REASSURANCE POLICING

**Reassuring the Public or
Reassuring the Police?**

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POLICING AS DRAMA

- P. Manning
- Drama
- Actors
- Play
- Script
- I. Loader
- R. Berki

REASSURANCE POLICING?

- Why?
- Variation or reanimation of CP?
- Reassuring as acting skill? (Manning)
- RP and order/disorder? (Loader)
- RP as a result of 30 years of policing models in a changing world

1. BIRTH OF THE BLUES

- Iconical status of postwar policing (1950-60)
- Years of discontent (1960-70's US public order policing Vietnam, civilrights, NL 1966)
- Desacralisation
- Increasing manpower & budget
- Research

RESEARCH FOCUS

- Preventive patrolling (Kansas City experiments)

- Rapid response to calls

- Effectiveness of CID

RESEARCH RESULTS

- Visible patrols no extra deterrent effect on recorded crime, clearing up rates, fear of crime, public satisfaction
  (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kansas_City_preventive_patrol_experiment#Design)
- Limited impact of rapid police response (cf. Spelman & Brown, 1984) on arrest rates
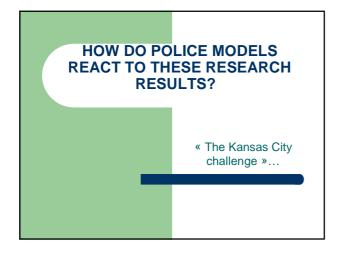- Crimes mostly solved because authors known or identified by public

CALLING THE POLICE

- *« Rapid police response may be unnecessary for three out of every four serious crimes reported to police. The traditional practice of immediate response to all reports of serious crimes currently leads to on-scene arrests in only 29 of every 1,000 cases. By implementing innovative programs, police may be able to increase this response-related arrest rate to 50 or even 60 per 1000, but there is little hope that further increases can be generated. «*

  William Spelman and Dale K. Brown (1984). Calling the Police: Citizen Reporting of Serious Crime. Reprint edition: Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office

EVALUATING THE CRIME FIGHTING MODEL

- Nothing works?
- Impossible mandate?
- 'Drama of control' & 'drama of culture'
- *"At the heart of LE in the US there are frustrated, cynical people dealing with neglected, helpless people – in effect, the strong and the weak, both alineated, locked in an intimate embrace"* (Bayley)

HOW DO POLICE MODELS REACT TO THESE RESEARCH RESULTS?

« The Kansas City challenge »…

2. COMMUNITY POLICING

- Reaction on CF model on 3 levels:
- Human condition & society, police role in society
- Organising
- Police tasks

CRIME FIGHTING VS COMMUNITY POLICING

CRIME FIGHTING	FUNCTION OF POLICING COMMUNITY POLICING
Legality	Legitimacy & equity (social justice)
Rational choice theory (Deterrence)	Social control th.
Formal social control	Informal & formal social control
Crime control	Order maintenance & service to population
ORGANISATION OF POLICING	
Centralisation	Decentralisation
Narrow span of control	Flat organisation & empowerment
Specialisation	Despecialisation, integration of tasks
Control and command culture	Coaching and support culture
POLICE WORK	
Reactive	Proactive (POP)
Repression	Prevention
Symptoms & incidents	Context & problems (POP)
Isolation	Multi-agency, Integration, reciprocity, partnership & accountability (COP)

CP AS NEO-DURKHEIMIAN RESPONSE

- Crime as anomy
- Social disorganisation – loss of community (moral) cohesion
- Transformation and enlargement of police role towards moral discourse and practices to repair cohesion
- In contrast with "structural functionalist" CF model
- *Zeitgeist*: cf. from disorganisation (micro-meso) towards social exclusion, inequity (macro), police serves as *gatekeeper* unjust system

CP AS RE-LEGITIMATION

- "Power to the people"?
- Reinforcement of informal social control (by formal social control agents)
- Diverting identified 'police discretion' towards subsidiary – minimal (force) policing

TRUST IN POLICING?

- Trust achieved through effectiviness of crime fighting?
- Capacity to represent and defend moral values in community?
- *Just World Theory* (Lerner-VD Vijver): policing as a symbolic function
- Penetration of the social
- Rule of law?
- Accountability: the (diminishing) importance of crime figures?

3. PROBLEM ORIENTED POLICING

- Goldstein, 1979, 1990
- CP as goal displacement (*Means-over-ends syndrome*)
- Police-public contact is too amorphous
- Teampolicing fiasco

"CP has become a meaningless and almost corrupt term..."(Goldstein)

POP RESPONSE TO "K.C. CHALLENGE"?

- From crime fighting to problem fighting
- Criminal law is a too narrow framework
- Enlarging police discretion
- Role of the public? Addressing problems, not defining police response
- SARA approach: pragmatism & strategy *('smart policing')*
- Critique of the social? Bypassed?

4. BROKEN WINDOWS- 0 TOLERANCE

- Disorder destroys cohesion and attracts criminality
- Quality of life problems
- Rapid response and proactive policing towards groups and places at risk (hot spots-hot shots)

BW RESPONSE TO "K. C. CHALLENGE"?

- Enlarging police role: quality of life problems are more than crime
- Problems of order for groups and individuals
- Groups at risk are 'wandering' broken windows
- Incivilities: enlarging police role towards moral and symbolic authority
- Order maintenance as crime prevention
- Causes of crime are trivial
- BW as *new realist* community policing (Wilson & Van den Haag)
- BW = "Cp high jacked by the police" (Wiatrowski)

0-TOLERANCE (ZTP)

- If BW = 'Breaking balls theory' (BBT) (W. Bratton & J. Maple) ZTP = BBT *Plus*: incl. CompStat
- ZTP paradox: enlarging police role and diminishing discretion
- Netwidening
- '*Praetorian* community policing'
- ZTP as 'bastard child' cp

ZTP RESPONSE TO "K.C. CHALLENGE"?

- Criminality + disorder and decay
- More police, police, police!
- *Awe and shock*
- Increase police powers (spec. forces)

5. PRIVATE AND PLURAL POLICING

- If citizen is client, community policing best buy = private policing? Cf. Accountability
- Responses to K.C. Challenge?
- Quality of life & antisocial behaviour
- More (diffuse) (formalised) social control via other agencies? Cf. Surveillance - CCTV
- Government to governance
- Cake of policing divided: on 'hard side' public-private policing, 'soft side' public police & local authorities?

6. REASSURANCE POLICING

- Crime rates down, fear of crime up
- Research into policing styles: 1 negative interaction req. 14 pos. contacts (Skogan) to balance public perception
- Academic model, not police centred
- *Signal crimes* (disorder, decay)
- Decay as sign of (moral) decay of community
- Reaction against BW: crime & disorder both as a result of social disorganisation (Disorder & decline, Skogan)
- RP = BW minus ideology?

RP RESPONSE TO "K.C. CHALLENGE"?

- Focus on *signal crimes, signal places* (COP-POP?)
- Reducing *fear of crime*
- Enhancing trust via positive citizen perception cf. *'bedside manners approach'*

REASSURANCE POLICING AS DRAMA?

- RP as a goal or a result?
- Who restores trust?
- Critique of the social?
- Which social control and in which perspective?
- Effectiveness determined by policing or by perception of policing ?
- Police held accountable for crime or for fear of crime?
- Reassuring the public or reassuring the police?
- *Police as/is drama* with a new cast and a rewritten script? Play = '*Keeping up appearances'?*

FUTURE OF (COMMUNITY) POLICING?

- CP and models beyond: children of their time
- POP: maintained enlarged police role minus the social
- BW-ZTP: ideological turn of CP & risk society - risk analysis
- Private/plural P: adaptation to globalisation and deregulation (in the police org. too) & further diffusion of (formalised) social control
- RP: policing as drama of securing the insecure? Social control?
- Restorative policing: also back to CP roots? Reinforcing informal social control?
- Too little too late: CP idea supporting informal social control resulted in formalising informal social control?
- Is CP part of the solution or part of the problem?