

May 2016

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Megan LePere-Schloop
University of Georgia

Joseph H. Lumpkin Chief of Police
Savannah-Chatham Metropolitan Police Department

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Recommended Citation

LePere-Schloop, Megan and Lumpkin, Joseph H. Chief of Police (2016) "Learning from Trayvon: Lessons and Implications for Police Organizations and Leaders," *Journal of Public Management & Social Policy*: Vol. 23 : No. 1 , Article 5.
Available at: <http://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/jpmsp/vol23/iss1/5>

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Learning from Trayvon: Lessons and Implications for Police Organizations and Leaders

Megan LePere-Schloop
University of Georgia

Chief Joseph H. Lumpkin
Chief of Police
Savannah-Chatham Metropolitan Police Department

Critical incidents like the Martin-Zimmerman encounter prompt us to examine not only the specifics of a particular episode, but also broader questions that hopefully illuminate a path leading to meaningful change. This reflective piece draws on the professional experiences of a highly effective and respected African-American Police Chief to examine some of these broader questions. Chief Joseph H. Lumpkin is a 43-year law enforcement veteran who was recently appointed Chief of the Savannah-Chatham Metropolitan Police Department in Georgia. Before moving to Savannah he served as Chief of the Athens-Clarke County Police Department, an agency that solves violent crimes at a rate 15 to 20 percent higher than the national average. In 2014 the Georgia Association of Chiefs of Police named him Chief of the Year. Drawing from Chief Lumpkin's extensive experience and connecting his reflections to the academic literature on community-oriented policing as well as that on representative bureaucracy, this article identifies important implications for practice and scholarship using the Martin-Zimmerman encounter as a critical incident for understanding.

On February 26, 2012, Trayvon Martin, a 17-year-old African-American high school student was visiting his father in Sanford, Florida. George Zimmerman, a former neighborhood watch captain, noticed Martin walking through the Twin Lakes neighborhood and called 911 to report "a suspicious person." Zimmerman was told not to get out of his SUV or to approach the person in question, but did not follow these instructions. Within minutes, neighbors reported hearing gunfire. Officer Timothy Smith arrived at the scene to find Martin's body and Zimmerman with injuries to the nose and the back of the head. Zimmerman acknowledged that he shot Martin and claimed that he had done so in self-defense.

In March of 2012 the Sanford Police Department recommended that Zimmerman be charged with manslaughter and turned the case over to the state attorney for Florida's 18th district. Amidst growing public controversy including accusations of racial profiling and police disregard for citizens of color, the Justice Department and the FBI launched an investigation into Martin's death; Sanford Police Chief Bill Lee stepped down as head of the

department; and Gov. Rick Scott appointed a new state attorney, Angela B. Corey of the 4th Judicial Circuit, to the case. Corey charged Zimmerman with second-degree murder in April 2012. In July 2013 a jury found Zimmerman not guilty, further elevating the tension and controversy surrounding social perceptions of black men and police interactions with communities of color.

The encounter between Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman was arguably the first in a series of high-profile critical incidents wherein a young black man was killed by a non-black shooter (police, or citizen) who believed they were acting in order to maintain public safety and order. Although Zimmerman was never a sworn police officer, it is important to consider the implications of his actions and the subsequent police response to them in the context of policing in the United States. In particular, incidents like the Martin-Zimmerman encounter should prompt us to assess the potential of different strategies to improve the relationship between police and disenfranchised communities. In this article we specifically examine the role that police organizations and their leaders can play in implementing two such strategies: representative bureaucracy and community-oriented policing (COP). While we ground our analysis in the relevant academic literature, we also draw heavily from the personal and professional experience of Chief Joseph Lumpkin.

Chief Lumpkin is a 43-year law enforcement veteran who recently retired from his position as Chief of the Athens-Clarke County Police Department (ACCPD) to take the helm of the Savannah-Chatham Metropolitan Police Department. He was recruited into police work after a conversation with the Mayor of Athens that took place when Lumpkin was serving as a delegate for a student activist movement during the desegregation of the Athens Public School System. He went on to join the ranks of a small and select group of officers to graduate from both the acclaimed Administrative Officers Course (58th Session) at the University of Louisville and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's prestigious National Academy. During his career as a sworn officer he has participated in the desegregation, integration, and effective implementation of COP in multiple police units. Under Chief Lumpkin's leadership the ACCPD solved violent crimes at a rate 15 to 20 percent higher than the national average in 2012 (ACCPD 2012) and was (re) accredited under the CALEA Gold Standard of Excellence. The Georgia Association of Chiefs of Police named Chief Lumpkin himself 2014 Chief of the Year.

Drawing on Chief Lumpkin's extensive personal and professional experience, and connecting his reflections to the academic literature on COP and representative bureaucracy, this article will identify important implications for practice and scholarship regarding critical incidents such as the Martin-Zimmerman encounter. We begin by asserting that the often strained or detached relationship of police organizations with poor communities and communities of color plays an important role in shaping the way that incidents like the Martin-Zimmerman encounter unfold. Two contemporary approaches touted for their potential to foster a more positive and productive relationship between police and disenfranchised groups are the development of a representative bureaucracy and the use of COP strategies.

Based on 43 years of law enforcement experience and a review of the relevant literature, we therefore ask: 1) what are some of the benefits and challenges of building a representative police force in order to develop more trustful and effective police-community relationship? Similarly, 2) what are the benefits and challenges associated with COP in terms of shaping productive relationships between police and disenfranchised communities? And finally, 3) what lessons can public organizations and leaders take away from this analysis that may help police to prevent or manage incidents like the Martin-Zimmerman

encounter in the future?

Representative Bureaucracy: “The police are the public, and the public are the police”

The quote used in the title of this section is attributed to Sir Robert Peel, and along with eight other principles serves as a kind of ‘bible’ to many sworn law enforcement officers and leaders (New York Times 2014). Peel’s Principles date back to 1829 and point to the long-standing assertion that law enforcement capacity depends in large part on the legitimacy of police in the eyes of the public. The theory of representative bureaucracy suggests that public organizations, including police departments and agencies, are more responsive to and legitimate in the eyes of the public when “personnel reflect the demographic characteristics of the public they serve,” (Sowa and Selden 2003, 700). This theory is pertinent to our reflection on the Martin-Zimmerman encounter because one potential solution put forth to counteract racial profiling and poor police-community relations is a representative police force.

Scholars have distinguished several different types of representative bureaucracy in public organizations. Theobald and Haider-Markel (2009), for example, describe *symbolic representation* as when the public recognizes itself in public bureaucrats in terms of shared demographic characteristics. With symbolic representation the mere fact that police and the public share common traits is believed to increase police legitimacy in the eyes of the public. The theory of *passive representation* holds that people who share certain demographics traits, such as class, race and gender, are subject to common socialization experiences, which in turn shape values and beliefs (Sowa and Selden 2003). When the public and public administrators share common traits, socialization experiences, values, and beliefs, public bureaucrats use their discretionary authority in ways that better reflect public values. Later scholars asserted that passive representation did not automatically lead to the *active representation* of public values and beliefs by public administrators; rather, bureaucrats choose the degree to which they actively represent different groups when making administrative decisions regardless of demographic characteristics that they may share with the public they serve (Sowa and Selden 2003). Thus, a public administrator may not be a minority him or herself but may still choose to use their administrative discretion to improve outcomes for minority communities.

Recent empirical research provides evidence both for the different kinds of representative bureaucracy described above, as well as the connection between representative bureaucracy and performance. For example, Theobald and Haider-Markel (2009) found evidence in support of the concept of symbolic representation in that white and black citizens in their study were more likely to perceive police actions as legitimate if they were of the same race as the officer. Bradbury and Kellough (2008) examined the attitude congruence of white and African-American citizens and administrators, and found evidence of both passive and active representation. Sowa and Selden (2003) found that public servants who chose a minority representative role are more likely to use administrative discretion to enact outcomes that benefit minorities, in line with the theory of active representation. In a study using data from Texas Public Schools, Pitts (2005) found that managers who reflect the demographic make-up of the student body were associated with positive student outcomes, while diverse but not necessarily representative managers were associated with mixed outcomes. Together these studies suggest that public-employee representativeness matters in terms of citizen perceptions of government legitimacy, public employee use of discretion, and the public outcomes they ultimately produce. The theory of representative bureaucracy also jibes well with the experiences of Chief Lumpkin; in fact the

theory is reflected in the critical incident and impulse that led Lumpkin to become an officer in the first place.

After earlier integration of the public elementary and middle schools in Athens, Georgia, the desegregation of the public high schools took place during the 1970-1971 school-year (Rice 2001). During Jim Crow, Burney Harris High School had served as a cultural hub for the local African-American community; the school had even been renamed to honor the legacy of two beloved educators from the community. For many African-American high school students and their families, efforts to move the student population of Burney Harris to the formerly all-white Athens High School therefore raised concerns that an important aspect of local African-American culture would be lost (Rice 2001). These concerns as well as a lack of open dialogue about the implications of integration prompted black high school students to march on downtown Athens.

Lumpkin, an Athens native, was attending the University of Georgia (located in Athens) at the time. He observed the demonstration to show his support for the student marchers. He describes noticing that the police officers escorting the demonstrators seemed to become more and more uneasy the closer they got to downtown. As the demonstrators marched out of downtown, they paused and sat down at the intersection of Milledge Avenue and Broad Street, blocking traffic. A confrontation between police and the demonstrators at the intersection turned into a 'riot'; many of the demonstrators were arrested and police beat some. Many observers, including Lumpkin, believed that the situation had not been managed well by the police and that several of the officers had incited the confrontation. Although the Athens Police Department had begun hiring African-American patrol officers by 1962, by 1970 minorities were still excluded from the ranks of management and leadership. To protest the conduct of the police, Lumpkin and several other UGA students therefore chose to talk to Mayor Bishop in the hopes of finding a more sympathetic ear.

Mayor Bishop acknowledged that there were problems with the local police and told the delegation that he had been trying to change the culture of the department for years. He compared the departments' culture to a 'circle the wagons' protecting itself from outside pressure to change. He encouraged the delegates, as UGA students with more education than many local officers of the era, to join the ranks of the force and change the department from the inside. For his part, he assured the delegates that he would work to reform the local government's personnel system in order to ensure that hiring and promotional decisions were made with equity.

This episode highlights several points related to representative bureaucracy. First of all, the incident illustrates the practical implications of the abstract notion that symbolic representation improves citizen perceptions of legitimacy. In this case, the absence of minority representation in the management and leadership ranks of the Athens police department inhibited dialogue between the police and the full community; it is significant, after all, that not even the UGA delegation opted to approach police leadership with their concerns after the student march. It is difficult if not impossible for a police organization to perform successfully if it does not have open lines of communication with citizens. A representative police force may therefore have a potential advantage over non-representative units in terms of open channels of communication between police and citizens.

Second, Mayor Bishop's approach to changing the police department from within underscores the significance of active representatives in shaping public institutions. The perspective from within is often quite different from that outside of an organization. Active representatives, as change agents working within an institution, are more familiar with organizational politics and focal points of power and influence that can be used to leverage

change than their counterparts working from the outside. Additionally, when internal change agents gain trust and credibility from peers, they can heighten awareness of minority concerns on a person-by-person basis. Chief Lumpkin for example, describes how officers he trained and patrolled with became more sensitive to the African-American community regardless of their race. The significance of such consciousness-raising interactions is especially important given studies like that of Robinson (2000) that suggest that myths linking crime and race are reinforced throughout the criminal justice process; without active representatives working within the criminal justice system, it is highly unlikely that such myths will be challenged in the day-to-day implementation of law and order.

It is also important however, to recognize the potential risks for those willing to serve as representatives within a police unit. For example as Chief Lumpkin's successful arrest record grew and he earned the respect of other officers, some members of the local black community began to view him as a kind of traitor. Research also suggests that racial and gender 'token' employees who comprise less than 15% of a workgroup are likely to experience stress from heightened visibility, isolation, and limited advancement opportunities (Stroshine and Brandi 2011). Efforts to improve representation and capitalize on its benefits should therefore be made with the kind of extra support and awareness offered by Mayor Bishop in the case of Chief Lumpkin.

Finally, there appear to be limits to the degree to which bureaucratic representativeness affects organizational outcomes. One might for example, expect that a more representative police force would lead to higher citizen trust in police and/or lower levels of police-caused homicides. This idea has not born out however, in Baltimore, where a more representative police force did not deter accusations of police brutality nor public demonstrations after the death of Freddie Gray (Shoichet 2015). At least one study also suggests that police units that are more representative in terms of race and gender do not have significantly lower rates of police-caused homicides (Smith 2003). Does this mean that it may not be worth the trouble to recruit, train, and retain a representative police force?

From Chief Lumpkin's perspective, Smith's findings make sense in that police and citizen fatalities are an almost inevitable aspect of law enforcement. He asserts that representative bureaucracy however, can lay a foundation for sensitizing police to the effect of their interactions on citizens. Still, as the case of Baltimore illustrates, the foundation provided by a representative bureaucracy must be actively cultivated. When it is, over time it can foster an overall culture of sensitivity that can make all the difference when critical incidents such as the Martin-Zimmerman encounter, or the death of Freddie Grey, do occur.

To foster such a culture of sensitivity to citizen needs, Chief Lumpkin stresses the need for officers to remember that interactions that are part of their daily routine (traffic stops, domestic calls, etc.) are uncommon encounters for most community members making many individuals hyper-aware during interactions with police. Officers are trained to be conscious of the effect that their words and actions have on citizens. This sensitivity in turn shapes officer behavior in critical encounters, such as a recent incident in which a community member died in police custody. Police worked to consciously respect the family's grieving process by providing them private time with the remains; to address family and community concerns by clearly describing witnesses identified and videos collected at the scene; and to openly communicate steps being taken to ensure that investigation of the incident was properly handled outside of the local department. As a result of the social capital developed by the police in the Athens community, as well as the sensitivity shown during this critical incident, the family and community response in this case stand in stark contrast to the aftermath of the Martin-Zimmerman encounter. Such efforts by police to

invest in respectful and collaborative relationships with communities on an ongoing basis are the essence of COP.

Engaging and Partnering with the Public through Community-Oriented Policing

Community-oriented policing (COP) emphasize responsiveness to community needs at the line level, as well as active engagement of police with individual citizens and community groups to jointly produce public safety and security. The goals of COP go beyond crime prevention and law enforcement to include building positive police-community relationships, facilitating peaceful conflict resolution, and enhancing quality of life. COP strategies, including the use of unsworn personnel, citizen volunteers, and the decentralization of decision-making to empower patrol officers, were widely adopted by police organizations across the United States during the 1990s. Evidence of COP adoption is reflected in concrete changes made to the organizational structure of law enforcement agencies and departments during this period. Maguire, Shin, and Hassell (2003) for example, find that contemporary police agencies are less centralized administratively and employ larger numbers of unsworn civilian staff than in earlier periods.

The benefits ascribed to COP include improved police-community relations, police legitimacy, and performance. Empirical work by Marschall (2004) also suggests that COP strategies can increase the salience of law enforcement issues in the community. A case that unfolded during Lumpkin's tenure as Chief of Police in Toccoa, located about 50 miles from Athens in northeast Georgia further illustrates some of the potential benefits of taking a COP approach.

At the time the City of Toccoa had about eight thousand residents, thirty-two police officers, and was a relatively peaceful, moderate, and progressive city. One particular case however, reeked of corruption. A black man had been murdered approximately two years before Chief Lumpkin began his tenure with the Toccoa Police Department. The community suspected two local white men of committing the murder but there was no evidence linking the men to the crime. The police lieutenant responsible for the investigation was the father of the suspected perpetrators; he took no steps to investigate his sons, and eventually arrested a different white man for the murder.

COP emphasizes engagement with all citizens, which for Chief Lumpkin is best implemented by showing a basic human respect for all people; refraining from holding a person's social status against them when providing them a service. In this case, a conversation with a local woman that was known as a drunk provided a critical lead in constructing a case against the two men. Working in collaboration with the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, Lumpkin built a strong circumstantial case against the men; however there was insufficient physical evidence to make an arrest. Through conversations with other community members Lumpkin learned that the men hung targets on trees in their backyard for shooting practice. He cut down one of the trees and was able to match a bullet lodged inside of the trunk to the one that had killed the victim. The men who had committed the crime as well as their father the police lieutenant were arrested and convicted.

This case illustrates several important aspects and potential benefits of COP. As mentioned earlier COP emphasizes engagement with all citizens, which in this instance opened up lines of communication and provided police with information they might not otherwise have been able to access. Because both members of the general public and sworn officers have vital roles to play in COP, unbalanced power dynamics that can facilitate corruption and hurt public perceptions of police are more readily mitigated. In this case, the

open lines of communication that Chief Lumpkin had worked to establish with the public led to the arrest and conviction of two murderers and a corrupt police officer.

Chief Lumpkin is quick to point out however, that engaging with *all* of the people means that the police have to go out of their way to reach out to certain segments of the community. In his experience for example, poor people tend not to speak up. By building effective relationships with disadvantaged, sometimes unsavory characters however, police can acquire the information they need to solve cases and prevent future crimes. This does not mean that the police should form partnerships or improper relationships with criminals; it simply means that all members of the community should be treated with respect and that police should make an extra effort to establish trust with historically disenfranchised groups. Research suggests that the perception of police fairness has a positive effect on citizen satisfaction after an encounter with police regardless of whether or not the citizen was ultimately charged with an offense (Tyler and Folger 1980; Bartsch and Cheurprakobit 2004). This highlights the need for police organizations to recruit, train, and promote officers with what Lumpkin calls, “a 21st Century mindset.” This mindset reflects the capacity to engage with all types of people and manage the complexity of COP strategies.

While serving as Chief of Police in Athens-Clarke County, Lumpkin therefore approached personnel decisions seriously. All officer candidates had to do much more than prove that they were capable of handling the physical requirements of the job; each candidate also went through a job interview and screenings based on a background check, a polygraph test, and a developed reference check. Officers had to demonstrate that they could implement COP strategies and maintain respect for the dignity of all of the people they would encounter while on the job. Since the late 1990’s, officers in the ACCPD have been required to wear and activate an audio recorder when they are interacting with citizens and visitors. Certain police units are also equipped with cameras worn as part of their uniform, which officers are required to activate during encounters with the public. Chief Lumpkin sums up this approach by stating, “We trust our officers, but we also desire to verify their behavior and conduct as a matter of practice; not just when we experience bad outcomes.”

As a result of personnel systems implemented under Chief Lumpkin, CALEA Accreditation documents reveal that the ACCPD has a lower incidence of complaints and civil actions compared with other counties in Georgia with less socio-economic diversity. The ACCPD has also received Gold Standard Accreditation from the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies, Inc., which requires significant interaction between certifiers and different stakeholders from the community. These organizational successes highlight the fact that sound management and leadership can make a difference in improving police outcomes and police-community relationships.

The high standard to which sworn personnel should be held also extends to unsworn personnel and citizen volunteers; while COP has many potential benefits for police and communities, it can also pose distinct challenges in terms of community volunteer use. From Lumpkin’s perspective, several of the critical take-ways from the Martin-Zimmerman encounter directly relate to police use of volunteers. Zimmerman was, after all, was not a sworn officer but a former captain of the neighborhood watch.

First of all, Lumpkin points to the need for background checks, training, and proper management of volunteers because although they are not sworn officers, they still represent the police in the eyes of the public. This common sense assertion poses a significant challenge given that many public safety ‘volunteers’, such as community watch members, may not be under the direct supervision of sworn law enforcement personnel.

COP puts sworn-officers in more regular contact with citizens in non-enforcement situations however, and these interactions not only provide officers with opportunities to build trust with citizens from disenfranchised groups, but also to get a sense of the motivations and potential hazards related to citizens who volunteer for neighborhood watch, citizen patrol, or other similar groups. Officers need to be trained to assess volunteers in these settings, and to be pro-active in clarifying the line between appropriate volunteer actions, and the responsibilities of a sworn officer of the peace.

COP also emphasizes joint problem solving between police and citizens. If officers consistently model problem-solving as the preferred approach to conflict, and/or train citizens to become better problem-solvers, then citizen approaches to conflict are also more likely to shift; they will be more likely to take a problem-solving approach with one another, rather than resorting to direct confrontation as in the case of Zimmerman. From this discussion of the potential for COP to address some of the volunteer management and citizen interaction issues raised by the Martin-Zimmerman encounter, we now offer a few final reflections on police management and leadership based on both academic research and the professional experience of Chief Lumpkin.

Implications for Management and Leadership

Chief Lumpkin's reflections on his 43 years of law enforcement experience and a review of relevant academic literature suggest that developing a representative police force, fostering a culture of sensitivity to citizen experiences of police interactions, and consciously implementing COP strategies can go a long way towards building and sustaining trustful relationships with the public, including traditionally disenfranchised groups. While the implementation of these strategies may not eradicate critical incidents like the Martin-Zimmerman encounter, they do create an environment in which the police and the public can openly dialogue, problem-solve, and jointly produce public safety and security. These strategies are entirely dependent however, on the characteristics and the quality of police personnel hired by a given department or agency. In this section we draw from the literature to identify factors associated with successful efforts by police organizations to recruit and train police officers who are willing to represent the legitimate needs of diverse cultures, and then draw from Chief Lumpkin's experience to identify effective management and leadership strategies to support the development of these personnel.

A number of recent academic studies have examined the motivations of cadets to join the ranks of law enforcement as well as factors associated with the successful recruitment and hiring of minority officers. For example, Raganella and White (2004) examined motivations for becoming a police officer across different demographic groups and did not find major differences between the motivations of white male officers and those of female and minority officers; altruistic and practical concerns topped the list of officer motivations across all subgroups. A 2007 study by Foley, Guarneri, and Kelly, which compared the motivations of a sample of police cadets from 1983 with those of a different sample from 2003 further suggests that motivations to become an officer have remained stable over time and across demographic subgroups. Finally, White, Cooper, Saunders, and Raganella (2010) studied the motivational stability, as well as the relationship between motivation and job satisfaction after six years of work as a police officer, of a panel of New York City police officers. They found that altruism and practical concerns were significant motivators both pre and post-service, and that high motivation pre-service was associated with higher job satisfaction after six years on the job.

In terms of recruitment and hiring of minority officers, Zhao and Lovrich (1998) found that the size of the local African-American community was the most important factor in predicting the proportion of African-American officers on a police force. The work of Jordan, Fridell, Faggiani, and Kubu (2009) suggests however, that organizational commitment to the recruitment of female and minority officers is an important factor in recruitment success; police departments and agencies with larger recruitment budgets and targeted recruitment strategies are more successful at recruiting female and minority officers. Wilson, Wilson, Luthar, and Bridges (2013) concluded that local and state efforts to recruit minority officers are held back by lack of identification of and contact with vital core constituencies and minority institutions in communities.

Together, this body of research suggests that while motivations to become a police officer do not appear to vary a great deal across time or demographic subgroups, police organizations must make an extra effort to recruit a police force representative of the communities they serve. The connection between community perception of police, and the successful recruitment of a representative police force was not elucidated by the research referenced above. Chief Lumpkin's personal and professional narrative however, provides some additional insight on this topic.

Recall that Chief Lumpkin decided to become a police officer after a conversation with Mayor Bishop during which the public executive explicitly leveraged Lumpkin's dissatisfaction with police actions during a student demonstration to recruit Lumpkin to a career in law enforcement. This incident and Chief Lumpkin's later experience suggests that critical incidents such as the student-police confrontation in Athens, and the Martin-Zimmerman encounter in Florida, may provide important opportunities to recruit minority officers with altruistic motivations to positively affect police-community relations. Of course leaders need not wait for critical incidents to occur; Chief Lumpkin recalls for example, the efforts of City Manager Roy Lane in Albany to "get in front of demographic changes."

Albany has a long history of tension based on racial and economic inequality. Although the demographic make-up of the city had changed drastically by the 1990's, political leaders and public managers did not necessarily reflect this change. At the time Chief Lumpkin came to Albany in 1994 for example, the city had only recently elected a black majority to city council for the first time, and African-Americans had only been appointed as Chiefs of the fire and police departments after a Federal District Court Injunction. City Manager Lane however, was pro-actively hiring competent and representative managers to leadership positions. From Lumpkin's perspective, this strategy was successful in helping the community to successfully evolve with demographic shifts and become a safer city during the mid-1990s.

Recruitment of police officers and other public employees who symbolically, passively and actively represent community interests is not enough in and of itself however. Leaders both within and outside of police organizations must also be prepared to champion and support the professional development of trailblazing employees. While the significance of 'championing' may be somewhat self-evident, the importance of training and education may be less so; opportunities for early-career professional development help trailblazers to build credibility and to successfully compete for promotion. In Chief Lumpkin's case, Captain Cooper in the ACCPD gave approval for Lumpkin to continue attending the University of Georgia (UGA) while working patrol, and sheltered the young officer from other Captains on the force who were hostile to efforts to better integrate the management-ranks of the unit. When it came time for Lumpkin to sit for departmental exams, he was

therefore well prepared, making it more difficult to deny him promotion into supervisory and leadership positions.

Chief Lumpkin also points to the example of Ed Kassinger who played a vital role in recruiting and developing promising minorities for careers in law enforcement. Kassinger was the man responsible for transitioning the UGA security agency to a full police force and a major influence behind passage of the Georgia Police Officer Standards and Training (P.O.S.T.) Act in 1971. Kassinger started Operation Catch Up, a program that recruited promising women and minority students at UGA and offered them the opportunity to take academic courses and participate in practical exercises so that when they graduated they were qualified to serve as an officer of the peace. Many graduates of the program, including Connie Sampson the Chief/Associate Vice President for the Georgia State University Police, went on to assume leadership roles in law enforcement (Georgia State University 2014).

Once officers have achieved a degree of success in a unit, continuing training and educational opportunities play a vital role in developing officers as leaders, exposing them to new approaches to law enforcement, and helping them to connect with peers across the country. In Chief Lumpkin's case, the Administrative Officers Course at the University of Louisville and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Academy gave him the credentials, contacts, and global perspective to become a leader of internal change. The global perspective gained from these types of programs helps to break down preconceived notions based on policing experiences in particular communities. Such programs also help foster a culture of continuous learning that draws from academic research, and leadership best practices. This culture is reflected in the emphasis placed by the Police Executive Research Forum, The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), and the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, on connecting research and practice.

Unfortunately, in Chief Lumpkin's opinion there is a significant divide in terms of educational opportunities and exposure to new ideas and research between officers serving in small, rural jurisdictions and those serving in larger, suburban and urban areas. With the advent of online learning however, this gap can be addressed in ways that were not possible before. Still, the law enforcement profession should look for additional opportunities to address this divide, such as by placing a greater emphasis on advanced education and IACP's Leadership in Police Organizations coursework.

Conclusion

In this reflective piece we have drawn on the experiences of Chief Joseph Lumpkin as well as the academic literature on representative bureaucracy and policing to identify management and leadership implications of the critical encounter between Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman. Based on this reflective analysis we have argued that developing a representative police force that consciously employs COP strategies can help police organizations cultivate a more trustful and productive relationship with disenfranchised communities. Specific actions identified to implement ideas discussed in this article include engaging in on-going dialogue with poor communities and communities of color; developing recruitment strategies designed to target members of these communities with an interest in law enforcement; consciously using critical incidents such as the Martin-Zimmerman encounter to foster dialogue, and recruit community members inspired to lead change from within police organizations; encouraging current officers to pursue further training and educational advancement; and addressing the rural/suburban/urban knowledge and training divide.

The analysis presented here also points to several opportunities for future research

that could provide important practical insights. For example, Robin (2000, 94) points out that there is currently little straightforward guidance on how to measure performance for police organizations that employ COP strategies. Longitudinal research examining the effects of different police approaches to critical incidents on community relationships could point to important practical considerations. Finally, while anecdotal evidence suggests that representative police organizations might be better equipped to handle critical incidents like the Martin-Zimmerman encounter, this topic merits more rigorous empirical investigation. In conclusion, it is our sincere hope that the analysis offered here supports police organizations and leaders in preventing or more constructively managing critical incidents in the future; honest reflection with the goal of learning from past experiences may be the best way to honor the memory of Trayvon Martin.

Authors' Biographies

Megan LePere-Schloop is a third-year PhD candidate at the University of Georgia in the Department of Public Administration and Policy. She has presented her work at conferences organized by PMRA, IRSPM, and ARNOVA. Her work has been published in peer-reviewed journals including the *International Review of Administrative Sciences*. Her research focuses on public and non-profit management, cross-sector collaboration, and co-production.

Chief Joseph H. Lumpkin joined the Savannah-Chatham Metropolitan Police Department on November 10, 2014. He brought with him 44 years of law enforcement experience; most recently he served nearly 18 years as the Chief of Police for the Athens-Clarke County Police Department. He has also served as Chief of Police for the Albany Police Department and Toccoa Police Department. Chief Lumpkin holds a Master's Degree in Public Administration from Columbus State University, a Bachelor's Degree from Brenau University and is a graduate of the prestigious FBI National Academy and Southern Police Institute as well as Leadership Georgia. Chief Lumpkin has received many medals over this career, including a Life Saving Medal, Medals of Valor, and was honored by the Governor for his leadership as incident commander during the Great Flood of '94 in southwest and middle Georgia. In 2014 he was named Chief of the Year by the Georgia Association Chiefs of Police. Chief Lumpkin serves on the IACP Governing Board representing cities of 100,000-500,000. Chief Lumpkin is an advocate of Community-Oriented Policing Problem Solving and used this approach for his personnel to drive down Part I Violent Crime by more than 50% and Part I Property Crime by more than 50% during his tenure as Athens-Clarke County Police Chief. He is married to his eighth grade sweetheart, Sandra C. Lumpkin. They have three adult children and four grandchildren.

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