and crime statistics in relation to daily the daily realities of calls. This section will form the context which is needed in order to analyse police practices.

The second section aims to analyse police practices, with the help of the Police Action Model. By analysing police practices from a police perspective, this section will contribute to answering the main research question by determining whether a COP-based mentality is reflected in the decision making and acting of police officers.

This chapter thus contributes to answering the research question by setting up the context for the analysis of police practices and interactions and analysing police practices.

### **3.1 DESCRIBING POLICE PRACTICES IN FERGUSON**

This section aims to describe what policework in Ferguson looks like on a daily basis. This first section of Chapter Three answers three sub-questions: how is day-to-day policework organised in Ferguson; Based on analysis of the crime statistics, what crimes does the Ferguson Police Department deal with on a monthly basis, and; based on observations made during ‘ride-along’ patrols with Ferguson officers, what types of calls do officers respond to on a daily basis? By answering these questions, I will expand on the empirical setting of Ferguson by describing the nature of policework done by the FPD. This forms the context needed for the analysis of police practices and interactions in later chapters.

#### *3.1.1 Day-To-Day Policework*

How is day-to-day policework organized in Ferguson? Every day officers of the Ferguson Police Department patrol the streets of Ferguson in 12-hour shifts, alternating between days and nights. The patrol officers are organised into four squads. Every squad is supervised by a Sergeant who divides his or her time between patrolling and checking up on the patrol officers, and administrative matters at the police station. Three out of the four squads have a K-9 officer, who are trained to handle the police dogs. The police dogs are mainly used to conduct drug searches when necessary. The City of Ferguson is divided into four sectors for

patrolling. Each sector consists out of multiple neighbourhoods. Each sector has an officer assigned to it. When there are more than four officers available to fill a squad, these extra officers act as cover cars, enforcing traffic and moving around Ferguson, backing up other officers on calls and taking calls where needed. The squads change shifts at 6:30 and 18:30. Every shift starts with rollcall, during which the officers are notified by the previous squads of what happened on the previous shift and what might be things that come up during their shift, in order to be prepared.

Officers patrol their sector and prioritize calls in that sector. When an officer responds to a call, another officer (which usually is the cover car) will respond to that call too in order to back up the responding officer. This is done because there is only one officer per vehicle. A second officer on the scene improves the safety of everybody involved and leads to better assistance when needed.

The officers always carry a pistol and at least two non-lethal weapons or tools on them. Non-lethals include tasers, mace and batons. In the police cars there is a shotgun present between the driver and the passenger seat for when the situation requires it. The officers wear body cameras at all times when they are on the streets. The body cameras are activated when the officers leave the vehicle when going on a call or during a traffic stop. The videos are later registered and uploaded to an online data storing service, where they are saved for an indefinite period of time. This footage can be reviewed by supervisors at any time and by community members when requested.

### *3.1.2 Crime Statistics*

Based on analysis of crime statistics, what crimes does the Ferguson Police Department Deal with on a monthly basis? This question is meant to set up the context in which the data is collected. Together with the next question, these two sub-sections aim to give an insight into the crime statistics, and their realities in day-to-day policework. In order to answer this question, I will analyse crime statistics provided by the FPD from the months of January 2019 up to and including May 2019. These statistics represent all the crimes that Ferguson officers have taken reports on.

The four types of crimes that make up the bulk of the crime statistics are assault, burglary, stolen vehicles and property damage. Over a period of five months there have been 102 reports of assault. Of this number, 32 were assault in the second degree and first degree. Assault in the second degree occurs when a person intentionally causes physical harm with a deadly weapon or dangerous instrument to another person. Assault in the first degree occurs



when there was serious intent to cause serious physical injury. (Missouri Revised Criminal Code 2014, 14). The other 70 cases of assault are classified as assault simple. Assault simple is an attempt to cause physical injury or committing acts that put another person in fear of physical injury. (Missouri Revised Criminal Code 2014, 14). Most assault cases reported are thus assault simple. The number of assault cases per month are consistent, averaging at approximately 20 per month.

The second biggest type of crime reported are property damages. Over the period of five months there were 98 property damages reported in Ferguson. A property damage is the deliberate act to damage something. A property damage encompasses any property that is damaged by a person. Examples mentioned by officers are windows broken, doors kicked without gaining entry and cars damaged. The number of property damage cases per month are consistent, averaging at approximately 20 per month.

Burglaries are the third biggest type of crime encountered by the Ferguson Police Department. Over the period of five months there were 79 reported cases of burglary. A burglary occurs when someone knowingly enters a premise with the intent to commit a crime. While most burglaries involve stolen goods, nothing has to actually be stolen for the case to be counted as a burglary. Cases of burglary in Ferguson vary from 10 to 20 per month.

Finally, the fourth biggest group of crimes encountered are stolen vehicles. Over the course of five months, 71 vehicles were reported stolen. Officers stated that vehicles often get stolen during the colder months, as people let their cars warm up in the driveway in the morning and leave their cars unattended for moments. The numbers per month seem to support this, as the numbers peak in February with 22 stolen cars, and steadily decline to 7 cars stolen in May. In this period of five months there have been 24 cases of robbery, 4 cases of domestic assault, and one case of each homicide, murder, rape and arson. Robberies average at approximately five per month and seem to occur all over Ferguson. In almost all cases of robbery there is a firearm involved.

As can be seen from the crime statistics, Ferguson sees a wide variety of crime on a monthly basis. Almost half of the total crimes reported however are property damages and assault simple. The number of burglaries and stolen vehicles is also substantial. These crime statistics give only a partial insight into the daily realities of policework. The next sub-section delves into the frequent calls officers deal with on a daily basis, in order to provide a context to the data analysed in later sections. With this context, it becomes clear that which calls are more frequent than others, and what types of crimes the FPD deals with.

### *3.1.3 Frequent Calls*

While crime statistics show everything the Ferguson officers have written reports on, it does not reflect the other types of calls officers receive frequently. This leads me to my next question: based on observations while riding along with Ferguson officers, what types of calls do officers respond to on a daily basis? This question adds to the previous sub-section, by giving a context to crime statistics. The crime statistics are the numbers of every crime that has been reported. Many calls that may potentially lead to a report are resolved in other ways and are thus not represented in the crime statistics. This sub-section thus expands on the context given by the crime statistics by describing what types of calls officers deal with on a daily basis. The following findings and claims are based on 190 hours of participant observation as a ride-along.

Domestic disturbances are calls that officers respond to very frequently. The crime statistics only showed four reported cases of domestic assault. This is because many cases of domestic disturbances are arguments that lead to someone to call the police to remove someone from their house. In many cases domestic disturbance calls do not lead to arrests, but have the officers look for a solution to the situation together with the individuals on the scene.

One example of the domestic disturbance calls I observed was one where a female called the police stating her boyfriend would not let her leave the house. When the Sergeant and an officer arrived on the scene, they recognized the house as having been there before for similar reasons. They approached the situation unbiased, letting both the male and the female tell their stories. The male said he wanted her to leave but she wouldn't, the female she wanted to leave but the male did not let her. The female's shirt was torn, and the male admitted to grabbing her by the shirt as he was trying to make her leave. The officers talked to both and they came to the agreement that it was best for the female to leave the male's house and stay at her own place. The female left the premise and the situation was resolved without any arrest.

Calls such as this example are encountered frequently by Ferguson officers, often with similar outcomes. Many domestic disturbances are (often heated) arguments that require an outsider to step in with the authority to stop that fight. Often conversation with those involved leads to the finding of solutions without having to arrest anybody. This example was a representation of many of the domestic calls I have observed over a two-month period. Calls such as these are not reflected in the crime statistics, as only a small amount leads to an arrest on domestic assault charges. Most of these calls are resolved through dialogue.

A second type of call that officers respond to frequently are traffic accidents. Traffic accidents happen often and range from minor crashes where people require police assistance on what to do, to serious crashes where EMS and the Fire Department is required on the scene. Officers are often the first responders to scenes of accidents, and make sure the full report is written on what happened during the accident. Added to this, the officers make sure cars that are too damaged to drive get towed from the scene. On the scene, officers direct traffic if necessary.

An example of a situation like this was an accident on one of the main roads through Ferguson. A vehicle had turned onto the road without stopping for oncoming traffic and struck another vehicle at high speed in the side of the engine. The struck vehicle swerved off the street and ended up in the front lawn of a house on the other side of the street. The first vehicle was able to park on the same side of the street. As the officers responded to the scene, they first assessed whether medical assistance was required. EMS were called in order to check up on the female who drove the vehicle that was truck. Information and insurance were gathered from those involved and entered into the system. Witness statements were taken, and a report was written detailing what happened. Both cars were towed, and the street was cleaned up. The female drove the vehicle that struck the other was written a citation for driving without a valid driver's licence and for not having insurance. Responses to accidents are routine calls that are encountered frequently, especially during bad weather, when visibility is lowered.

Third, trespassing calls are responded to frequently. Trespassing calls usually come from stores and businesses around Ferguson. Often the trespasser is an individual that is no longer allowed to be on the premises because of complaints filed on them after stealing items, or harassing customers.

One such example was a trespassing call I observed at a local gas station. The call detailed a male in a wheelchair who was no longer allowed on the premise trespassing, asking customers for money and having stolen some items. When we arrived on the scene the male was still there. The officer knew him, and it became clear this was not the first time this gas station had to call the police to have the male removed. The officer wrote an arrest notification and released the man on the scene after he got him to agree to leave the premises and not return. Trespassing calls are quite frequent. Often the trespasser is already gone when the police arrives on the scene.

A final type of frequent call is the shots fired call. Shots fired is a call that goes out whenever shots are reported to have been fired. Many of the shots fired calls observed

resulted in nothing when arriving at the scene. When officers respond to shots fired calls they respond to the scene where the shots had been reportedly fired and check the surrounding area for victims and bullet casings. On most shots fired calls there is nothing to be found. In some cases, however, shots fired are connected to shootings. I have observed a response to a shots fired call in front of a couple of stores. A vehicle had pulled up near another vehicle in the parking lot, and its occupants had opened fire, only hitting the shops behind the vehicle. The shooters had gotten out and stole a bag from the car they fired upon. Nobody got hurt. These types of situations are rare however.

As can be seen, frequent calls are not represented in the crime statistics. The numbers of domestic disturbance calls, and the actual reported domestic assaults differ vastly. This is because officers approach many calls with the intention to resolve the situation, rather than arrest. The combination of crime statistics and an insight into the frequent calls officers deal with on a daily basis form an accurate context for the data analysed in the upcoming sections. The context given here represents what officers deal with on a daily and monthly basis and is thus important in order to understand the nature of specific interactions between police officers and individuals during calls.

#### *3.1.4 Summary*

In this section I have set up the context regarding policework in Ferguson. This context, based on day-to-day policework and the crime statistics in relation to the daily realities of frequent calls, is crucial to understand the interactions between police officers and individuals. This section thus allows us to properly analyse these interactions using the Police Action Model, because the context in which these interactions happen is now properly described.

The Ferguson Police Department is a small department that deals with a variety of crimes and other calls on a daily basis. The crime statistics are a valuable tool in order to see what happens in Ferguson on a monthly basis. Where most crimes were either assault related crimes, such as assault simple, or property damages, the other frequent calls described show that there are many more types of situations that officers encounter on a daily basis than what is reflected in the crime statistics. Many of the encounters with community members do not lead to arrest but are resolved through dialogue or require the help of an officer.

In the following section I will analyse policework using the Police Action Model. This next section looks at interactions from a police officer perspective and aims to understand why officers use specific approaches and how officers deal with non-compliance in certain situations.

## 3.2 ANALYSING POLICE PRACTICES

In this second section of Chapter Three I will analyse police *practices* using the Police Action Model. In this section I will look at interactions between police officers and community members from a police perspective. The aim of this section is to understand how officers decide what approach to take in any given situations, and how officers deal with non-compliance. These elements contribute to answering the main research question because they will show whether a COP based mentality is reflected in the officers' decision making. This section thus specifically studies *practices*.

In this section I will answer the following sub-questions: based on the Police Action Model, how do officers determine what the appropriate approach is in any given situation, and; based on the Police Action Model, how do officers adapt to non-compliance from individuals during police action, in order to ensure compliance? With these questions I aim to determine whether the FPD's focus on COP is reflected in the decision making and acting of police officers of the FPD. These questions will be answered through the analysis of several examples of calls I have observed during 'ride-along' patrols.

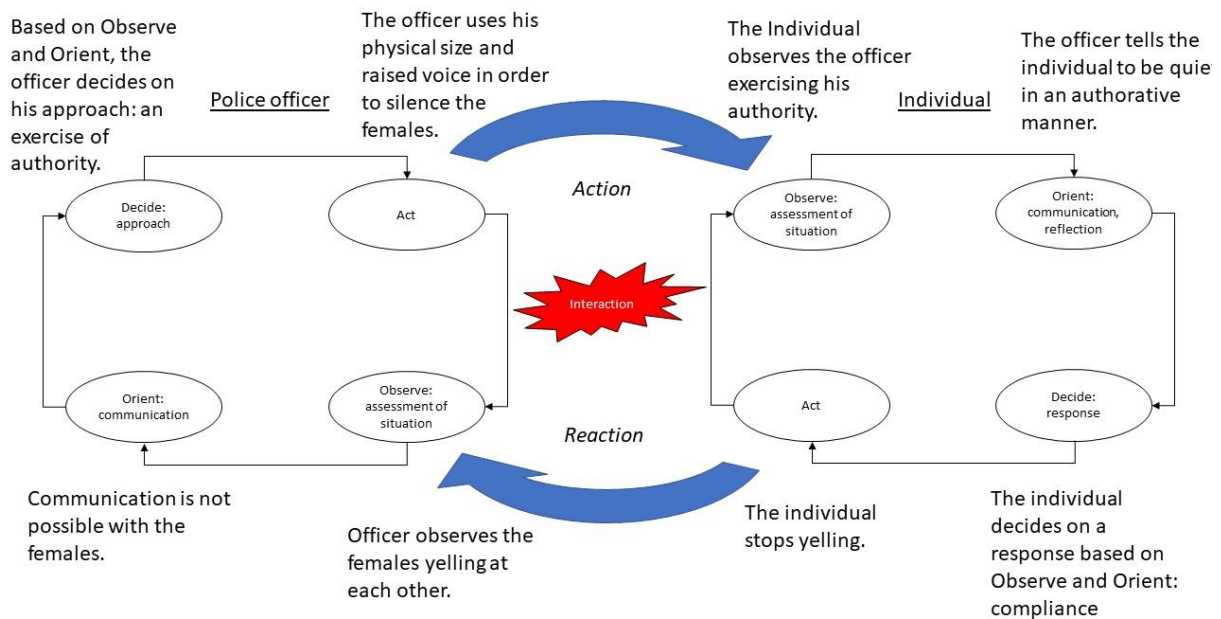
### 3.2.1 Determining the Approach

Based on the Police Action Model, how do officers determine what the appropriate approach is in any given situation? This question is relevant to the research question as it helps determine whether a COP-based mentality is reflected in the decision making of officers in any given situation.

In order to answer this question, I will analyse two different examples of the same type of call, in which two different approaches were necessary. I will analyse two different examples of domestic disturbances, the decisions made by the officers and the responses given by the individuals interacted with.

**Example 1:** The officer I was riding with received a call about a domestic disturbance. When we arrived on the scene together with a second officer, we could hear loud yelling coming from the open front door. We entered the house and found two females, one with a baby, having a heated argument. The officer I was riding with had to use his physical size to stand in between the females and raise his voice in order to stop the yelling. When it became clear that dialogue was not possible, he separated the females, having the one without the baby step outside with the other officer, in order to have both females tell their stories separately. The females turned out to be in a relationship, and when after an argument the female with the baby wanted to leave with a male friend, the other female attacked he,

pushing her against the wall. The officer decided that the best way to keep the peace in this situation was to have the female and the baby come with us to the police station in order to be picked up by her mother. The female agreed. While being resistant to this idea, the other female complied after the officer made it clear to her that even though the females were in a relationship, she did not have the right to keep her in the house against her will. The officer and I brought the female and her baby to the police station, where they were picked up by her mother. This concluded the call.



*The first cycle of the Police Action Model between the officer and one of the females.*

*Figure 2.*

When looking at the Police Action Model as applied in Figure 2, we can see the first cycle of the Police Action Model between the officer and one of the females present. The analysis of the interaction starts with the Observe phase in the officer's OODA loop, as I am analysing the interaction from when the officer arrives on the scene. As can be seen, the decision made by the officer creates a new situation for the individual to Observe and Orient and base their response on. This response then creates a new situation for the officer. The officer decided based on the assessment of the situation to exercise his authority in order to de-escalate the fight in progress. In reaction to this exercise of authority, both females generated a reaction of their own, which resulted in compliance with the officer's exercise of authority by stopping with fighting. We have now arrived once more at the officer's Observe phase, which will start the second cycle of the Police Action Model, as can be seen in Figure 3. In this cycle the officer decides on what to do next.

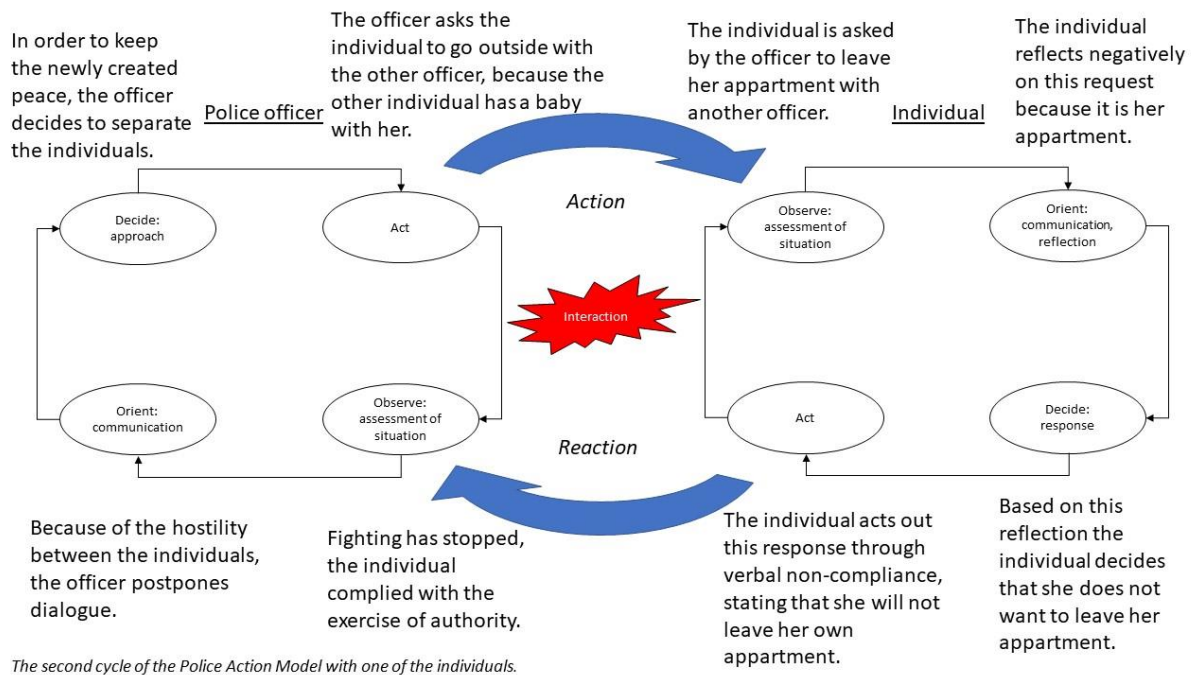


Figure 3.

The next decision taken by the officer in response to the new situation that had arisen was to separate the two females. As can be seen in Figure 3, the officer asked the female who owned the apartment to go outside and talk to the other officer, because the other female had her baby with her inside the apartment. The individual was resistant to going outside to talk to the other officer as it was her house. The individual responded with verbal non-compliance. In response to this non-compliance, the officer once more decided to verbally exercise his authority, which led to compliance. Finally, this led to two different instances of officer-individual interaction based on engagement, which eventually led to the officers being able to solve the situation peacefully.

This example shows how there is a constant exchange of actions and reactions that make up the entirety of the interaction. The officer manages to de-escalate the fight through quick decision making in his own OODA loop and adapting to a changing situation with every decision made. The situation evolves with every cycle through the Police Action Model which consists out of the OODA loops of those involved in the specific interaction, and thus requires constant re-assessment and orientation. Based on this constant process of assessing the evolving situation and communication officers can determine what type of approach is necessary in order to bring the interaction to a good end.

**Example 2:** The officer I was riding with got a call about a domestic disturbance. When we and another officer arrived on the scene, we found the grandmother of the male involved outside, who let us in and pointed us to the basement. There the male and female

who the call was about where in a physical altercation, in which the female was getting beat up by the male. The male was pulled away from the female by the officers in order to stop this fight. The officers deemed it necessary to physically separate the male and the female, and one of the officers and I accompanied the female outside. The female had bruises, a bloodied nose and a deep gash in her left upper arm. The officer I was riding with questioned the male, who was observed to be intoxicated, inside the house. He claimed he was defending himself against the female. The male had no wounds on him. The female, after calming down and receiving medical assistance from EMS, who explained that the gash could only have been created with a sharp object such as a knife, explained her side of the story. The female explained that she and her boyfriend had gotten into an argument, which resulted in him attacking her and beating her up until the police arrived. The father of the female was called to pick her and her children up from the house. The male was resistant to questioning by the officer. When taken outside at his grandmother's request, he became unruly, which led him to be cuffed and sat in the back of the police vehicle in order to keep the peace during the situation. The grandmother expressed that she wanted the male to leave the house, to which he was resistant. The officers found there was a warrant out for his arrest, and decided to take him to jail, where he would be processed and given a court date, in order to remove him from the situation, and guarantee the peaceful departure of the female and her children. This concluded the call.

When looking at the Police action Model, this example starts with an exercise of authority after assessing the situation. All that was needed to arrive at the decision to physically remove the male from the female was the observation of the physical fight in progress. The separation of the two individuals once more led to two different sets of interactions, between the officer and the female, and another officer and the male. When the physical fight was stopped by separating the two individuals, the situation evolved in such a way that engagement through communication was possible, an approach taken by the officers in both interactions.

As can be seen in this example, a constant input from the context of the interaction also evolves the situation. The comments made by EMS and the grandmother wanting the male to leave both influenced the decision making of the officers, and the individuals in return. These actors also have their own OODA loops, but are limited to the outside, or context of the interaction. The grandmother merely expresses a wish for the removal of the male. This concludes her role in the event but influences the course of action taken by the officers in response to non-compliance from the male. This example shows a combination of



engagement and exercises of authority, where two simultaneous interactions combined with influences from the context of the event lead to the male being taken to jail, and the female leaving with her father.

In this situation the officers went through the cycle of deciding and responding several times, because the male showed both compliance to some decisions, and non-compliance to others. In this situation, the exercise of authority was ultimately necessary in order to remove the male from the scene and thus keep the peace. This example shows the complexity of police-community interaction. There are many cycles of the Police Action Model. The officers are constantly assessing the evolving situation, taking into account the influences from the context. Here we see that the decision for the approach was based not only on interaction, but also these outside influences. Many factors are thus considered by officers when deciding what approach to take when dealing with individuals.

In these separate examples we can see that officers use a combination of observation to assess the situation, and communication to orient themselves in this situation, in order to decide on what type of approach to take in order to achieve compliance from the community members that make up the interaction. In these examples we see that Observe and Orient feed into each other. In some cases, communication is not possible before a decision is made, and an exercise of authority is necessary in order to deescalate a situation and facilitate communication and engagement in the new situation that is created. This supports the idea that the Observe and Orient phases feed into each other and together form the starting point of police action. Where in some situations it is necessary to make initial decisions based solely on the assessment of the situation, other situations facilitate communication as well, in order to make an informed decision on what the appropriate approach is in a given situation. While the reaction to non-compliance has already been touched on in the analysis of these examples, the following section will analyse this phenomenon deeper.

### *3.2.2 Adapting to Non-compliance*

Based on the Police Action Model, how do officers adapt to non-compliance from individuals during police action, in order to ensure compliance? Non-compliance exists in many forms, from refusing to cooperate to physical violence towards police. This question aims to study how officers manage to adapt to cases of non-compliance from individuals, in order to ensure compliance from that individual through further interaction. This question contributes to answering the main question as the way officers deal with non-compliance is relevant to assessing whether a COP-based mentality is reflected in the decision making and acting of

police officers. The way officers deal with non-compliance influences the entirety of the interaction, and possible future interactions. The way officers deal with non-compliance may thus have an impact on the relationship between police officers and community members. To answer this question, I will use the Police Action Model to analyse specific examples of non-compliance that I have observed while riding along.

**Example 1:** The first example I will analyse is an example of a resisting of arrest. At the Walmart in Ferguson two males (male 1 and male 2) got into a physical fight after male 2 nearly hit male 1's aunt with his car in the parking lot and told her off when she confronted him about this. The fight moved from the parking lot to the inside of Walmart, where the security guard, an off-duty officer from Calverton Park, tried to stop the fight. Male 1 attacked the officer, who called for aid on his radio.

The officer I was riding with got this call as we were near Walmart at the time. We arrived on the scene with another officer. The two Ferguson officer walked inside to take the man outside and arrest him. When apprehended by the officers the man, who was of imposing stature, resisted his arrest and became violent towards the Ferguson officers as well. The officers managed to push the male against a wall in order to cuff him and de-escalate the situation. The man managed to turn around to face the officers and shoved on of them out of the way violently. The officers stepped back, and used their tasers on the man, incapacitating him for a short moment. This allowed the officer to cuff them man and take him outside. The man was placed in the back of the police vehicle, as other officers who arrived on the scene dealt with male 2

In the back of the police vehicle male 1 calmed down and started talking to the officers that apprehended him. The man apologised for his actions, stating that he was in a blind rage after male 2 almost hit his aunt, and that he never realised he attacked a security guard too. He thanked the officers for using minimal force and asked to be allowed to apologise to the security guard. The male had a one on one conversation with the security guard. The security guard did not personally press charges for assault. The male was taken to jail in order to be booked and released on charges of disorderly conduct, assault on law enforcement and resisting arrest.

When we apply the Police Action Model to this interaction, we can see two stages in the interaction: exercise of authority, and engagement. The officers arrived on the scene, already having decided to exercise their authority and move the man out of the store in order to de-escalate the situation. The man may have interpreted the officers apprehending him as hostility and resisted the officers.

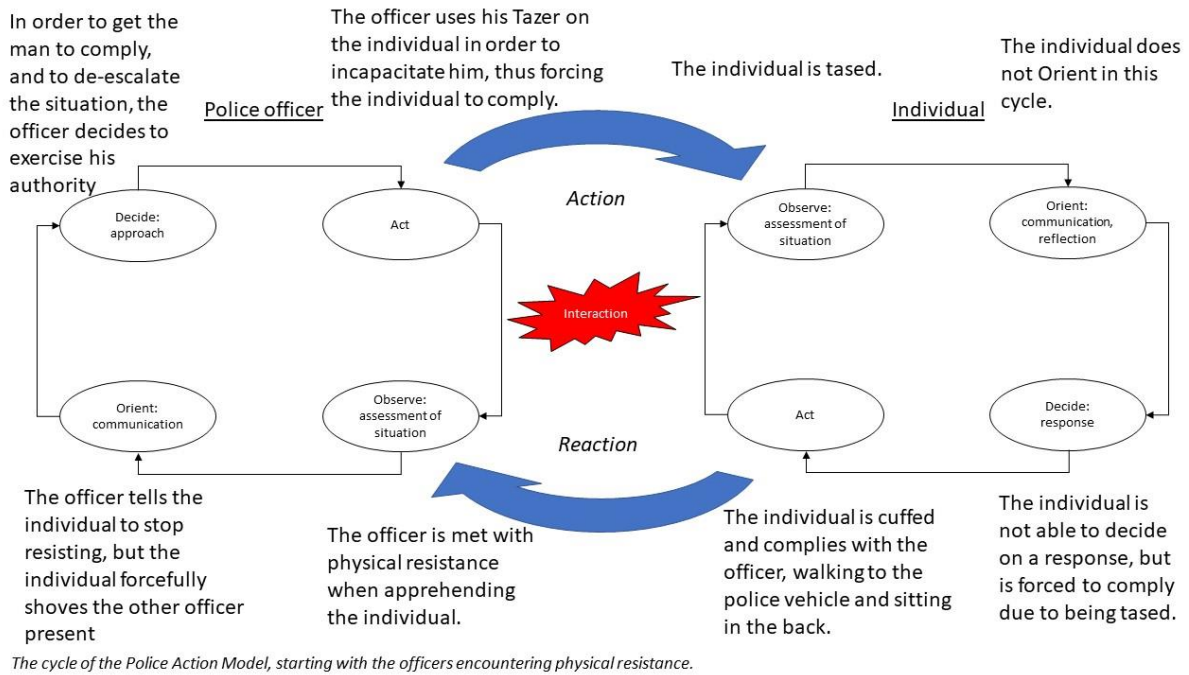


Figure 4.

As can be seen in Figure 4, the officers are met with non-compliance in the form of physical violence towards them. They decided to use force as an exercise of authority and de-escalated the situation using their tasers. The use of force led to a state of forced compliance of the male. This created a new situation in which the male calmed down, and the officers were able to communicate with him.

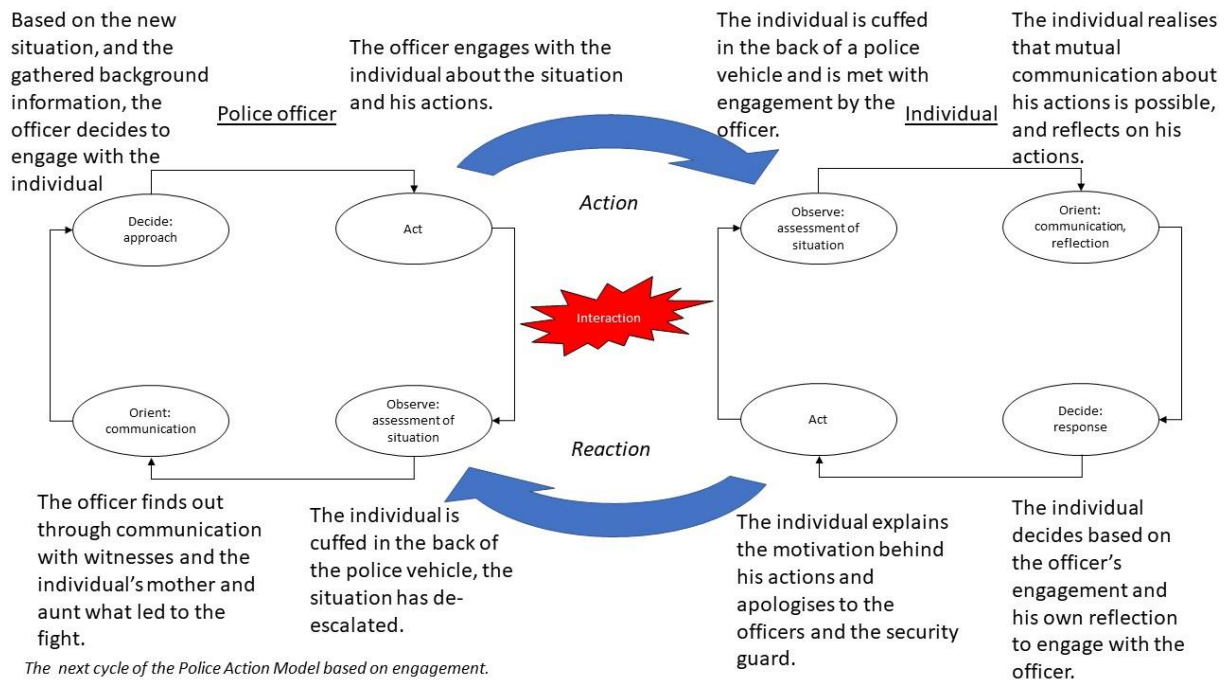


Figure 5.

As can be seen in Figure 5, after the male was cuffed and placed in the back of the

police vehicle, the officers had the opportunity to Orient. the officers were now able to choose an approach of engagement based on the Orient phase. This led to reflection by the man on the situation, his actions and the officers' actions in relation to this. This led to further compliance from him through acceptance that the officers handled him correctly. De-escalation through use of force facilitated engagement through communication, which led to reflection by the male, with compliance as a result.

This interaction required a faster cycling of the OODA loop on the officers' side in order to overcome the physical non-compliance reaction from the individual's side. This is reflected in the Police Action Model in Figure 4, where the officer goes through a cycle of deciding and acting, and the individual is merely forced to comply because of the action taken by the officer. After this, the officers were able to Orient in the situation and choose an approach of engagement with the individual, in which the interaction is mutual. This approach of engagement was based on an equal cycling of the OODA loops on both the officers' and the individual's side in the Police Action Model, which can be seen in Figure 5.

**Example 2:** The second example I will use to illustrate officers' decisions is an example of a domestic disturbance. This example is very different from the first one in nature and outcome but shows a type of dealing with non-compliance that shows the process of decision making.

I was riding with one of the Sergeants on a night shift when we got a call about a domestic disturbance. We arrived at the scene with another officer. A pregnant female had called the police on her boyfriend. The male had returned home late, she had gotten angry and wanted him to leave. He refused to leave because he wanted to take his birth certificate with him, and claimed the female was in possession of this. The female stated she did not have it. The officers attempted to talk to the male, who refused to cooperate and have a conversation about the problem. After getting permission from the female, who was the owner of the house, the officers looked for the birth certificate after the male walked around the house once and said he didn't find it. The officer couldn't find the birth certificate either. When trying to reason with the male, the male seemed to get angrier, and stated his discontent about having the officers talking to him. The female seemed to change her mind about the male having to leave. Realising the situation would escalate if they tried to keep talking to the male, the officers informed the male and female that they were going to leave, but that if they got a second similar call within 24 hours, the male would have to go to jail. The couple acknowledged this, and the officers left the scene. We did not receive any other calls at the address.

This is an interesting example, as the officer's actions did not necessarily turn the male's non-compliance into compliance. Their actions however led to reflection of the female's part, who changed her mind about wanting her boyfriend to leave, which in turn resolved the situation. When applying the Police Action Model, it becomes clear that there are two different interactions happening in this situation, one for the female and one for the male. The officers entered the scene open minded, hearing both stories regardless of who called the police. When attempting an approach of engagement to deal with the man, they were met with verbal non-compliance. The female however responded with compliance to this attempt of engagement, allowing the officers to search the house for the birth certificate. After this first cycle however, the female seemed to have changed her mind, creating a new situation; the male no longer had to leave. While the male was still non-compliant to any attempts of engagement by the officers, he was also no longer required to leave, rendering the presence of the police from this point on unnecessary. Because the male seemed increasingly unhappy with the police presence, but the female seemed content with the male staying and the police leaving, the officers left the scene in order to prevent escalation. The couple did both comply to the warning that the male would be taken to jail if the female called again within 24 hours. The compliance from the male may not have been achieved in the interaction with officers, but the officer's actions of engagement, while being met by non-compliance by the male, led to reflection on the situation on part of the female. This led to a decision on her part to let her boyfriend stay.

Meeting verbal non-compliance with engagement in this situation did not work when it comes to communicating with the male. No decision on the male having to leave had ever been made. The further approach of engagement taken by the officers led to the female changing her mind, and the officers being able to leave the scene in order to prevent escalation on the male's part. In this way the situation was resolved peacefully, with the warning about calling a second time within 24 hours in mind. This shows how the officers adapted to non-compliance by the male by continuing communication with the female and attempting to show their impartiality towards the male by attempting to help him. Reflecting on this led the female to change her mind. The officers' decision making regarding the male's non-compliant attitude thus led to a prevention of escalation.

These two examples illustrate some of the different ways that officers encounter non-compliance during interactions with community members. Non-compliance does not mean that compliance cannot be reached. As seen in the examples, every situation is unique, and every individual reacts to police in their own specific way. Officers' assessment of the

situation, communication and decision making are key in the process of ensuring compliance after being met by non-compliance. When met with physical resistance, exercise of authority through a use of force was necessary in order to de-escalate the situation by forcing the individual to comply. This required the officers to go through their OODA loops faster than the individual resisting them. The officers in the example demonstrated this by going through their individual OODA loops simultaneously and deciding on the exact same action to be taken. This is different from the way the officers cycle through their OODA loops after compliance is forced, and communication is possible. When able to use engagement as an approach, the officers synchronise their OODA loops with the individual, in order to engage the individual through equal communication. These examples show how the Police Action Model uses the OODA loop in order to analyse the decision making of actors, and how this decision making impacts the interaction that these actors have.

### *3.2.3 Summary*

By answering these two sub questions on the decision making of officers during interactions with community members during police action, I have illustrated how the Police Action Model, and thus also the OODA loop, can be applied in the analysis of police action, and contributed to the answering of the main research question that drives this thesis. The analysis of police practices in accordance with the sub questions posed has given results that show a focus on engagement within the Ferguson Police Department and reflect a COP-based mentality in policework. In this chapter I have described and analysed police practices and found a strong focus on engagement and community-oriented policing in these practices. This chapter thus gives a partial answer to the research question. The following chapter will look at police – community interaction specifically.

The FPD officers approach situations in an impartial and unbiased fashion and interact with those involved in an approach that looks to solve the problem, rather than removing the problem through arrest. These qualities will be the focus of the next chapter, in which I will analyse the relational interactions between community members and police officers specifically, guided by sub questions focussing on community-oriented policing and police-community relationships.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: POLICE – COMMUNITY INTERACTIONS**

Chapter Four studies the relational aspect of the research question: ‘how have community policing practices shaped the *relationship* between police and community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests?’ The relational aspect is studied by analysing the way police officers and community members interact and determine what the nature of these interactions is. The first section will contribute to answering the research question by describing in what ways police and community interact with each other, during and outside of policework. The second section contributes to answering the research question by analysing specific interactions.

### **4.1 POLICE – COMMUNITY INTERACTIONS**

This first section of Chapter Four will describe the types and nature of interactions observed between the Ferguson police and community members, by answering the following sub-questions: how does the Ferguson Police Department engage community members in the solving of local crime and disorder problems, and; how do police officers and community members interact outside of police work-related activities? The answers to these questions will show in what ways the FPD interacts with community members, what the nature of this interaction is and how this reflects a COP approach to policework. Furthermore, the answers to these questions will reflect the nature of the relationship between the Ferguson Police Department and community members based on their interactions. Data used in this section comes from participant observation and interviews conducted.

#### *4.1.1 Engaging the Community*

How does the Ferguson Police Department engage community members in the solving of local crime and disorder problems? This question looks at the larger community-oriented policing strategies that are being used by the Ferguson Police Department. Where most questions and analysis have looked at the level of specific calls that officers go on, this question is concerned with the context of these calls. This question contributes to answering the research question by specifically studying engagement by the FPD.

The Ferguson Police Department is active in the attending and organising of community meetings. Supervisors and officers attend specific neighbourhood meetings in their sectors. During these meetings residents can voice the concerns they may have and problems they face in their neighbourhoods. A frequent complaint residents have made, as reported by officers, is that there is a problem with speeding in residential areas. The officers then try and combat these problems by taking the concerns of residents into account during

patrolling and traffic control. Through this engagement with the more active community members officers can get a grip on the concerns of the community members they serve. This allows for more effective policework.

In addition, the command staff of the Ferguson Police Department regularly attends meetings of the Neighbourhood Policing Steering Committee, which is a part of the Consent Decree. In these meetings community members can have discussions on what the community needs from the police department. The command staff in return can discuss with community members what is and is not possible for the police to achieve.

Third, supervisors from the Ferguson Police Department organise a monthly crime statistics meeting. This meeting is open to any Ferguson resident who wishes to attend. During this meeting the supervisor present will go over the crime statistics of the previous month per sector. Clarification can be given about these statistics and those present can ask any questions and voice any concerns they may have.

Fourth, while riding along I have observed a crucial part of the officers' patrols: the business contact. Officers regularly visit the local businesses in their sectors during patrols. The officers leave their vehicles and talk to the owners and employees of the businesses. Most of the time these interactions remain purely social and serve as a means of maintaining a close relationship with the community in Ferguson. Often customers get involved in the conversations, leading to residents getting to know the officers on a more personal level. In my observations it stood out that many of the officers introduce themselves by their first name and insist to be called by their first names. One officer explained this as 'being more than just a uniform'.

Next to the social aspect the contact with local businesses has, it is also useful for engaging the community in the solving of local crime and disorder problems. Occasionally business owners, employees or customers will voice concerns to the officer that enters the business. I observed a clear example of this at a restaurant that is located on one of the main thoroughfares through Ferguson.

**Example:** When stopping at the restaurant during a nightshift the officer I was riding with had a conversation with one of the employees. After several minutes of a purely social conversation, the employee voiced a concern she had about several vehicles that kept returning to the parking lot of the restaurant. She suspected the occupants of these vehicles, who never entered the restaurant, conducted drug deals in the parking lot. Noting these concerns, the officer assured her that she could call the police any time these vehicles showed up, and that he would notify the other squads about this concern, which he did at the end of



the shift. This type of interaction shows community engagement in order to solve local crime and disorder problems. Through familiarity with the officer the employee of the restaurant feels comfortable enough to voice concerns through informal interactions.

Finally, community engagement is also done through the way officers respond to calls. This is best explained through the analysis of observations made while riding along.

**Example:** The officer I was riding with responded to an anonymous call about a domestic disturbance in a specific house. When arriving on the scene with another officer, it turned out that there was only an elderly gentleman living in the house alone; there was no disturbance going on. The officers asked the man if he had heard anything in the houses surrounding him, which he did not. The officers checked the house to the right, whose occupants were not at home. Finally, the officers checked the house to the left, where a middle-aged Hispanic female opened the door. She stated she lived alone but was visibly distressed at the officers' presence. The officer I was riding with asked if everything was okay, to which she responded she had a problem, but through previous experience with a burglary where the police was not able to recover her stolen immigration documents, she was hesitant to call. She stated she was in the process of acquiring citizenship in the United States. The officer engaged with her in order to make her feel comfortable enough to talk about the problem she mentioned. The female seemed to have trouble expressing herself in English at times. The officer, who happened to speak Spanish, switched to Spanish, which visibly put the female at ease. She told her entire story to the officer. She'd had youth cutting through her backyard, dropping items at the far end from her house. Others had come into her backyard and picked up these items. She feared these were drug deals being done in her yard. The officer handed out his personal work-phone number, reassuring her that she could call at any time when this happened. He also notified the other officers of this problem. When we left the female was visibly reassured.

In this example the officers made sure that while the original call turned out to be false, there was no chance that a mistake was made when reporting the address. The officers checked the nearby area, and found an individual in distress, unrelated to the original call. When trying to engage with the individual, the officer in conversation with her used his knowledge of Spanish in order to make her feel more at ease and put her in a position where she could voice her problem as accurate as possible. Giving out the personal work-phone number added to the engagement with the individual, by convincing her that the problem was taken seriously. An example such as this thus shows that officers also engage community members through their decision making and problem solving while responding to calls.

**Example:** While keeping an eye on the perimeter of I crime scene the officer I was riding with and I responded to with many of the other officers, a young man, unrelated to the crime scene, walked up to the officer I was riding with. When he got close to the officer, he greeted him as if they were friends, shook his hands and gave him a hug. They talked for a while and the man moved on. When I asked the officer who that was, he responded he didn't know the man personally, but he had taken him to jail once. The man recognized the officer and, because of the nature of their previous interaction, decided to greet the officer and ask how he was doing. This reflects the way officers engage with individuals during calls. Even though the man had to be taken to jail by the officer, the way the officer engaged with the man led the man to reflect positively on this interaction. This reflects a relationship of approachability and trust between community members and police officers.

The engagement of community members in the solving of local crime and disorder problems is done in many ways. Ranging from the attendance and organising of neighbourhood and crime statistic meetings, to business contacts and the extra effort on calls, the Ferguson Police Department engages community members in a myriad of ways in order to solve local crime and disorder problems, while simultaneously building a relationship of trust with those community members. As seen in the examples, when community members are comfortable around police (and thus trust them) they share the information necessary for keeping the community safe.

#### *4.1.2 Interacting with The Community*

How do police officers and community members interact outside of policework-related activities? A large part of these interactions has already been described in the previous section: when entering businesses around Ferguson, police officers and community members get a chance to interact in a way that is not always directly related to policework. From observation I have found that officers know a good deal of the community members they encounter. While taking a break at a local gas station I have observed one of the older officers greet and make small talk with many of the customers entering the business.

Officers also get approached a lot by community members. Many community members make small talk with officers, ask how the shift is going or thank them for their service and the work they do. Over-all these interactions are very positive, and even I have been approached multiple times as if I was an officer and got thanked for my service. Interactions such as these not only happen at businesses, but they are most frequent there as they almost form small 'social hubs' where the officers are able to interact with community

members more easily.

While riding with the three K-9 officers it became apparent that besides having the dog for policework, it also served a social function. Many community members approach the K-9 officers with the request to pet the dog. Of those that approach the K-9 officers, many are children. While enforcing the speed limit in a residential area, the officer and I were parked on the side of the road and had our windows down. A very large group of children walked past from the primary school behind us. Almost every single one of the children walked up to the car window and asked us how we were doing, how the dog was doing or simply waved at us while walking by.

This type of engagement is also reflected in the vision on community-oriented policing of the current interim police-chief, Frank McCall. In my interview with him he stated that engagement does not have to be an event. Rather, engagement is about being visible, talking to people on patrol, being accessible and approachable, or in other words; being human. (McCall 2019, Interview). While this vision translates to policework as well, the interactions outside of police work are also influential in shaping the relationship between the police and the community in Ferguson.

#### *4.1.3 Summary*

The Ferguson Police Department goes out of its way to engage the community in multiple ways. On the organizational level the FPD engages the community through meetings and committees. On the neighbourhood level, the FPD engages the community through attending neighbourhood meetings and organizing crime statistics meetings. At the individual level, police officers engage community members they encounter in various ways, during and outside of calls. The nature of these interactions, especially on the individual level, are generally positive, and reflect a relationship of approachability and trust between police officers and the community members they interact with.

What can be seen in Ferguson is that officers, while being shorthanded, use businesses as 'social hubs' in order to combine being able to patrol and still interact with community members. Most interactions are positive and seem to reflect a relationship of trust between police officers and community members. Officers try to not only be approachable, but to also approach and engage community members in situations that are not related to policework.

## 4.2 ANALYSING INTERACTIONS

This second section of Chapter Four aims to more specifically describe the nature of interactions between police officers and individuals while responding to different types of calls. The sub-questions this section answers are: how do police officers interact with individuals who require police assistance, and; how do police officers interact with individuals who get police called on them? These sub questions will be answered through the analysis of observations made during ‘ride-along’ patrols. I will use the Police Action Model for this analysis. The answers to these questions aim to describe how officers interact with individuals during different types of calls and determines whether this reflects a COP-based mentality in their approach to policework. Furthermore, the answers to these questions will reflect the nature of the relationship between the FPD and community members based on their interactions.

### *4.2.1 Police Assistance*

How do police officers interact with individuals who require police assistance? The calls officers receive can vary in nature. In some cases, calls are not made because of someone, but involve individuals who require police assistance for many different reasons. This question contributes to answering the research question as it studies a specific type of interaction during police work. This interaction is based on providing assistance and is thus different from interactions that involve the police being called because of an individual breaking the law. In order to answer this question, I will analyse different example that are a representation of many of the calls officers respond to.

**Example:** During a night shift, the officer I was riding with received a call about a female claiming her alarm sensors had been stolen. When we and another officer arrived on the scene, an elderly female opened the door. She showed us around the house, pointing at where the alarm sensors should be. All the alarm sensors were in place, yet the female insisted those were not the ones, and someone must have placed those there. The officers recognized the female from their Crisis Intervention Training, where they are taught how to deal with individuals suffering from mental illnesses. The female had been part of the training of one of the officers. Recognising this, the officer I was riding with asked her who installed the alarm system for her. The female answered that it was her cousin. The officer gave the female his personal work-phone number and told her to call the cousin in the morning, and have the cousin call him. He promised to stop by the house with the cousin to make sure that these alarm sensors that we found on all doors and windows actually were the ones the cousin

installed. She agreed with this and we left the scene.

The approach chosen by the officers from the start after their Observe and Orient phases when arriving at the scene and talking to the female was an approach of engagement. The officers recognized the special need in this situation and worked together with the individual to find a suitable solution to the problem, which would be a meeting with the cousin the day after to reassure her that the alarm sensors were in fact still there, and still working. The sequence of events, when put through the Police Action Model are: (1) the female tells the officers the sensors are stolen; (2) the officers ask her to show where they should be; (3) the female shows the places they should be, which they are; (4) the officers recognise that the special circumstance here is that the female does not believe that the sensors that were in place were in fact her own alarm sensors due to mental illness. Rather than try and convince her themselves, the officers decide to make sure the family member that installed the sensors could explain this to her, while simultaneously giving her a personal reassurance by giving out the phone number; (5) the female is reassured by this and agrees, concluding the core of the interaction.

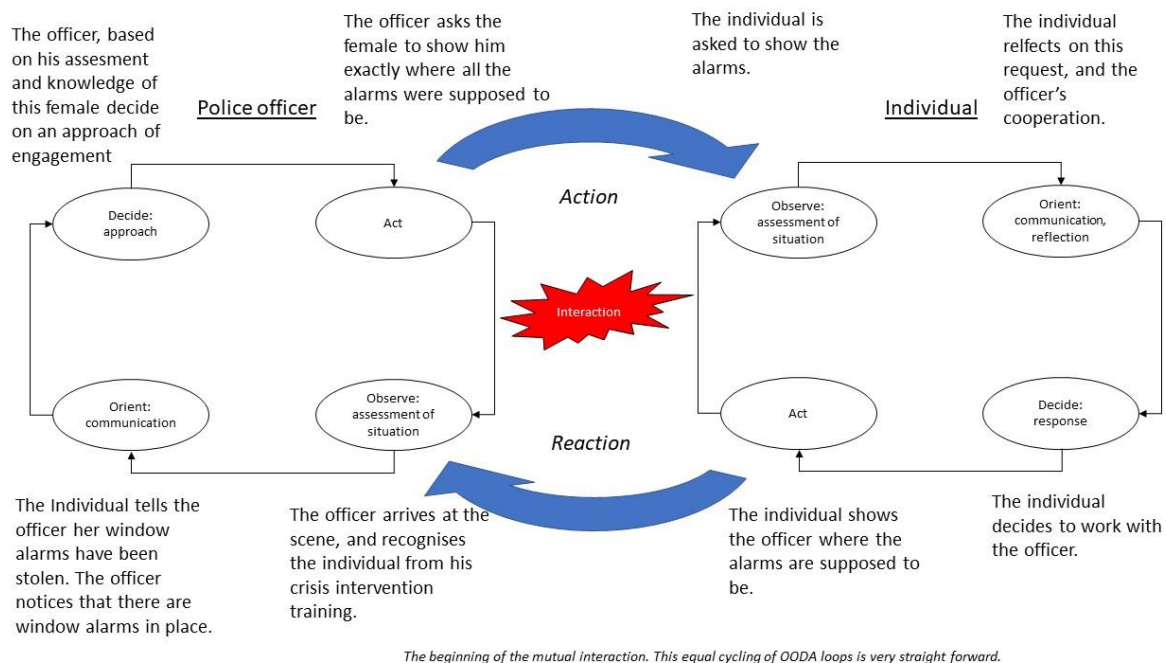


Figure 6.

As can be seen illustrated in Figure 6, in this interaction it becomes clear that in the Police Action Model, both the officers and the individual go through various cycles of their OODA loops. This is done in a ‘synchronized’ manner, where the officers thus communicate and act with the female in such a way that puts them on equal footing in the interaction.

Exercising authority is out of the question in this instance. This interaction is purely built on engagement, and problem solving to the individual's specific needs.

In this interaction the officers show problem solving based on their training. The approach of engagement was successful due to the patience and understanding shown by the officers for the situation and the problem the individual needed police assistance with.

**Example:** The officer I was riding with responded to a call about a female needing police assistance at her ex-boyfriend's house. The female had left the house after a domestic disturbance with police presence the night before and wanted to return to collect her belongings. She called for police assistance in order to keep the peace. When we and another officer arrived on the scene, we found the female agitated, stating that the male would not open the door. The officers had the female contact the landlord in order to get a spare key to get in. Before going in however, the officers found out she was not on the lease of the apartment, so they could not force the male to open the door for her. This angered the female. One of the officers calmed her down by explaining the steps she needed to take through County government in order to get her belongings back. Once she had calmed down and understood what needed to happen, she got in her car and left the scene. The officer stuck around for a little while longer to be safe, and then left.

In this interaction the officers both engaged with the female by trying to find ways to help her, but also made sure to not violate the rights of the male, who was in the apartment. While there was no interaction with the male in this situation, he was respected as an independent actor with the right to not open his door under these circumstances. The interaction was thus confined to communication with the female. By explaining exactly why they could not force the man to open the door, and what steps the female had to undertake in order to get her belongings back, they were able to calm the female down, leading her to leave the scene peacefully.

Once more, when looking at the Police Action Model in this situation, the officers and the individual cycle through their respective OODA loops in such a way to put them on equal footing. The officers are at the scene to engage with the female, and try and find a solution for her problem, within the boundaries of what is legal.

In both the situations presented above the officers managed to solve the problems encountered through engagement. Decision making based on the assessment of the situation and clear communication with the individuals involved lead to these types of situations being resolved successfully.

#### *4.2.2 Interactions During Calls*

How do officers interact with individuals who get police called on them? Often the police get called on an individual by someone else because they either did something to that person, or the person observed that individual breaking laws or city ordinances. These calls can vary in nature from trespassing to assault. This question is relevant to answering the research question, as it takes a more in-depth look at the nature of the interactions between police officers and individuals during calls that require police to confront an individual. This question allows me to determine whether a COP-based mentality is reflected by the officers in these interactions.

Many of the examples in the previous sections have been cases where the police got called on someone. In this section I will go more in depth into the interaction itself by answering this sub question through the analysis of specific observations of calls that represent a part of the types of calls officers respond to.

**Example:** The officer I was riding with responded to a call where a construction worker wanted to report an assault by another construction worker. The caller had stated he had been beaten up with a helmet and was bleeding all over the place. When we arrived on the scene, we found that the construction worker had a small scratch on his chin. He explained he had gotten into an argument with his colleague, who had taken off his helmet and hit him with it. The man wanted to press charges for assault. The officer walked over to talk to the other man, who said he had hit the man with his helmet in self-defence after the man had shoved him after starting an argument. Upon hearing the man wanted to press charges, the colleague wanted to press charges too, if the first construction worker was pressing charges. The officer went back to the first construction worker and told him the story from the other side, and that his colleague was going to press charges too. The officer explained to the man that a minor fight like this might be better solved within the company, rather than taking it court with both men pressing charges for assault. The man agreed to not press charges and have their supervisor report the incident to the company. The colleague also agreed to this upon hearing the first male no longer wanted to press charges. As a solution for the day the first male was moved to a different construction site. The supervisor reported the incident to the company they worked for.

This call was based around an individual wanting to press charges against his colleague. The officer in this situation had two different interactions, one with the male and one with the colleague. The officer assessed the situation based on what he saw and orientated

himself through communication with the male. The male had already decided to press charges. The decision of the officer was to engage with the colleague and in order to get the full picture. Based on the communication with the colleague the officer decided to try and not make this a criminal case, as keeping this argument within the company would be beneficial for both males. Through continued engagement with the two males the officers got them to agree to the aforementioned course of action, which thus resolved the situation peacefully, and satisfied the male's need for police assistance.

When looking at the Police Action Model, we can see that the officer had two different interactions that both influenced each other. The officer interacted with both males separately, engaging with them, but taking developments from one interaction to the other, in order to find the best solution for both males involved in this situation.

During this call we can see that the officer interacted fairly with both males. The officer made sure to hear the full story of the event and based on this full story made his own assessment that it might be beneficial for both males to keep this minor fight within the company. Talking to both individuals involved and giving both individuals an equal voice in this situation resolved the situation without anybody having to be taken to jail.

**Example:** The Sergeant I was riding with responded to a call about domestic assault. When we arrived on the scene with two other officers a male opened the door. The call was made by his mother, who was laying in bed because she recently had her leg amputated. The male, who appeared intoxicated, did not want the officers to go talk to his mother. The male stated that he had been hallucinating and that was what made her call the police. The officers told him to take a seat so they could have a conversation with him about his side of the story. The male refused but finally stepped aside to let one of the officers talk to the mother. The male kept shushing one of the officers as he tried to engage with the male. In the other room another officer talked to the mother, where she stated the male attacked her in bed and threw her wheelchair at her. Her bruises confirmed her story. Based on this and the wish of the mother to press charges the officers decided to arrest the male for domestic assault. The male tried to physically resist, but the officers kept him sitting on his couch while they cuffed him. The male walked to the car in a cooperative manner, but when the officer drove off with him to take the man to jail, he made threats about wanting to kill white police officers when he got out of jail. Besides this threat the situation was resolved peacefully.

What can be seen in the interaction with the male is that attempts made by the officer to engage with the male are met with an uncooperative attitude. While the male only stated his mother was hallucinating, he did not want to communicate with the officers in order to talk



about his side of the story. The male mainly wanted the officers to not talk to his mother, who called the police, and leave. When the officer interacted with the female, heard her story and saw her bruises, the decision to arrest the man was made. In this interaction the officers attempted to engage with the male but were met with resistance.

When looking at the Police Action Model, we can see attempts by the officers to engage with the male, in order to properly figure out what happened. When this kept being met with non-cooperation and eventually resistance after finding out what happened from the mother, the officers had to switch to an exercise of authority by arresting the male for domestic assault.

In these examples we can see that even during calls that require confronting individuals, the FPD officers reflect a COP-based mentality in their actions, by trying to find ways to engage with individuals rather than resorting to exercises of authority. The officers show that engagement makes up the core of their police work, and that exercises of authority are only a last resort, or when absolutely necessary when dealing with felonies.

#### *4.2.3 Summary*

In this chapter I have studied the interactions between police officers and community members. By describing the ways in which police engages with community in general, and how officers engage with community members in situations not related to policework I created a clear image of community engagement by the Ferguson Police Department. There are many facets to engaging with community members. In this chapter I have demonstrated how officers interact with community members during and outside of policework, and how officers interact with community members while answering different types of calls. Once again, I have found that the officers approach situations in an impartial and unbiased fashion and interact with those involved in an approach that looks to solve the problem, rather than removing the problem through arrest. Officers engage where possible and exercise their authority when necessary. While these interactions have also been a part of the previous chapter, this chapter focussed more on the actual nature of the interactions between police officers and community members. In the next chapter I will use the findings in order to answer the main research question. In addition, I will once more stress the relevance of the Police Action Model, which had its usefulness demonstrated throughout this paper. Finally, I will make recommendations for the application of the model and for further research.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This final chapter consists out of conclusions and recommendations. In this chapter I will formulate my answer to the main research question that drives this thesis based on the accumulation of answers to the sub questions in the previous chapters. Furthermore, I will make recommendations for future research, the use of the Police Action Model and the Ferguson Police Department.

### **5.1 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTION**

How have community policing practices shaped the relationship between police and community in Ferguson since the 2014 unrests? In the past chapters I have analysed findings in order to answer the sub-questions that, in turn, together form the answer to this research question. Chapter three looked at the *practices* element of this question, while Chapter four studied the *relational* aspect by studying the nature of interactions. Together, these two elements form the building blocks to answer the research question.

In these chapters the data collected as a ‘ride-along’ with the Ferguson Police Department has been analysed using the Police Action Model. This model has formed the core of this thesis. In order to formulate an answer to the research question, I will summarize the findings of Chapters Three and Four, and then present my conclusion based on these findings.

#### *5.1.1. Police Practices in Ferguson*

The Ferguson Police Department deals with a wide variety of crimes and other calls on a monthly and daily basis. By describing police practices in section 3.1 I have put crime statistics into perspective with the daily reality of policing. This has been done in order to illustrate the context in which the observations must be seen in order to be properly analysed. This has shown how the crime statics alone do not fully represent the body of calls that the officers deal with on a daily basis. Rather, the combination of the crime statistics and a description of frequent calls create a clear image of what officers deal with on a daily and monthly basis. The following section then analysed examples of these interactions in order to see how officers decide what approach is necessary in any given situation, and how officers deal with different forms of non-compliance. These questions contributed to answering the research question by critically looking at police practices, through which I determined that a COP-based mentality was reflected by the actions taken by officers when dealing with these specific circumstances.

The main finding of Chapter Three was that officers constantly base their decision not only on their assessment of the situation through observation, but also on their communication with the individuals encountered on calls. The officers approach situations in an impartial and unbiased fashion and interact with those involved in an approach that looks to solve the problem, rather than removing the problem through arrest. Officers engage where possible and exercise their authority when absolutely necessary. The officers' focus on engagement, even in situations where force is used, reflects a strong focus on community-oriented policing in the department. Police practices of the Ferguson Police Department thus seem to reflect a strong COP-based mentality.

### *5.1.2 Police- Community Interactions*

Chapter Four looked at the *relational* aspect of the research question by studying the nature of the interactions between police officers and community members. In section 4.1 I have described the types and nature of the interactions between the Ferguson Police Department and the community, during and outside of policework. In section 4.2 I have analysed specific types of interactions based on the nature of calls.

The findings show that the Ferguson Police Department engages community members in many different ways, on many different levels. The engagement of the community by the police ranges from attending the various meetings and committees in Ferguson to the engagement on the personal level by specific officers during their shifts. The officers' aforementioned focus on engagement once more reflects the community-oriented policing strategy of the department. The nature of the interactions between community members and police officers outside of policework indicate an element of trust and mutual approachability. Community members often approach police officers to convey their appreciation.

Over-all, interactions between police officers and community members were observed to be positive. When on calls the officers' preferred approach to take during interactions is an approach of engagement. In many situations, even when force is used, engagement leads to a positive interaction between the police officer and the community member that is being interacted with. This then has a positive effect on the further relationship between the police and that community member, which in turn may positively affect the relationship between the police and the community as a whole.

The different ways in which the police officers and community members in Ferguson interact with each other thus reflects a positive relationship, which seems to be built on a regained trust, and renewed mutual approachability.

### *5.1.3 Conclusion*

Through analysis using the proposed Police Action Model, and the describing of interactions reflect a strong focus on community-oriented policing in the Ferguson Police Department. The positive nature of the interactions between police officers and community members during and outside of calls seems to be based on the mutual approachability between officers and community members, communication and trust. This bond between the police and the community indicates that community policing practices have shaped the relationship between police and community in a positive way, creating a relationship of trust and appreciation through mutual approachability and communication.

In 2015 The DOJ report talked about broken trust and animosity between the Ferguson Police Department and the community it serves. Based on my findings while riding with the Ferguson Police Department from March 2019 until the end of May 2019, I conclude that community policing practices seem to have rebuilt that trust and created a more positive relationship between officers and community members. Even though the Ferguson Police Department deals with personnel and funding shortages, community-oriented policing ideals are still reflected in the work the Ferguson Police Department does.

These findings seem to suggest that community-oriented policing may in fact work where it is needed the most, when it is implemented properly. While Ferguson still has a way to go, and increased funding may improve the community policing capabilities of the Ferguson Police Department, Ferguson is an example of a sub-urban town in which community policing practices seem to have positively affected the relationship between police officers and community members.

## **5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS**

In this final section I will make recommendations for future research, the use of the Police Action Model and lastly the Ferguson Police Department. This section will conclude this thesis and is meant to stress the usefulness of the data presented.

### *5.2.1 Future Research*

The current academic debate regarding community-oriented policing is critical about the adopting, effectiveness and success of community-oriented policing. The idea exists that only large police organizations can properly implement COP, because smaller organisations lack the resources to do so. COP is regarded to be most effective where it is needed the least.

This thesis has used the case study of Ferguson in order to study how community

policing practices shape the relationship between police and community. In this thesis I have show that Ferguson is one of the places where community-oriented policing is needed the most. The findings of this thesis have shown that, while the Ferguson Police Department is a small police organisation and may not have as many resources as the larger organisation talked about in the debate, community policing practices seem to have had a positive impact on the relationship between police and community. This qualitative study thus puts into question the general ideas found in the academic debate.

My recommendation for future research is an increased focus on these areas that are deemed to need COP the most. Qualitative studies into how COP is implemented in these areas and why it does or does not work may contribute to the academic debate by raising more specific questions regarding community-oriented policing, which may in turn aid the adoption of the approach by police organisations, both large and small.

### *5.2.2 The Police Action Model*

I proposed the Police Action Model in the analytical framework of this paper in order to be able to properly analyse every aspect of interactions between police officers and community members. By incorporating Boyd's OODA loop model into a larger model that includes both the officers' loops and the individuals' loops, this model is versatile enough to be applied to any situation police deal with. This model is designed to not only be used in future research, but to be used as a tool by police departments to be able to analyse interactions and review the decisions and actions of specific officers during interactions with community members. With the use of the Police Action Model supervisors and officers may be able to reflect exactly on what went wrong, or what went *right* during an interaction, when looking at the outcome of that specific interaction. This model may be an important tool for the training of officers, as it can make one more aware of the way they interpret specific responses from community members they interact with, on which they base their follow-up decision. Finally, the Police Action Model can be used on a larger scale in order to develop more effective approaches for specific situation. Through large scale application of this model to police community interactions patterns may be found that can then be used to develop specific approaches for specific situations.

This thesis is limited in its scope, but through the application of the Police Action Model in the analysis of the examples used I have shown the validity and usefulness of the model.

### *5.2.3. The Ferguson Police Department*

The main recommendation I can make for the Ferguson Police Department itself is to keep engaging the community when possible and evaluate and reflect on engagement with and among the officers. I observed officers do their very best to engage community members outside of policework, on the street and in and around the local businesses in Ferguson. 'Being human' is already present in the behaviour and attitudes of the Ferguson officers. Many of the officers do go beyond their uniform and engage with the community.

It is important to evaluate on the interactions during and outside of calls. By using the Police Action Model while evaluating their interactions with community members, officers might be able to more accurately determine what the specific needs are for the neighbourhoods they patrol. Every officer knows their sector well as it is, it is key for engagement to keep evaluating, reflecting and improving on the interactions in those sectors. Community-oriented policing is far from a one-size-fits-all policing strategy, and it is up to the individual officer to figure out what the appropriate approach is for a specific sector, neighbourhood or resident.

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## APPENDIX



CITY OF FERGUSON

MISSOURI 63135



To Whom It May Concern,

Over the past three months, Pascal Jacobs road along with several Ferguson patrol officers. He logged over 190 hours with the Ferguson Police Department, experiencing a vast array of calls. Pascal observed everything from motorist assists to shootings and sudden deaths. This time with the department provided him with the opportunity to gain a clear, strong understanding of our agency, the Ferguson community, and the services that we provide.

Pascal was a pleasure to have as a ride-along. I thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity to work alongside such a responsible, inquisitive young man. He consistently maintained a professional demeanor and represented himself, as well as the Ferguson Police Department in a positive, respectful manner. Furthermore, he presented himself in the same manner while interacting with the public, whether on a call with an officer or self-initiated contact.

Pascal displayed a steadfast devotion to gathering a fair and accurate representation of the Ferguson Police Department and the officers within. It was an honor to have Pascal as part of our squad and wish him well with his future endeavors.

Respectfully,

*Sgt. Todd R. Mink #486*

**Sgt. Todd R. Mink #486**

**Ferguson Police Department**

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