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TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY POLICING STRATEGIES



Informal, positive interactions with residents are common in the community/problem-solving era.

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Differentiate between the definitions of law enforcement and police.
- Define the traditional model of policing and identify some of the problems associated with this model.
- Explain the negative consequences that can result from the use of broken windows policing in racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods.
- Demonstrate how community policing can be used to build and strengthen police–community relationships.
- Explain how stop and frisk is used as a zero-tolerance policing strategy.
- Recognize how some police agencies use intelligence more often after the terrorist attacks of 9/11.
- Examine the ways that computers are utilized by police agencies that use predictive policing strategies.
- Identify various combinations of alternative policing strategies that are used by agencies that practice smart policing.

Chapter 1 described how the use of traditional policing practices can create tension between police officers and the public. The traditional model of policing requires officers to focus heavily on responding to calls for service and solving crimes in a reactive manner with limited input or cooperation from residents. Ironically, this policing strategy emerged during a time when U.S. police agencies were trying to become more professional. This chapter begins by describing the traditional model of policing and discusses some of the problems that can result from using this strategy. Several alternatives to the traditional policing model that have been used by U.S. police agencies beginning in the 1970s through contemporary times are also identified and discussed in this chapter. Alternative policing strategies include team policing, problem-oriented policing, broken windows, community policing, zero-tolerance policing, intelligence-led policing, predictive policing, and smart policing.

TRADITIONAL MODEL OF POLICING

During the reform era, most police agencies utilized a traditional model of policing (also referred to as the professional model). The **traditional model of policing** places great emphasis on crime control through law enforcement and high police visibility, and police work is conducted in a reactive manner.¹ Officers who utilize a traditional approach spend much of their time responding to serious crimes, while giving less attention to social disorder and other issues associated with residents' quality of life. This policing approach involves officers moving from call to call without considering the origins of the crime problems they encounter or if any of the calls for service are connected or related to one another in any way.

The traditional model of policing measures officer success based on reactive police actions, such as the number of arrests police officers make and how fast they respond to residents' calls for service.² It could be argued that some American police agencies continue to use elements of the traditional policing model today. For example, many American police agencies generate annual reports that contain data reflective of police actions that are central to the traditional model of policing, such as the number of arrests, the number of calls for service from the public that officers respond to each year, along with the response times to calls for police service from the public. Police executives use the information contained in these reports to identify trends in their activities in response to crime (such as an increase or decrease from year to year). The use of the data in this way provides an incomplete picture of how police actions actually influence crime/crime trends. Or to put it another way, there are several factors outside of policing that also influence the frequency of crime and variations in crime trends (e.g., economic conditions).

The traditional model of policing also relies on a rigid, bureaucratic organizational structure (a more detailed discussion of bureaucratic structure is included in Chapter 6). There are clearly defined positions of authority, responsibilities, and lines of communication within the organization.³ Military-like rankings define the positions of authority and identify appropriate lines of communication (commands are given from the top ranks within the organization). Individuals within specific ranks have clearly defined duties and responsibilities. For example, patrol officers are responsible for responding to calls for service from the public while on patrol, while people in the upper ranks have administrative and supervisory-based responsibilities. This element of the traditional model of policing still exists in many police agencies across the United States.

Another characteristic of traditional policing is that police work does not involve a cooperative effort between police officers and residents. Richard Adams and his colleagues described it best when they stated that "traditional policing tends to stress the role of police officers in controlling crime and views residents' role in the apprehension of people who commit crime as minor players at best and as part of the problem at worst."⁴ This approach to policing creates a divide between the police and the public as officers use a one-way communication style.

Dragnet, a popular television series in the 1950s, provided an accurate depiction of the traditional model of policing. *Dragnet* is a policing term that refers to a system of coordinated measures for apprehending suspects or people who commit crime.⁵ This television series was based on actual case files from the Los Angeles Police Department and was presented to the viewers in a documentary-like style.

Sergeant Joe Friday and his colleagues demonstrated a reactive approach to policing as they responded to calls for police service. Upon arriving to crime scenes, police officers utilized a communication style where people were expected to respond to their questions without adding any emotions, embellishments, or details. This communication style reflects a “just the facts ma’am” approach to policing, which involves little discussion beyond the questions asked by police officers. *Dragnet* made the phrase “just the facts ma’am” part of mainstream American culture.⁶ The television series provided viewers a glimpse into the world of policing during the reform era. Some believe that *Dragnet* improved public opinion of the police during a time when they were trying to be viewed as a legitimate profession.

The traditional model of policing also includes a police subculture that draws a distinction between police officers and those who are not, leaving police officers feeling isolated from the public.⁷ Within this police subculture, officers share a cynical worldview centered on the perceived dangers associated with their work and a view of themselves as symbols of authority.⁸ This subculture also values masculine traits, such as physical strength, aggressive behavior, and the ability to use intimidation to get the job done.

Some women and people of color may have trouble working in police agencies that utilize the traditional policing model because many of the values found within the police subculture conflict with their beliefs. Using self-assessments from a sample of 1,449 police cadets in Arizona, researchers examined differences in receptiveness to traditional versus nontraditional policing strategies and perceived ability to work in diverse communities based on police cadet gender and race/ethnicity.⁹ In this study, nontraditional policing strategies include community policing and problem-oriented policing (both strategies are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter), while traditional policing refers to the strategy discussed in the paragraphs preceding this one. The findings reveal that male police cadets of color are most likely to adapt to community policing strategies and best able to interact with communities that are racially/ethnically diverse, while white, female police cadets are best able to assess the policing needs of diverse communities.¹⁰ The results of this study support the notion that women and people of color may adapt better working in police organizations that utilize contemporary policing strategies (instead of the traditional policing model); however, additional research on this topic is needed.

The use of traditional policing practices (such as providing police services in a purely reactive manner and using a one-way communication style when interacting with the public), coupled with the social unrest that was taking place in the United States during the 1960s, contributed to the erosion of the police and community relationship during that time.

Team Policing (Late 1960s–Early 1970s)

In response to the social turmoil of the 1960s, the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967) challenged police agencies across the United States to be more responsive during a time when social change was occurring at a rapid pace.¹¹ The desire to professionalize the police, along with a troubled relationship with the public (specifically communities of color) led some police administrators to question how they could reconnect with the public while effectively dealing with an increasing crime problem. Police administrators began looking for policing strategies beyond the traditional model of policing that they had used in previous decades. Beginning in the late 1960s, some police administrators experimented with alternative policing strategies with the hope that it would improve their relationship with the public and allow them to more effectively manage crime.

Team policing was one of the first alternative approaches used in place of traditional policing by some American police agencies in the late 1960s. The use of a team approach to policing was first suggested in 1967 by the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice and then later reiterated by the 1973 Commission on Standards and Goals.¹²

It is difficult to define team policing, as it meant something different in every police agency that tried to implement it.¹³ There were, however, three elements of team policing that were common among most agencies that tried to adopt this approach:¹⁴ First, the permanent assignment of teams of officers to specific neighborhoods was meant to strengthen their relationship with residents and to help identify crime problems unique to each neighborhood. The traditional policing model assigned individual police officers to a beat area for a specific time but would then rotate them to another beat area shortly

thereafter. This did not provide officers with ample time to get to know the residents living in their beat areas. Further, the traditional model did not encourage officers to get to know people living in their beat areas.

A second element of team policing included maximum interaction and communication among all officers working within a neighborhood (this included officers who were involved and not involved in team policing efforts). It is important to note that most police agencies did not involve all of the patrol-level officers in team policing efforts. The benefit of increased communication was the exchange of information among officers. In some police agencies, team police officers would have formal or informal briefing sessions each week to discuss problems within their neighborhoods, with the intent to solicit advice from others regarding potential solutions to the identified problems.

A third element of team policing involved active and frequent communication among team police officers and residents of the neighborhoods they were working in.¹⁵ Regular meetings including both police officers and residents was one way to encourage interaction. The meetings were believed to be one way of keeping the peace in the neighborhoods (between police and residents), encourage the flow of information between these two groups, and provide residents the opportunity to assist police officers in identifying community problems. Recall, traditional policing utilized a one-way communication style between officers and residents, where police officers did most of the talking. Increased communication also included people working in social service agencies in the community. Police personnel believed that referrals to such agencies would be easier if they had open lines of communications with these agencies.¹⁶

There were several evaluations of team policing efforts across the United States. *Issues in Team Policing: A Review of the Literature* notes that a wide range of results were reported within team policing literature, with some evaluations indicating positive results; however, the validity of some of those evaluations is questionable.¹⁷ The evaluations of team policing conducted in several U.S. cities identified obstacles to the success of team policing. First, there was a lack of support by middle managers within police organizations.¹⁸ Team policing was designed to give more decision-making power to patrol-level officers (decentralization of decision-making). Some middle managers believed that team policing resulted in them having less power within their organizations and they did not like it. Middle managers were vocal in their opposition to this policing strategy and would actively undermine the operational freedom of the team policing leaders. The resistance from middle managers made it difficult to fully implement this policing strategy.

Another obstacle to team policing included police officers who were not part of the team policing strategy.¹⁹ Most police agencies only committed a portion of their patrol officers to work as team policing officers. In some agencies, police administrators chose officers to work as team policing officers, which upset some officers who were not asked to be part of this effort or were not given the opportunity to apply for such positions. In some police agencies, there was a lack of communication about team policing to patrol-level officers; in some instances, patrol officers first learned of team policing efforts in their organization from the news media. Non-team policing officers also resented the community aspect of team policing as they viewed it as an attempt to placate residents of color who held negative views toward the police.²⁰ In addition, officers involved in the team policing effort were paid overtime, which created resentment among officers who were not given the opportunity to earn extra money.

Radio dispatchers were also identified as an obstacle to the success of team policing. Dispatching systems of that time were not equipped to easily determine which patrol cars belonged to team police officers or regular uniformed officers, which frustrated already stressed dispatch workers. It is important to mention that dispatchers working in large cities would be responsible for managing anywhere from 30 to 70 patrol cars during their shift.²¹ In some instances, team police officers would be geographically closer to incoming calls for service from residents, but dispatchers had to call on non-team policing officers to respond instead. In a nutshell, team policing created an additional layer of stress for dispatch workers who were limited by the type of dispatch technology available during that time.

Ultimately, team policing was viewed as a failure and faded away in the mid-1970s.²² Ironically, many of the guiding principles of team policing can be found in another contemporary policing strategy, community policing, which is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING (LATE 1970s)

During the early 1970s, researchers began to focus on how various police activities impacted crime. More specifically, researchers examined the effectiveness of traditional police strategies, including routine patrol, response time to calls for service, and criminal investigation. A national study conducted by the RAND Corporation found that crimes were not solved by investigators focusing primarily on gathering evidence from crime scenes; instead, they needed to interview and work with witnesses and victims to get enough information to clear cases.²³ Another study conducted in Kansas City examined how police response time impacts the likelihood of the apprehension of people who have committed an offense. This study revealed that faster response times did not result in more arrests and that the immediacy of initial reporting by residents played a greater role in resulting arrests.²⁴ The Kansas City Preventive Patrol study conducted from 1972 to 1973 revealed that random police patrol does not influence crime.²⁵ The findings from these studies challenged the assumption that these traditional police activities had an impact on crime. The research findings revealed that police officers had to do more than just simply react to calls for police service from the public.

In 1979, Herman Goldstein introduced **problem-oriented policing** (POP) as an alternative to traditional policing. As previously mentioned, traditional policing consists of officers responding to a series of individual calls for service; once a call is completed, the officer moves on to the next call and so on. POP requires officers to look for patterns among individual calls for service to identify potential underlying causes of problems or behaviors, locations, victims, and people who have committed an offense that the calls may have in common.²⁶ In other words, “A problem is the basic unit of police work rather than a crime, a case, calls, or incidents.”²⁷

Officers use methodical problem-solving processes to respond to incidents of crime and disorder. One problem-solving methodology is the **SARA model**. This acronym represents a four-stage process that can be used by police officers as they attempt to solve problems.

1. *Scanning*—identify repeated problems by the police and the public.
2. *Analysis*—examine underlying conditions or common factors unique to the identified problem.
3. *Response*—research how the identified problem is handled in other places by other police agencies to help determine which response would be most effective.
4. *Assessment*—determine if the response to the problem had any impact on the identified problem; the assessment should be an ongoing process to maintain desired outcomes.²⁸

Another technique used to identify issues related to crime and disorder is the **problem analysis triangle**.²⁹ According to the problem analysis triangle, three things must exist for a crime to occur: a crime victim, an offender desiring to commit a crime, and an opportunity in a certain space/place. If one of these items is missing, it is likely that a crime will not occur. This approach to problem identification is derived from routine activities theory. Routine activities theory explains how and why crime occurs by identifying certain conditions related to people who have committed an offense, victims/targets, and opportunity.³⁰ This theory is based on the idea that crime will occur if there is a motivated offender, a victim/target without a guardian present, and an opportunity presenting itself at that place, at that time. The problem analysis triangle uses these three elements to figure out how to control and manage



Problem-solving requires police officers to communicate effectively.
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the presentation of opportunities for crime to occur when people who commit offenses and victims come together in certain places at certain times (see Figure 2.1).³¹

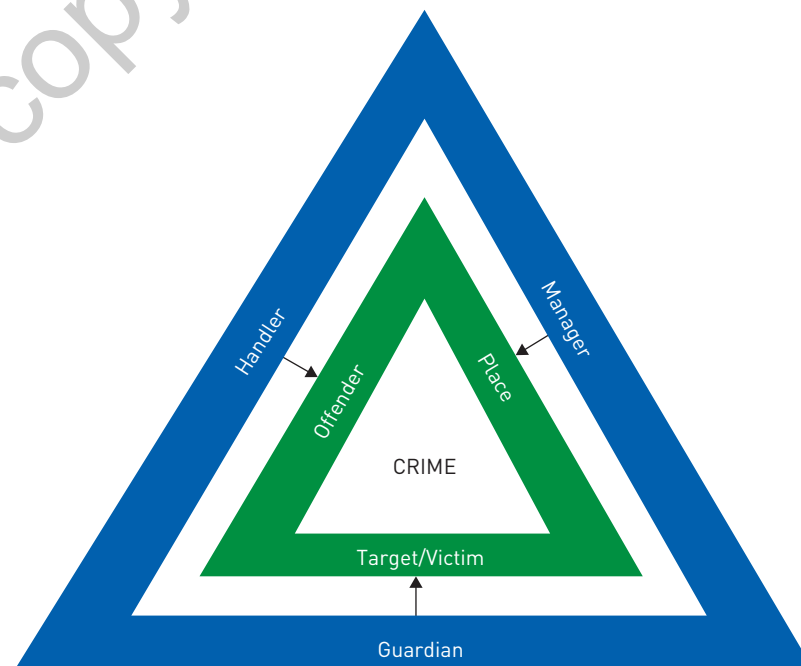
The problem analysis triangle has two layers: (1) an inner layer that includes the offender, a place, and a victim/target and (2) an outer layer that includes “controllers” for each of the elements found in the inner layer. According to the POP Center website,

Offenders can sometimes be controlled by other people: those people are known as handlers. Targets and victims can sometimes be protected by other people known as guardians. And places are usually controlled by someone: those people are known as managers. Thus, effective problem-solving requires understanding how people who commit offenses and their targets/victims come together in places, and understanding how those people who commit offenses, targets/victims, and places are not effectively controlled.³²

John Eck and William Spelman use the problem analysis triangle as the basis for their classification system of the three types of problems that police officers deal with, as well as a theory about how these problems arise.³³ Eck and Spelman identified three types of problems: wolf, duck, and den problems.

- People who commit offenses attacking different targets at different places are considered wolf problems. This type of problem occurs when people who commit offenses locate vulnerable targets and places and repeatedly attack them. The lack of control by handlers lead to the occurrence of wolf problems. An example of a wolf problem is when a person robs multiple convenience stores in different locations in a community. The convenience stores could be viewed as vulnerable targets at night since there are fewer patrons and workers inside the stores.
- People who are repeatedly attacked by different people who commit offenses are called sitting duck problems. Duck problems are likely to occur when victims continually interact with potential people who commit offenses at different places, but the victims do not take any precautionary measures and guardians are absent or ineffective. An example of a duck problem would be when pizza delivery drivers are repeatedly robbed in different locations by different people.

FIGURE 2.1 ■ The Problem Analysis Triangle



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- Different people who commit offenses and different targets interacting at the same place are called den problems. Den problems occur when random people who commit offenses and random targets encounter each other in a place where there is ineffective management. Ultimately, the den contributes to the continuous problem. An example of a den problem would be when a bar or tavern has recurring physical altercations involving different people most of the time.

Eck and Spelman point out that many problems that the police encounter are often a mixture of wolf, duck, and den problems. Police officers need to figure out which of the three is dominant in any given problem. This will help them determine the best way to remedy the problem.

The use of such problem-solving strategies has contributed to the overall success of POP in the United States. Beginning with one of the first POP evaluations in Newport News, Virginia, there is a growing body of research-based evidence that suggests that it can be an effective approach to policing.³⁴ The National Research Council reports that problem-solving techniques can reduce some types of crime, gun-related youth homicide, the public's fear of crime, and several other types of disorder, including prostitution and drug dealing.³⁵ Chapter 8 will discuss the effectiveness of POP in greater detail. The reported benefits from using POP have contributed to the increasing use of this strategy in police agencies across the United States. According to Michael Scott of the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing,

There is no easy way to quantify the number of police agencies engaged in problem-oriented policing, much less to gauge the precise nature and quality of those efforts; it is safe to say that far more agencies claim to be engaged in problem-oriented policing today than at any other time.³⁶

Despite claims of increased use of POP by many U.S. police agencies, Herman Goldstein asserts that the implementation and maintenance of POP can be difficult. He identified several impediments to the full utilization and development of POP in police agencies across the United States.³⁷ First, police leaders must understand that a long-term commitment to POP is necessary. This includes a commitment with allocation of resources, as well as continuity whenever there are changes in the police administration. Second, within most agencies, there is a lack of people with the skills that are required to analyze problems and to evaluate strategies used to deal with the identified problems. To correct this issue, police administrators should create a division or unit within the agency that is devoted solely to research, planning, and crime analysis. Once this division is created, it should be staffed with individuals that have skills related to research methods and criminological theories. Third, there is a lack of collaboration between police agencies and academicians. Police administrators need to allow researchers into their agencies to conduct research. Fourth, there is an absence of pressure by the public requesting that police agencies use problem-solving strategies. And finally, there is a lack of financial support to either implement or maintain POP within police agencies of various sizes; however, this is likely to be more difficult for smaller police agencies with limited budgets. Even considering some of the issues related to the adoption and maintenance of POP, research suggests that there can be many benefits to communities when police agencies utilize this alternative to traditional policing.

BROKEN WINDOWS (EARLY 1980s)

The public's fear of crime was on the rise in the late 1970s in the United States. Some police agencies tried to reduce the public's fear of crime by reducing reported crime in their neighborhoods.³⁸ Others believed that putting police officers back on foot patrol would remind residents of a time long ago when crime was not as bad, thus reducing their fear of crime.³⁹ This assertion was tested after the 1973 Safe and Clean Neighborhoods Act was passed by the New Jersey legislature. The primary goal of this legislation was to create safe and clean neighborhoods; the use of foot patrol was mandated as part of this legislation to increase police presence.⁴⁰ The Police Foundation conducted an evaluation of the impact of foot patrol on crime and fear of crime in Newark, New Jersey, from 1978 to 1979. The evaluation

revealed that foot patrol did not impact crime rates but did have a positive impact on residents' attitudes toward crime and their fear of crime.⁴¹

The results from the Newark Foot Patrol study influenced the **broken windows theory** proposed by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling in 1982. Broken windows theory is based on the idea that visible decay and disorder in neighborhoods will lead to crime and other problems related to social disorder. Wesley Skogan identified two types of disorder: (1) social/human disorder—such as people hanging out on street corners and youths loitering in neighborhoods, and (2) physical disorder—such as graffiti, trash in the streets, and dilapidated cars and buildings.⁴² If residents living within a neighborhood see evidence of disorder or decay and then become fearful, they will retreat indoors and the interaction between them, their neighbors, and the police will become minimal or nonexistent. The loss of the watchful eyes of the public contributes to crime moving into an area, as they will not be able to provide information to the police about incidents happening in their neighborhoods.⁴³

Foot patrol plays a key role in broken windows theory. This is based on the notion that foot patrol officers will be able to identify patterns of disorder in neighborhoods and create strong relationships with people living in those neighborhoods. Wilson and Kelling argue that this could not be accomplished in the same manner by officers in patrol cars.⁴⁴ The importance of foot patrol to broken windows theory was confirmed with the results of the Newark Foot Patrol study in the early 1970s, and then again, several years later with the results of the Flint, Michigan, Foot Patrol study. Both studies revealed that police officers on foot patrol can in fact reduce residents' fear of crime.

Wilson and Kelling's broken windows theory mirrors a line of reasoning used in a criminological experiment conducted by Dr. Phillip Zimbardo (a psychologist at Stanford University) in 1969.⁴⁵ Zimbardo's experiment highlighted the significance of the symbolism of "broken windows." Zimbardo intentionally placed an abandoned car in a neighborhood in the Bronx (New York) and another abandoned car in Palo Alto (California) with no license plates to see if people would vandalize the cars. In the Bronx, the car captured the attention of vandals and thieves after 10 minutes of being abandoned. A family consisting of a father, mother, and son were the first to tamper with the car. They took the radiator and battery from the car. Everything of value was stripped from the car within 24 hours. After that, people began to randomly vandalize the car by ripping the upholstered seats and breaking windows and other parts of the car. Kids living in the neighborhood started to use the abandoned car as a playground.⁴⁶ In contrast, the car in Palo Alto remained untouched for more than a week. Zimbardo decided to damage part of the car with a sledgehammer. Shortly thereafter, people began to vandalize the car. After a few hours, the car in Palo Alto was destroyed.

The results of Zimbardo's experiment suggest that signs of vandalism, such as broken windows, coupled with environmental conditions that suggest that "no one cares" (a lack of informal social control) are an invitation to people to participate in criminal acts with little fear of apprehension.⁴⁷ Broken windows theory sounds good, but does it really work? The answer to this question is unclear as the body of research on this topic is somewhat mixed. There are some studies that have found that the broken windows approach to policing has had an impact on a variety of crimes.⁴⁸ There are other studies that have found no empirical support for broken windows.⁴⁹ Chapter 8 discusses the effectiveness of broken windows theory in greater detail.

Consequences of Broken Windows in Racially and Ethnically Diverse Neighborhoods

There is some evidence that the broken windows approach to policing can have a negative impact on residents living in low-income and racially diverse neighborhoods and can damage the relationship that police officers have with residents in neighborhoods where this policing strategy has been used. An example of this includes the use of "blue summonses" by officers working in the Newark (New Jersey) Police Department.⁵⁰ Blue summonses are citations given out by Newark police officers for low-level, disorder offenses. The use of citations for low-level crimes was supposed to reduce crime in a city that has been dealing with high rates of violent crime for years. Instead of reducing crime, this aggressive strategy reduced trust of the police and cooperation between police and residents, and ultimately resulted in a federal investigation of the Newark Police Department.

Newark's Fraternal Order of Police (police union) reported that police officers were encouraged and rewarded when they issued a high number of citations. This resulted in officers issuing citations to “convenient targets” such as people 65 years and older and people with mental illnesses and disabilities, which created a financial burden for them as they had to pay fines. Citations were also issued to Latinx and African American residents at a higher disproportionate rate. Newark police officers and residents agree that the broken windows–based policing strategy damaged the Newark Police Department's relationship with the racial and ethnic minority community.

Another example of a negative outcome resulting from broken windows policing was the death of Eric Garner in New York City in 2014. New York City police officers apprehended Garner for committing a broken-windows offense, specifically, a petty act of criminality involving the sale of loose cigarettes. In a video recording of the incident, Garner can be heard repeatedly saying, “I can't breathe,” as he struggled to get out of the illegal chokehold being administered by a New York City police officer.⁵¹ Eric Garner died from the police-administered chokehold. Typically, the punishment for the sale of loose cigarettes results in a fine. The Garner family was awarded a \$4 million settlement as part of a wrongful death settlement.⁵² The officer who administered the illegal chokehold was eventually fired by the New York City Police Department in August 2019; however, the officer filed a lawsuit to get his job back in October 2019.⁵³



Several protests followed the death of Eric Garner in New York City.

G. Ronald Lopez / Alamy Stock Photo

COMMUNITY POLICING (1980s/1990s)

Throughout the reform era in American policing, the goal was to professionalize the police. This goal was based on good intentions, but ultimately it resulted in several unforeseen problems for the police. To begin with, the relationship between the public and the police deteriorated with the introduction of motorized patrol and the focus on crimefighting adopted by most police agencies.⁵⁴ Motorized patrol reduced the amount of face-to-face contact between the police and the public, and the interactions that did take place between the two groups became more impersonal and strained. This growing rift between the police and residents contributed to the emergence of a police subculture in which there was an inherent distrust of the public, the media, and police administrators.⁵⁵ These unforeseen problems marked the beginning of another phase of police reform that centered on bridging the gap that had widened between the police and the public in the 1960s and 1970s.

Rumblings of a new community-based approach to policing began as early as the mid-1970s with a community-oriented policing project in San Diego, California.⁵⁶ **Community policing** became a popular topic among police administrators in the 1980s and 1990s, and received additional attention with the passage of the 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act.⁵⁷ Title I of this Act (Public Safety Partnership and Community Policing Act) placed great importance on fostering a relationship between police and residents, in addition to utilizing problem-solving skills as part of routine police work. This legislation was meant to encourage police agencies to adopt community policing across the United States.⁵⁸ This act also created the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) to regulate and distribute \$8.8 billion allocated to programs derived from this legislation.⁵⁹

What exactly is community policing? Community policing is not easily characterized; in fact, it may be defined and practiced in different ways by different police agencies.⁶⁰ The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services describes community policing as “a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which supports the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime.”⁶¹ This approach to policing is different from traditional policing

as it promotes partnerships with the community and places an emphasis on quality-of-life issues that are important to residents. It is also important to note that community policing and problem-oriented policing are not the same thing. Jack Greene explains that “while community policing has a broad community building mandate, problem-oriented policing is more focused and, as its name implies, problem specific.”⁶²

Community partnerships, organizational transformation, and problem-solving are three general components associated with community policing.⁶³ Community partnerships with residents, other government and law enforcement agencies, community groups, and the media are important, as they help increase trust in the police and aid in the identification and development of solutions to problems in communities. Organizational transformation occurs when police management, information systems, organizational structure, and police personnel come together to support community partnerships and proactive problem-solving efforts.⁶⁴ This requires police agencies to become less centralized in nature and to adopt management styles that allow more decision-making to take place at the patrol level. And finally, problem-solving involves the process of proactive and systematic identification of problems, as well as finding solutions to identified problems in communities. This involves the use of some systematic problem-solving approach such as the SARA model or the problem analysis triangle (discussed earlier in this chapter). These three components must be present for community policing to be fully implemented by police agencies.

The adoption of community policing by American police agencies has increased over time. The most recent statistics provided by the Bureau of Justice Statistics indicate that in 2013, 70% of local police agencies included a community policing component in their mission statement compared to 53% in 2007 and 47% of police agencies in 2003.⁶⁵ More than half (60%) of all local police agencies provided community policing training to their newly hired police officers in 2013, as well as 67% of police officers already employed within local police agencies.⁶⁶ When comparing statistics from 1997 to those from 2013, there has been an increase in the reported adoption of community policing in the United States. The increase in reported implementation of community policing over time has been supported by grants provided by COPS. COPS grants provide local police agencies with resources to fund training, implement community-based programs, and make other efforts that reflect the community policing philosophy.⁶⁷

Despite the increase in reported implementation by police agencies in the United States, there have been some criticisms of community policing. A book edited by Jack Greene and Stephen Mastrofski, *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality*, identifies several problems related to community policing. The editors note that implementation would be difficult without a practical definition of community policing. Also, they suggest that community policing might just be “old wine in new bottles” or that it is a public relations attempt by police agencies to improve their legitimacy with the public. The book also discusses the extent to which community policing can fulfill the claims it makes regarding community impact. Other issues include limited resources and budgets (especially if COPS grants are no longer available to police agencies in the future) and the ability of police administrators to control police officer discretion after organizations become decentralized as a result of organizational change related to community policing.⁶⁸ Over the past three decades, research examining some of the previously mentioned problems has shed light on the effectiveness of community policing in the United States.

Because definitions of community policing vary among police agencies in the United States, it has been difficult to assess the effectiveness of this policing strategy.⁶⁹ As a result, police practices associated with community policing have been evaluated on an individual basis. For example, research indicates that neighborhood watches, foot patrol, storefront offices, and community meetings do not reduce crime, but they may influence resident perceptions of disorder in their neighborhoods.⁷⁰ There is some evidence that the community’s level of fear is lowered when community policing efforts focus on increasing police–resident interaction. Another part of community policing is making changes to the organizational structure of American police agencies. The National Research Council reports that it is difficult to form general conclusions about changes made to organizational structures nationwide due to wide variation across police agencies.⁷¹ And finally, evaluations of problem-solving activities have shown that this approach to policing can be highly effective.⁷² This body of research will be covered in greater detail in Chapter 8 when police effectiveness is discussed.

Community policing has been touted as one of the most significant changes made to American policing since police reform began long ago. This approach to policing emerged because of the growing divide between the police and the public during the reform era and has since been recognized as an effective way for the police to reconnect with the public. Despite the success of community policing, some police agencies have refocused their efforts toward aggressively targeting minor crimes and problems related to social disorder. In other words, some police agencies replaced building community partnerships with a form of “kick ass” policing.⁷³

ZERO-TOLERANCE POLICING (EARLY 1990s)

The idea behind the phrase “zero tolerance” suggests that no infraction (big or small) will be tolerated within certain settings. This phrase was used during the 1980s and 1990s during the war on drugs in the United States. Zero tolerance was first applied to American policing in the early 1990s. Police Commissioner William Bratton and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani implemented a policing strategy that focused primarily on the control of social disorder and minor crimes in New York City in 1993. This strategy, referred to as **zero-tolerance policing**, requires police officers to strictly enforce laws and ordinances related to minor crimes and disorder (such as public drunkenness, panhandling, vandalism, loitering, prostitution, etc.).⁷⁴

Zero-tolerance policing contains elements of both traditional policing and broken windows. Like traditional policing, zero-tolerance policing narrows the police role to strict enforcement of the law, with a heavy reliance on formal actions such as arrest and issuing citations.⁷⁵ Like broken windows, this strategy assumes that disorder and minor crimes can lead to more serious crimes if left unattended by the police.⁷⁶ This approach is also based on principles related to deterrence theory. The hope is that the aggressive enforcement of laws and ordinances related to minor crimes and disorder will send a message to people who commit crime that the police will not tolerate any type of crime (minor or major), and as a result, people will be deterred from committing crimes in the future.⁷⁷

A report published by the RAND Corporation provides several reasons why police officers should avoid using zero-tolerance policing.⁷⁸ The report describes zero-tolerance policing as a strategy that

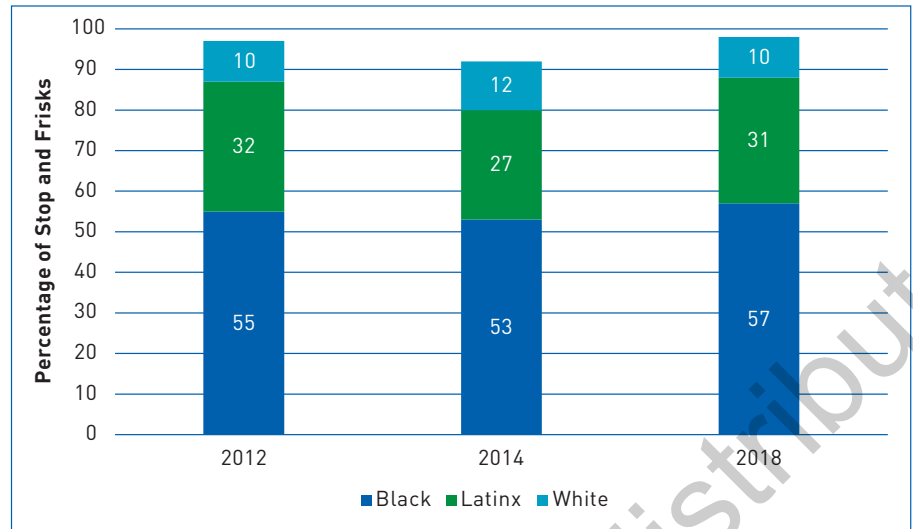
consists of stopping, questioning, and frisking pedestrians or drivers considered to be acting suspiciously and then arresting them for offenses when possible, typically for low-level offenses such as possessing marijuana. A defining difference between zero-tolerance interventions and other strategies are not discerning; the focus is on making stops and arrests to crack down on all types of disorder, generally defined. A common motivation is that the existence of even low-level offenses implies that an area is not well controlled, which in turn will lead to people committing more serious crimes there.⁷⁹

The Negative Impact of Stop and Frisk on Diverse Neighborhoods

“**Stop and frisk**” practices by police officers fall under the purview of zero-tolerance policing as it is defined in the RAND report. Stop and frisk is a controversial policing strategy that has resulted in several police departments defending the use of it in court over the past decade. In 2013, United States District Court Judge Shira A. Scheindlin ruled that New York City police officers violated the U.S. Constitution in the way that they carried out their stop and frisk program, calling it a form of racial profiling of young Black and Hispanic men.⁸⁰ Data on the website of the American Civil Liberties Union of New York identifies a racial disparity in pedestrian stops conducted by New York City police officers (see data in Figure 2.2).⁸¹

A similar pattern of racial disparity was found by researchers involved in the court case *Collins v. City of Milwaukee* in 2017.⁸² Milwaukee police officers conducted approximately 716,000 pedestrian and traffic stops from 2010 to 2017 without the reasonable suspicion required by the Fourth Amendment.⁸³ Further analysis of the data revealed that Black and Latinx residents were more likely to be subject to traffic stops than were white residents, including in neighborhoods where the population is predominantly white. African American residents are six times more likely than white residents to

FIGURE 2.2 ■ Stop and Frisk in New York City



2012 One year before <i>Floyd v. City of New York</i>	2014 One year after <i>Floyd v. City of New York</i>	2018 Five years after <i>Floyd v. City of New York</i>
532,911 total stops	45,787 total stops	11,008 total stops
473,644 (89%) no formal action taken	37,744 (82%) no formal action taken	7,645 (70%) no formal action taken
284,229 (55%) Black	24,319 (53%) Black	6,241 (57%) Black
165,140 (32%) Latinx	12,489 (27%) Latinx	3,389 (31%) Latinx
50,366 (10%) White	5,467 (12%) White	1,074 (10%) White

Source: NYPD's Annual Reports, via NYCLU <https://www.nyclu.org/en/stop-and-frisk-data>

be involved in traffic or pedestrian stops even when considering factors other than race (such as crime rates).

The Department of Justice (DOJ) Collaborative Reform report published in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* revealed that a verbal warning (no formal action) was taken in most (73%) traffic stops.⁸⁴ This finding is troubling because residents are inconvenienced by traffic stops, yet there is no real outcome resulting from the traffic stops. It is reasonable for some residents to feel like they were stopped for no good (legal) reason or that they were racially profiled by the police. The DOJ report also shows that most Milwaukee police officers did not fill out contact cards after they encountered people during pedestrian stops (nonvehicular stops). Only 29% of pedestrian stops (42,960 out of a total of 146,474 stops) had completed contact cards filled out by officers.⁸⁵ This means that there is no recorded information about the nature of pedestrian stops, who was involved in the pedestrian stops, or the outcome of the pedestrian stops for 71% of the pedestrian stops made by officers from 2013 to 2015. Based on the completed contact cards, Black residents accounted for over half (58%) of the pedestrian stops, white residents were involved in 25% of the pedestrian stops, and residents categorized as “other” accounted for approximately 1% of the pedestrian stops. Approximately 16% of the completed contact cards were missing the race/ethnicity of the resident involved in the stop.⁸⁶

The Milwaukee Police Department and the New York City Police Department are just two examples of police departments that have been accused of using stop and frisk more often in racially diverse neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods. Police departments in Minneapolis,⁸⁷ Philadelphia,⁸⁸ and

Chicago⁸⁹ have also been forced to make changes regarding the use of this zero-tolerance policing strategy. This policing strategy has resulted in an erosion of the police–resident relationship and increased mistrust of the police in racial and ethnic minority neighborhoods.

Does zero-tolerance policing really work? The National Research Council examined studies focused on the impact of disorder policing on crime (*disorder policing* is a general term used for policing strategies that focus on the enforcement of laws and ordinances related to less serious crimes and disorder such as broken windows and zero-tolerance policing). The council asserts that enforcement practices (specifically arrest) applied broadly to the enforcement of minor crimes have not been supported by research.⁹⁰ They point out that a study by George Kelling and William Sousa did find a direct link between rate of arrests for minor crimes and crime rates in New York City precincts.⁹¹ However, the validity of these findings has been questioned due to several limitations with the data analyzed in the study.⁹² Some argue that the reduction in crime in New York City after William Bratton and Rudy Giuliani implemented zero-tolerance policing cannot be attributed to this policing strategy, as crime was also dropping at a similar rate in other major cities across the United States at that time.⁹³ Specifically, crime was dropping in cities that were using other types of policing strategies that were not based on zero tolerance (such as the San Diego Police Department using problem-oriented policing at that time).⁹⁴ Chapter 8 discusses the effectiveness of zero-tolerance policing in greater detail.

Zero-tolerance policing has been the subject of criticism. Some argue that zero-tolerance policing may put the community back into a more passive role in crime and order maintenance (like that of the reform era) in favor of a more aggressive and active role on behalf of the police.⁹⁵ Lawrence Sherman argues that zero-tolerance policing can increase crime over time. He believes that people may become angry about being arrested more frequently for minor crimes, thus inciting them to lash out or participate in additional crimes.⁹⁶ Another criticism of zero-tolerance policing is that it puts police officers into a “wartime mentality” in which they use overly aggressive actions toward people and ultimately alienate themselves from the public (particularly people of color and people living in low-income, high-crime neighborhoods).⁹⁷ Evidence of this in New York City was an increase in both resident complaints and lawsuits filed against the police based on allegations of police abuse and misconduct after zero-tolerance policing was implemented.⁹⁸ Critics of zero-tolerance policing assert that this aggressive approach directly conflicts with the goals of community policing. Further, critics argue that zero-tolerance policing could potentially undo any progress that has been made in communities in which the police have successfully rebuilt their relationship and trust with the public.

Zero-tolerance policing is viewed by some as taking a step backward regarding police reform in the United States. This policing strategy puts police officers in an adversarial position with the public. Still others view this approach to policing as an effective means of crime control. Despite this difference in perspective, American police agencies continue to adapt to demands placed on them by the public and changing social conditions.



Aggressive policing tactics, such as zero-tolerance policing, often result in increased arrests.

AP Photo/Mark Humphrey

INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING (EARLY 2000s)

The attack on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001, highlighted the importance of intelligence as it relates to national security in the United States. After that day, police executives began to think about ways that they could incorporate intelligence more effectively in their work. This tragic event in U.S. history marks the beginning of increased interest in another alternative to traditional policing—**intelligence-led policing** (ILP). This approach has been used in other countries (including Australia, New Zealand, and locations within the United Kingdom) dating back to the

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1990s.⁹⁹ The concept of ILP is not necessarily new to the United States; it just began to receive more attention from police executives after the terrorist attacks took place in 2001.

The term *intelligence-led policing* does not have one standard definition and is used in different ways by police agencies across the United States.¹⁰⁰ Jerry Ratcliffe defines intelligence-led policing as

a business model and managerial philosophy where data analysis and crime intelligence are pivotal to an objective, decision-making framework that facilitates crime and problem reduction, disruption and prevention through both strategic management and effective enforcement strategies that target prolific and serious people who have committed an offense.¹⁰¹

Essentially, the goal of ILP is to collect intelligence on crime and people who commit crime and then formulate the best way to respond to these problems.

But how does ILP work exactly? The three-I model (interpret, impact, influence) explains how ILP can be used in relation to crime reduction in policing.¹⁰² There are three parts to this model. First, crime analysts need to *interpret* the criminal environment to look for significant or emerging threats. Next, crime analysts must use that intelligence to *influence* key decision makers within the organization. And finally, key decision makers need to provide resources to have an *impact* on the criminal environment.¹⁰³ All three components of the three-I model must be present for crime prevention and reduction to occur.¹⁰⁴

Intelligence-led policing has been utilized by several types of police agencies in the United States in a variety of creative strategies:¹⁰⁵

- A county sheriff's office identifies narcotics control as its top priority and develops strategies accordingly. The office targets known people who have committed an offense, shuts down open-air drug markets and crack houses, and participates in school-based drug awareness programs to help prevent drug use.
- A statewide agency identifies vehicle insurance fraud as a top area for enforcement. The agency targets those involved in staged accidents, identifies communities in which insurance fraud is prevalent, looks for similar methods of operation that may indicate ongoing fraudulent activity, and mounts a public education campaign.
- A police agency in a small city makes safe streets a priority. The agency focuses on directed enforcement in identified hot spots. It also targets career criminals whose apprehension will significantly reduce the number of crimes being committed. Preventive measures include enhanced patrols, improved street lighting, and crime watch programs.

The sharing of intelligence among various types of law enforcement and government agencies is at the very core of ILP. The United States has fusion centers that provide information to police officials at various levels (from patrol up to the chief) and across various types of police agencies (from local to federal agencies).¹⁰⁶ According to the Department of Homeland Security website, there are 79 fusion centers in all 50 states and in Guam, U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia as of April 2019.¹⁰⁷ Fusion centers not only include antiterrorism information but also provide information on a wide variety of crimes, including identity theft, money laundering, armed robbery, and insurance fraud, to name a few.¹⁰⁸ There are two types of fusion centers in the United States: (1) Primary fusion centers provide information sharing and analysis for an entire state and are the highest priority for available federal resources, including personnel and connectivity with federal data systems, and (2) Recognized fusion centers provide information sharing and analysis for major urban areas.¹⁰⁹

ILP has received criticism for how intelligence is collected and how the intelligence is used after it has been collected. The main criticism centers around issues related to the right to privacy. Critics argue that there is little accountability for how the police gather intelligence on people and how this information is stored and later used as part of crime reduction or crime prevention strategies.

Another criticism of ILP is that it could be used as a tool for profiling people of color. Some believe that ILP perpetuates over-policing in racially/ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Intelligence data could be generated by a biased police force or group of officers that target racially/ethnically diverse

neighborhoods. Officers spending more time in racially diverse neighborhoods will likely generate more crime reports, which could result in even more police being assigned to these neighborhoods. Using data to track specific people who are considered potential perpetrators, despite having done nothing wrong, could be an invasion of an individual's right to privacy.¹¹⁰ Proponents of intelligence-led policing counter these arguments by citing some compelling details behind areas where the approach has been tested and found to be successful. Computer-based analysis, they claim, eliminates any bias that might be inherent in human decision-making to target perpetrators and neighborhoods where crimes are predicted to appear.¹¹¹

Intelligence-led policing shares both similarities and differences with other policing strategies used in the United States. Traditional policing is similar to ILP, as the hierarchical structure of both approaches is from the top down or bureaucratic in nature, thus resulting in police management being primarily responsible for determining priorities of the organization.¹¹² These two policing approaches are different from one another, as the target of focus for traditional policing is crime detection, while ILP focuses on repeat offenders and other frequently occurring crimes.¹¹³ ILP is compatible with problem-oriented policing, as there is a similar process of identifying problems and applying solutions to those problems.¹¹⁴ There are elements of community policing that are also similar to those found in ILP. A major part of community policing involves officers getting to know the neighborhoods in which they patrol, requiring them to talk and interact with residents. ILP is similar because intelligence can only be collected if there is familiarity with an area, as well as the people and activities unique to that area.¹¹⁵

PREDICTIVE POLICING (MID-2000s)

Predictive policing uses computers to analyze data regarding crimes in a geographical area to predict where and when crime will occur in the future.¹¹⁶ This policing strategy utilizes computer models like those used in the business industry to anticipate how market conditions or trends evolve over time. Predictive policing models include variables such as places, people, groups, or incidents. This strategy involves the examination of demographic trends, parolee populations, and economic conditions within neighborhoods, all of which can affect crime rates in specific locations.¹¹⁷ Predictive policing does not identify who will commit the crime; however, it does identify “hot spots” to help police officers anticipate the time and general location where crime could occur. This knowledge informs decisions regarding where police officers should be assigned to stop crimes in progress or prevent crimes from occurring at all. This strategy has been touted as a way for police executives to maximize their resources during times when budgets are limited or shrinking. Predictive policing is not meant to replace other policing strategies. Instead, it should enhance existing strategies such as problem-oriented policing, community policing, intelligence-led policing, and hot spot policing.¹¹⁸

It has been argued that predictive policing is not a new policing strategy. After all, crime analysts have been analyzing crime data to identify trends for decades. There are a few new characteristics associated with predictive policing, including the use of sophisticated algorithms and a significant infusion of data (compared to previous decades).¹¹⁹ Some consider William Bratton (former police commissioner/chief of the New York City Police Department, the Boston Police Department, and the Los Angeles Police Department) and members of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) as the driving forces behind the increasing interest and use of predictive policing.¹²⁰ In 2008, Bratton worked with the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to further develop predictive policing. They employed the help of several researchers, practitioners, government officials, and police leaders from across the country as they discussed this topic at two NIJ-funded symposiums.¹²¹

Predictive policing is based on several assertions derived from criminological theories, including the following: (1) People who commit crime and crime victims share similar common life patterns, and any overlap in those patterns increase the likelihood of crime; (2) place and time influence where and when patterns of criminal activities occur; and (3) people make choices about whether to commit crimes by considering factors such as location, suitability of targets, and the chances of them being apprehended by the police.¹²² This strategy allows police officers to identify patterns and factors

associated with crime by using analytical techniques, which in turn allows the police to be strategically placed in order to catch people who commit crime “in the act” or to prevent people from committing crimes by taking away their opportunities.

The RAND Corporation identified predictive methods that can be separated into four general categories:¹²³

- Methods for predicting crimes predict places and times that have an increased risk of crime.
- Methods for predicting offenders identify people who are at risk of committing crimes in the future.
- Methods for predicting suspects’ identities create profiles that match likely offenders using data from specific past crimes.
- Methods for predicting crime victims use factors such as place and time to create profiles of individuals or groups who are likely to become crime victims in the future.

Since predictive policing involves collecting and analyzing data, some have argued that it is a rebranded version of intelligence-led policing. These policing strategies are different from one another because predictive policing focuses on where and when crime could happen, while intelligence-led policing focuses primarily on preventing crime victimization.

There are several myths regarding predictive policing including that computers know the future like a crystal ball. The truth is that algorithms predict the risk of future criminal incidents, not the incidents themselves.¹²⁴ Another myth is that the computer and software do all the work regarding predictive policing.¹²⁵ This is incorrect because without the people running the programs and entering the data there would be no predictive policing. It is also important to point out that the quality of data is another important element in predictive policing. After all, if you have bad data you will also have bad or inaccurate outcomes. Some people believe that police agencies need to have expensive software programs and computers to use predictive policing.¹²⁶ The truth is that police agencies can use computers that are already commonly used within those agencies and police personnel can use software such as Microsoft Office and a geographic information system program (such as ArcGIS), which are reasonably priced programs. Another myth is that the use of prediction models results in immediate decreases in crime. This is not true because predictive policing requires police officers to act using the predictions, which can be a gradual process.¹²⁷

As with every policing strategy, there are several potential problems associated with predictive policing:¹²⁸ First, it is problematic when police agencies focus on the accuracy of prediction instead of considering tactical utility. Or to put it another way, predictive models need to identify risk areas that

are small enough to be actionable by police officers. If an identified risk area encompasses most or nearly all neighborhoods in a community, this is not helping police executives determine where police officers are needed the most.

Another potential problem involves the reliance on low-quality data. RAND identified three potential problems with data used in predictive modeling: data censoring, systematic bias, and relevance.¹²⁹ Data censoring includes the purposeful omission of data for incidents of interest, in specific places, and at specific times. When data censoring occurs, it will appear as though there is no crime in a specific area. An example of this would be a failure to record crimes that occur in predominately white neighborhoods but consistently recording crimes that occur within neighborhoods composed of people of color. Systematic bias can result from the processes by which data are collected. For example, if police use data that are supposed to measure the



Computer-generated “predictive policing” zones at the Los Angeles Police Department Unified Command Post (UCP).

AP Photo/Damian Dovarganes

time a specific crime occurred but are actually using the time that the crime was reported to the police, they could incorrectly identify the time that police officers should be assigned to a particular area. This example could be a real problem for police officers because people often do not know the exact time a crime took place. And finally, relevance refers to the usefulness of the data. In some predictive models it is necessary to have retrospective data to make predictions of the future. If police agencies do not have these data or if they have changed information systems (which would not easily allow them to use data from old systems), predictive modeling would be difficult.

Predictive policing does not emphasize the need for assessment and evaluation of its effectiveness. If a police agency is investing money and personnel into a predictive policing strategy, it is important for them to know that it works. Chapter 8 discusses the effectiveness of predictive policing in greater detail.

Finally, it is problematic if police agencies using predictive policing overlook its impact on the civil rights and privacy of residents in their communities. Labeling neighborhoods and individuals as “at risk” or worthy of additional law enforcement attention inherently raises concerns about infringement of civil liberties and rights to privacy.

SMART POLICING (LATE 2000s)

Smart policing is “a strategic approach that brings more science into police operations by leveraging innovative applications of analysis, technology, and evidence-based practices.”¹³⁰ This strategy emphasizes building research partnerships to aid in the collection and analysis of data, improving efficiency of police services, and encouraging the use of innovative policing practices. Smart policing was officially recognized in 2009 when the Bureau of Justice Statistics launched a new law enforcement funding program that provided resources to police agencies that expressed interest in utilizing technology to reduce crime in an efficient manner. The launch of this initiative was in part a response to the economic downturn in 2008, which led to many law enforcement agencies experiencing significant reductions in their operating budgets.

There are five key components associated with smart policing: (1) performance measurement and research partnerships; (2) outreach and collaboration with the community and other social institutions; (3) managing organizational change in police agencies; (4) strategic targeting; and (5) utilizing intelligence, data, technology and information systems.¹³¹

An important component of smart policing involves performance measurement and research partnerships. This means that any police agency that is part of the Smart Policing Initiative community must improve their knowledge base about effective police practices and their commitment to research by documenting all implementation activities, performance measures, and measuring outcomes using research evaluations and rigorous research designs.¹³²

Smart policing includes outreach and collaboration with the community and other social institutions. This requires police agencies to build strong partnerships with community leaders and residents which will aid the police in more effectively providing services to the public. This element of smart policing is important because it will engage the community to “buy in” to this policing strategy.¹³³

Smart policing also involves managing police organizational changes. Police personnel working in smart policing organizations should plan for organizational changes that will occur because of the adoption of innovative strategies (including changes in processes, roles and expectations). They should anticipate obstacles and develop strategies to manage resistance to change both within and outside of their organizations.¹³⁴

Strategic targeting is another important component of smart policing. This requires police personnel to carefully consider sources of data used to determine appropriate targets or hot spots areas. The quality of the data will influence the accuracy of the desired targets or hot spots.¹³⁵

And finally, the fifth component of smart policing involves making better use of intelligence and other data and information systems. Smart policing requires police personnel to use data beyond the traditional information sources such as calls for police service, reported crimes, and arrests made within

specified locations.¹³⁶ Data from outside of police agencies can be useful for smart policing strategies including data from hospitals, rape and abuse crisis centers, and local probation and parole offices.

Smart policing initiatives across the United States demonstrate how this new approach to policing utilizes various combinations of the contemporary policing strategies previously discussed in this chapter:

- The Glendale (AZ) Police Department utilized multiple strategies to reduce and prevent thefts from Circle K convenience stores.¹³⁷ From 2008 to 2010 there were several thefts at Circle K stores that escalated into incidents of violence. The police department used the SARA problem-solving model to determine the underlying factors associated with the thefts. This involved the use of GIS (Geographic Information Systems) analysis to map convenience stores and their service call activity. They also administered CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) surveys of the convenience stores. CPTED involves altering the design of a location or space to deter crime.¹³⁸ Their analyses revealed that Circle K management practices and violations of CPTED principles contributed to the theft problem. Specifically, they found that inadequate staffing, failure to deal with panhandling and loitering, and several violations of CPTED principles (such as line of sight issues and product placement within the stores) were problematic.¹³⁹ To address these problems, the convenience stores made changes to their lighting, placed beer and other frequently stolen items away from the front door, corrected poor lines of sight for convenience store workers, and made changes to staffing on specific days and times when thefts were likely to occur. The changes made by Circle K convenience stores paid off. There was a reduction in calls for police service from three of the six convenience stores involved in this strategy and there was an increase in arrests and conviction rates for crimes involving the convenience stores.¹⁴⁰
- The Reno (NV) Police Department worked with researchers at the University of Nevada – Reno to reduce prescription drug use in the community.¹⁴¹ The police department created partnerships with a local substance abuse coalition, pharmacies, physicians, school district personnel, and parents and children in the community. A school survey identified prescription drug use patterns among students. Information from the results of the survey was used to develop an informational video that was later viewed by more than 1,100 students from six schools.¹⁴² Police officers working in the Reno Police Department also received specialized training to better understand the nature of prescription drug abuse, how to more accurately report prescription drug offenses, as well as pill confiscation and identification. Medical professionals working in the Reno community also received training to help them identify patients that might be at risk of addiction to prescription drugs. The Reno Police Department participated in a series of prescription drug round-ups which resulted in more than 750,000 pills being collected and destroyed.¹⁴³ They also distributed locking medicine cabinets for home use and provided educational stickers to pharmacies so that they could place the stickers on customers' prescription bags. Preliminary findings from the Reno prescription drug program evaluation suggest that there has been some reduction in the availability of prescription drugs in the community.¹⁴⁴
- The Boston (MA) Police Department was experiencing an increase in violent crimes involving guns from 2004 to 2006. To combat violent crime, the police department created a Safe Street Team (SST).¹⁴⁵ The SST consisted of teams of officers assigned to 13 violent crime hot spots. This strategy applied elements of community policing and problem-oriented policing to identify and respond to recurring problems in the targeted areas. An evaluation of the SST revealed that it contributed to a 17.3% reduction in the total number of robberies and a 15.4% decrease in the number of aggravated assaults.¹⁴⁶ The evaluation did not find any evidence of crime displacement (this is when crime moves to a nearby location).

These are just a few examples of the innovative work that is being done by some American police agencies utilizing smart policing strategies. The Strategies for Policing Innovation website reports that fifty-seven police agencies and research partners have been funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance for 72 Smart Policing Initiative projects since 2018.¹⁴⁷ It is important to note that some police agencies are doing a good job of using contemporary policing strategies to prevent and reduce crime; however, there are many American police agencies that still rely heavily on the reactive practices of the traditional model of policing.

SUMMARY

- Police administrators began to look for alternatives to the traditional model of policing after the social unrest of the 1960s.
- Team policing was the first alternative to traditional policing in the 1970s. This policing strategy requires increased face-to-face interactions with residents, and groups of police officers assigned to specific neighborhoods.
- Herman Goldstein proposed that police officers take a more analytical approach to conducting police work by looking for underlying causes of problems instead of responding to all calls for service in the same way.
- Broken windows theory is based on the premise that the police need to take care of signs of disorder when they first appear; otherwise, the disorder will turn into more serious crime problems.
- Community policing focuses on the police and residents working together in a collaborative effort to identify and manage crime and disorder.
- Smart policing is a strategy used to bring more science into police operations by leveraging innovative applications of analysis, technology, and evidence-based practices. This policing strategy emphasizes building research partnerships to aid in the collection and analysis of data, improving efficiency of police services, and encourages the use of innovative policing practices.

KEY TERMS

Broken windows theory (p. 28)	SARA model (p. 25)
Community policing (p. 29)	Smart policing (p. 37)
Intelligence-led policing (p. 33)	Stop and frisk (p. 31)
Predictive policing (p. 35)	Team policing (p. 23)
Problem analysis triangle (p. 25)	Traditional model of policing (p. 22)
Problem-oriented policing (p. 25)	Zero-tolerance policing (p. 31)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Explain why police executives decided to look for alternatives to the traditional policing model in the early 1970s.
2. What are some of the reasons that team policing failed?
3. Compare community policing with team policing.
4. What are some of the criticisms of zero-tolerance policing?
5. How does intelligence-led policing differ from the traditional model of policing?

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