

**A FUTURE MODEL FOR DELIVERY
OF POLICE SERVICES
IN AN URBAN COUNTY BY THE YEAR 2002**

JOURNAL ARTICLE

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This Command College Independent Study Project is a FUTURES study of a particular emerging issue in law enforcement. Its purpose is NOT to predict the future, but rather to project a number of possible scenarios for strategic planning consideration.

Defining the future differs from analyzing the past because the future has not yet happened. In this project, useful alternatives have been formulated systematically so that the planner can respond to a range of possible future environments.

Managing the future means influencing the future--creating it, constraining it, adapting to it. A futures study points the way.

The views and conclusions expressed in the Command College project are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST).

INTRODUCTION

Law enforcement is one of the most expensive functions undertaken by county and municipal governments. The need to examine the cost effectiveness of law enforcement delivery systems is driven by the current crisis in public finance. Costs are increasing at the same time funding is being reduced. Law enforcement costs for the cities in the State of California reached nearly four billion dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1991.¹ In Marin County the 91-92 budgets for law enforcement in the eleven cities range from a low of approximately \$503,000 for the City of Belvedere to a high of approximately \$7,850,000 for the City of San Rafael. On average, the cities spend approximately thirty percent of their budgets on law enforcement services.

In 1978, California voters approved Proposition 13, a property tax slashing initiative which would, in future years, force local governments to make cutbacks in spending. Proposition 13 also transferred power to distribute property taxes from local governments to the State. Since that time, other spending and taxing limitations have been approved by the voters. The "Gann Initiative" which went into effect in July, 1980, placed greater restrictions on government spending. This initiative, also approved by the voters, limits government spending by placing a cap on public budgets based on actual appropriations in the base year 1978/79, and then adjusted annually for changes in the Consumer Price Index and population.

In many areas, the effects of Proposition 13 were not felt immediately. However, as the years went by, revenues throughout the state continued to decrease. Eventually the effects caused severe budget deficits in many areas within the state.

In 1992, the effects of a nationwide recession began to cause serious financial problems for the state of California and its counties, cities and towns. Over 80% of the State budget comes from sales and income taxes. The recession hit California hard with an estimated loss of 800,000 jobs and an unemployment rate of 9.8%.² The unemployment rate in California reached ten percent by early 1993. The overall revenue for the state's general fund fell between two and three percent in 1992. According to a group of City Managers and Administrators, the revenue shortfall for 1993 will be in the six to eight percent range and will have a devastating effect on state and local budgets. Reductions in service levels and lay offs are expected at all levels of government including public safety.

Furthermore, the effects of the recession are not expected to dissipate quickly. The most optimistic predictions suggest that the first signs of recovery will not appear until late 1994 or early 1995. Some government officials predict that financial recovery will not take place until the year 1998 and even then the recovery will not be complete.

The State, to reduce its budget short fall, has diverted funding from local governments each of the last 3 years. In the 1993-1994 budget the State is proposing to divert \$2.6 billion from the cities, counties and special districts. The end result has been that the level of funding is not proportional to increasing costs. State and local governments are finding it difficult to maintain the public's minimum service level expectations. Many cities have already taken drastic steps to reduce expenditures, including layoffs in public safety services. If the revenues continue to fall at the rates predicted, major reductions in the number of law enforcement personnel may occur all over the state.

Many small police departments (fewer than twenty five officers) are currently in serious jeopardy. They may disband altogether with the cities contracting for law enforcement services or the police departments will be forced to reduce personnel and service levels. In order to provide adequate, cost effective law enforcement, government may need to change the manner in which this service is provided to the public.

The issue of police consolidation has been discussed for many years. As far back as 1953, noted author Bruce Smith stated, "The consolidation of small police departments has long been recommended as a national policy to advance professionalism, improve the quality of local service delivery, and take advantage of economies of scale."³ In 1967, the President's Crime Commission recommended that

metropolitan areas and counties should pool or consolidate services.⁴

In 1973, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals went further, suggesting that police departments with less than ten full time officers be eliminated.⁵ In 1975, Michigan's Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice recommended that the minimum size of a police department should be twenty officers.⁶

In his book "Police Administration," O.W. Wilson cited several reasons for the consolidation of small police departments. "The existence of thousands of understaffed, ill-trained, and poorly equipped small police forces is a continuing major deficiency in police service in the United States. Some of the reasons for the collective deficiency of many smaller agencies can be identified. Foremost among them are problems relating to personnel quality, training and standards."⁷ Wilson also said "Some of the other conditions which prompt the need for consolidation are not related to size. There is often considerable duplication of effort because of the division of a natural region into artificial political areas."⁸

In California, some counties use a consolidated or regionalized model for the delivery of law enforcement services, while other counties have individual police departments for each municipality. In using Marin County as an example, there are ten police departments and a county sheriff's department. The size of the various departments

and their resources vary widely. The largest agency in the county, the sheriff's department, has an authorized strength of one hundred eighty sworn deputies. One of the larger police departments has seventy three sworn officers while the smallest department is staffed by only seven sworn officers.

For the past ten years there has been much discussion within Marin County about the possibility of consolidating law enforcement services. Complaints have been made by citizen groups alleging a waste of taxpayer dollars for fragmented law enforcement services, and the Marin County Civil Grand Jury has studied the issue on two separate occasions, in 1989 and 1990.⁹ The 1989 report concluded: "We found that nearly all departments are experiencing a crisis in recruiting and retaining entry-level and experienced personnel, that police officers generally do not live in the county and off-duty officers are not easily available in emergencies, that the departments work very closely in an informal network of resource sharing and cooperation, that the present structure of many small departments reflects a perceived political preference of citizens to control their own forces but it is neither practical nor prudent to maintain this system today, and that there are opportunities to improve services and/or reduce costs in the short-term through consolidation of functions and in the long-term through unified regional law enforcement in Marin."

In November 1992 the League of Women Voters embarked on a major study about the financing of local government in Marin County. The primary purpose of its study is to determine whether there are more effective ways to finance the services provided by special districts, cities, towns and county governments. The League believes that it is imperative that local agencies in the county begin to consider options for reducing costs and improving efficiency. Although the study is still in progress, preliminary findings indicate that the final report will recommend consolidation of many of the one hundred three units of local government currently providing public services.¹⁰

Issue Identification

A review of current literature in light of social, technological, environmental, economic and political considerations was conducted. Interviews with key law enforcement officials, political representative and municipal administrative personnel were completed. The following general emerging law enforcement issue was developed for study:

Will individual cities within an urban county be able to afford their own police departments by the year 2002?

This issue is important for several reasons. Our entire country is feeling the effects of an economic recession that has caused serious financial impacts at the state and local government levels. Layoffs and budget cut backs are common place occurrences in many government agencies. Even if the

economy improves it will take years for governments to recover.

Community values and expectations are changing rapidly. Members of the public are paying much closer attention to government in general, and more particularly to law enforcement, which tends to be the most visible branch of government. A high level of distrust in law enforcement and the judicial system resulted from the Rodney King incident in Los Angeles. With the King incident and the recession in mind, the public is questioning the ability of law enforcement to operate in a fair, impartial and cost effective manner.

Selection of Sub-Issues

After identification of the Issue Question, a list of sub-issues was developed that could potentially impact the study of the Issue Question. For purposes of this study, the three most relevant sub-issues were selected.

Sub-issues:

1. What model will provide the most cost effective delivery of law enforcement services?

Economic conditions will eventually force local governments to take a careful look at the way law enforcement services are delivered. Some changes may be needed to ensure that the public gets the greatest possible return for their tax dollar.

2. What model will be the most politically acceptable?

The second sub-issue may be the most volatile area to be

considered. The political issues surrounding local control of law enforcement have deep historical roots. Past attempts at consolidation have demonstrated that the public wants local control over law enforcement. In many cases, the public has shown that it is willing to pay higher costs involved in order to maintain local control.

3. What model will provide the highest employee retention level?

The third issue involves a critical problem in law enforcement for the present and the future. The ability of a law enforcement agency to attract and retain quality employees. In the state of California today, there are more than six thousand police officer jobs unfilled and available.

STUDY TOPIC

The first task of this study was to analyze the issue using futures research methodologies. Before addressing a problem, it must be clearly defined. The future must be forecasted by analyzing current trends and events and projecting them into the future. For purposes of this study the future will extend out ten years to the year 2002.

The primary issue of this study is: **"Will individual cities within an urban county be able to afford their own police departments by the year 2002?"**

Futures Forecasting

The next step is to identify and analyze trends and

events that are related to the issue question. Trends and events are measurable activities that are occurring that create the environment. A "Trend" is a series of events or occurrences that charts the path these events have followed. "Events" are individual happenings that can be measured at a specific time and date when they occur.

In order to identify and develop trends and events that may impact the issue area, a panel of thirteen professionals was invited to participate in a Nominal Group Technique process (NGT). In order to provide a wide range of viewpoints, the panel included a recently retired county administrator, the mayor of a small city, a member of the county board of supervisors, an assistant city administrator, the editor of a local newspaper, the county sheriff and seven high level police administrators from law enforcement agencies of varying size.

As a direct result of the NGT process five trends relating to the main issue were identified. The following list identifies each trend and provides a brief description of its importance to the issue and sub-issues:

Trend 1 (T-1) - The political implications surrounding the issue of consolidating law enforcement services: There is a strong belief among community leaders that residents oppose regional or consolidated law enforcement because they want to control the priorities of their law enforcement activities and they want to know the officers patrolling their communities. The residents feel the very identity of their

city or town is tied to having their own police force. The trend is to continue to maintain local police forces for as long as possible in order to maintain local control and responsiveness.

Trend 2 (T-2) - Level of consolidation of police services: Consolidation of police services has become a popular alternative elsewhere in the United States. In many states, cities and counties have consolidated or regionalized law enforcement services. Consolidation does not always save money initially, however over the long run it will reduce costs and improve service.

Trend 3 (T-3) - Size of the tax base in the municipality: Every county and city in the state of California has noticed a reduction in the tax base. The realities of Proposition 13 have been felt throughout the state, along with the effects of the national recession.

Trend 4 (T-4) -Availability of local alternative funding sources: Many counties and cities have resorted to alternative sources of revenue, such as new and increased service fees, assessment districts and tax overrides.

Trend 5 (T-5) - Level of community satisfaction with police services: This issue has become even more important with the recent developments in the Rodney King event. Communities are paying closer attention to the delivery of police services and their expectations are changing remarkably.

EVENTS

After analyzing the selected trends, a list of five

events was compiled using the same methodology as that used to select the trends. The following list identifies each selected event and provides a brief description of its importance to the topic issue and sub-issues:

Event 1 (E-1) - Legislation is passed eliminating cities or towns with a population of less than twenty thousand:

Lawmakers decide it is no longer fiscally responsible to allow cities and towns to incorporate unless they have enough residents to support the financial needs of a full service community.

Event 2 (E-2) - Local government cannot manage financial risks: The cost of providing insurance and maintaining self insurance pools becomes unbearable. Local governments cannot provide adequate insurance protection to cover their risks.

Event 3 (E-3) - Political bodies agree to share revenue and resources: All revenue and resources are shared based upon a per capita formula to distribute funds evenly throughout the state.

Event 4 (E-4) - Communities vote down consolidation of police services: Consolidation of police services in Marin County is placed on the ballot and voters turn it down to maintain local control of their law enforcement agencies.

Event 5 (E-5) - Increase in crime rate requires outside agency assistance: Criminal activity reaches a level that exceeds the resources of several of the police departments in Marin County. Assistance must be summoned from other agencies to maintain law and order.

Scenarios

Developing scenarios is a method used for describing in some detail possible ranges of the selected trends and events that could lead to an envisioned future. The relevant factors may include technological developments, demographic changes, political events, social trends, and economic variables. Scenarios are based on data and provide a context for planning.

A normative ("can be") scenario was chosen for this study because it is one in which the future can be changed to one that is "desired and attainable." Policies and guidelines are enacted to achieve or ensure that the favored future actually occurs. The scenario suggests that by understanding the present and properly anticipating and forecasting the future, law enforcement officials can implement the necessary policies and procedures which change the direction and outcome of forces currently in motion to ensure a desirable future.

NORMATIVE SCENARIO ("Desired and Attainable")

"Second Annual Police Consolidation Review" : Marin Independent Journal, June 11, 2002.

Marin County Police Chief John Martin and Janice Cole, President of the Law Enforcement Oversight Committee presented the second annual report on the new consolidated police department. Although the report is very positive, it identifies some areas that need refinement in order to provide a higher level of service in some areas.

The report indicates that the consolidation has resulted in an overall savings of approximately ten percent when compared to pre-consolidation budget levels. The consolidation has been cost effective when compared to the prior model in which each city had its own police force.

In 1997 voters turned down consolidation even though the tax base in the individual cities was insufficient to maintain acceptable levels of service. The underfunded and poorly staffed police departments were unable to control crime and it became necessary to routinely call in outside agencies to assist in suppressing major incidents.

From a political point of view, the consolidation seems to be meeting the approval of the residents of Marin County. In late 1997 it became obvious to politicians and law enforcement administrators that local alternative funding sources were failing and the tax base could no longer fund individual police departments. A Law Enforcement Strategic Planning Committee was formed and charged with developing an acceptable plan for consolidating all of Marin's law enforcement agencies. Chief Martin and President Cole credit the success of the consolidation effort to the Committee's introduction of the Community Oriented style of policing.

The policies developed by the Oversight Committee in cooperation with elected officials and police administrators, have been effective in maintaining the desired feeling that the residents still have some control over the delivery of police services in their local neighborhoods. Marin

residents seem satisfied with the new department and the fourteen percent reduction in violent crimes.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The following policies, if implemented, will help to mitigate an undesirable future or help to bring about a desired future. Support from the county and all of the cities and towns within Marin County will be required for these policies to be implemented.

Policy 1: The Marin County Police Chiefs Association will develop and adopt a plan calling for the total consolidation of law enforcement services in Marin County by the year 2002.

Policy 2: Through the Marin County Council of Mayors and Council Members, the Marin County Police Chiefs Association will request the support, assistance and cooperation of all Marin County city councils and the Board of Supervisors in achieving the consolidation goal.

Policy 3: In a cooperative effort between the Chief's Association and the Mayors and Council Members, develop a Law Enforcement Strategic Planning Committee to prepare specific goals and objectives for the consolidation project.

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

Having forecast significant trends and events related to the issue question for the next ten years, the future of law enforcement agencies in urban counties such as Marin County, becomes clearer. During the next ten years, methods of providing law enforcement services will most probably change.

Budgetary constraints will force an examination of whether or not individual municipalities are capable of providing their own law enforcement services. Serious consideration will be given to service delivery alternatives such as consolidation or regionalization of law enforcement agencies.

In order to develop a plan to meet the needs of the future, an assessment of the current situation must be made. Marin County is an actual urban county located in Northern California. The county has a population of approximately 236,000. The smallest city Belvedere, with a population of about 2,000 has it's own seven member police department. San Rafael is the largest city in Marin with a population of approximately 50,000 and a police force with seventy two sworn officers. The Marin County Sheriff's Department serves the largest population with sixty seven thousand residents in the unincorporated area. The Sheriff's Department is authorized to employ one hundred eighty sworn officers.

There are currently ten police departments serving Marin's eleven cities and towns. The cities of Corte Madera and Larkspur consolidated their police departments in 1980. Known as the Twin Cities Police Department, they serve a population of approximately twenty thousand residents with thirty two sworn officers. The police chief reports to the Twin Cities Police Council staffed by two representatives from each city.

California's fiscal crisis mentioned earlier, is well documented. Read any newspaper or magazine covering State,

County or Local Government, or turn on any television news show and you will see that the financial position of government in California is in crisis. The problems stem from the tax slashing effects of Proposition 13 and the "Gann Initiative." In 1993 Assembly Bill 8 was passed causing further reductions in revenue. This bill takes property tax revenue away from the cities, counties and special districts and gives it to the State. The County of Marin has not escaped this problem. Last year there was a forced budget reduction in the county of three and a half million dollars and this year with Assembly Bill 8 still looming, budget reductions may reach twenty percent.

The issue is further complicated by increasing pressures from the public to provide more services for less money. Reduced income and increased public pressure have created a nearly impossible situation in which government must function. If the drastic budget cuts that have been predicted actually occur, personnel reductions will increase response time to calls and service levels will be drastically reduced.

The financial situation, although bleak in general, actually provides an opportunity for consolidation or regionalization to occur. Cities and towns may actually be forced to investigate consolidation as an option for maintaining law enforcement services.

There are also some specific opportunities in Marin County that may make the climate for consolidation more

acceptable today than in the past. Three southern Marin County cities have recently consolidated dispatching services. Several departments are operating below their authorized staffing levels due to financial constraints and recruitment problems related to the declining number of people that are interested in entering the law enforcement field. The city councils of the smaller cities are openly discussing the possibility of consolidating with their neighbors or contracting to the sheriff for law enforcement services. Possibly of greatest importance, one chief has retired leaving that position open and at least five other police chiefs have reached retirement age which may reduce the perceived threat to their continued employment.

As the economic conditions get worse and political bodies begin to assess the feasibility of consolidation or regionalization of law enforcement services, community groups may cry out to maintain local control. As discussed earlier, the issue of local control of the police is historically deeply rooted in society. The professional panel suggested that this "Provincialism" will eventually loose out do to economic necessity. They predict there will be a major change in what the community expects of law enforcement even though certain segments of the community may unite to resist such a major change in tradition.

Other threats may come from political leaders, police chiefs and the sheriff all of whom may sense a loss of power, prestige and status. If these powerful community leaders let

their ego's get in the way, efforts to consolidate may fail.

Through unification there is an opportunity for innovation, better financial support and an opportunity to enhance the law enforcement services delivered to all areas of the county. Having one law enforcement agency with one leader would provide for a consistent level of service throughout the county. The current model has differing levels of service depending upon the location within the county.

Consolidation would result in a more efficient use of resources with the hope of providing more high technology equipment. Only the larger departments have some of the more modern law enforcement equipment available. When the smaller agencies have a need for advanced equipment, they must borrow it from another department or in some cases ask the State Department of Justice for assistance.

Consolidation would also provide employees with centralized training, better chances for promotion and specialization and uniform salary and benefits programs. This factor alone could help to improve the employee retention rate. Under the current situation, it is not uncommon for officers from one police department to seek employment at a neighboring department where salary and benefits may be substantially higher.

DEVELOPING ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES

A panel of six police professionals ranging in rank from lieutenant to chief, was used in a modified policy delphi to

examine policy issues in a group setting. Panel members advocated differing resolutions by generating strategic alternatives, analyzing the feasibility and desirability of each alternative, and reducing them to a manageable number. After weighing pro and con arguments, one policy alternative was selected for further development.

Preferred Strategic Plan

The creation of two law enforcement agencies within the county, is the preferred strategy. This strategy will provide two separate and distinct law enforcement agencies. The Sheriffs Department will handle court security, corrections and civil processes. The police department will provide general law enforcement services throughout the county. The leader of the police department, the Police Chief, will be selected based upon training, education, experience and proven leadership ability. This concept will provide the most cost effective delivery of law enforcement services in a politically acceptable manner. The consolidated police department concept will also help to attract and retain high quality personnel.

The professional panel considered the pros and cons of the selected strategy and found the following to be of concern:

Pros:

1. Consolidates but maintains a police department and a sheriff's department with their distinctly different

roles. The sheriff's department would provide court security, corrections and civil processes while the police department would provide general law enforcement and traffic services throughout the county.

2. Community concerns would be addressed by the law enforcement agency having jurisdiction over the matter.
3. Employees would be more willing to buy into a proposal that included the two distinctly different branches of law enforcement, with their unique career opportunities.
4. The two agency proposal would provide for fewer conflicts and a greater sharing of information than a regionalized model or the current fragmented system which is dictated by geographical boundaries.
5. Would be more responsive to the needs of the community than one agency.
6. Major cost savings would result by ending duplication of services and reducing the number of administrative and supervisory staff members.
7. Increased and more consistent level of training for police and civilian personnel.
8. Provides for more community control and support.
9. Equal and consistent level of service in the county.

Cons:

1. May be perceived by some as empire building.
2. Opponents will cite loss of local control.
3. Less responsive to community than individual police departments.

4. Competition between cities for service.

In view of the financial difficulties predicted for the future, it is possible that over the next ten years, cities and towns within the county will begin to implement a variety of strategies in order to save money and provide acceptable levels of service. Total consolidation may come only after the concept is tried and proven on a smaller scale.

VALIDATION

In an effort to validate the data developed in this study, a series of interviews with experts was conducted. The experts included two veteran police chiefs from Marin County police departments, the County Clerk and the executive officer of the Marin Local Agency Formation Commission.

Although the experts were interviewed on an individual basis, they all came to the same conclusions in regard to consolidation of police services within Marin County. They believe that the issue of local control is the single most significant obstacle to the consolidation of police departments in Marin County. Although some of the experts think that local control may be a myth, they agree that it is important for the elected council members and the residents of a community to have a feeling of control over police activities.

The experts also agree that if or when consolidation occurs, it will be in response to a financial crisis. All of the experts were keenly aware of the current financial

condition of the state and of the impending budget shortfall that is predicted for the foreseeable future. They believe that during the next two or three years there will be more small scale consolidations, some of which may be in the area of police and fire department communications. As the financial condition of the cities and counties deteriorates, public officials will be forced to consider similar money saving options.

One of the experts noted that there are currently two bills before the state assembly that would give the Local Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO) authority to initiate consolidation of government services within the state. The bill could affect all branches of state and local governments including police and fire services as well as schools and other special districts. If either of these bills are passed and enacted into law, the cities may have no choice in the matter as consolidation of public services would be forced upon them.

The experts were in general agreement that consolidation of police services in Marin County would be of greater benefit to the smaller cities. They indicated that the larger cities have more financial resources than the smaller cities, mostly due to revenue generated from a larger sales tax base. For this reason, they would expect the larger cities to be more resistive to consolidation efforts.

CONCLUSION

The issue studied in this report has been viewed from the standpoint of an urban county receiving law enforcement services from eleven different police agencies working independently. This study has identified the concept of police consolidation as a viable alternative for future implementation.

Law enforcement is one of the most expensive functions undertaken by county and municipal governments. The crime rate is rising and the public is becoming less satisfied with both the level and quality of service being provided by law enforcement.

Due to several tax cutting initiatives passed by the voters and the effects of the national recession, the financial condition of California's counties and cities has deteriorated and is critical. Funding for most law enforcement agencies has been held at prior year levels or in some cases cut substantially. Financial predictions for the future are bleak and many experts believe that these negative trends will continue into the future. The public is demanding greater efficiency from government.

In years past the public seemed willing to pay a higher premium to provide locally controlled police services. In light of economic hard times, the attitude appears to be changing rapidly. Police consolidation is being considered by many municipalities that were adamantly opposed to the concept in the past.

There are thousands of police officer jobs available in California that remain unfilled. The job does not appear to be as popular now as was ten years ago. Those in law enforcement, especially in the smaller agencies, tend to move from one department to another. In one small Marin County town, five of the twelve members of the department applied to other police departments during the past year. They were interested in higher salaries and greater chances for promotion and specialization. They were also very concerned about job security since their town was considering contracting out for law enforcement services.

Based on the findings of this study, consolidated law enforcement will be appropriate for Marin County by the year 2002. Continuing fiscal problems coupled with the public's demand for high quality, cost effective law enforcement will eventually necessitate consolidating Marin's smaller police departments. The trends and events noted in the study tend to show that the costs for law enforcement will continue to rise and that tax revenues will not be able to support the level of service the community demands. Although some attempts will be made to create new revenue sources, the public will not tolerate higher taxes to maintain high quality law enforcement services.

Historically, the issue of local control has served to limit consolidations, but the public is taking another look at the issue in light of current financial conditions. Allegiance to the local control concept appears to be

dwindling rapidly. Since this study was undertaken four southern Marin police agencies have consolidated their dispatch services. In the Ross Valley area the topic of police consolidation has been on the agendas of two city councils. There has also been discussion and consideration about contracting with the Sheriff's Department for police service.

It is fully expected that opportunities for consolidating all or part of Marin County's police departments will increase. The financial climate is favorable toward consolidation and the political climate is changing rapidly. The time is right for Marin's law enforcement community to take a leadership role by developing and proposing a plan for the consolidation of law enforcement services in Marin County.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

Throughout this study the author has found other issues worthy of future study. It is suggested that the following issues be studied:

Is the cost for police services be the most significant factor that should be considered by a municipality?

Is regional law enforcement more politically acceptable than total consolidation of police services?

Will residents of small cities be willing to pay more taxes in order to maintain their own police departments?

ENDNOTES

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