

Public Safety, Policing Strategies
Quality of life issues



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Our image of police very much influenced
by our experience of police
Impacted by race, class, ethnicity, policies in different cities & countries
Local function in the U.S. Each city/town has its own police force




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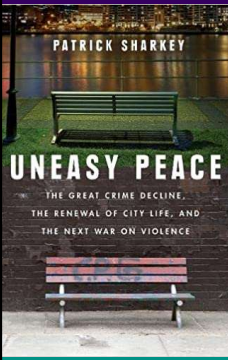


1 = "I have a very low or negative opinion of the police officers I have seen or encountered in my home city"

10 = "I have a very high or positive opinion of the police officers I have seen or encountered in my home city"



3

What role do we want/ask police to play?
Patrick Sharkey, *Uneasy Peace*, published 2018
Police as warriors or.....

4

Police as *guardians*
of community defined standards of public safety




5

Think of a continuum from guardians
Benign protectors




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Friendly watchman for the community



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From unarmed...



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To lightly armed



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To heavily armed



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From community interaction & informal dress to....



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To military appearance



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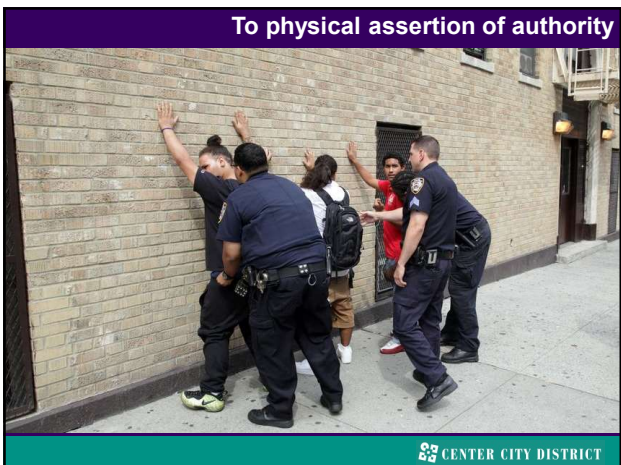
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Appearance of police violence



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Arrest, excessive use of force & killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020



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Recent Federal Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers arresting immigrants



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Two murders in Minneapolis By Federal ICE officers



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Broad range of images/experience of police Hugely changed, politicized environment



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2020: Just as cities were emerging from disruption of pandemic



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In West Philadelphia



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Greater distrust of police
fewer individuals pursuing policing as a career
Police staffing levels are lower



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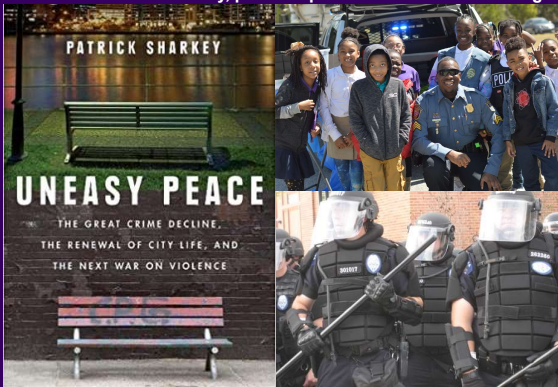
Federal Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE)
Deployed often without local consent



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Public policing is a result of public policy choice & training
Locally, police departments have & can change



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"The public peace is not kept primarily by the police. It's kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious, network of voluntary controls & standards among people themselves & enforced by people themselves."



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Described stable working-class neighborhoods 1961



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“Eyes on the street”
Conditions exist today in economically vibrant areas



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Informal: shop owners who watch over the street



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Keep an eye on the sidewalk



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Secondary functions of sidewalk cafes



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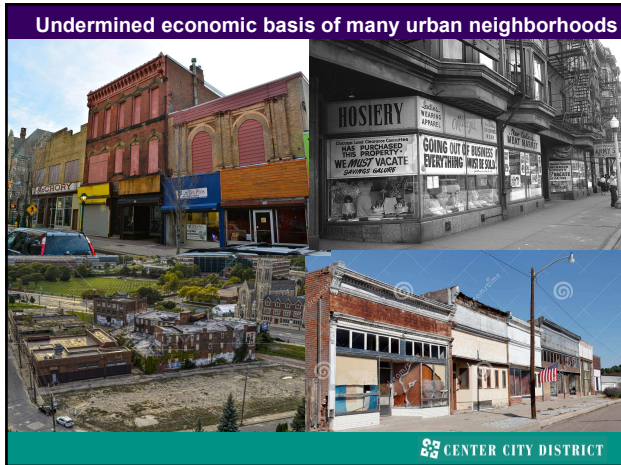
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But de-industrialization & suburbanization



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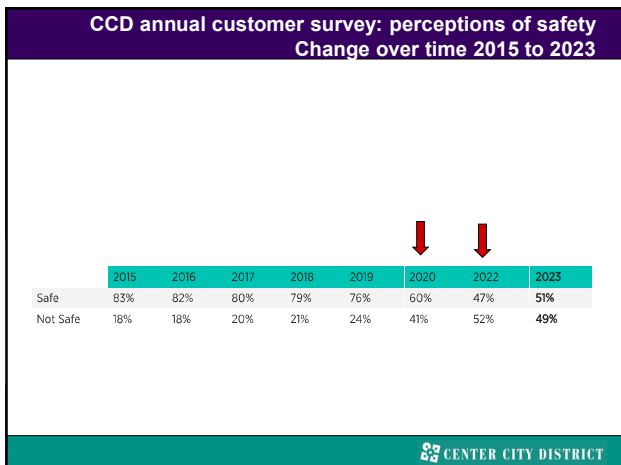
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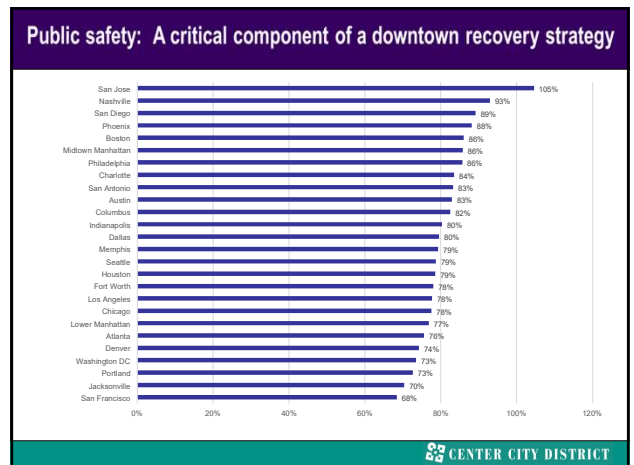
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Historical trends in Public safety & Public sector policing In the United States

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Late 19th & early 20th century, policing was a local function & in most American cities it was characterized by:



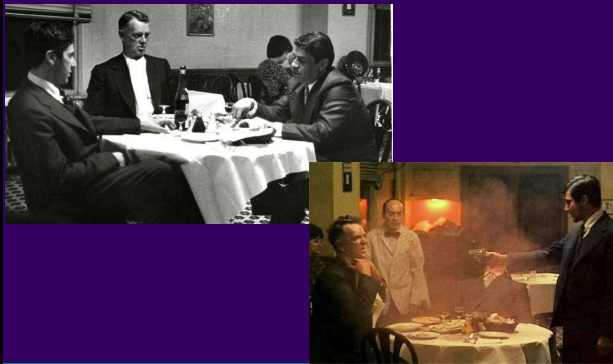
- foot patrol in pre-auto city
- interaction w/community & businesses
- police officer known in neighborhood
- basic crime prevention, order maintenance, regulating public behavior

- (1) kids hanging on corner
- (2) the neighborhood drunk
- (3) enforcing community standards
- (4) enforcing "vagrancy" - could be discriminatory/racist
- (5) as well as pursuit of more traditional crimes
far less professionalized; more politicized, ethnic patronage

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Scene in the "Godfather" Michael Corleone kills both a mob boss & corrupt police commander



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Responding to organized crime in 1930s

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was formed, movement toward professionalization of police

focus on crime fighting/ organized crime

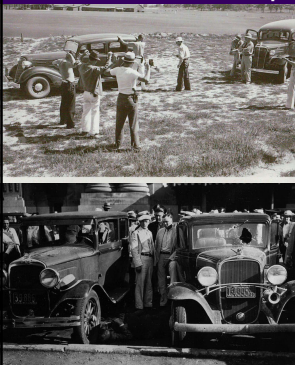
Responding to police corruption, move away from officer becoming too friendly with the store owner; tavern owner

rotating police from district to district
more professional --- less personal

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Formal FBI training classes for police
Standardization of practice; professional certification



The FBI National Academy was started on July 29, 1935,

Response to a 1930 study by the Wickersham Commission that recommended the standardization and professionalization of the law enforcement departments across the United States through centralized training.

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If the focus is on chasing criminals, then already by 1930s emphasis was on police in vehicles



patrolling behind the wheel
stopping to get out at "incidents"

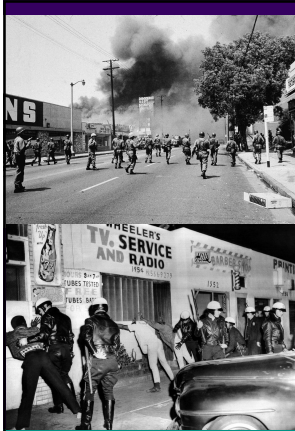
Implication: loss of foot patrol, interaction, visibility

• moving up in the ranks meant moving away from entry-level foot patrol to behind the wheel, behind the desk

almost complete elimination of foot patrol both in neighborhoods & in downtowns

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Response to urban protests, riots, disorder of 1960s, as well as a significant increase in urban crime.

major change in style of policing,

- Incident driven:
- respond to calls – 911
Priority given to “serious” crime
- chase “bad guys”
- Focus on solving crimes, make arrests, gathering better evidence

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How police classify crime

Part One offenses (felonies)

- Murder
- Rape
- Arson
- Armed theft

Summary offenses/ Misdemeanors

- Retail theft
- Vandalism
- Disorderly public nuisance
- Obstructing public passageways
- Disorderly conduct
- Public drunkenness

A summary offense is a lesser crime than a felony or misdemeanor. In most cases, a conviction for a summary offense will result in a fine but not carry any jail time.

1960s success is measured by reduction in Part 1 crime rates
treat other issues, as lower priorities

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Militarization of police in 1960s

- Police as responders to political protest
- crowd, demonstration & riot control, horses, riot gear

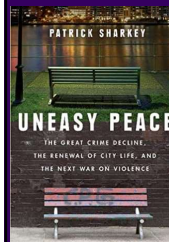


Tensions compounded where there are racial, class or political differences between police
And the people they are serving

Only in response to federal lawsuits, did urban police departments in US begin to integrate by race in early 1970s'
And by gender in late 1970s

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This is where Sharkey's narrative begins



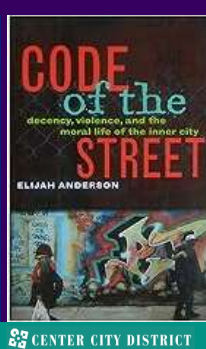
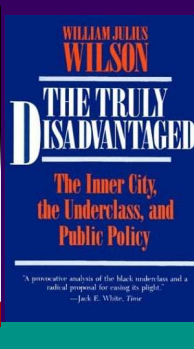
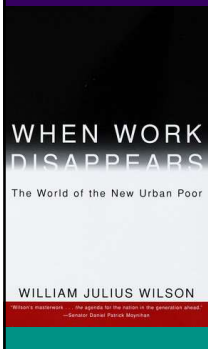
1960s to 1980s, working class & middle class begin leaving many American cities in response to manufacturing decline & Proliferation of suburban housing

Includes African American & Hispanic families benefitting from the civil rights movement, opening up of many suburbs

Leaving behind those in poverty; decline of “intermediary institutions” religious institutions; clubs & associations

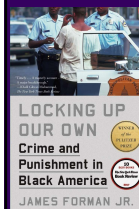
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When work disappears, when the working class departs, leaving only the underclass, social structure breaks down
Role models disappear



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Drug related crime & violence rose dramatically in cities in disinvested neighborhoods; gangs & shooting



The response was a heavy police presence
With a focus on mandatory sentencing

As James Forman Jr recounts about Washington DC – often strongly supported by African American elected officials as police departments racially integrated

This dramatically reduced crime but built a system of mass-incarceration

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Image of police as an occupying army
Stereotyping & violence directed at young black men



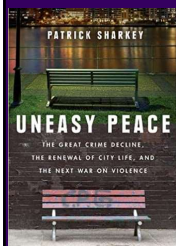
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Highly publicized incidence of police violence
Impetus for Black Lives Matter
Proposals to Defund the police



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Benefits of urban policing in lower income areas



Sharkey cites research documenting that in areas where crime subsided, the working class & middle class did not flee & leave only low-income people behind.

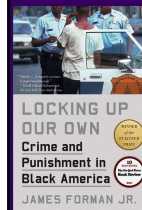
Children born in poverty have more chance to connect to opportunity if they live near other families, where at least one adult is employed in a family-sustaining job "role models" "network effects"

Sharkey – p 110: "the greatest benefits of the crime drop have been experienced by the most disadvantaged segments of the population"

But it came with a heavy price
Police abuse & mass incarceration

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"one of the most destructive aspects of modern policing: although officers recognize some segments of the community – the shopkeepers, the pastors, elderly grandmothers as law abiding citizens,

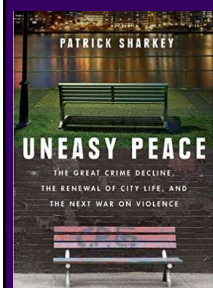


they regard most neighborhood residents & young people in particular with generalized suspicion.

Unable to distinguish between a student on break & drug dealer working the corner, the police treat them both as menaces to public safety." (155)

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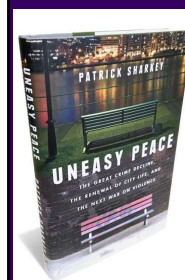
Sharkey – focused on solutions



P143: "changing the way police officers interact with residents in low-income communities of color is crucial to restoring legitimacy in one of the most important institutions in our society.

But it is also essential to recognize the role that law enforcement has played in preserving social order & reducing violence."

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The primary problem in lower income areas is the absence of jobs; the level of poverty

But Sharkey doesn't define solution as economic & community development vs policing

but BOTH/AND "two-handed approach"

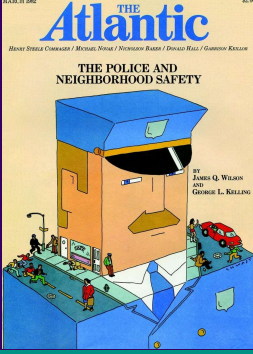
Forman: "What if police officers had been trained not to arrest addicts, but to refer them directly to treatment?"

Sharkey goal: move from warriors to guardians

Same strategies for downtowns

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James Q Wilson & George Kelling
“The Police & Neighborhood Safety”



Atlantic magazine, March 1982

Research in 1970s in Newark NJ showed despite increase in police despite decrease in part one crimes communities continued to respond in polls they did not feel safe

part of this:

- presence of guns in American society
- part break-down of economic opportunity
- part the way television & movies highlight violence

• part because police were really not focused on issues people said made them feel unsafe

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Broken windows theory (metaphor)



Just as one, untended broken window emboldens those with rocks to break the rest, ignoring petty crimes & misdemeanors conveys implicit permission to perpetrate more serious crimes.



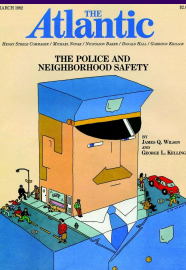
ignoring small crimes gives public the sense things are out of control (insecurity)

creates environment of tolerance, permissiveness = emboldens more serious crimes

those who often carry out “petty” crimes also carry out more serious crimes

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in response to rising crime in 1960s
incident driven patrolling

Responding to 911 call

officers in cars arrive at scene of crime & depart to respond to next call

Lack of community engagement
 Lack of collaborative defining of priorities

NO surveys of what residents want

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Wilson & Kelling recommended community policing
Converged with “quality of life” policing

police should rely less on Part One crimes – as the organizing principal *murder, rape, arson & armed theft*

instead: ask the community what are their concerns, what makes them feel unsafe: teenage drinking, vandalism, graffiti auto break-ins -----“quality of life” issues

rather than be reactive, responding only to 911 calls police should be proactive & diagnostic

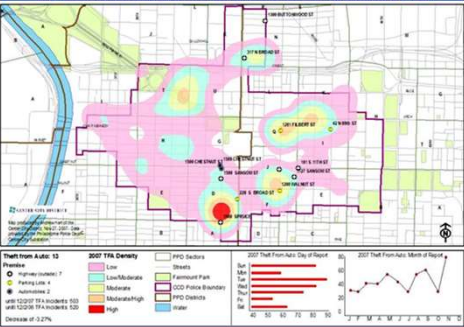
analyze calls for service; a disorderly conduct case as example

6 different officers on different shifts going to the same location - domestic dispute; police should diagnose problems requiring response other than law enforcement before it escalates

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Data driven deployment: auto break-ins
From pin maps to computerized crime tracking
1990s computerization; Map Info; Arc GIS (late model Toyota)



Thrift from Auto in the Center City District: November 28 to December 2, 2007

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Community & quality of life policing

- dispute resolution as province of police
- reaching out, working in partnership with neighborhood & business groups with social service agencies
- people feel safer when they are involved in defining public safety strategy



Doesn't mean police become social workers

- recognition that police are not the only experts when it comes to safety
- that police don't have all the resources
- “co-delivery service” model

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Dialogue with communities able how to achieve their public safety objectives



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A return to foot patrol or bike patrol
Assisting communities to achieve their objectives
Focus on quality of life offenses



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when you take "quality of life" crimes seriously
Neighbors usually feel safer because they see officers
they know & they see visible change: vandalism & graffiti

When you take lower-level crimes seriously
other major crimes often go down

Why: a handful of those who commit small crimes
occasionally commit big crimes

PHL: retail theft crime wave: 2021-2022
but analysis of data: 10 individuals committing low level
retail theft (arrested & released),
accounted for 75% of all retail theft
also wanted for armed robbery

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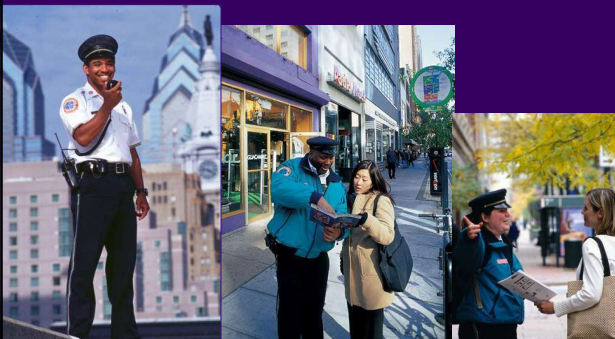
By 1990 many urban police departments
open to & exploring community policing



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BIDs emerge in the US in late 1980s & early 1990s
Initially to focus on downtowns



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Exactly when police were open to partnerships
Seamon: "loss of market share"



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CCD formed in 1990: office boom transformed skyline



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Significant decline in federal resources
A degraded & squalid public environment:



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Substantial ground & upper floor vacancy



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Neglected facades, solid security gates
Limited retail services



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9 to 5 downtown; empty streets at night



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Two things prompted creation of CCD:
Public space crisis

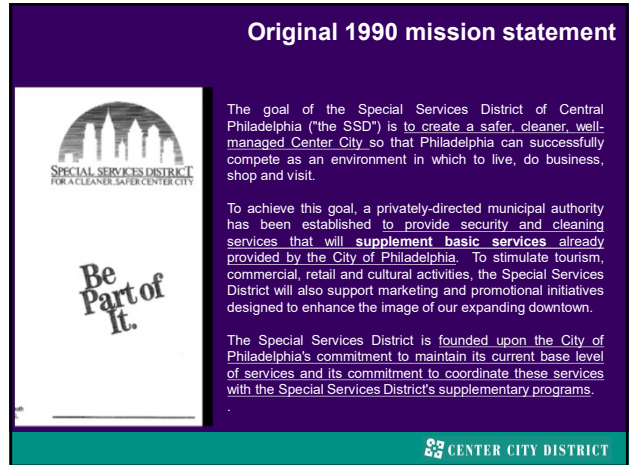


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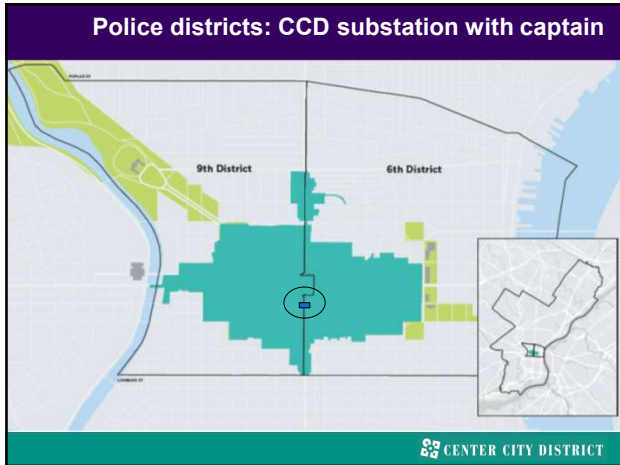
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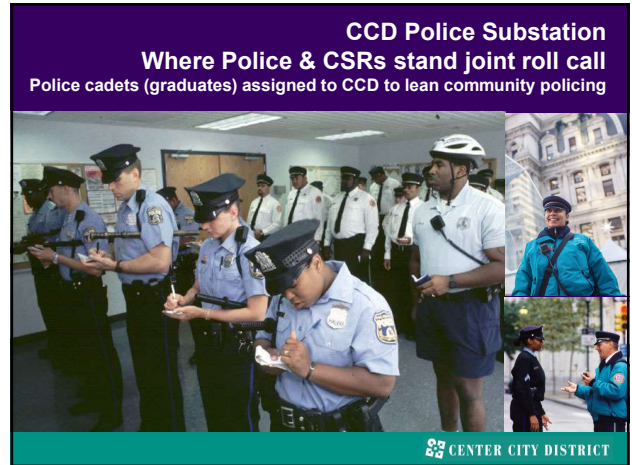
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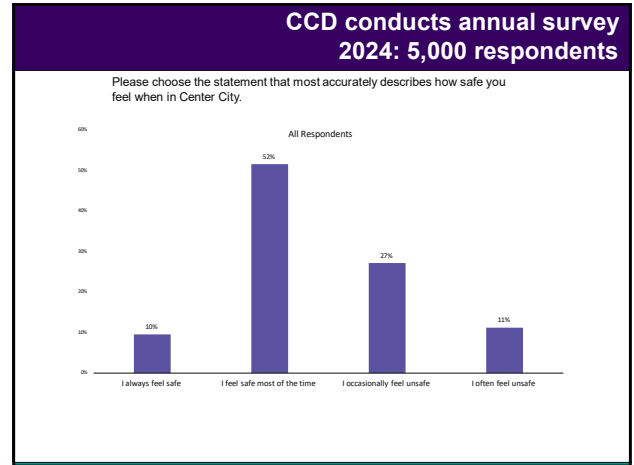
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Annual Customer Satisfaction Survey 5,000 respondents

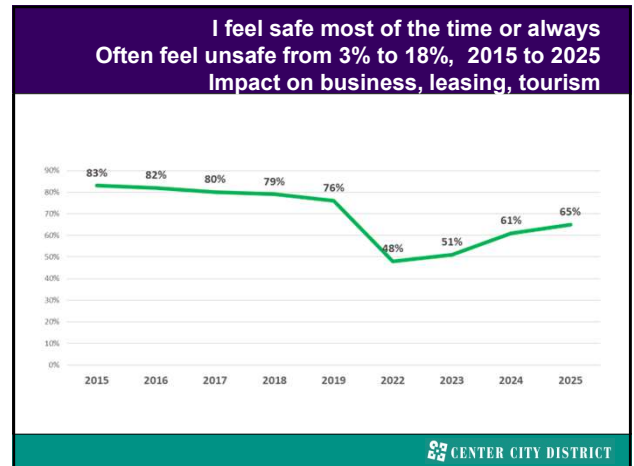
Q1: Please choose the statement that most accurately describes your perception of safety in Center City. "I feel safe...."

Figure 3

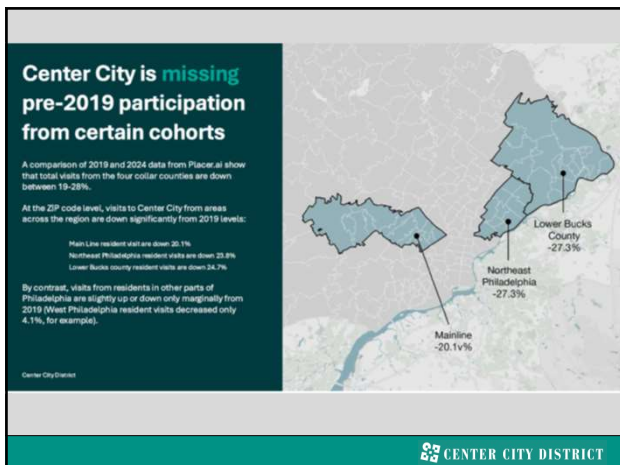
	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2022	2023
Always	23%	23%	23%	19%	18%	12%	7%	7%
Most of the time	60%	59%	57%	60%	58%	48%	40%	44%
Occasionally	14%	14%	17%	17%	18%	31%	31%	31%
Often Unsafe	3%	3%	2%	3%	5%	10%	20%	18%
Not sure	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%

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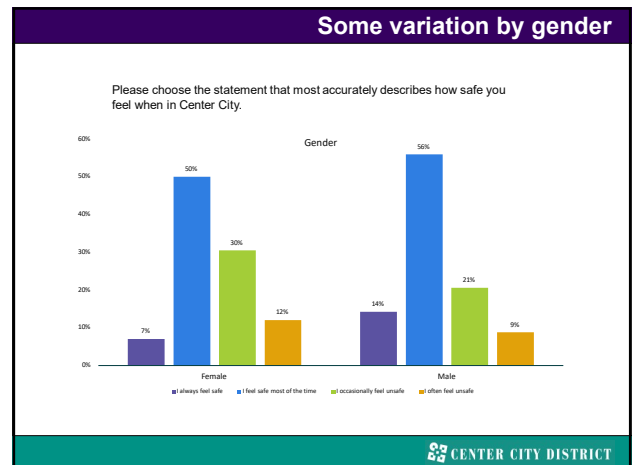
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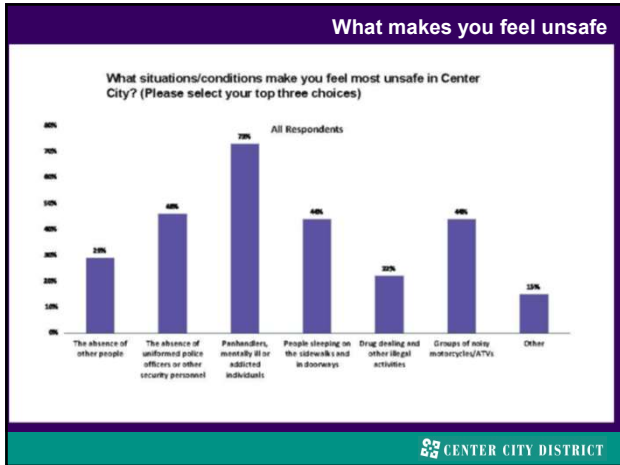
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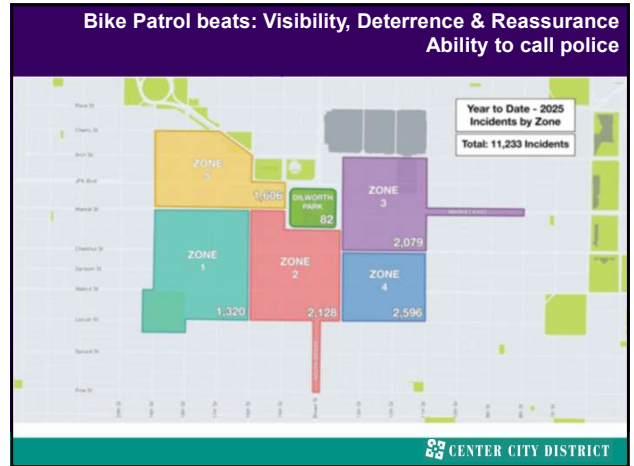
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2025: Community Oriented Policing program

Bridge employment training program

- 18 year-old graduates of Police Cadets
- Full time employment With benefits 18-21 years olds
- At 21- eligible to become police officers

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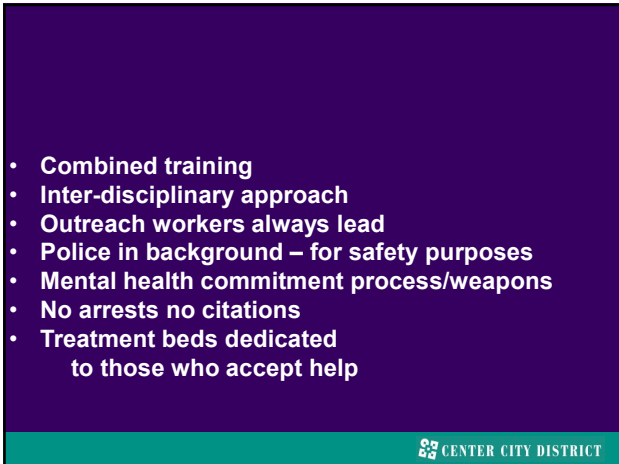
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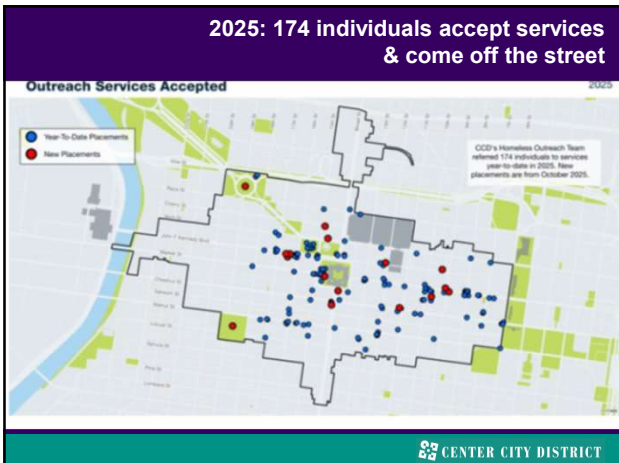
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Cities need to rethink public safety strategies
Hugely changed, politicized environment



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