

Reinventing American Policing: A Seven-Point Blueprint for the 21st Century

CYNTHIA LUM

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

&

DANIEL S. NAGIN

CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY



A Core Question for Policing in Democratic Society

How can police effectively prevent crime and keep citizens safe, while at the same time, maintain their trust, confidence, and satisfaction?

Two Principles

- **Principle 1: Crime prevention—not arrests—is paramount.** Crimes averted, not arrests made, should be the primary metric for judging police success in meeting their objective of securing public safety.
- **Principle 2: Citizen reaction matters.** Citizen response to the police and their tactics for preventing crime and improving public order matter independent of police effectiveness in these functions.

Outline for Our Talk

- **Bringing the Perpetrators of Serious Crime to Justice**
- The Role of Police in Preventing Crime and Disorder
 - Broken Windows Policing
 - Cost of Arrest for Minor Crimes or Legal Infractions
- Maintaining Citizen Trust and Confidence
- Race and Policing
- Seven-Point Blueprint

Bringing the Perpetrators of Serious Crime to Justice

- Less than 20% of arrests are for felonies
- Clearance rates for Part I index crimes have been generally stable for four decades (Braga, Flynn, Kelling, & Cole (2011))
- Opportunities for major innovations in police effectiveness in bringing the the perpetrators of serious crime to justice are limited
- Focus of blueprint is on advancing Principles 1 & 2

Outline for Our Talk

- Bringing the Perpetrators of Serious Crime to Justice
- **The Role of Police in Preventing Crime and Disorder**
 - **Broken Windows Policing**
 - **Cost of Arrest for Minor Crimes or Legal Infractions**
- Maintaining Citizen Trust and Confidence
- Race and Policing
- Seven-Point Blueprint

Revised Certainty Principle

- **The certainty of apprehension, not the severity of the ensuing consequences, is the most effective deterrent**
- **Policy Implications**
 - **Harsh punishments are not effective deterrents**
 - **Puts police, not prisons, center stage in preventing crime**

Police as Apprehension Agents



Police as Sentinels



Preventing Crime and Disorder

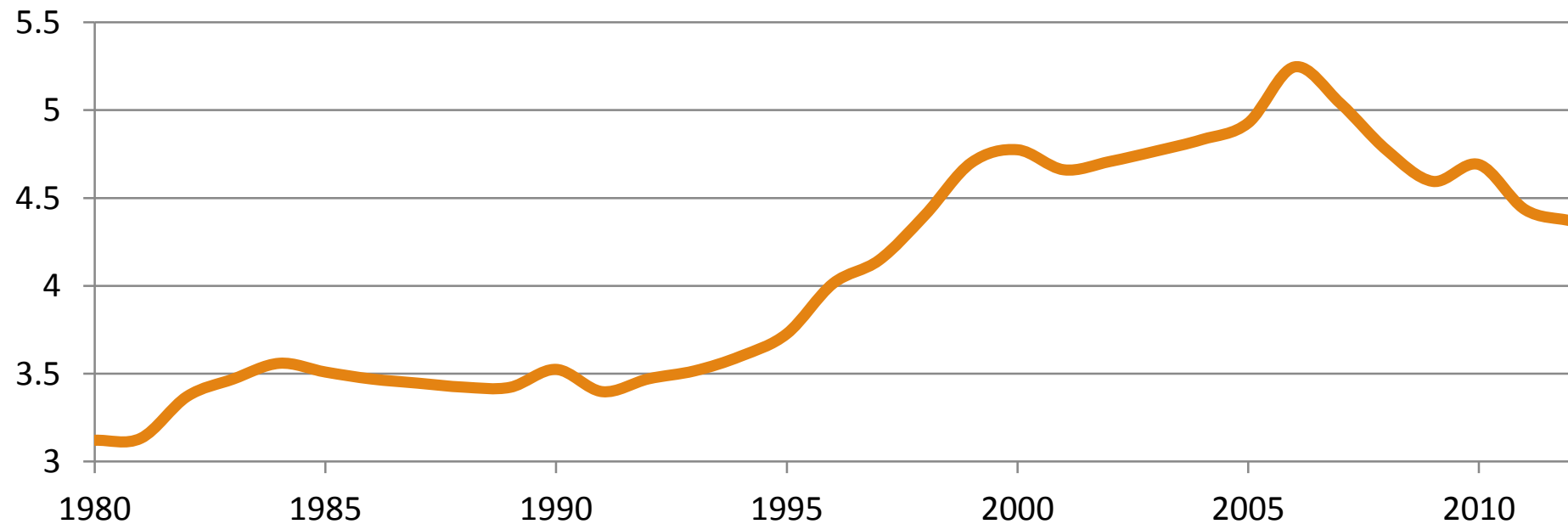
- Evidence that police can prevent crime and disorder is overwhelming **BUT:**
- Effects are heterogeneous—sentinel-like policing most effective
- What works best?—Proactive tactics that target places and people that are “hot” with crime

What Constitutes Proactive Policing?

- Opportunity Mitigation
 - Problem solving
 - Changes in the physical environment
 - Regulatory authority
- Increased Police Presence
 - Visibility without an arrest focus
 - Zero-tolerance aka broken windows policing tactics

The Impact of Broken Windows Policing—The Growing Share of Arrests for Less Serious Crimes (Part II Index)

Adjusted Part II Arrests per Part I Arrest



More on the Growing Prominence of Part II Arrests Since 1980

- Drug possession--102%
- Simple Assault—77.6%
- “All other offenses” —40.7%

What Do Know About the Effectiveness of “Broken Windows” Policing?

- NOT MUCH

- Does disorder breed serious crime?

“I still to this day do not know if improving order will or will not reduce crime. People have not understood that this was a speculation” James Q. Wilson in Hurley (2004)

- Are misdemeanor oriented arrest tactics effective in preventing crime?

- Don't know because no studies account for the effectiveness of other police tactics that don't emphasize arrest that routinely accompany the arrest-based tactics

- Why are these uncertainties so important?

- Because arrests for minor crimes are costly

Costs of Misdemeanor Arrest

- Police time—at least 2 to 4 hours per arrest for minor crimes
- Jail population growth
- Cost to arrestees themselves
 - Bail/Pretrial detention
 - Time in hearings
 - Lost public benefits
 - Stigma

Outline for Our Talk

- Bringing the Perpetrators of Serious Crime to Justice
- The Role of Police in Preventing Crime and Disorder
 - Broken Windows Policing
 - Cost of Arrest for Minor Crimes and Legal Infractions
- **Maintaining Citizen Trust and Confidence**
- Race and Policing
- Seven-Point Blueprint

What Does the Public Think of the Police?

- Nothing too surprising here
- Large racial divide on overall assessment
 - 59% of whites had a great deal of confidences and only 12% very little
 - For Blacks the respective figures are 37% and 25% (Gallup)
- Reactions to street stops—37.7% of blacks versus 77.6% of whites believe that police behaved properly
- Both races agree that blacks are treated less fairly by the police than whites
- Note Hispanic views are between the white/black views

Can Police Affect Citizen Perceptions?

- Maybe
- “Procedural Justice” literature concludes that how police treats citizens matters
- Mixed results from the community policing literature
- More research is necessary

Outline for Our Talk

- Function and Cost of Arrest
- The Role of Police in Preventing Crime and Disorder
 - Broken Windows Policing
- Maintaining Citizen Trust and Confidence
- **Race and Policing**
- Seven-Point Blueprint

Outline for Our Talk

- Function and Cost of Arrest
- The Role of Police in Preventing Crime and Disorder
 - Broken Windows Policing
- Maintaining Citizen Trust and Confidence
- Race and Policing
- **Seven-Point Blueprint**

Outline for Our Talk

- Function and Cost of Arrest
- The Role of Police in Preventing Crime and Disorder
 - Broken Windows Policing
- Maintaining Citizen Trust and Confidence
- Race and Policing
- **Seven-Point Blueprint**

Returning to our two principles

Principle 1: Crime prevention—not arrests—is paramount. Crimes averted, not arrests made, should be the primary metric for judging police success in meeting their objective of securing public safety.

Principle 2: Citizen reaction matters. Citizen response to the police and their tactics for preventing crime and improving public order matter independent of police effectiveness in these functions.

Translating and Institutionalizing Research into Practice

- 1. Professional development:** Academy, field training, in-service
- 2. Deployment:** Patrol, specialized units, investigations
- 3. Accountability systems:** Records mgmt., performance metrics, rewards
- 4. Managerial:** Supervisory, leadership
- 5. Technology:** Choice of, consequences for principles
- 6. Strategic:** Planning, research and crime analysis
- 7. Cultural:** Values, rhetoric, rewards

Seven-Point Blueprint

- 1.** *Prioritize crime prevention over arrest*

Seven-Point Blueprint

1. *Prioritize crime prevention over arrest*
2. ***Create and install systems that monitor citizen reactions to the police and routinely report results back to the public and also managing and line officers***

Seven-Point Blueprint

1. *Prioritize crime prevention over arrest*
2. *Create and install systems that monitor citizen reactions to the police and routinely report results back to the public and also managing and line officers*
3. ***Reform training and redefine the “craft” of policing***

Seven-Point Blueprint

1. *Prioritize crime prevention over arrest*
2. *Create and install systems that monitor citizen reactions to the police and routinely report results back to the public and also managing and line officers*
3. *Reform training and redefine the “craft” of policing*
4. ***Recalibrate organizational incentives***

Seven-Point Blueprint

1. *Prioritize crime prevention over arrest*
2. *Create and install systems that monitor citizen reactions to the police and routinely report results back to the public and also managing and line officers*
3. *Reform training and redefine the “craft” of policing*
4. *Recalibrate organizational incentives*
5. ***Strengthen accountability with more transparency***

Seven-Point Blueprint

1. *Prioritize crime prevention over arrest*
2. *Create and install systems that monitor citizen reactions to the police and routinely report results back to the public and also managing and line officers*
3. *Reform training and redefine the “craft” of policing*
4. *Recalibrate organizational incentives*
5. *Strengthen accountability with more transparency*
6. ***Incorporate the analysis of crime and citizen reaction into managerial practice***

Seven-Point Blueprint

1. *Prioritize crime prevention over arrest*
2. *Create and install systems that monitor citizen reactions to the police and routinely report results back to the public and also managing and line officers*
3. *Reform training and redefine the “craft” of policing*
4. *Recalibrate organizational incentives*
5. *Strengthen Accountability with More Transparency*
6. *Incorporate the analysis of crime and citizen reaction into managerial practice*
7. ***Strengthening national level research and evaluation***