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This is a subject area that is not easily or directly approached, for the state of the knowledge rests primarily upon educated guesses, intuitive hunches and intellectual speculation. Little hard empirical data is available. We are still trying to determine how many police departments we have, let alone understand them. The most extensive survey of the criminal justice system ever attempted in this country concluded in 1967 that we had more than 40,000 departments (President's Commission, 1967). Using more sophisticated sampling techniques, L.E.A.A. reported in 1970 that the number was closer to 14,900; by 1975, however, varying its sampled population led to the conclusion that the number more nearly approximates 18,500. (Criminal Justice Agencies, 1975). Understanding some of the difficulty in trying to grasp for facts about the police can be better appreciated when you consider that inspite of a considerable expenditure of dollars and the utilization of sophisticated research methods and computer technology, we can only at best approximate the number of civilian governmental agencies given the authority and power to take human life.

Police literature, excepting the cops and robbers genre from Sherlock Holmes to Kojack, has only recently begun to flood the academic and popular market places. With few notable exceptions (Bordua, 1967, LeFave, 1965, Skolnick, 1967, Bittner, 1972, Banton, 1964) a good deal of this literature seems to be intended for those in "police science" programs, undergraduate sociology courses or for the general public.

While the social work literature is of an older vintage and more expansive, it too appears to be suffering from a paucity of original ideals, meaningful insights or empirical data allowing for generalization and for guidance of action programs. Again, of course, with a few notable exceptions.

There is the beginning of a social work-police literature dealing with cooperative efforts. (Chwast, 1954, 1965, Finney, 1972, Michaels, 1973, Treger, 1975). However, this literature itself describes programs either limited in scope and duration or based upon untested hypotheses and interlaced with unwarranted conclusions. A most important ingredient is missing – whether or not the programs

were of sufficient value to be repeated elsewhere – do they work?
For instance, Treger reports "How effective is the program? Since
the original research design for the project did not provide for
control or comparison groups, this is a difficult question to
answer in a scientifically conclusive way." (Treger, 1975).

Implementation is costly in human and financial resources and
a leap of faith is needed for positively evaluating the efforts.
Given all of this, there is still a need to proceed; for colla-
boration efforts are surfacing – between both undergraduate social
work programs and graduate schools of social work, and the police.
Further and perhaps more importantly, the police are talking and,
in a number of areas, purposefully re-directing organizational
efforts to once again include service to individuals as an accept-
able part of their total efforts.

This is so amidst heightened interest and tension concerning
crime, crime rates and criminals. More nearly, what shall our
societal responses be to these problems – usually as perceived
and defined by the Law and Order School? It would appear to be
difficult to speak of law enforcement and the reduction of crime
on the streets when we now know that one branch of the national
government has, in fact, dealt as a co-equal with members of the
major criminal class. The President, praised for his honesty
and integrity, somehow has managed to bridge this chasm, I suspect,
with equanimity. The cliche-ridden proposals and programs of the
present federal administration, differ little from those of its
predecessor.

To approach our subject it will first be necessary to sketch
the historical development of the role and function of the police
in American society. This development, looked at over a period
of time, will be seen to be circular. That is, police appear to
be again formally recognizing and, even if somewhat hesitantly,
accepting responsibilities imposed upon them for the very first
time.

Historical Perspective

The history of the development of police service in the United
States, closely following the earlier established British model,
goes from the "night-watcher" to the "thief-catcher" and on to the
"peace-maker." The formalization of the police function can be
correlated with the growing immigrant population on the east coast
of America. (Lane, 1967).

The night-watch of colonial and post-Revolutionary War days was primarily concerned with providing a warning system for fires and natural disasters. Watchers were unpaid, untrained, and basically unorganized. They had no responsibility for the prevention or crime or the apprehension of suspected criminals. The individual, aggrieved citizen remained responsible for solving crimes perpetrated against his person or property.

The organization of the London Police Force in 1829 led to similar departments being established in the United States, first in Boston and New York. Bittner points out that from the very first the London police were charged with a confusing array of responsibilities and duties, "...the locus and mandate of the police in the modern policy were ill-defined at the outset." (Bittner, 1967).

This last stated condition is what primarily interests us here rather than the developments over time in size, technology and efficiency. That time and changing conditions have led to a highly organized, bureaucratic social instrumentality utilizing the most advanced technology is, of course, of interest; but it is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that today most police emphasize their crime fighting as primary; peace-keeping is generally viewed as a secondary one. The service role is viewed as an intrusion upon the more basic responsibility of the departments; (Smith, 1960) but, as we shall see below, with the new wave of urban "immigrants", communities affected have again turned to their police departments to perform a wide range of service functions. This change is historically rooted.

Theodore Parker's call for the Boston police to be "moral missionaries" was, for its time, not startling considering the very nature of the activities they were already engaged in during the eighteen hundreds.

During the mid eighteen hundreds the Boston Police Department's budget included monies to cover medical treatment for those injured in accidents or for victims of sudden illness. Further, the police were authorized to make actual cash disbursements for those in direct need and to hire special officers to provide counseling to suspected delinquents and their families. Truancy was a major concern of the entire department, for the school's potential for the socialization of the newly arrived Irish immigrants was early recognized. Additional functions of the Department included distributing wood, providing overnight lodgings, and acting as agents for the overseers of the poor. "Misery bread crime and soup helped to prevent it. No agency was better equipped to serve it than the police...the police were naturally sympathetic and trusted by those on their beats." (Lane, 1967)

> The police department was in fact what it was designed
> to be, simply a useful tool of government. So long as
> government itself was still regarded as a tool of the
> people, the citizens remained confident of their abi-
> lity to use both as desired. (Lane, 1967)

Many forces in society can be looked to in accounting for the
changing perceptions regarding the role of the police. First, the
factor of size, the sheer numbers of the immigrant population and
the growth of the cities. The mass migrations to America during
the late eighteen hundreds and early nineteen hundreds made urgent
the development of more highly organized and formal provision of
service. The police were diverted to the perceived challenges of
rising crime rates and local disorders. Second, the coming of the
"lady bountifuls" and the organizing of charity services harkened
back to Parker's early notion that aid to the poor was a moral under-
taking and that giving direct aid was only secondary to providing
for the moral uplift of the poor. Aid was to be selective and, as
far as possible, limited to the "worthy" poor. Third, the growing
industrialization of the nation and the early labor turmoil separat-
ed the police from the working class as the former became designat-
ed as the agents of the mecantile and manufacturing classes.(Taff
and Ross, 1969). The police were no longer seen as "sympathetic
and trusted."

Fourth, the police, the coercive and regulatory arm of the
political jurisdiction, became one of the major instrumentalities
in the struggle for particular partisan control and individual
gain. Writing in the early nineteen thirties, Smith concluded:

> Police administration has become almost synonymous with
> partisan control and political corruption. Although
> these influences are not universally exercised nor
> uniform in their effect, they have succeeded in giving
> our police departments a sinister tinge which has nar-
> rowly restricted the possibility for co-operation
> between the police and the public. (Smith, 1933)

The fifth major factor can, perhaps, best be understood in
systemic terms. To more adequately meet the demands of society
and to more satisfactorily fulfill their own bureaucratic needs,
departments sought, and society generally supported their growing
claims, to limit their goals to more manageable dimensions, to
govern their internal organizations, to control entrance to posi-
tions, and to regularize the behavior of occupants of those posi-
tions. Further, means more-and-more became the primary and fre-
quently the sole concern of the "authorities" and the rightful

provence of the experts. This has been further heightened in our day by the drive to professionalize the police.

Thus, an originally informal organization of limited power and authority has grown to large bureaucratic dimensions. An organization conceived of as a "tool", malleable to meet the needs of society has grown to beome self-perpetuating and self-defining. An organization charged to meet some of the needs of newly arrived Europeans has become defined as "enemy" to significant segments of the more recently arrived urban residents.

Speaking for the social workers of his day Devine called upon the police to recognize that "they will need to be human, to realize that their job is, not to make a record in arrests, but to make a record in rescues..." He spoke of the need for "social police." (1911)

From the very first then, police have recognized the potential of direct social welfare service to the individual so that organizational goals and order-maintenance imperatives could more effectively be met. This role continued on through to the present day but with increasingly less official acceptance by departments as they publicly re-defined their major goals; until, that is, the series of riots of the sixties and the report of the Presidential Commission.

Since the publication of that report with its call for major police neighborhood efforts through Community Service Officers, intra-departmental programs have proliferated coming full circle, with L.E.A.A. and Police Foundation funds pushing the establishment of team (Neighborhood) policing. (1972, 1973)

The concept is the oldest one in law enforcement: acceptable levels of social control can be most effectively maintained by knowing the area, knowing its residents, and establishing a large number of citizen-police inter-dependencies. Thus, hopefully, police become vital to the neighborhood's daily workings and are perceived as an integral part of the neighborhood rather than repressive and alienated.

Most of these programs are police programs with some attempts to secure consultation from those in the mental health and education fields. All offer help - help with the myriad of the daily problems of living - on a twenty four hour a day, seven day a week basis.

This phenomenon is not unique to America, French police are running summer camps for children while Dutch and Scandinavian police offer help in almost every area of daily life. "As a

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matter of fact a poll of Swedish police recruits...showed that
social work was their favorite alternative profession."(Berkley,
1968)

> ...whatever professional police leadership may have
> said, the patrolman on the beat knew that his job
> was not primarily law-enforcement...But lacking
> support in the performance of these (service) duties,
> he came also to believe that his job 'wasn't real
> police work' and accordingly that it was peripheral,
> if not demeaning. (Wilson, 1969)

More Recent Trends

"Officer Friendly" is apparently on the way to becoming your
neighborhood social service enforcement officer.

Newer programs of direct involvement with social welfare
agencies and schools of social work may, however, alter and
considerably modify this trend. Three such programs in Chicago,
Riverside, California and Connecticut exhibit similar character-
istics and inter-organizational relationships. In each, police
secure decision-making powers at key junctures - at the point of
initial citizen-police contact and at the point of final disposi-
tion. Each appears to equate police contact with non-legal behavior
stemming from individual non-adaptive behavior. Each, therefore,
sees a priority need for correction. Little credence seems to
be given to a basic tenet of American jurisprudence; that a person
is innocent until proven guilty and, therefore, free from the need
for co-operative or submissive behavior.

They do apparently provide a range of immediate and referral
services to those experiencing distress when and if they are once
referred by the police. And, also, they do hold hope for provid-
ing the police with a viable alternative to the arrest-or-ignore
procedure; and alternative that can be structured, rationalized
and, through positive experience, more extensively utilized.

Police carry "caseloads." They are probably involved in
more marital and family crises, with more troubled youth and
addicted persons, in more neighborhood problems and housing
conflicts than all of our social service agencies.

These three programs attempt to routinize and formalize, under
social work auspices, how these referred individuals and situations
will be dealt with. This can be a most positive rechannelling of
community resources and reshaping of human relationships. It also

will present a considerable number of problems that need attention and clarification before we proceed much further. Some of the major problems stem from the following:

1. LeFave (1965) has demonstrated that police take action against individuals for many reasons beyond suspicion of guilt.

2. Police exercise considerable discretion as to which laws they will enforce at any given time against whom. Much police action is idiosyncratic or results from a pattern- ed informal system.

3. Police tend to seek an ordered and orderly community, defined in terms of dominant, espoused middle-class values. Therefore, the greatest perceived danger does not necessarily come from those violating laws but rather from those overtly challenging the moral standards. From this point of view, for example, most white collar crimin- als are "safe" criminals.

4. There is considerable evidence that racial bias is still a major factor guiding too much of police action.

These four are but a partial listing of major concerns that must be dealt with realistically and quickly, for all raise questions about the clients referred and the true nature of the presenting problems.

Conclusions

Police now spend the majority of their time providing social welfare services. They are major agents in the delivery system when it is broadly conceived. Estimates lead us to believe that anywhere from 75 to 90 percent of their efforts are given over to dealing in non-or at best, near-criminal behavior. (Cumming, 1965, Niderhoffer, 1967, Bittner, 1972). They do much, and not infre- quently with the interest of the citizen as their major concern, to resolve conflict and accommodate human needs, especially among the poor.

Can we together then, social workers and police, clarify and strengthen the diagnostic, assessment and refferal processes? Can we standardize and routinize - legitimize reactive behaviors? Perhaps, but we need to be aware that the cost of such cooperation could be too high: loss of individual freedom, greater long-term involvement with the criminal justice system.

The bright New World might too nearly resemble the Orwellian world of the future. Police teamed with social workers and other mental health professionals might well fit "a frightening description of a 'Brave New World' ruled by professional Wienderkinder pulling 'antisocial' or 'disturbed' people off the street for, of course, their benefit and that of society's", (Silver, 1967)

Shall we proceed? The answer is clearly yes; for we are already proceeding. The question then is not whether to, but how to develop appropriate police-social worker welfare services delivery systems.

Since the President had pledged considerable funding for L.E.A.A. it is imperative that together with local and state police departments we seek allocations for extensive experimentation. A variety of organizational forms and procedures need to be tested. It is our responsibility as academicians to insure that appropriate research components be built into every grant request and that the research be vigorously carried out. Thus, we may well begin to develop a model that can be widely utilized.

The problem of crime in the streets is a major one in the United States. It is entirely appropriate that police-social work cooperation be allowed to contribute to its amelioration.

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