Jerry H. Ratcliffe Evan T. Sorg

Foot Patrol Rethinking the Cornerstone of Policing



SpringerBriefs in Criminology

Translational Criminology

Series Editors

Cynthia Lum, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, USA Christopher Koper, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, USA

Editorial Board

John Laub, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, USA Laurie O. Robinson, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, USA David Weisburd, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, USA The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/11178

Jerry H. Ratcliffe • Evan T. Sorg

Foot Patrol

Rethinking the Cornerstone of Policing



Jerry H. Ratcliffe Department of Criminal Justice Temple University Philadelphia, PA, USA Evan T. Sorg
Department of Law and Justice Studies
Rowan University
Glassboro, NJ, USA

ISSN 2192-8533 ISSN 2192-8541 (electronic)
SpringerBriefs in Criminology
ISSN 2194-6442 ISSN 2194-6450 (electronic)
Translational Criminology
ISBN 978-3-319-65246-7 ISBN 978-3-319-65247-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65247-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017949279

© The Author(s) 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Acknowledgments

Across two citywide randomized experiments and many studies before and after, we would like to gratefully acknowledge the invaluable assistance of the following people, all of whom are colleagues, coauthors, and friends: Elizabeth Groff, Jennifer Wood, Travis Taniguchi, Cory Haberman, Lallen Johnson, Caitlin Taylor, and Ralph Taylor. Their insights and wisdom have made us better scholars. A huge thanks also go to the hundreds of Philadelphia Police officers who shared their views and experiences with us and insights that made the bulk of this book possible. The level of dedication they demonstrate to the city and its citizens never ceases to astound us.

The Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment and Philadelphia Policing Tactics Experiment would not have been possible without the leadership of Police Commissioner (ret.) Charles Ramsey, Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Nola Joyce, Police Commissioner Rich Ross, Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Kevin Bethel, Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Tommy Wright, and all of the commanders and officers of the Philadelphia Police Department. We would also like to specially recognize Anthony D'Abruzzo and Kevin Thomas for their work behind the scenes during these collaborative experiments.

In the preparation of this manuscript, we would like to thank Cynthia Lum, D. Kim Rossmo, Renée Mitchell, Josh Koehnlein, and, from Springer, Katie Chabalko.

Contents

Crowd-Pleasers and Crime Fighters	- 1
References	5
A History of Foot Patrol	7
Introduction	7
Humble Beginnings	8
Peel's Great Experiment	9
The Early Days of American Policing	10
The Political Era	10
The Professional Era and the Decline of Foot Patrols	11
Conflicting Pressures Slowly Drive a Crisis in Policing	12
Policing Starts to Learn What Works	13
Community Policing	15
Experimenting with Foot Patrol	16
Rethinking the Unit of Analysis	17
References	19
The Philadelphia Experience	21
The Past Rediscovered	21
The Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment	23
The Experimental Design	25
Implementing the Foot Patrols	28
The Officer Experience	29
The Limits of Beat Boundaries	31
Evaluation	32
The Philadelphia Policing Tactics Experiment	33
Foot Patrol During the <i>Tactics</i> Experiment	35
How and Why Did the Experimental Results Differ?	36
Where Next for Foot Patrol?	38
References	39

viii Contents

The Foot Beat Experience	43
What Is Real Police Work?	45
What Did Foot Patrol Officers Do?	48
Harm Reduction and Harm-Focused Policing	51
The Conundrum of Performance Evaluations	53
Balancing Community Work with Enforcement Actions	53
The Need to Leave: Difficulties Maintaining Beat Integrity	56
Conclusions	60
References	60
Foot Patrol Policies	63
Introduction	63
Selecting the Right Officers	64
Training Foot Patrol Officers	67
The Geographic Area for Foot Patrol	68
Hot Spots Within Hot Spots: The Hotspot Matrix	69
Other Foot Beat Area Considerations	71
Tasking Foot Patrol Officers	72
Permanent or Park-and-Walk Patrols?	75
Incorporating Foot Beats into an Area's Overall Crime	
Control Strategy	76
The Community Component.	77
Assessing and Rewarding Foot Patrol	79
Conclusion	80
References	82
Index	85

About the Authors

Dr. Jerry H. Ratcliffe is Professor of Criminal Justice and Director of the Center for Security and Crime Science at Temple University, Philadelphia. He served for over a decade as a police officer with London's Metropolitan Police (UK), has a Ph.D. from the University of Nottingham, and is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He was the lead researcher on the Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment and has published over 80 research articles and five books in the areas of intelligence-led policing, spatial analysis, criminal intelligence, and crime science. He has been a research adviser to both the Philadelphia Police Commissioner and to the Criminal Investigative Division of the FBI. He recently completed an experiment examining predictive policing strategies.

Dr. Evan T. Sorg is an Assistant Professor of Law and Justice Studies at Rowan University, an affiliated instructor and researcher in the Center for Security and Crime Science at Temple University, and a former New York City police officer. He served as a research assistant on the Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment during his PhD work at Temple. He has published several research articles on the topics of hot spots policing and crime analysis, three of which involve the topic of foot patrol, and stemmed from the Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment. He has taught numerous cohorts of police officers and crime analysts on the topic of crime mapping and crime analysis, and he teaches Central American police commanders on the topic of intelligence-led policing.

Crowd-Pleasers and Crime Fighters

In 1960, Chicago was rocked by the Summerdale scandal. Eight Chicago cops enabled local thief Richard Morrison to burgle locations in the Summerdale police district on Chicago's north side. The officers not only acted as a lookout for the thief but also used their squad cars to transport stolen goods from the scene (Benzkofer 2013). The case resulted in the arrest and conviction of the officers, as well as the retirement of Police Commissioner Timothy O'Connor. Mired in controversy, Chicago turned to renowned police academic and practitioner O.W. Wilson as the city's next police chief. One of the first things he did to try and restore community trust was assign foot beat officers to each district. As Skogan and colleagues pointed out, this was largely a public relations exercise: "Not much was expected of these officers; they were to be *crowd-pleasers*" (Skogan et al. 1999: 76, emphasis added).

Are foot patrol officers just crowd-pleasers? Officers on foot have been the backbone of policing for the majority of the nearly 200-year history of the modern police service though, as we will discuss later, less so in recent decades. There is general agreement that officers on foot are central to police-community relations and positive neighborhood contacts: "Foot patrol is a pillar of community policing that stands alone in its simplicity and its impact on communal feelings of fear of violent crimes... The presence of a single officer can bring relief to a troubled sector and give its populace a new peace of mind" (Giannetti 2007: 22). And while not exactly the dominant policing model, foot patrols are widespread. In 2007 (the year most recently reported for foot patrol), the majority of police departments in the United States used regularly scheduled foot patrols (55%). This number rose to 81% for cities with over half a million residents, and 92% for cities with a million or more people (Reaves 2010).

Foot patrol is interesting because it changes the nature of social interactions between individuals. It slows the pace of approach, allowing an officer to take the time to assess the person or group she is drawing near to, and it draws individuals much closer together. On a busy city sidewalk, we pass within a breath of each other, sometimes brushing against fellow travelers. On quieter streets with few pedestrians, we might say good morning to the other person. As one sergeant

1