

COMMUNITY POLICING IN THE 21ST CENTURY

COVID-19: TESTING POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The relationship between police and the community is imperative at all times, especially during a time of crisis. The current crisis caused by the Coronavirus, also referred to as Covid-19, is a crisis that touches everyone, including police officers, health care workers, and everyone else who typically takes care of the safety and health of community members. In fact, the police and health care workers are on the front-line of this crisis. Much of the effectiveness of the police officers during a crisis depends on their ability to connect to the residents and convince them to comply with certain orders. Almost all states have implemented shelter-at-home orders for their residents and prohibit them from congregating and doing many other things that would be normal, such as having parties, attending sports events, and weddings. Police officers must be able to effectively communicate with people who are not inclined to comply with these restrictions on their freedom. If police have failed to build relationships with residents, that communication becomes a lot more difficult and police-resident encounters could result in harm.

For instance, during the Covid-19 crisis, states, counties, and cities have imposed shelter-in-home orders, quarantine orders, self-quarantine orders, mandatory face-masks orders, and social distancing measures. For instance, in most states all nonessential businesses have closed. In many states, cities also closed beaches, parks, trails, and playgrounds. These closures are meant to help enforce social distancing measures during the Covid-19 crisis. Given that states such as California have a population of 40 million, police need citizens to comply. It would be impossible to arrest or ticket millions of people. Effective relationships between the police and residents will result in higher levels of compliance and avoid violent

Learning Objectives

1. Explain how community policing evolved.
2. Identify and describe the three eras of policing.
3. Identify and describe the historical underpinnings of community policing.
4. Explain why community policing is not a passing fad.

encounters or public protests. Community policing can lay the groundwork to establish effective police–community relations.

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, students will learn about the different eras of policing and the political and social influences that have shaped community policing. We will discuss the different operational styles of policing and how community policing can improve the relationship between police and residents to help arrest criminals, keep the peace, and assist during a time of crisis. The chapter will also talk about the challenges police officers have faced and are still facing. The chapter will also discuss why community policing is not a passing fad. Additionally, we will examine what led up to the community policing movement and why the shift to community policing was deemed to be necessary. Impetus for organizational changes comes from a variety of forces, both internally and externally. For example, police organizations are impacted by environmental factors, such as population growth and demographic fluctuations. Modern technologies create innovations in crime and criminal behavior, such as cybercrime, identity theft, hacking, and sex trafficking; or conversely, new technologies can be used to solve crimes and otherwise aid police such as facial recognition, DNA, infrared cameras, and less-than-lethal weaponry. Changes can also be forced on an organization through legal and legislative means. A glance back in history will reveal that many changes came about following civil uprisings against overreaching or corrupt government actions against citizens.

Transformative change often occurs incrementally and slowly so much so that people undergoing that transformation may not recognize that it is happening. An examination of the history of policing reveals many transformative milestones, such as the introduction of the radio, motorized patrol, and record-keeping, which modernized policing but also had a powerful impact on the transformation of police–community relations. On a larger scale, there is transformation in philosophy and values of an organization. Extraordinary occurrences brought about paradigm shifts in policing, resulting in distinct policing eras. A **paradigm shift** occurs when there is one set of thoughts, ideas, beliefs, values, and practices associated with an organization (in this case policing) that are challenged or discredited, and a new set of thoughts, ideas, beliefs, values, and practices replace the old ways. Police historians recognize three major eras in policing: political, professional (reform), and community policing. Because each era is presented in the chapter, the problems associated with each will be revealed to lend understanding of what needed to be changed and how it led to the next era. Second, the historical underpinnings of community policing will highlight how community policing evolved from individual stand-alone programs to a comprehensive ubiquitous era of its own.

THREE ERAS OF POLICING

An in-depth historical account of policing from its introduction to the present day will not be presented here; however, we will examine and identify aspects of particular time periods and discuss why change was indicated. There are three commonly acknowledged eras of policing: political, reform or professional, and community policing. These eras can

be separated into three distinct time periods, each with noteworthy and unique attributes. Although certain elements are common to all three, such as the paramilitary organizational structure and mission of crime fighting, there were many differences as well. Each era improves on the previous one; however, much of what is wrong with policing has been institutionalized, thus resistant to change despite internal and external forces. We will examine how each era became defined as such, why certain aspects became problematic, and how those problems were addressed.

Law enforcement throughout the United States has a somewhat chaotic and uneven history because of the lack of standardization and its decentralized nature. The concept of **decentralized policing** means that police organizations are under control by regional divisions, that is, city, county, and state government, not necessarily under federal authority, although federal forces were established earlier than city police; for example, the U.S. Marshals Service was established in 1789.¹ The fragmented nature of American law enforcement differed greatly and purposefully from Britain's structure, where all law enforcement was tied directly to a central commissioner under Parliament's Home Secretary. Following the Revolutionary War, those charged with creating the United States of America wanted to move away from centralized governance and monarchy of England. The notion of a localized sphere of control and authority appealed to them. As various law enforcement agencies popped up across America, more distinct jurisdictional boundaries were established for handling the various types of crimes rather than simply handling crimes based on geographic areas. For instance, there are special units for sex crimes and homicides. However, some jurisdictional overlap, conflict, and/or collaboration of crimes and geography are inevitable among the many law enforcement agencies. An offender who engages in drug trafficking, for example, may be tried by the state in which they were arrested but also by the federal government because drug trafficking is a federal offense. Or, an offender who commits homicides in several states creates the dilemma of determining which state will prosecute the offender. You might remember the Washington snipers, John Allan Muhammad and Lee Boyd Malvo, who killed 10 people and injured three others in the Mid-Atlantic/Washington Area in October 2002. They killed people in Maryland and Virginia and after their arrest on October 24 in Maryland, prosecutors had to decide in which state to prosecute the two snipers. In the end, they were put on trial in Virginia because Virginia has the death penalty and Maryland does not. In such cases, states have to collaborate and resolve conflicts.²

Describing police history in three distinct time periods helps us recognize and identify dominant philosophies and strategies of the time; however, the history of policing in America is much more complex and dynamic, beginning with a very informal type of policing to the very formal policing we know today. For example, the introduction of police to American municipalities may be better understood from a regional perspective, for example, Northeastern, Southern, and Western expansion. Cities within the regions developed policing services for different reasons. The Northeastern beginnings having the greatest ties to England, and Sir Robert Peel developed a more rigid concept of the policeman with a uniformed, paramilitary ideal. In this region, police were needed to protect property of the landowners from transitory people, especially immigrants. Early Northeastern police were developed to protect the shipping industry in Boston, for example. Southern policing had its roots in slave patrols, preventing runaway slaves, slave uprisings, and enforcing Jim Crow laws. The move West, through an unforgiving and

unsettled landscape, called for a more rogue style of law enforcement and the focus was on land claims and lawlessness. The regional perspective may seem to show differences by region; however, clearly the overarching impetus for policing was to serve and protect the rights and property of property owners from transient, low socioeconomic immigrants and non-property owners.

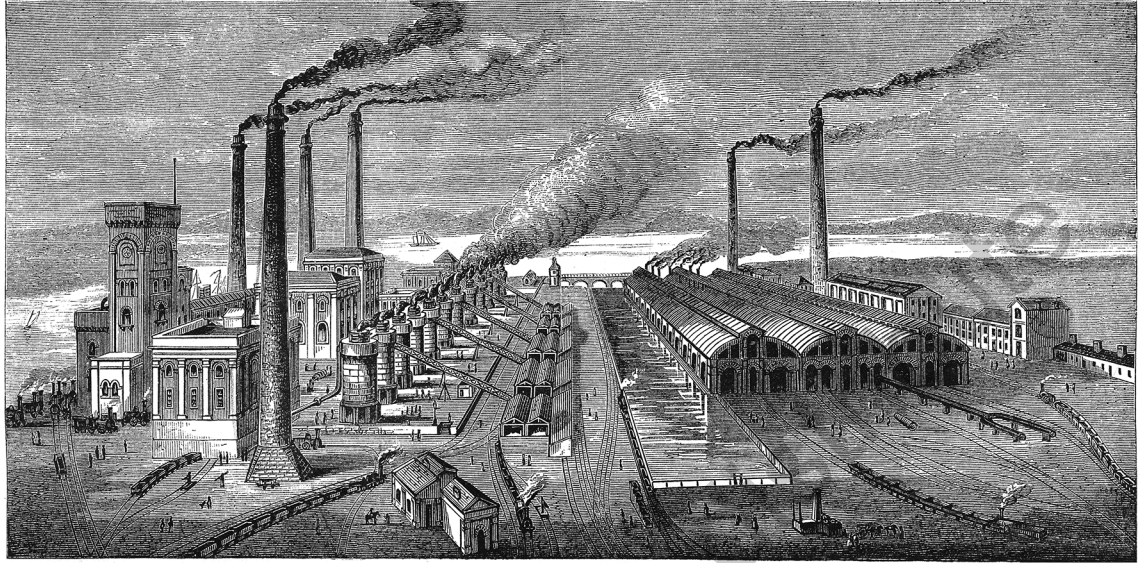
From the introduction to present, law enforcement in America has undergone significant transformation in terms of services, philosophy, strategies, and technology. Its most important aspect is the relationship with the public. Problems with police and the public interactions and relationships were the impetus for change. The three eras of policing have distinct characteristics that differentiate them from each other; however, as we will learn, one key difference concerns the relationship between police and the public they serve. In the first era, there was a close relationship but rift with corrupting influences.

Political Era

The earliest period was known as the political era. The political era, so called because of the political influence on police services, highlighted the sphere of control of police rather than on the role of police within the community. It lasted from the 1840s until the early 1900s and was characterized by the close relationship between police and politics. During this period, various interest groups influenced the police. Some have referred to them as the “adjuncts to local political machines.”³ Politicians recruited police officers and assisted with their promotion and, in return, police helped politicians in getting reelected and even assisted in rigging the elections. From our modern perspective, this all-encompassing political control would be viewed as corrupt. It was business as usual to the players and participants at that time. Certainly, there were concerns, eventually leading to the need for change and ushering in the next era.

How did the political era become the political era? Beginning in the early 1840s, cities began to adopt the idea of a paid police force. The introduction of American police forces was haphazard, chaotic, not well-thought out, and very disorganized. Being different from the British ideals was the underlying premise; however, it led to a rather unprofessional, corrupt enterprise that begged for intervention and change in the end. In part, the political era came about because of the need to control opportunities for personal enrichment and power. Controlling the law enforcement arm of the government seemed to be a logical step in attaining power over others. Unfortunately, this simplistic view fails to illustrate the depth and breadth of corruption of the times. The corruption was at all levels of government. Several factors contributed to what was known as the **Spoils System**. The Spoils System came from the notion “to the victors, go the spoils.” In other words, those who were victorious, or in power, would reap all the goods and benefits they desired.⁴ After Andrew Jackson became the president in 1829, he instituted many changes, including rewarding people who campaigned for him with cabinet positions. The opposition, angered by the changes, coined the phrase as a bitter reminder that the loser gave up everything to the winner, and the winner could change things to his liking. This idea trickled down to local government whereby newly elected politicians had the power and authority to revamp city government as well as to hire and fire at will, rewarding those who voted for them.⁵

In the early part of the 19th century, during the Industrial Revolution, rural agrarian society gave way to the building of factories, changing the means of production and



► **Photo 2.1** What impact did the Industrial Revolution have on the development of modern policing?

services, resulting in urbanization and rapid population growth. Such economic shifts in production and employment contributed to significant social changes. People flocked from farmlands to the cities with the promise of factory jobs. Freed slaves made the journey north to freedom and work. Immigration from Europe to America went unchecked, flooding the cities with masses of impoverished people, seeking employment. As the population in cities grew and changed, fear and distrust of the newcomers prompted demands for protection from these “dangerous masses.”⁶ Challenges and disruption to cultural norms, rather than rampant criminal behavior, sparked the notion that police were needed. Policing was introduced, moving away from the unpaid night watchmen service of earlier, simpler times, to one that was paid and more formalized.

However, departments popped up in cities and towns in a very disorganized and random fashion, with little or no planning. Leadership came from local political authority. Early police departments were loosely organized and structured, poorly managed, and lacked standards in duties, functions, and employment practices. Early policing had little, if anything, in common with today’s highly sophisticated law enforcement. Duties of early policemen included feeding the poor in soup lines, removing dead animals from the street, and providing overnight lodging for wayward families. The expectation that police were there to handle the crimes and disorder of the dangerous new immigrants and migrants was somewhat ironic in that policemen were often recent immigrants themselves, one step further along than the people they policed. Policemen were unskilled or semiskilled, but the position offered more money than most skilled labor and had the opportunity for graft. Given a badge, perhaps a uniform, their own gun, and sent out on patrol, policemen were given the freedom to police as they saw fit.⁷ Could you even imagine if this was our modern practice?

Early police were politically affiliated and therefore politically controlled. When politicians were elected or defeated, entire police forces were hired or fired. Policemen did the bidding of the politician in charge. Positions within the police force, such as

sergeant or captain, were bought for a price. Being hired as a policeman was the reward for campaigning for and supporting a particular politician. Policemen kept their jobs by being beholden to the politician they supported. The reason the era was named the “political era” had much to do with these special arrangements. Arrangements included taking graft or monies so that certain business would thrive, while penalties and fines were assessed against those who were persona non grata. Policemen had many financially lucrative opportunities; however, they did engage in community service, which is why, in the community policing era, many reformers wanted to return to the good old days when police walked the beat in neighborhoods and everyone knew them by name. However, before a return to those early days of beneficial relationships would be relevant, an era of separation and alienation was necessary to put an end to the corruptive influences of political control. The rampant corruption in government and the overly intimate community relationships were the impetus for the reform era.⁸

Reform Era

The reform era, also known as the professional era, began during the 1920s and early 1930s and transformed policing from its chaotic, random, and disorganized state to a modern, sophisticated, well-trained, and highly structured force. The police chief of Berkeley, California, August Vollmer, rallied police executives to focus on the moral vision. Vollmer’s protégé, O. W. Wilson, would become the main force behind the reformation of the American police force.⁹ Wilson was not only influenced by August Vollmer but also by J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from 1924 until 1972. Hoover was the leading administrator transforming the FBI into a national security organization. Hoover also transformed the image of the FBI and created a reputation of integrity, professionalism, competence, and power.¹⁰

Wilson used Hoover’s strategies as a model for reforming the urban police force. He opposed the idea that politics was the basis of the legitimacy of the police because the involvement of politicians caused the problems of corruption. Thus, the separation of politics and policing was the main goal. The reforms were not universal, however. In some states, the state government took control over the police. In other areas, civil service eliminated patronage and ward influences. For instance, in Los Angeles and Cincinnati, the chief of police was a civil service position and the police chief was subject to regular examinations. In other cities, such as Milwaukee, the chief of police was a tenured position and the chief could only be removed by the police commission. And in some cities, such as Boston, the contracts of police chiefs were made so that they would not overlap with the city mayor’s tenure. The police took control over all decisions, including tactical decisions about whether to arrest people who participated in a riot. The police were guided by the law. All these different strategies aimed to separate politics from policing.¹¹ The police function in the reform era focused on crime prevention, apprehension of criminals, and deterrence. Police stopped responding to other community problems as those were perceived as social work functions. The police also stopped providing emergency services and these services were transferred to other organizations.¹²

In 1967, President Johnson’s Crime Commission Report on Law Enforcement and Administration reconceptualized the police as part of the criminal justice system. This report also laid the groundwork for the change in how police were organized. Police

organization was now based on classical theory, which was based on two assumptions. First, workers are not interested in work. Second, they only work for economic incentives. Based on these assumptions, police organization focused on division of labor and unity of control. Division of labor means that tasks should be broken into components to enable increased efficiency because workers will become highly skilled in performing this task. For instance, police officers should be trained to perform a particular task, such as foot patrol of a particular beat. They will get to know the beat and the people who live there. They will learn the problems that exist in the neighborhood, such as the sale of drugs and how to solve these problems. This also led to the development of special units, such as homicide units and domestic violence units. Unity of control means that there is a pyramid of control where a central office has the final authority over decisions. This structure limited discretion. Police officers were raised to enforce the law. Officers are closely supervised and instructions flow downward.

In addition, the relationship between the police and citizens were linked together. The police were perceived by the citizens as neutral and distant, focused on solving the crime rather than responding to the emotional needs of a victim. The citizens were perceived by police as passive recipients of police services because the police were professionals. This perception of the role of citizens was based on medical services where doctors were professionals and patients the passive recipients of medical services. Citizens were supposed to call 911 as the central communications system. Foot patrol was abandoned because it was perceived as an expensive and inefficient practice. Police cruisers became increasingly popular and police became more disassociated from citizens.¹³

During the reform era, the government also established the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and began collecting information about crimes reported to the police. The main purpose of the UCR at the time was to assess the effectiveness of police measured by the number of arrests, response time, and the number of times a police car passes a given point on a city street. However, the reform era certainly had its own problems. First, in the 1960s crime started to increase, and police failed to meet the expectations of the public and their own. Second, fear of crime rose rapidly and did not necessarily correspond to the level of crime. In some areas, the fear of crime was much higher than the actual crime rate and in other areas, the fear of crime was low even though crime rates were high. Third, many minorities did not perceive the police as impartial but rather as being discriminatory. In addition, minorities felt mistreated by police. Fourth, the civil rights and antiwar movement increased the tensions between police and citizens. Numerous riots and student protests showed the disconnect between police and citizens. Citizens increasingly began questioning police tactics as they were able to watch police action on television and listen to it on the radio. The wide-ranging public exposure of police behaviors was the beginning of a growing scrutiny of police actions, which today has expanded to social media and body cameras. The police reacted by changing their hiring practices, training of recruits, and supervision of officers. Police departments also slowly started recruiting females and minorities. Fifth, the public had realized that the idea that police were simply enforcing the law with little or no discretion did not reflect the reality of police work. Police officers had wide-ranging discretion in most decisions, including whom to stop-and-frisk and whom to arrest. Sixth, there were also problems within the police force. One of the main issues was that patrol officers were treated as low-status workers who had to follow petty rules, including rules for off-duty behavior. In contrast, police executives had much

latitude and wide discretion. This differential treatment led to resentment by patrol officers and other officers of low status toward management. Seventh, the financial support for police departments decreased substantially, which led to the downsizing of many police departments and, of course, fewer policemen on the street. Finally, private businesses and organizations began hiring private security personnel and the private security industry became a thriving business, which was perceived as competition by the police force. Later, of course, police officers would also work for private security when they were off duty.¹⁴

While the reform era led to important positive change during the 1940s and 1950s, the social changes that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s showed that these reforms were not sufficient any longer. The police force had to adapt to the challenges society was facing, such as increased immigration, racial tensions and discrimination, changing crime trends and a rising fear of crime, and technological innovations, which increased public exposure of criminals and police. Police needed to reconnect to the citizens if they wanted to be effective in fighting crime.

Community Policing Era

Community policing, which started in the 1970s, has had many iterations, some successful and some less so. The risks and efforts taken along the way and the lessons learned from each aspect and each program have given birth to the community policing we have today. An examination of U.S. law enforcement history reveals several paradigmatic shifts in philosophy and practice. Change is inevitable, especially with technological advances. Impetus for change can spring from internal or external forces, and it can be slow or rapid. In terms of the shift to community policing, many factors influenced the need for change, the biggest being the alienation of police from the public that epitomized policing in the 1960s. For a particular change to endure, it has to be successful and it must be enculturated into police officer behavior and practices. Additionally, what worked in the past may not be effective in today's changing climate and diverse communities.¹⁵ Community policing, in some form or another, is in its fourth decade, which speaks to its success and endurance. More accurately, once introduced and experienced, community policing is not easily dismissed as a "passing fad." Community policing has been, and is, transformative to the police–community relationship. Let us look at what brought us to where we are today.

The history of community policing reveals a path that is complex—full of twists and turns, successes and failures—but it has endured. It is difficult to trace an exact path because many of the innovations have been overlapping, or discarded, and then reinvented and given new names. Early ideals of police accountability to the community came from Sir Robert Peel as he established the Metropolitan Police Force of London in 1829. However, the barrage of innovations, experiments, and research has come about in the past 50 years. These include police community relations (PCR), team policing, foot patrol, broken windows policing, and community policing. Each of these ideas, concepts, and programs are incorporated into what we know as community policing.

Sir Robert Peel's Nine Principles

Historical underpinnings of community policing proscribing the way police should provide services to the public date back to Sir Robert Peel's Nine Principles (Peelian

Principles) formulated in 1829 by the two commissioners of London's Metropolitan Police Department under Peel's leadership. Sir Robert Peel was known as the "father of modern policing." The principles are summarized below:

1. The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
2. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
3. Police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
4. The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
5. Police seek and preserve public favor not by pandering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
6. Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient.
7. Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8. Police should always direct their action strictly toward their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9. The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.¹⁶

Peelian Principles, outlined almost 200 years ago, are still as relevant today as they were back in 1829. They were unique in that they were the first in history to proscribe police legitimacy, that is, police could only do their job if they had the public's consent, trust, and cooperation.¹⁷ Perhaps, somewhere through the years, police prioritized their role differently and many turbulent times were in the future for police.

Police Community Relations

Another historical underpinning of community policing had to do with the relations between police and the public in order to provide the kind of services that the public deserved and desired. Police community relations (PCR) was the first attempt at altering and improving the police and community relationship. Two major reports, the Kerner Report (1968) and the Report of the President's Crime Commission (1968), called for immediate and major changes in policing in America. These reports exposed the weaknesses of traditional policing. Community relations was the first attempt to address police relations with the community, especially minorities. The PCR movement had several

objectives, including bolstering relations with the public, especially minority citizens, involving citizens in crime prevention, creating youth programs, and providing education and training.¹⁸ PCR focused on changing the image of policing. Special PCR officers were assigned to build bridges with the community. PCR officers met with community leaders with the intent to give citizens an opportunity to voice their concerns and complaints about police services.

Some aspects of PCR were successful in that it forced police to realize that there was a need for change. Unfortunately, PCR leaned toward being a public relations tool for police and less about relating with the community. Issues arose with the split force structure. Patrol officers continued to fight crime and PCR officers fielded the complaints. In many cases, the PCR unit was staffed with civilians who had little clout with either the community or police. PCR failed miserably in its mission to bring police and community together; however, PCR became the underpinnings of the community policing evolution.¹⁹

Team Policing

PCR was an important foundation for what would become community policing in the future. Similar to PCR in terms of the focus on the importance of community relations, team policing emerged as a means to not only increase the presence of police in a neighborhood but to also have a team respond to community problems. In 1967, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice specifically recommended team policing: Police departments should commence experimentation with a team policing concept that envisions those with patrol and investigative duties combining under unified command with flexible assignments to deal with the crime problems in a defined sector (p. 118).²⁰ Many departments across the nation did just that—implementation of team policing experiments. Unfortunately, although immediately popular, police administrators had little idea what to do and how to do it. Every city had their own version of team policing. Three basic principles were part of most team policing efforts. First, geographic stability of patrol, whereby officers were permanently assigned to specific neighborhoods. The idea was to encourage ownership by a team of officers. The second principle was maximum interaction between all team members in that area, including all shifts within a 24-hour period. A team leader insured team collaboration and communications. Lastly, the third principle proscribed maximum communication among team members and the community. Meetings between community and police were established to ensure flow of information and building of relationships and trust.²¹ Success of implementations of team policing varied due to size of city, understanding of the elements by police administrators and participants, commitment to the experiment, and other factors.

President Johnson's Crime Commission Report in 1967 indicated the theory behind team policing was to decentralize and soften the rigid quasi-military structure, which many believed accounted for the dissonance between police and the community and contributed to the angst of the 1960s civil unrest. Unfortunately, that quasi-military organizational structure was instrumental in the failure of team policing. Officers on the teams were given more discretionary authority of decision making in the field, with less input from higher levels of the police organization. Power at the bottom of the structure is a threat to the hierarchical nature of traditional policing as discussed earlier. Although team policing was considered a failure and abandoned quite readily, it did contribute to ideals

of community policing. Some of those concepts—such as decentralized authority and greater latitude of innovation and decision making at the lowest levels, ironically those that contributed to the failure of team policing—are critical to successful community policing.

Efforts to bring police and community together are central to PCR and team policing innovations. Additionally, police administrators thought that returning to foot patrol might bring police and residents in close contact with one another, hopefully fostering positive relationships and building trust. Foot patrol embodied the bygone days of early policing, before the patrol car, when simpler times prevailed and officers knew people by names. Foot patrol forced police officers out of their vehicles and back into the neighborhood. In theory, this was going to reverse the damage the patrol vehicle had done to the trust of the community with their police.

Foot Patrol

During the civil unrest of the 1960s, relations between police and citizens, especially minority citizens, deteriorated to the point of open hostility. Conflict and confrontations resulting from arrests were common, leading to further unrest and violence. The distance between citizens and police increased and to many people, the police seemed to be an alien occupying force. Officers insulated themselves in the isolation of the patrol vehicle. Researchers, social scientists, and police officials wondered what could be done to remedy the dismal relations between the citizenry and police. The value of motorized patrol was in question and soon to be tested.²²

One idea to bring citizens back together was foot patrol. Before motorized patrol, policemen walked a beat, interacting with the public throughout their shift. It seemed logical to bring back that kind of public contact where police officers were easily accessible in and around the neighborhoods on foot, not whizzing by in a patrol car. A few police agencies ventured forth to embrace the long-gone method of policing and to test its viability to improve PCR. Well-known foot patrol experiments included The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment (1973) and Flint Foot Patrol Study (1979). As with most police innovations, grant money allowed departments to engage in experimental tactics. Incentives to improve relations of police and communities began in earnest in the 1970s following a publication from The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967).²³ The final report called for detailed reorganization plans and a range of reforms for police departments. This report launched the community policing movement, although not in the form it is today; however, it was one of the pushes toward innovation and change. Foot patrol, while not the innovation it promised, signaled a return to times when police were considered part of the community and not an alien force.

Social scientists and police officials worked together to evaluate the advantages of foot patrol; however, not everyone was excited about foot patrol. The first problem came in the resistance of officers to leave the sanctity and safety of their patrol vehicles.²⁴ For example, one of the first foot patrol studies placed officers right out of the academy to foot patrol. Some implementations recruited officers by using incentives such as flex days off, allowing officers to choose their own schedule, and greater opportunity for individual innovative actions. Most officers view the patrol unit as their office on wheels with easy access to a computer, high-powered weapons, riot gear, reference material such as vehicle codes and penal code books, and other accoutrements of the job. It is easy to see why officers were

reluctant to give up the safety and mobility of motorized patrol for something as archaic as walking a beat. Another problem was created because foot patrol and motorized patrol were separate units within the department, sometimes working at cross-purposes. Foot patrol officers were charged with the duty of being the face of the police department, to get to know the citizens, and to engage in relationship building. Motor patrol officers continued to be call answerers. Studies revealed animosity between these units.

The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment had eight foot patrol beats and utilized crime data and citizen perceptions of crime. Included in the study were citizen attitudes toward foot patrol officers. Objectives of the study, specific to the areas where foot patrol was implemented, included:

- Improve police–citizen relationships.
- Increase citizens' perception of safety.
- Decrease crime.
- Increase willingness of citizens to report crime.
- Increase arrests.
- Increase job satisfaction of foot patrol officers through formation of positive relations.
- Lessen citizens' fear of victimization.²⁵

While most of the findings did confirm that crime had not decreased significantly, there was a definite improvement in the perception of safety by the residents in the foot-patrolled beat areas. Additionally, despite initial reluctance of police officers to be assigned to foot patrol, foot patrol officers demonstrated increased morale and greater satisfaction with their jobs.

The study in Flint, Michigan, in 1979 implemented foot patrol in 14 neighborhoods and involved 22 officers. The study was designed to address three areas:

- The lack of neighborhood organizations and services.
- Apathy of citizens toward crime prevention.
- The lack of positive relations between police and citizens.²⁶

The Flint Foot Patrol Experiment was considered an abysmal failure. When the grant money ran out, foot patrol was abandoned. The crack epidemic was also to blame, because police believed the violence and deaths from crack meant a return to traditional policing tactics and removing police from the danger of being out on foot. Lessons learned from both Newark and Flint foot patrol experiments were not all negative, however. Interestingly, two positive outcomes included that the public were more satisfied with police and police were more satisfied with their jobs. Foot patrol has not been totally abandoned. Most recently, police administrators are seeing the benefits of using many alternative forms of patrol such as horses, bicycles, Segways, skates, and other unique methods. Any mode, not

only to increase police presence but to ensure that the public had ready access to police, to increase opportunity for communication—all critical to fostering positive relationships and trust. Case Study 2.1 illustrates a modern foot patrol.

Broken Windows Theory

One of the lessons learned from the foot patrol studies was that citizens were equally concerned about noncriminal matters as they were about criminal ones. If citizens call police, they want and expect help immediately. While crime is a problem, people are more likely to complain about the disorder in a neighborhood. Signs of disorder, public vagrancy, graffiti, prostitution, boarded up buildings, and broken windows contribute to a fear of crime.³³ What disorder represents is the consequences it has on community stability, undercutting informal social control, discouraging investment, and stimulating the fear of crime.³⁴ People have little confidence in police who seem unable to do anything, thus increasing fear of crime. Addressing fear of crime was new to police. They could not wrap their collective heads around the notion that fear of crime was a legitimate police concern. Fear of crime as a topic has been studied in many ways. Some would argue that a person's perception of being victimized is a psychological response; others might argue that environmental factors contribute to a person's fear level. Criminologists Wilson and Kelling (1982) developed the **broken windows theory**³⁵ based on the notion that if a broken window goes unrepaired, it seems as if no one cares and more windows would be broken, creating an environment ripe for crime. This theory was based on an earlier study by Stanford psychologist Philip Zimbardo in 1969. In that study, Zimbardo set up two abandoned cars with their hoods up in two separate neighborhoods. The car left in the poorer neighborhood where disorder was common was completely stripped within 24 hours. The car left in an affluent neighborhood was untouched.³⁶ The broken windows theory was further popularized in the 1990s when New York City police commissioner William Bratton and Mayor Rudy Giuliani applied the theory to policing in New York City. Central to this policing strategy is reducing disorder, reducing fear of crime, and increasing quality of life for residents. Did it work?

The original application of broken windows policing that focused on both petty and serious crime showed a tangible drop in serious crime through the 1990s and 2000s. This drop, some critics argue, could be attributed to a number of coincidental events that took place around the same time. Other cities tried their hand at this type of policing, and to some extent, similar success resulted. Variations of implementation and changes in the original application, however, did result in mixed outcomes. Because of varied results, there has been much criticism of the broken windows theory. Some critics of the theory say that it fails to address true violent crime and that broken windows have little to do with that. Other studies that refute the broken windows theory argue that there is no evidence that attention to lower-level crime impacts other types of crime. Some argued that broken windows policing focused on and criminalized communities of color by defining what constitutes disorder.³⁷ In many cases, getting rid of disorder brought on by undesired gentrification of neighborhoods, which led to higher-priced properties and upscale businesses, forced poor people, mostly minorities, to leave. Also, the targeted heavy-handed enforcement on lower-level crime, such as vandalism, graffiti, gambling, and drinking in public, was disproportionately targeting minorities. Fear of crime, some would argue,

CASE STUDY 2.1: MODERN-DAY FOOT PATROL IN CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY

"We are knocking on doors, introducing ourselves—letting them know that we're here to serve them," Officer Matias said.²⁷

Foot patrol was one of the earliest strategies to bring police and the community in closer contact, with the hopes of forging a positive, productive relationship. Among many other changes, the police force in Camden, New Jersey, rolled out foot patrol in a dramatic way, requiring every officer to get out of their vehicles and walk a beat. The city of Camden had been plagued with violent crime and homicides. In 2012, Camden was fifth nationwide in homicides, with 87 murders per 100,000 residents.²⁸ In the summer of 2012, it had 21 homicides; and after the new force took over, the number of homicides decreased to six. Camden eliminated the entire force,²⁹ which

reinvented itself with community policing as the foundation. The new force has been given its walking orders, literally. Camden's police chief believes that human interactions between officer and residents enhances relationships and sets the legitimacy and trust of the police force. Chief J. Scott Thomson wants to change the culture of policing by addressing citizen distrust. "We're not going to do this by militarizing streets," Chief Thomson said. Instead, he sent officers to knock on doors and ask residents their concerns.³⁰ Although everything is not rosy in Camden, it appears that things have gotten better, and they have gotten better quickly. Now, police officers often play a spontaneous ball game with the youth who ran from them in previous years. One resident remarked that



► **Photo 2.2** Camden County police officers Anson Simmons and Bianca Rivera check in with a customer at a small store as they patrol in Camden, NJ. **AP / MEL EVANS.**

Continued

Case Study 2.1: Modern-day Foot Patrol in Camden, New Jersey (Continued)

her seven-year-old son used to be afraid of the police but now wants to be one.

County

The officers themselves are happier about the job they are doing. Officer Virginia Matias reads to kindergartners each week, hoping to establish a connection that will extend beyond the classroom. She patrols the streets and interacts with people along the way, even knocking on doors and letting people know that the police are here to serve them.³¹

Some critics say that this cannot work in the long haul and show that statistics are not necessarily showing that improvements can be measured in lower crime rates. “The statistics are one thing, but

how the people in my city measure public safety is not on a piece of paper,” Chief Thomson said. “It’s by what they sense when they open their front door. And that’s where the change in the city is absolutely visceral.”³²

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the benefits of foot patrol?
2. What might be some of the downsides of foot patrol?
3. Should every officer be required to patrol on foot?

is media generated and has little to do with the environment because many people live in these conditions and it is normal to them. Fear of crime has more to do with the fear of victimization, an emotional response from past victimization or media portrayals depicting victims that are similar to a person who then becomes fearful, or from new that focuses on violent crime. Overall, no one can argue against the important role the theory has had on the community policing evolution. Many early community policing programs, for example, foot patrol studies, did show that public satisfaction of police did increase when police paid more attention to signs of disorder and lower-level crime complaints. Peer-reviewed studies that make cases both for and against the broken windows theory continue to be made into the 21st century, as more and more cities adopt the approach.³⁸ Case Study 2.2 illustrates the strategies applied for reducing fear of crime.

SUMMARY

We have learned that many components of community policing were experiments and implemented as individual stand-alone programs within the organization. Programs such as PCR, team policing, foot patrol, and broken windows theory generated high expectations but resulted in marginally successful and disappointing outcomes. Many administrators and police personnel were not supportive of the move to get closer to the community and hoped that their careers survived to return to the normalcy of traditional policing—many aspects could not be undone. Aspects included the importance of public trust and police legitimacy as enumerated by the Peelian Principles so long ago. There would be no return to times where police could be unresponsive to community concerns and whiz by in

CASE STUDY 2.2: REDUCING FEAR OF CRIME IN HOUSTON AND NEWARK

The cities of Houston and Newark were very concerned about the high levels of fear of crime among their citizens. Fear of crime was perceived as a threat to organized society due to the negative side effects. People become suspicious about one another, which erodes their sense of community and creates tensions. People also start to distrust that the government can protect them from criminals, making them dissatisfied and more willing to take matters into their own hands. Strategies that focus on increasing arrests and solving crimes have proven ineffective in decreasing fear of crime among citizens. Similarly, simply telling people that their fear does not match the reality of crime rates does not reduce their fear of crime. Some departments also attempted to lower the fear of crime by minimizing the number of crimes reported to police. Not surprisingly, this was not a successful strategy either. When one quarter of American households experience incidents of crime every year either in their own family or their circle of friends, their own experiences weigh much heavier than official reports or statements.

The cities of Houston and Newark believed that community policing strategies, such as publishing newsletters, creating community police stations, contacting citizens about their problems, and stimulating the formation of neighborhood organizations, might prove successful in reducing fear of crime. Thus, Houston and Newark implemented these strategies. Both Houston and Newark published monthly newsletters with and without crime statistics to educate the population about the actual level of crime. Houston also implemented a Victim Recontact Program, which was meant to determine how victims were doing, how police could assist them, and to show that the police cared about them. In addition, Houston created a Police Community Station where citizens could speak to the officers about their problems and concerns. By reducing the physical distance between police and citizens, it was hoped that citizens would be more willing

to work together with the police in reducing neighborhood problems. The officers also participated in community programs, such as monthly neighborhood meetings and school programs to reduce truancy. A Citizen Contact Patrol program was implemented to better understand the perceptions of the citizens. For that purpose, police would proactively approach people in the community to talk to them about the problems and what police could do to solve these problems. Finally, Houston developed a Community Organizing Response Team (CORT), which operated from October 1983 until May 1984. CORT was meant to build relationships between the members of the community and build a group of citizens who would define and solve neighborhood problems.

Newark implemented the newsletter but also two other programs. The Signs of Crime Program was meant to reduce the signs of public disorder. They implemented order maintenance programs and random enforcement. The Directed Patrol Task Force consisted of 24 officers who completed a three-day training program and then engaged in foot patrol, radar checks, bus checks, enforcement of the state disorderly conduct laws, and road checks.

The cities of Houston and Newark then assessed the impact of the different programs on the fear of crime. The newsletters were not very effective in Houston or Newark, mainly because very few people read them, especially residents with less than a high school education. In Houston, the Community Organizing Response Team, the Citizen Contact Patrol Team, and the Police Community Station Program substantially reduced the fear of crime. However, the Recontacting Victims Program had the opposite effect in that victims who were recontacted believed that there was more crime. In Newark, the Signs of Crime program was not effective in reducing fear of crime. However, the CORT program did have positive outcomes in that people perceived less disorder in the community, less fear of property crime, and less fear of personal victimization. In addition, satisfaction with police services and satisfaction with

Continued

Case Study 2.2: Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark (Continued)

the area overall increased. Thus, overall, the combined effects of the programs led to significant reductions in the fear of crime.³⁹

Discussion Questions:

1. Why do you think some of the programs implemented in Houston and Newark were more successful than others?
2. Have you experienced a community policing program in your community? If so, describe the program and explain what you think were positive outcomes.

their patrol vehicles like an occupying army. Neither the public nor the police would stand for apathy. Lessons learned included new expectations of accountability and new demands. The lessons learned in the piecemeal application of community policing resulted in identifying the core tenets of community policing, features that needed to be included in all efforts going forward.

In this chapter, you learned about three eras of policing: political era, reform era, and community policing era. During the political era, there was a close relationship between the political machinery and the police. The politicians hired the police officers who in turn assured that these politicians had no competition during elections and would surely be reelected. The political influence on policing led to much corruption and distrust between citizens and police. The growing tensions led to the reform movement and the beginning of the reform era. During the reform era, also called the professional era, policing was professionalized. Politics and policing were divorced, and the police implemented a new structure and line of command. The main function of police was crime control, to be achieved via preventive patrol and rapid response to calls for service. At this time, police services were centralized, and the 911 emergency system was implemented. Police officers were supposed to be impartial and professional. However, the distant relationship between police and citizens, civil rights and other social movements, and dissatisfaction within the police force led to the demise of the reform era and its replacement with community policing. Community policing focused on building better relationships between the police and citizens and building community support. The organizational design is decentralized, using foot patrol and problem solving to prevent and control crime and solve problems in the community that citizens are concerned about. The quality of life and citizen satisfaction are important goals for community policing programs.

KEY TERMS

Broken windows theory 13

Decentralized policing 3
Paradigm shift 2

Spoils System 4

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Identify the three eras of policing and what was unique to each era.
2. Why is policing in the United States considered to be decentralized?
3. What were the objectives of the foot patrol studies?
4. Why do you think the broken windows theory is important to the community policing movement?

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