Paramilitary Police Organizations

Abstract

After providing the reader with examples of paramilitary structures and formalizing a definition of paramilitary, this manuscript analyzes the literature available and discusses several important themes, including: the rise of police militarization, international perspectives, community policing, hierarchy, subculture, and training. As the topic of community policing reemerges, the philosophical appeal remains, despite its use as a form of face saving and as a means to fund tactical units. On a subtler level, this study proposes that police subculture in the United States contrasts the general populace significantly, which could explain tensions between the police and public. Examination of the characteristics of this subculture shed some light onto the policing paradigm and on how communication unfolds inside and outside of police organizations. Through this synthesis, the appropriateness of a quasi-military paradigm and its resulting structure, language, and behavior, is brought into question.

"Every art and every inquiry, and similarly every action and choice, is thought to aim at some good; and for this reason the good has rightly been declared to be that at which all things aim."

(Aristotle, 2009, p. 3)

Introduction

Law enforcement is one of the most interactive pieces of government with the public. Most people, across all cultures, have some notion of what policing is and some opinion of what it should be. In the past three decades a rise in the militarization of policing in the United States has been speculated, observed, and critiqued by many scholars in academia and professionals in law enforcement. In this review, I define paramilitary is through a compilation of work regarding paramilitary police forces, present factors which have contributed to a rise in police militarization, consider the ambiguous line between police and military, and provide an international perspective. Furthermore, I look into the literature regarding organizational structure, reintroduce the popular topic of community policing, and analyze sub-cultural aspects of police, including how they relate to diversity in these organizations. All of these sections aim to shed some light onto what paramilitary policing is, what existing literature has to say about it, and what may be next on the horizon of paramilitary policing.

Review of Literature

Paramilitary Defined

Paramilitary organizations are also called quasi-military organizations. These organizations are structured in a strikingly similar fashion to military groups and often serve a similar function of controlling through force. A clearly defined hierarchy, as seen in military organizations, is also apparent in police forces. The definition of paramilitary in this manuscript is an organization that exhibits rigid structure, centralization of power, and socialization processes which uphold its structure. Furthermore, a paramilitary has cultural similarities to the

military, a heavy reliance on uniforms to non-verbally communicate status, a mechanical

approach to problem solving, and a sense separation from the general populace. Scobell and

Hammitt (1998) say "a paramilitary force is a uniformed group, usually armed, neither purely

military nor police-like in format or function but often possessing significant characteristics of

both" (pp. 220-221). Van Ewijk (2012) refers to "the security sector, which includes institutions

such as the army, the police, and prisons" (p. 76), suggesting similarity between the three. In a

more foreboding way, Jones (2004) sets the stage for an examination of para-institutional

violence in Latin America by defining paramilitaries as "those private and/or state-affiliated

organizations that use violence and intimidation to target and/or eliminate groups and individuals

seen as subversive of the social, political, and economic order" (p. 130). Given these three

examples and the broad definition given for this review, it could briefly be said that a

paramilitary is any organization which resembles the military in terms of culture, structure, and

purpose.

The Rise of Paramilitary Policing

The beginnings of the professionalization of the police came about in the 1950s and -60s

as a way to eliminate political corruption "by means of introducing traits of military discipline"

(Bittner, 1970, p. 53). This introduction of military-style management to policing certainly did

help to professionalize the institution, but it also introduced new difficulties—primarily, finding

a balance between following internal regulations, and fulfilling external duties of relations with

citizens (Bittner, 1970). The drug war fury of the mid- and late- 1980s provoked an increase in

tactical operations units in the U.S.A and signaled a shift in policing perspective (Balko, 2013;

Kraska, 1996). With this shift, the use of tactical units to deal with drug epidemics became

routine and acceptable in law enforcement agencies of differing size and type (Balko, 2013;

Kraska, 1996).

Addressing some key historical turning points, Timoney (2010) explains the increased

use of firearms from the 1960s, when police officers carried revolvers, to the present age, when

they carry AR-15s. This progression began in the 1970s and 1980s as criminals' weapons were

becoming more powerful. 1989 was the turning point when more pistols than revolvers were

confiscated (Timoney, 2010). Next, came the regular issue of 9mm pistols in 1993 to NYC

officers by police commissioner Ray Kelly. This trend continued as the expiration of the Assault

Weapon Ban in 2004 came to pass and Jose Somohano, a Miami-Dade police officer, was

violently killed in 2007 (Timoney, 2010). Four months after this killing, another police officer

was killed with an AK-47, and Timoney (2010) says "Police officers had once again become

outgunned on the streets" (p. 313). Timoney (2010) equates decisions about increased armament

to the position Ray Kelly was in years earlier. In having to normalize the usage of AR-15, Ray

Kelly said that it "levels the playing field" (Timoney, 2010, p. 314).

Following that period, we seem to be in a new era – one where powerful tools of control

are banalized. The arming of police organizations with military-grade equipment has been noted

as a contributing factor to the rise of paramilitarism. In liberal democratic societies, the use of of

coercion is laid in the hands of law enforcement (Kleinig, 2008). Without the existence of such a

democracy, citizens would be expected to enact justice of their own accord. Police, however, are

considered to be more capable of protecting individuals than individuals being able to protect

themselves (Kleinig, 2008; Timoney, 2010). The use of coercion is granted as a means to this

end of protecting individuals; police are justified as long as they can fulfill their duty of

protection better than individuals could ensure it on their own (Kääriäinen, 2007; Kleinig, 2008;

Graham, 2013). As citizens who have some power within our governmental structures, we must ask ourselves how much armament is necessary and desirable, while considering the dangers of police militarization.

Some would argue armament is a product of the times and is necessary for the safety of police personnel and the protection of citizens (Waddington, 1999; Timoney, 2010). Others would say the increase in heavy equipment is excessive and is due to a militaristic culture and way of thinking (Balko, 2006; Balko, 2013; Biggs & Naimi, 2012; Hill & Berger, 2009; Kraska, 1996; Kraska, 2007; Kraska & Kappeler, 1997). In contrast, den Heyer (2014) says the militarization of the police is an illegitimate criticism. Actively refuting other researchers' work (namely Balko, 2006; Kraska, 2007; Kraska and Kappeler, 1997; Kraska and Paulsen, 1997), den Heyer (2014) maintains that increased numbers of SWAT units and deployment in the U.S. is a part of the necessary evolution of policing. The work of Balko (2013), which synthesizes the topic of militarization in its entirety, is not included in den Heyer (2014). Perhaps Balko (2013) was incomplete as the other was in progress. It is unfortunate that such a pinnacle volume was not included in den Heyer (2014).

Obscurity between Police and Military

It is not easy to discern between the law enforcement and the military; in fact, it is often difficult to tell where one begins and the other ends. (Gobinet, 2008; Kraska, 1998; Kraska & Kappeler, 1997). Bittner (1970) explains why military models were attractive to police planners. Both institutions use force to enact control and it is unpredictable when forceful action will need to be taken, therefore both must remain prepared and alert at all times (Bittner, 1970). This is achieved through "the formalism that characterizes military organization, the insistence on rules and regulations, on spit and polish, [and] on obedience to superiors" (Bittner, 1970, p. 53). In

ethnographic research (Kraska, 1996), it proved difficult to delineate between military and police culture. Added to that, blurring between the two types of organizations in "material hardware, technology, training, operations, and especially personnel" (p. 418) was noted. In this ethnography Kraska attends a "training session," where the leaders of the group are two ex-military individuals from Desert Storm. Kraska (1996) included a quotation from Attorney General Janet Rico who, while addressing a mixed crowd of military, law enforcement, intelligence, and defense-industry officials, equated the skills used in the Cold War with those needed to fight crime (p. 418). Kraska (1996) uses this and other events, such as the "Troops to Cops" legislation, which was passed under President Clinton, to illustrate the overlapping connections "between the military industrial complex (MIC) and the rapidly expanding "criminal justice industrial complex"(Kraska, 1996, p. 101). High-level cross-training, steep growth in the use of SWAT units, mass purchasing and sharing of military weaponry and surveillance equipment, the erosion of the Posse Comitatus Act, use of military/war models (to control crime, drugs, and terrorism), and changing the language of civilian police to militaristic terminology—all of these factors are indicators of the convergence in behavior, philosophy, and organizational culture with the military and the police (Balko, 2013; Kraska, 2007).

Further Considerations

Two other areas require awareness in the context of rising paramilitarism in law enforcement. The use of anti-terrorism rhetoric is one. Specific language is used to justify the deployment of SWAT teams and other paramilitaristic units (Kappeler & Miller, 2006). Kappeler and Miller (2006) went on to suggest that policing primarily concerns itself the "protection of capital" (p. 563). Furthermore, they stated that terrorism will be used as an excuse for excessive

force on a global scale; this is not so much for the purpose of safety or security, but rather for the proliferation of capitalism (Kappeler & Miller, 2006).

The second area requiring notice is the use of surveillance technology, as it is also having a definite impact on how policing is accomplished in society. With the advent of more and better surveillance systems, policing is becoming increasingly more routinized and automated. Much of surveillance innovation comes from the military, and this technology will inevitably cross over into law enforcement use, says Leman-Langlois (2003). Surveillance could displace community involvement and relationships with the police, and behavior control may become "myopic", whereby "only nonconformist behavior is important" (p. 56). In this scenario of almost total reliance on surveillance systems to achieve behavior control, SWAT teams are the efficient choice to deal with situations on the threat level. Thus, the greater the confidence in cameras to govern crime control, the farther removed the community becomes; the more military technology becomes fully integrated, the more militarized becomes policing (Leman-Langlois, 2003). Similar technology is being used to ensure proper behavior in policing and protect citizens and officers from unfair trials. Thus, before leaving the topic of technology, two caveats must be mentioned. Body cameras and cell phone videos are two tools that are becoming increasingly important in policing and citizen involvement.

International Perspective

This manuscript revolves primarily around the paramilitary structure of law enforcement organizations in the United States. However, it is necessary to bring awareness to the similarities in policing styles across cultures. This makes it possible to identify trends in structuring, communication styles, and beliefs in regard to policing. The *gendarmerie* model of policing is used (arguably) effectively by France, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Spain (Gobinet,

2008). In this abridged thesis, Gobinet argues that the *gendarmerie* tradition in Europe cannot

fairly be ambiguously referenced to as paramilitary (Gobinet, 2008). Although the *gendarmerie*

is a militaristic institution, it is in fact a legitimate arm of the military; and thereby does not fit

the description of paramilitary, says Gobinet (2008). In 2004, the European Gendarmerie Force

(EGF) was established "to perform peace-keeping, public order, riot control, and criminal justice

in conflict-torn countries" (Gobinet, 2008, p. 456). Decades earlier, the first paramilitary-type

police units began in London and Los Angeles around 1970; since that time, they have found

beginnings "throughout Europe, Australasia, and the Far East" (Waddington, 1999, p. 126).

Also, in 2004, Jones grimly depicted the atrocities in Colombia involving paramilitaries,

warlords, and death squads; these events were clearly ignored by the State (Jones, 2004).

Aside from examples of paramilitary activity, there are also examples of more citizen-

centric policing, such as in Japan and Australia. According to Wang and Lumb (2012), policing

in Japan went through many changes due to WWII, most notably a shift from community control

to community service. Taiwan and Korea (both formerly occupied by Japan) have also adopted

this form of service-oriented policing. Behind this approach to policing is a philosophy that

"human beings are born kind and friendly" (Wang & Lumb, 2012, p. 354). Interestingly, crime

rates are lower, and thankfully, up to the date of their publication, these countries had never been

targeted or attacked by international terrorists (Wang & Lumb, 2012). In China, attempts to

"professionalize" policing have been slow and difficult due to the prevailing mentality of

collectivism (Jiao, 2001). Chinese police administrators view the Western, authoritarian

approach as more efficient; but adopting a professional model of policing was not widely

accepted due to opposing cultural norms and values (Jiao, 2001). A multinational study of

college students from Bangladesh, Nigeria, Canada, and the United States (for comparison),

showed similarities and differences in views of police civility and police trust (Lambert, Jiang, Khondaker, Elechi, Baker, & Tucker, 2010). Although each of the nations examined were former British colonies, and derived their legal system from Britain, levels of trust in the police varied greatly, with Nigeria and Bangladesh rating trust low, and Canada and the U.S. rating trust high. Furthermore, Lambert et al. (2010) noted intracultural differences, but were not able to include such variables in their study. Referencing a large scale analysis of trust in 16 European countries (Kääriäinen, 2007) which states governmental corruption as being the greatest determining factor of trust in the police, Lambert et al. (2010) state that "this suggests people's distributive and procedural justice views of government and police cut across different nations" (p. 241).

The global discussion provided here gives only a few examples of the processes, events, and perspectives of police organizations and their publics; these few items were chosen for their salience in regard to the communicative qualities of police organizations. First, it was shown that military units and paramilitaries are being used internationally to police nations, with varying levels of efficiency and justice (EGF in Europe vs. "death squads" in Latin America). Therefore, it seems the use of a mechanistic approach in law enforcement is commonplace. Next, the information about the community-oriented policing approach of three Asian countries demonstrates a system with greater permeability and more free-flowing communication with the public is not uncommon and is indeed functional. Lastly, the studies regarding police trust provide a broader view of why citizens do or do not trust the police.

Law Enforcement Subculture

It may be obvious that police subculture is quite different than the general culture of the USA. Though it is risky to speak about culture in generalities, some fundamental points can be safely addressed. The reason for doing so is that cultural differences often have to do with

differences in values or beliefs. If these orientations to what is morally acceptable and desirable

in certain circumstances (respectively) are divergent, understanding will help to explain conflicts

that arise (e.g. Conti, 2009; Haar, 2001). Hofstede's (1980) basic cultural dimensions are an ideal

starting place. Police subculture is very high-context. One example of this is how police officers,

due to their requirements as organizational members, use uniforms to nonverbally communicate

legitimacy, status, and expected compliance of others (Joseph, 1986). Next, although the U.S. is

generally highly individualistic, law enforcement organizations have a much more collectivistic

culture. For instance, the *esprit de corps* mentality and the idea of brotherhood is common in

such organizations (Filstad & Gottschalk, 2010; Jaschke & Neidhart, 2007, p. 314). Furthermore,

police subculture can easily be identified as one of high power distance, as can be seen in their

very hierarchical structure (Durão, 2011; Silvestri et al., 2013). Also, in terms of uncertainty

avoidance, police culture is at the opposite end of the spectrum compared to U.S culture.

Language and conversation about the possibility of harm and implicit danger is regular in police

organizations, and their practices reflect these beliefs (Herbert, 1998; Kappeler, Sluder, &

Alpert, 1998). As for masculinity, Silvestri et al. (2013) suggest that too much masculinity is not

beneficial in the realm of policing, however, hypermasculinity is seen by some as the norm in

policing. Lastly, Biggs and Naimi (2012) note that, due to a paramilitary paradigm, police

organizations are not as caring, organic, and adaptable as citizens would like. Though the culture

of the United States is generally not thought to be nurturing, the word is a complete mismatch for

police sub-culture

Hypermasculinity

Hypermasculinity is an oft-criticized aspect of law enforcement organizations (Franklin,

2005; Kraska, 1996). Ethnographic research by Kraska (1996) shows a side of police subculture

that might be appalling to some. The author relates experiences from a police "training session"

in which an array of heavy firearms were put to use by police personnel. The author mentions

apprehension at seeing such military grade equipment, as possession and use of such equipment

is illegal under normal circumstances. In explaining the masculinity of the situation, Kraska

(1996) says

> Several aspects of the research experience, then, were pleasurable or satisfying. The most
>
> difficult confession, in view of my pro-feminist orientation, is that I enjoyed gaining
>
> acceptance of a group of male police / soldiers by using hypermasculine signifiers
>
> ("Alaskan", "Bush Guide," "Shotgun Warrior," "One-Upsmanship," "Gun Worshipper").
>
> Many of these men were repulsive ideologically, but (outside my research objectives) I
>
> enjoyed their approval as filtered through hypermasculine standards. (p. 415)

Rabe-Hemp (2008) clears up stereotypes regarding female police officers—especially the notion

that female officers exhibit more feminine behaviors, "such as comforting and caretaking, in

their interactions with citizens" (p. 432). In fact, statistics showed that male officers used more

supporting strategies that females in interactions (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). However, female officers

did show lower instances of highly masculine behavior, such as use of excessive force and

threatening, and instead employed "lower level controlling behaviors, such as advice and

commands" (p. 433) in citizen interactions. Furthermore, Rabe-Hemp (2008) cites the National

Center for Women and Policing when implying the need for a reconceptualization of police

behaviors and values, and says employing more female officers might be an aid in this endeavor

(Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

The findings in Rabe-Hemp (2008) highlight some interesting co-cultural aspects of

communication in police/law enforcement organizations. Specifically, the discovery that female

officers did not exhibit more supporting or nurturing behaviors than male officers (as was

expected) leads to the conclusion that masculinity (potentially hypermasculinity) are aspects of

the organizational culture of police/law enforcement organizations (Franklin, 2005; Kraska,

1996). Whether it be that female officers adapt to the culture and suppress nurturing behavior or

that female officers are already more prone to masculine behavior at the onset of their careers,

one can suspect a correlation to the masculine culture of law enforcement organizations.

Although women officers were not shown to exhibit more supporting behavior, a negative

correlation has been shown between greater involvement of female officers and the use of force

in police-citizen encounters (Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2005). In an undermining fashion of this

noteworthy benefit, police subculture "functions to degrade, subordinate, and oppress female

officers" (Franklin, 2005, p. 20). Franklin (2005) identifies a host of convincingly supported

characteristics, including those subcultural aspects previously addressed here, which "serve to

keep women from fully participating in policing" (p. 7). As shown through this literature, the

cultural aspect of masculinity in police organizations has significant impact on how police

personnel communicate with one another and how they interact with other citizens.

Diversity of Sexual Orientation

When diversity goes beyond demographics and adds breadth of experiences and

perspective to an organization, it is a key element to a healthy, sustainable, and adaptive

organization (Davis & Lopuch, 2006). Similar benefits to those of having women in the police

force may be gained by the integration of homosexuals in police organizations. Currently,

diversity of sexual orientation in police organizations is not high, and the first public

demonstration of such diversity by police at the 2002 Gay Pride Parade in Stockholm was not

well-received (van Ewijk, 2012). Since then, however, various European countries have

established associations for gay (homosexual males) police. Although there are a few external

factors linked to lack of diversity in police organizations, this norm is generally attributed to

internal factors. "Police culture" (van Ewijk, 2012, p. 83) has been noted repeatedly as the

common bond between these internal factors. Many terms have been used to describe this

culture, including: conservative and traditional, dysfunctional, *macho,* homophobic, and sexist

(van Ewijk, 2012). On a more positive note, another researcher argues, through case study, that

lesbians in police forces should not be understood by default as a disenfranchised minority, but

rather need to be recognized as agents for social change within their workplaces (Lewis, 2009).

She sees being marginalized as a source of empowerment, if other officers employ strategies to

understand lesbians. Aside from diversity of sexual orientation, ethnic diversity can also

strengthen an organization. In fact, more equal ethnic representation in police organizations has

proved to increase the trust of minorities in the police and to improve white officers' outlooks on

community-oriented policing initiatives (Lasley, Larson, Kelso & Brown, 2011). Diversity can

be difficult to manage, but the potential strengths of it warrant the effort.

Organizational Paradigm

  Hierarchical Structure

   The purpose of rigid structuring in police organizations is necessary to outline. Police

organizations have similar reasons for hierarchy as those outlined by Weber's bureaucracy, as

discussed by D'Urso (2006, p.286) and Weber, Gerth, & Mills (1946). The ideal of centralization

of power can be seen in how officers receive orders from and must correspond with those up the

chain of command. Communication in the classical perspective is always vertical, as it is in law

enforcement (King, 2003; Maguire, Shin, Zhao, & Hassell, 2003). It is important to understand

the hierarchical nature of law enforcement organizations (King, 2005), as that is one

characteristic that qualifies them as paramilitary (Kraska & Kappeler, 1997). From a

communicative perspective, it is highly interesting to note how this rank structure impacts

communication between group members and the public they serve. King (2003) cites a wealth of

literature that calls for the "flattening", or deconstruction of tall rank structures in police

organizations. Many of the critics of tall rank structures, King (2003) maintains, do not have any

evidence to back up their claims. There is little research available regarding rank structure that

focuses strictly on that issue. King (2003) notes three problems regarding most of the research

about rank structure: 1) confusing rank structure with other organizational shortcomings, 2)

assuming rank structure is too tall without using a proper rubric, and 3) not demonstrating the

problems and benefits of rank structure. In a later manuscript, King proposed five different types

of hierarchy and explained that military-focused literature suggests tall hierarchies, with

centralized power, actually inhibit success on the battlefield (King, 2005). Maguire et al. (2003)

examined the structural changes of police organizations in the 1990s, based on seven elements of

police organizations that they drew from past studies. The statistics regarding the aspects of

height (Maguire et al., 2003) and segmentation (Maguire et al., 2003), which are more precise

sub-parts of hierarchy, showed that police organizations changed very little in terms of

"flattening" their hierarchies in the 90s (Maguire et al., 2003). Given the research, it remains yet

to be determined if rigid, hierarchical structure is indeed a major shortcoming of law

enforcement institutions. However, this structure is similar to that found in military institutions,

and it plays an important role in how internal and external communication proceeds in these

institutions.

   Also, connected to the centralization of power in police organizations is the ideal of

esprit de corps. Police officers believe a strong sense of community in the organization is

important. This element of solidarity has been noted as a possible contributor to police

corruption by Rabe-Hemp (2011), who states that "the inflexibility of the traditional police

bureaucracy, resulting in the reliance on the authoritarian rank hierarchy, enables the emphasis

on cover-ups and lying" (p. 134). Kappeler, Sluder, and Alpert (1998) support this point in their

discussion of "*Postulates shaping the ethos of secrecy and the theme of solidarity*" (pp. 100-

101). This same sense of "brotherhood" can also be found in fire departments, certainly in

military organizations, and admittedly in many other types of organizations today. In

paramilitary organizations the concept of *esprit de corps* is pinnacle, to such an extent that it

determines how involved persons communicate internally and externally (Kraska & Kappeler,

1997). *Esprit de corps* causes this sense of brotherhood; and this sense of brotherhood, paired

with a perception of danger, breeds an "us vs. them" mentality (Balko, 2013; Kappeler et al.,

1998; Schafer, 2013). Kappeler et al. (1998) provided several reasons this worldview develops in

the psyche of police officers. These include the selection process of citizens as new officers,

upholding of group norms by individual police officers, overstating the dangers of policing,

entitled legal authority of police, "and the occupational self-perception that is internalized by

people who become police officers" (Kappeler et al., 1998, p. 88).

This idea of solidarity is also seen with uniforms. Part of the reason for requiring

uniforms is the dissolution of individuality (Joseph, 1986). In return for being given legitimacy,

group members are expected to make organizational goals more important than individual goals

(Joseph, 1986). If the organizational goals are not in line with the community's desires, than lack

of trust ensues because community members feels as though mandates are being imposed upon

them. However, not all citizens interpret police behavior this way. In some communities the

police force is seen as very legitimate, usually in white middle-class neighborhoods (Akerlof &

Yellen, 1994). In tandem with the effects of uniforms on police officers, what uniforms

communicate non-verbally is important to mention. A criticism often raised against police

officers, especially by women who interact with them, is that if they are wearing glasses they

lack humanness. By wearing glasses, more power is with the officer, because the ability to see

the eyes is one-sided.

Police officers who work closely with the community are at the bottom of the hierarchy,

yet they possess a great deal of authority when it comes to decision making (Schafer, 2013, pp.

34-35). Due to the high degree of power distance, this decision making capacity is often

threatening to those who are held suspect. At first glance, hierarchical structure has benefits such

as accountability to superiors, specialization, and standardization (Spender, 2008). In police

organizations, however, these aspects of classical management hierarchy do more harm than

good. Since police officers must report to their superiors and meet quotas, unfair arrests may take

place in an effort to win the war on crime or to satisfy supervisors (Goodman-Delahunty,

Verbrugge, & Taitz, 2013; Ward, Nobles, Lanza-Kaduce, Levett, & Tillyer, 2011).

Specialization was originally intended to suit the worker to the job. This happens to

some extent in police organizations; but, as stated above, police officers deal with a wide array of

situations and have a great deal of decision making power. The aspect of standardization or

replaceability clearly has shortcomings in modern policing. If officers are replaceable, that could

mean they developed enough professionally (Charles, 2000; Jaschke & Neidhart, 2007), and

therefore are not prepared to meet the decision making needs they are given the power to make.

If police officers are going to hold considerable relative power, proper training must be ensured

to deal with the wide array of societal issues to which officers attend.

Organizations which function under the machine metaphor, like militaries and paramilitaries, should be more efficient, more predictable, and more understandable. The essence of the machine metaphor in classical management is comprised of these traits. Police organizations, in contrast, are complicated. According to Jones (2008) police administrators do not realize how complex of a system they are governing. Furthermore, Jones (2008) explains how this lack of understanding and the resulting lack of adopting the ideas of "complexity science" (Jones, 2008) has made it an extremely difficult task to implement alternative paradigms in policing. Aside from the inability to adapt to exterior situations and tasks, another evident shortcoming of stiff hierarchy is a lack of personal touch. The importance of a human quality in law enforcement interactions has been insightfully investigated by Myrstol and Hawk-Tourtelot (2011) when they showed that satisfaction with police is not linked with "perceptions of procedural justice" (p. 388), but rather with whether or not officers attempted to acknowledge and respect human dignity (Myrstol & Hawk-Tourtelot, 2011).

In regard to organizational structure, evidence suggests that hierarchy interferes with the hiring of individuals who would bring diversity to law enforcement organizations (Silvestri, Tong, & Brown 2013). In this regard, hierarchy impacts the way existing members of law enforcement organizations in the U.K. communicate to one another and select new members. In Portugal (Durão, 2011), the impact of hierarchy, particularly unwillingness to deviate from cultural norms in law enforcement organizations (Durão, 2011), created similar issues with hiring as what was noted in the U.K. (Silvestri, Tong, & Brown; 2013). There is a certain culture that comes along with extremely hierarchical organizations. Police organizations are said to be stuck in "Theory X" understanding of human motivation, and in turn management is generally implemented in an authoritarian, controlling, and directive manner (Schafer, 2013, p. 28). A

classical, mechanistic way of thinking is not the best choice for police organizations, as it leads

to these institutions being managed, instead of being led (Schafer, 2013, p. 29).

Community Policing

Community policing is more cooperative and preventative than traditional policing.

Community policing does not downplay the traditional policing approach of reacting to problems

with force and control, but rather puts police officers in situations where they are required to

encourage participation by community members (Haarr, 2011). The idea of community policing

has been around for many years (Community Policing Consortium, 1994), but has not become as

popular as other approaches, such as "hot spots" or "broken windows" (Walker, 1984; Wilson &

Kelling, 1982), which are both classified as problem-oriented policing (Braga, 2008). It is

possible that community policing never became popular because it lies more in the realm of

ideas than practice. In Germany, however, it has been more successful (Jaschke & Neidhart,

2007). The movement away from traditional policing to a community-oriented approach to

policing has been a gradual process which was intertwined with changes in police education and

training (Jaschke & Neidhart, 2007). There is a litany of literature expounding the benefits of

community policing. However, many, such as Strecher (1991), are not convinced that it reflects

reality; community policing is "more of an ethos than a method or concept, an ethos driven by

the academic establishment rather than by developments in policing" (Strecher, 1991, p. 10).

Furthermore, he says the initial literature on community policing (Kelling & Moore, 1988) is a

misinterpretation of the history of policing and trends in policing, and can be better understood

as an attempt to "revise" (Strecher, 1991, p. 2) police history for the sake of advocating a cause

(Strecher, 1991). Others say there is no empirical evidence showing that community policing

reduces crime. Crime reduction, however, is not the only consideration to be included in the

discussion about community policing, and some herald the benefits of community policing

(Etzioni, 1995; Lum, 2009). Akerlof and Yellen (1994) support this stance with their empirical

study regarding the interplay between gang behavior, traditional law enforcement approaches,

and community values. They state that an involved community who are willing to assist police,

not an active police presence, is the major deterrent to criminal behavior (Akerlof & Yellen,

1994). Especially in the "ghetto" police often diminish their legitimacy "because of their own

violence and error" (Akerlof & Yellen, 1994, p.182). Due to this, community members often

choose to cooperate with the criminals, since the police represent an "untrusted, alien culture"

(Akerlof & Yellen, 1994, p. 182), and it is more important for community members to keep good

rapport with the ruling gang (Akerlof & Yellen, 1994). Affecting crime reduction through

community values is equally as important as enforcing harsh punishments and removing

criminals from the streets; these traditional approaches might be ineffective in the long run if

they "undermine community values" (Akerlof & Yellen, p. 174).

It is now necessary to relate community policing back to the discussion about

militarization of police. Greater militarization of the police in the Unites States and a supposed

shift to the philosophy of community policing have happened simultaneously (Kraska & Paulsen,

1997). This phenomena is referred to in the context of policing as "the iron first and the velvet

glove" (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977; Institute for the Study of Labor and

Economic Crisis, 1982; Kraska & Paulsen, 1997). Community policing is best understood as an

effort to save face. Kraska and Kappeler (1997) noted in passing that two departments they

interviewed admitted to creatively using resources allocated for community policing to lend

more support to their PPU (Kraska & Kappeler, 1997).

In contrast to community policing is the zero-tolerance approach to policing (Lum, 2009). In a review of the history, aims, and implications of zero-tolerance policing (ZPT), Martinez (2011) says "while community-policing initiatives emphasize citizen involvement and police accountability, ZTP accentuates the government's exercise of authority and its monopoly over the legitimate control of antisocial behavior" (p.270) The ZPT approach resembles a militaristic paradigm at face value. As illustrated by Martinez (2011), "the formal policy of 'don't ask, don't tell' regarding open statements or expressions of a sexual orientation by military personnel is best understood as a form of ZTP" (p. 274). In regard to these two approaches Etzioni (1995) says "The emphasis on community policing is toward soliciting, enlisting, inviting, and encouraging, while in traditional policing it is toward warning, threatening, forcing, and hurting" (p. 238). Rabe-Hemp (2011) suggests that "The philosophy of community policing requires that police be more transparent and open. […] As police officers increase their interaction with the public, a greater trust and rapport will lessen the need for secrecy" (p. 135). Community policing was one of the main eras of policing development and some say this era is drawing to a close (Crank, Kadleck, & Koski, 2010). Furthermore, Crank et al. (2010) say police organizations must examine the trends of the past decade and heed the advice of certain policing scholars, whom they interviewed, who are well-placed to forecast upcoming challenges (Crank et al., 2010). The rhetoric of policing is shifting away from community-oriented policing to speech and slogans like "Intelligence Based Policing," say Kappeler and Miller (2006). Wang and Lumb (2012) on the other hand, believe that community policing still holds value today and needs to be rejuvenated through introducing more ideas from the Japanese *koban* system, on which community policing is based (Wang & Lumb, 2012).

Traditional policing is essentially classical management and is in opposition to the ideas of complex adaptive systems (CAS) and complexity science (see Biggs & Naimi, 2012; Jayasinghe, 2011; Jones, 2008; Paperone, 2008). In Jones' 2008 work regarding CAS, he maintains that police organizations have failed to adjust to current social needs due to a lack of awareness of non-linear models. Jones gives a great description of ideal community policing and suggests that shifting towards this paradigm cannot occur until police organization supervisors understand and apply complexity science. Balko (2013) also suggested in the conclusion section of the book that police organizations need to do more than use the term community policing for receiving funding. It is necessary to actually implement the philosophy by getting out of their cars and "walking the beat" (Balko, 2013, p. 325), and abandoning statistical policing, as it is a method employed to meet quotas, not to uphold justice (Balko, 2013; Greenwood, 2013).

Training

The training of police officers could play a significant role in the promotion and sustenance of some of the aspects of police subculture mentioned previously. Officers are given little training in counseling and interpersonal communication skills, and what skills they do learn are quickly extinguished by organizational socialization (Haar, 2001). Communication skills in general, but especially accommodative ones are lacking on the part of citizens and officers in interactions (Giles, Fortman, Dailey, Barker, Hajek, Anderson & Rule, 2006). Instead of thoughtful negotiation, police officers are more apt to rely on threats of or the use of firearms to maintain control (Balko, 2013). As an alternative to yelling, demanding respect, and threatening to use force, police officers need to be reminded of the art of "command presence" (Balko, 2013, p. 327). Command presence (Balko, 2013) is the utilization of nonverbal factors such as proxemics, kinesics, and paralanguage to maintain control. Another factor in reverting to the use

or threatening to use deadly force is that police officers are not always physically fit (Balko,

2013). This lack of training leads to lower self-confidence in the ability to subdue perpetrators

without the use of firearms, and thus, officers reach for their firearms more quickly (Balko, 2013,

p. 328). Conti (2009) presents a similar argument that is based on theories of police violence and

socialization and his own ethnographic research, saying that while not all will resort to coercion

or have the "same threshold for tolerating, disrespectful civilians, those who do can find

something equivalent to a sub-cultural justification for their behavior in their early socialization"

(Conti, 2009, p. 427).

In defiance of the hierarchical nature of police organizations, much of the power for

important decisions, like the use of possibly deadly force, lies in the hands of officers in direct

contact with citizens (Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2005; Sun, 2011). Unfortunately, the training and

education required for police officers is not as lengthy as in the case of, say, a doctor, teacher, or

social worker. Police science needs to be developed as an integrated discipline with a minimum

requirement of a BA/BS (Jaschke & Neidhart, 2007; Charles, 2000). An ethnography by Charles

(2000) shows that sweeping change to training is possible. Now functioning andragogically,

training and education at the University of Illinois Police Training Institute was successfully

redesigned (Charles, 2000). Others have also promoted the shift from pedagogy to andragogy

because it "is expected to better orient officers toward problem solving, critical thinking, and the

goals of policing in a democracy" (Conti, 2009, p. 427). Charles (2000) forged pathways into

understanding the need for modern styles of training in police academies and institutions. This

transition was by no means an easy task. Through the process, critical inquiry into the

effectiveness and appropriateness of non-military models versus quasi-military training models

came to the surface (Charles, 2000). The aforementioned institute is now a leading model for

other police training institutions.

Discussion

Ideas, even bad ideas, can diffuse across cultures if citizens are not critically aware. The

work of Hills and Berger (2009), Crank et al. (2010), and Balko (2013) collectively paint a

picture that gives cause for concern. These concerns call for identifying what it is the people

want from law enforcement, analyzing law enforcement to see if it matches with the needs of the

people, and continually working to adapt to those needs. The insistence that the war on drugs

must be won at all costs has had devastating impact on civil liberties and police legitimacy. The

movement can be traced back to the DARE initiative which was started by the Reagans

alongside the COPS programs (Balko, 2013). Unbelievable amounts of money are spent every

year on drug tasks forces, when there has not been any empirical research done which

demonstrates that such endeavors raised the number of drug-related arrests, which was the main

goal of implementation (Smith, Novak, Frank, & Travis III, 2000). These practices seem to be

informed or influenced by the use of militaristic language, as it is often paired with mentalities of

"us versus them", the need to use force to control, and survival. Evidence for this are the

substantial examples of what one can understand as "battle language" or "war terminology" (eg.

Kraska 1996). A more specific review needs to be undertaken to clearly understand what is

already known about the language of paramilitary police. A vast number of articles and books

have been published on the topic of community policing, citizen trust, and police legitimacy.

Although there are indeed significant portions of the corpus absent from this work and my

analysis is less than ideal, the present review aims to ascertain a foundation of understanding

about paramilitary policing, in hopes that this line of research will continue. Given that law

enforcement is on the agenda of any citizen living in a liberal democratic society and society is

in a constant state of evolution, it would be wise to continually evaluate and adjust the measures

of justice. The literature available on the benefits of employing women in police organizations

warrants further research; the minimal literature given in this manuscript shows benefits in

employing women at all levels of police organizations. However, employing women and other

minorities may be difficult because of the nature of police subculture. Within the theme of

diversity, a couple examples of research regarding sexual orientation are in this manuscript, and

similar benefits to this type of diversity may await our discovery. Charles (2000) raises

interesting questions as well. Primarily, he asks if pedagogical training in police academies is the

most effective. More research needs be done to understand organizational change, leadership,

and how different types of training impact ideas about power in law enforcement organizations.

Also, an in-depth examination of the literature regarding the impacts of non-verbal

communication in officer-citizen encounters has not been included in this work, though Joseph

(1986) provides a good understanding of the main elements of the discussion regarding uniforms

and nonverbal communication. More research could be done regarding: nonverbal

communication and police vehicles, proxemics and kinesics, and paralanguage.

Research Recommendations

In addition, I recommend (in no particular order) the following research avenues: 1) an

intercultural comparison of citizen and police officer satisfaction between the USA and a country

with the Koban system - findings may provide grounds for revisiting the community policing

model and implementing systems that have both a community interface division and an

interventionist division within police organizations 2) a study that captures citizens' impressions

of the police' nonverbal communication through the means of SWAT teams, squad cars, and

uniforms 3) using a mixed method design, investigate the possible connection of language use, violence, and/or the measure of tactical unit usage 4) a review of the politics behind the "war on terror" and the "war on drugs" and how police language and mythology mimic or are informed by political rhetoric; an analysis of the effectiveness of police in fighting these "wars"; and surveys of citizen concern and understanding of these initiatives 5) further inquiry into the benefits of employing people with non-heterosexual orientation 6) research aimed to develop instruction materials that teach accommodative language to officers and civilians 7) using the tenets of Intergroup Contact Theory to help facilitate movement towards a community policing paradigm in the USA

Conclusion

The literature encompassing militarism, militarization, police subculture, training, organizational structure, SWAT, and tactical units is vast and our understanding of paramilitary police is minimal in contrast to the influence policing bears on society. In this manuscript, I have synthesized a number of articles related to paramilitary police organizations and have provided a unique literature review that highlights areas requiring further inquiry. It is my hope that this synthesis will serve as a fulcrum for further exploration and that it encourages citizens, including police personnel themselves, to contemplate the purpose and design of police forces in their communities.

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