


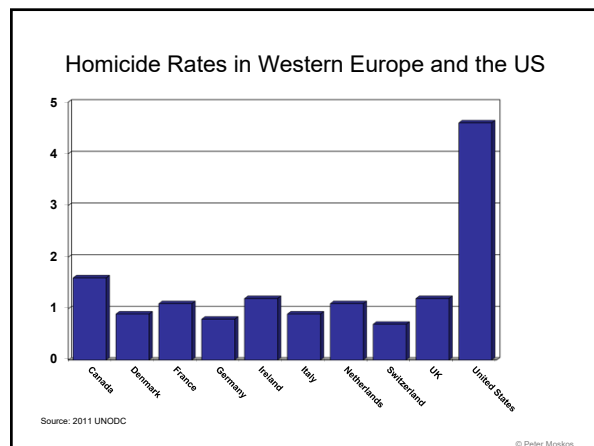
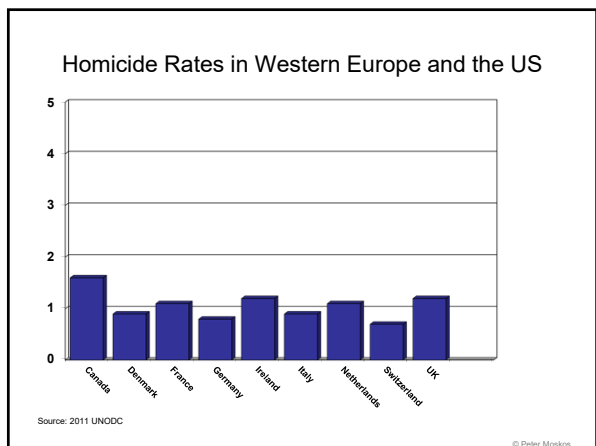
Cop in the Hood
 Professor Peter C. Moskos
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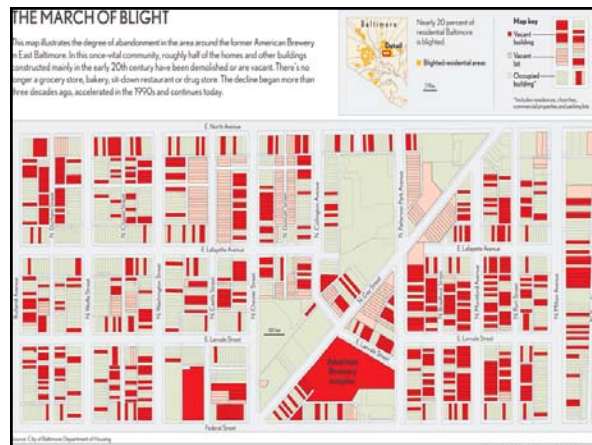
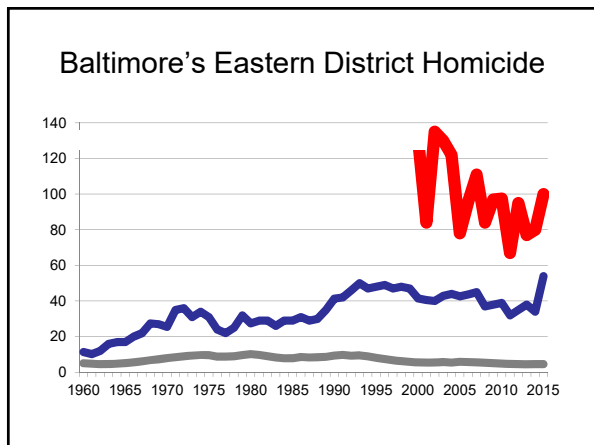
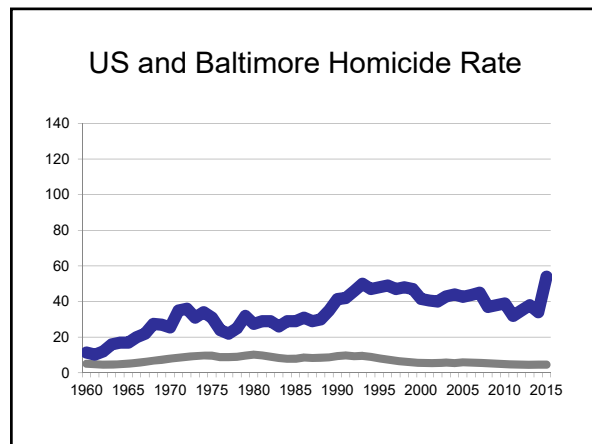


Baltimore's Eastern District:

- 280 officers (1 of 9 police districts).
- 42,000 residents (99% Black).
- More than *one in ten* (12%) men is murdered before age 35.
- Annually, police handle:
 - 113,000 calls for service;
 - 20,000 arrests;
 - 40 Homicides.

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Category of Dispatched Call for Service	Category as Percentage (n) of All Calls	Percentage (n) of Dispatched Calls With:		
		No Need for Police Response	Some Police Service	Crime Committed or Requiring a Written Report
Calls for Service	100% (113,205)	38.9% (44,003)	35.4% (40,093)	25.7% (29,109)
Drugs	25.6% (28,959)	13.9% (4,027)	67.2% (19,462)	18.9% (5,470)
Disorderly	10.5% (11,874)	28.6% (3,398)	64.9% (7,707)	6.5% (769)
Other	8.8% (9,953)	39.3% (3,910)	26.0% (2,584)	34.8% (3,459)
Alarms	8.3% (9,353)	94.4% (8,833)	3.7% (346)	1.9% (174)
Common Assault	6.9% (7,865)	41.3% (3,252)	23.7% (1,867)	34.9% (2,746)
911 No Voice	5.6% (6,341)	90.1% (5,764)	7.3% (462)	1.8% (115)
Larceny	3.8% (4,346)	28.0% (1,219)	12.8% (556)	59.2% (2,571)
Family Disturbance	2.9% (3,277)	25.6% (839)	37.1% (1,216)	37.3% (1,222)
Auto Accident	2.6% (2,990)	23.8% (712)	30.5% (912)	45.7% (1,366)
Burglary	2.3% (2,639)	49.1% (1,297)	12.0% (341)	37.9% (1,001)
Armed Person	1.9% (2,168)	57.9% (1,255)	29.7% (641)	12.5% (272)
Destruction of Property	1.8% (2,059)	27.9% (575)	14.6% (300)	57.5% (1,184)
Aggravated Assault	1.4% (1,580)	48.0% (759)	20.4% (322)	31.6% (499)
<i>Selected Other Categories</i>				
Gunshots	0.9% (980)	59.4% (582)	32.8% (321)	7.9% (77)
Stolen Auto	0.9% (969)	37.9% (367)	7.4% (72)	54.7% (530)
Assault, Shooting	0.3% (324)	51.9% (168)	1.9% (6)	46.3% (150)
Assault, Cutting	0.3% (312)	29.2% (91)	5.4% (17)	65.4% (204)
Not Listed Above	15.1% (17,048)	40.5% (6,898)	17.3% (2,954)	42.2% (7,196)

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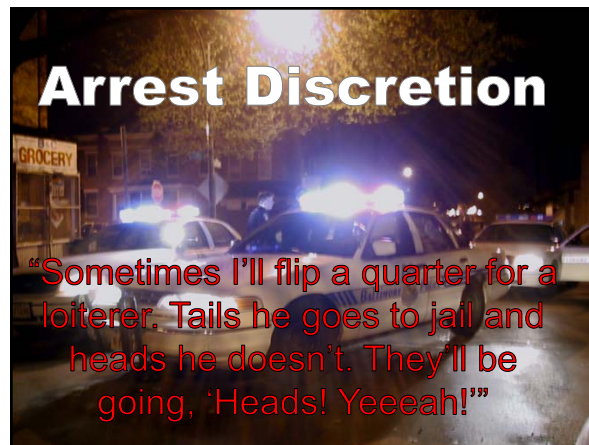
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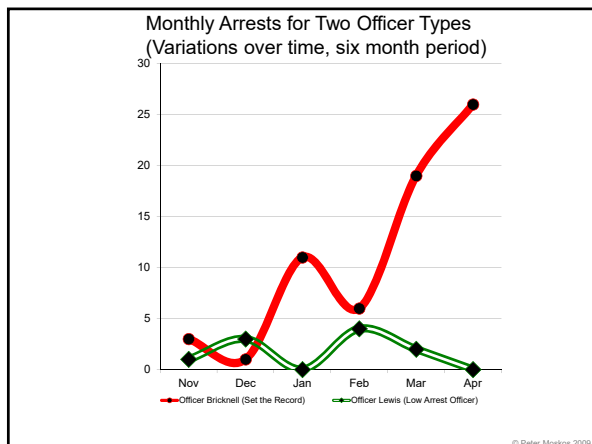
Calls for Service In Baltimore's Eastern District, 2000.
Three sectors of approx five police units/cars each sector.

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Arrests Per Officer				
(Variations between officers, six month period)				
Officer	Arrests (6-month total)	Felony arrests	Non-Felony Arrests	Traffic citations
Jake Atz	77	5	72	135
Squad Avg. (mean)	27.4	3.6	23.8	44.2
Phil Lowe	10	1	9	28
Correlation Between:		F	Sig	
Non-felony arrests and felony arrests		.075	.81	
Non-felony arrests and traffic citations		.785	.001*	
Felony arrests and traffic citations		.018	.95	

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Officer	Arrests (total)	Felony arrests	Non-Felony Arrests	Traffic citations
Jake Atz	77	5	72	135
Charlie Bricknell	66	1	65	65
Terry Cox	49	6	43	59
Pat Duncan	31	11	20	18
Art Ewoldt	24	2	22	28
Gene Ford	20	8	12	20
Ross Grimsley	20	2	18	64
Tom Hamilton	18	0	18	19
Charlie Irwin	16	4	12	60
Gerry Janeski	11	3	8	40
Burt Kuczynski	10	2	8	36
Phil Lowe	10	1	9	28
Sherry Magee	4	2	2	5
TOTAL	356	47	309	577
MEAN	27.4	3.6	23.8	44.2
MEDIAN	20	2	18	36
STD DEV	22.7	3.2	22.3	34.0

	F	Sig
Non-felony arrests and felony arrests	.075	.81
Non-felony arrests and traffic citations	.785	.001*
Felony arrests and traffic citations	.018	.95

High-Discretion vs. Low-Discretion Arrests

- Officers have high discretion for misdemeanor arrests and traffic citations.
- Officers have low discretion for felony arrests.

Officer Discretion and Arrests

Suspect & Institutionally based variables

Suspect-based variables: race, crime, age, demeanor, dress, education, employment.

Institutionally based variables: District, sergeant, crime rate.

The police officer as variable: Overtime AKA: "Collars for Dollars"

- Officers who want to make a lot of arrests, do. Officers who don't, don't.
- The key variable is officer's *desire for overtime*.
- Areas *with public drug dealing* have an unlimited supply of arrestable offenders.

Author	Key Concept and Significance
Vollmer 1936	Professional police introduced
Whyte 1943	Different police response in different neighborhoods
Goldstein 1960	Introduces discretion and police power not to invoke the law
LaFave 1962 Kadish 1992	Equates discretion with racism through non-enforcement of law in black neighborhoods
Piliavin & Briar 1964	Discretion based on demeanor more than race
Banton 1964	Discretion as a theoretical dilemma, police officer in a bind in low-class neighborhoods

Author	Key Concept and Significance
Bittner 1967	Discretion is a learned skill key to policing
Wilson 1968	Varies according to "service," "watchman," & "legalistic" police department.
Alex 1969	Black police officers have tougher job in black neighborhoods
Black & Reiss 1970	Complainant's desire taken into account. Wishes of black complainants responsible for disproportionate number of black arrests.
Van Maanen 1978	"Assholes" get locked up.

Author	Key Concept and Significance
Anderson 1990	Describes conflict of cultures in the ghetto. Regular patrol officers versus specialized units.
Klinger 1997	Service varies by police district, regardless of neighborhood variations within district
Atwater v. Lago Vista 2001	U.S. Supreme Court ruling grants police constitutional authority to arrest for <i>any</i> offence
Moskos 2009	Officer-based variables more important than suspect-based variables. Overtime key incentive.

The "War on Drugs"

1968: "War on Drugs" first used by Richard Nixon

1973: DEA Established (from Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs).
 •Rockefeller Drug Laws take effect in NY State.



1986: Anti-Drug Abuse Act (Sets mandatory sentences for crack cocaine and allows greater pee testing in the workplace)

Cardinal Rule of Drug Dealing:

Keep the Drugs & Money Separate

The customer dropped money near a telephone pole. The dealer picked it up, and one of the dealer's agents put the drugs in a crevice in the same telephone pole.

"Where money is taken by one person and the package is inserted by another, conviction is difficult if not impossible."

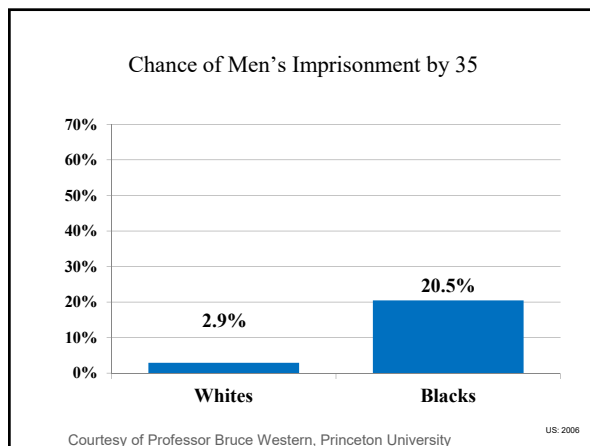
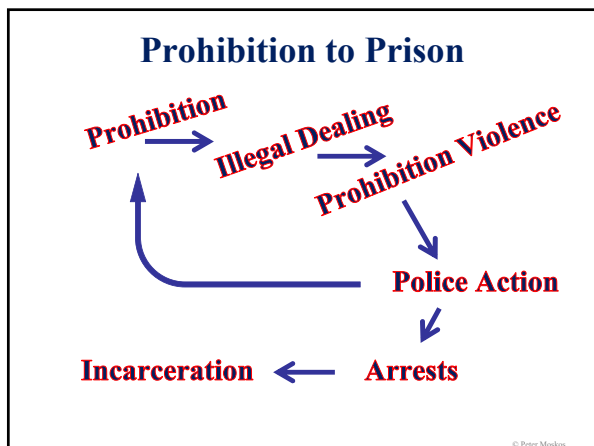
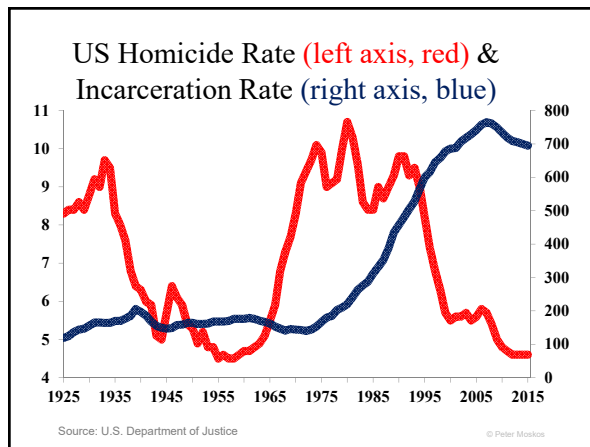
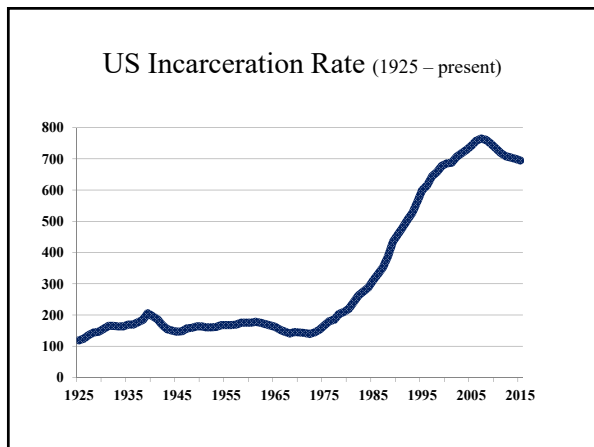
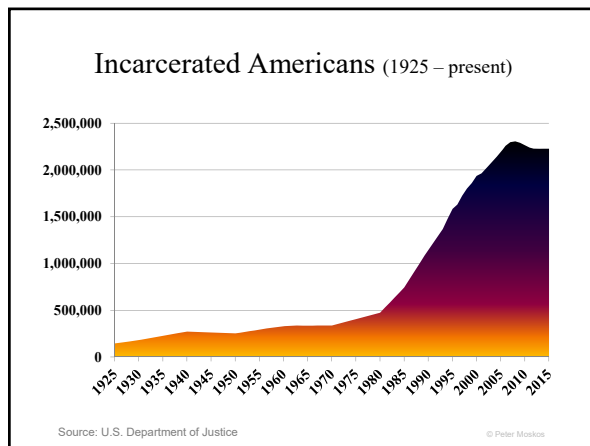
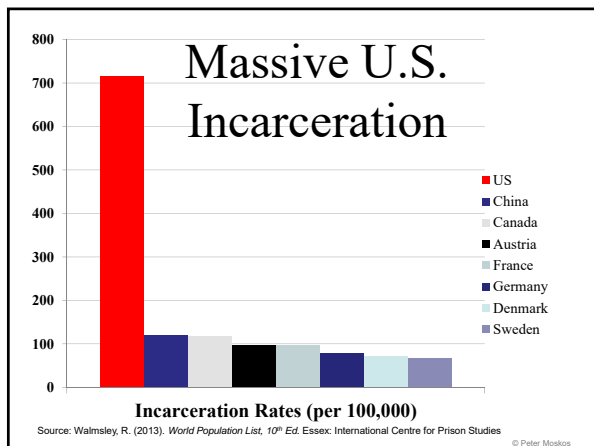
August Vollmer. 1936. *The Police and Modern Society: Plain Talk Based on Practical Experience*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

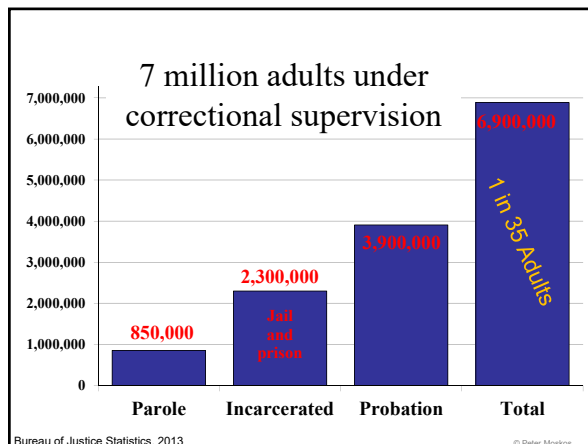
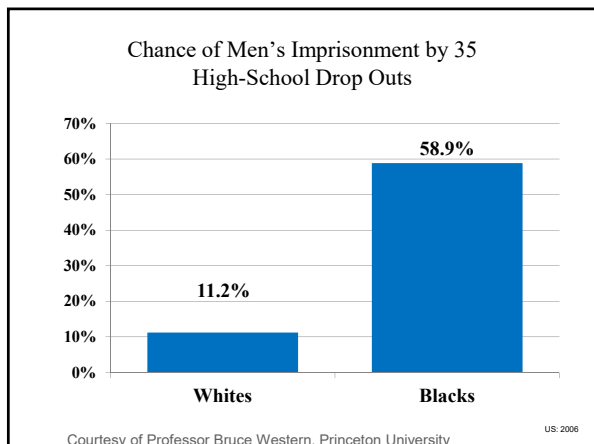
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Notorious B.I.G.'s Ten Crack Commandments:

- 1: Never let no one know how much dough you hold.
- 2: Never let 'em know your next move.
- 3: Never trust nobody.
- 4: Never get high on your own supply.
- 5: Never sell no crack from home.
- 6: Extend no credit.
- 7: Keep your family and business completely separated.
- 8: Never keep drugs on you.
- 9: Don't snitch.
- 10: Consignment? If you ain't got the clientele, say 'hell no.'







Longer Sentences & the War on Drugs

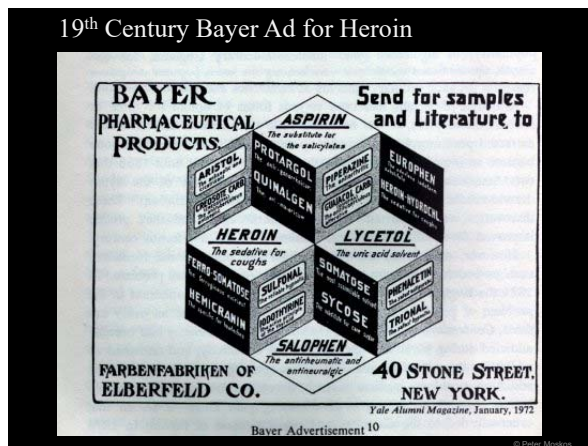
- Mandatory Sentencing
- Reduced Judicial Discretion.
- Life imprisonment increased 83% between 1992 & 2003.
- More racial disparity: Federal drug sentence 50% higher for blacks in 1990 (11% higher before 1986 crack laws).

Source: Meierhoefer, B. S., The General Effect of Mandatory Minimum Prison Terms: A Longitudinal Study of Federal Sentences Imposed (Washington DC: Federal Judicial Center, 1992), p. 20.

War on Drugs Timeline

1884: Cocaine invented: First effective medicinal anesthetic!

1895: Heroin Invented: Bayer markets heroin as cough sedative and opium substitute.



1906: Food & Drug Act
 Feds have authority to regulate.

1910s: US States Ban Marijuana
 Solution in search of problem.

1914: Harrison Narcotics Act
 Feds get in the game, ban *unprescribed* opiates and cocaine. (NYPD establishes first “drug squad.”)

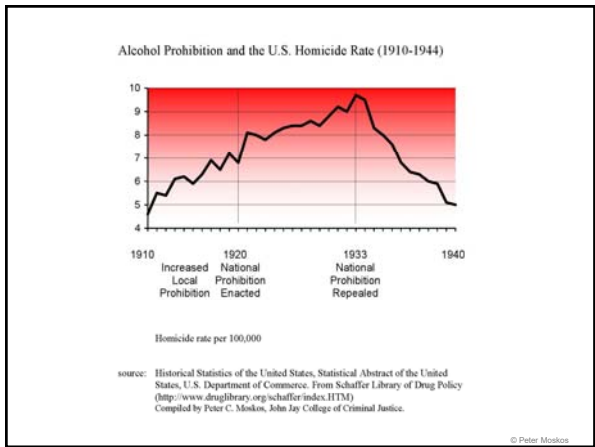
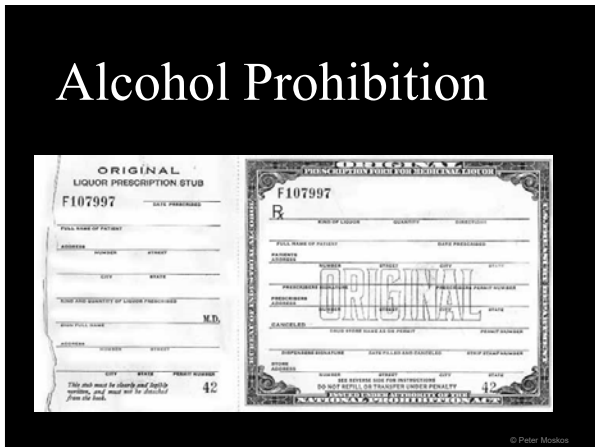
1920: Prohibition 18th Amendment & Volstead Act
 ban alcohol production, distribution, and sales

1924: Heroin Act Prohibits manufacture of heroin

1930: Federal Bureau of Narcotics
 Prohibition agent, Commission Anslinger leads anti-marijuana campaign (helping to popularize drug).

1933: Prohibition Ends
 21st Amendment repeals 18th Amendment.

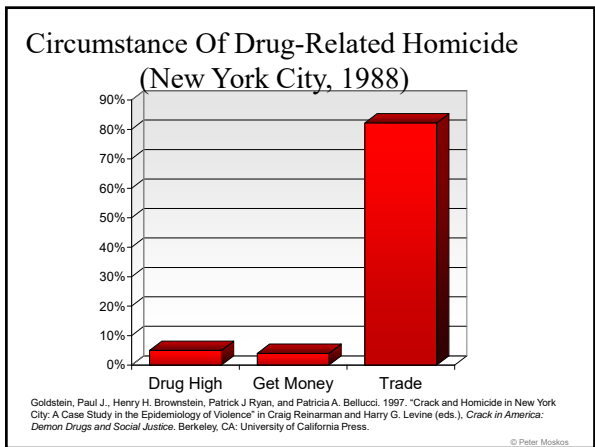
1937: Marijuana Tax Act
 Effectively bans Marijuana at Federal level



Like Al Capone During Prohibition:

“The vast bulk of crack-related homicides occurred between dealers or dealers and users. They did not involve the murder of strangers outside the crack world.”

Goldstein, Paul J., Henry H. Brownstein, Patrick J. Ryan, and Patricia A. Bellucci. 1997. "Crack and Homicide in New York City: A Case Study in the Epidemiology of Violence" in Craig Reinman and Harry G. Levine (eds.), *Crack in America: Demon Drugs and Social Justice*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

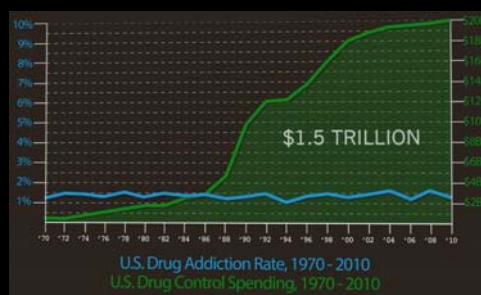


Learn the lessons of Prohibition:

- 1) Drug *dealing* (prohibition-fueled violence) and drug *use* (recreational use and addiction) are two different problems.
- 2) If regulation works for alcohol (and tobacco), why not for other drugs?
- 3) Focus on ends, not means. Focus on the goal. Regulate distribution. Education. Make drug use safe, legal, and rare.

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Drug Control Spending and US Addiction Rate



Mexico



Not Winning in Mexico

- In 2006, Mexican President Vicente Fox was worried about 2 drug-war deaths per day.
- In May, 2006, President Fox said he would sign a bill that would legalize the use of nearly every drug and narcotic.
- Fine print: *“The U.S. government Wednesday expressed a rare public objection to an internal Mexican political development.”*

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US exports War on Drugs

- Fox didn't sign the bill. Many billions \$\$\$ promised.
- With the “Merida Initiative,” Pres. Calderón ramped up the war on drugs.

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- “The drug war created the violent situation. The violent situation did not create the drug war.”

—Jorge Casteneda, Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 2000-2003



Kingpins Captured or Killed

- “Nacho,” La Barbie,” “Tony Tormenta,” “El Mamito,” El Diego,” “M1” aka “The Fat One,” “El Taliban,” “El Chapo,” Mexico’s “most wanted drug lord,” is captured: “An absolutely huge get.” “Big strike.” “A landmark achievement.”
- El Chapo escaped (again) in 2015.

Since Calderon’s 2006 Crackdown

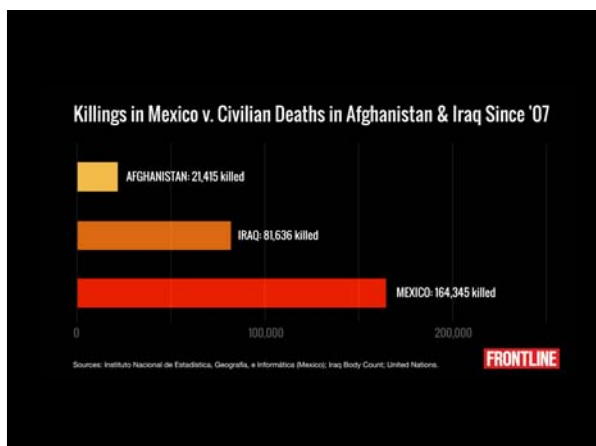
2006: 2,120 Drug War Deaths.
 2007: 2,275
 2008: 5,500
 2009: 6,600
 2010: 11,580
 2011: 12,360 (peak year)
 2014: 9,000

Source: Reforma Ejecutometro, Grupo Reform

War is Peace!

“Washington says the rising death toll is a sign the drug gangs are weakening under President Calderon’s military crackdown.”

– Dec 17, 2009 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8417531.stm>



“Sorry, Amigo”

- The U.S. has delivered a fraction of promised aid, in kind.
- Vicente Fox, along with many Latin American leaders, has since come out in favor of drug legalization.
- Current President: Enrique Peña Nieto

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“Drug addiction, like prostitution, and like liquor, is not a police problem; it never has been, and never can be solved by policemen. It is first and last a medical problem.”

—August Vollmer, 1936, President, International Association of Chiefs of Police

http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/us/20080310_OVERDOSE_FEATURE/index



Benchmarks for success? War on Drugs

- Lower drug usage
- Fewer drug overdoses
- Fewer/more arrest
- Less/more incarceration
- Less/more seizures
- Less/more violence
- High/lower drug prices
- Great/lesser drug purity

Not winning the drug war in the USA

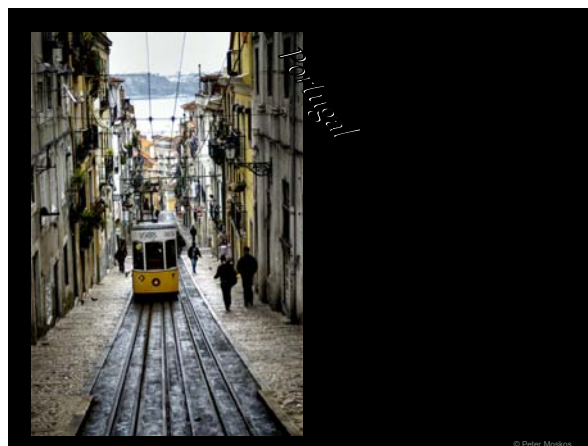
- America leads the world in illegal drug usage.
- Drug use is not going down.
- Drug deaths are not going down.
- Drug prices are not going up
- Incarceration highest in the world. Ever.

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Ending the Drug War

- We can't regulate what we prohibit.
- “Regulation” sounds better than legalization.
- Regulation *won't*:
 - end drug addiction (but may reduce it).
- Regulation *will*:
 - solve the problem of public drug dealing.
 - save lives (fewer overdoses, homicides).
 - save money (on law enforcement, courts, & incarceration).

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Portugal decriminalized drugs in 2001

- Possession (less than 10-day supply) is an administrative (not criminal) violation.
- The suspect interviewed by a commission of social worker, psychiatrist, and attorney.
- The impact on drug use overall is mixed, but down in key groups.
- Drug-related arrests, not surprisingly, plummet from 14,000 to 5,250.

Portugal decriminalized drugs in 2001

- Overdoses cut in half
- Heroin use down among youth
- Less HIV among drug users
- Homicide rate low (1.2), though rising slightly. (Portugal is the 16th most peaceful country in the world, according to the 2012 global peace index).
- No drug users sentence to prison. Few dealers sentenced.

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- The Netherlands separates the drug market into “hard” and “soft.”
- Allows people to buy cannabis without having access to criminals or other drugs.

Abraham, Manja D., University of Amsterdam, Centre for Drug Research, Places of Drug Purchase in The Netherlands (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, September 1999), pp. 1-5.

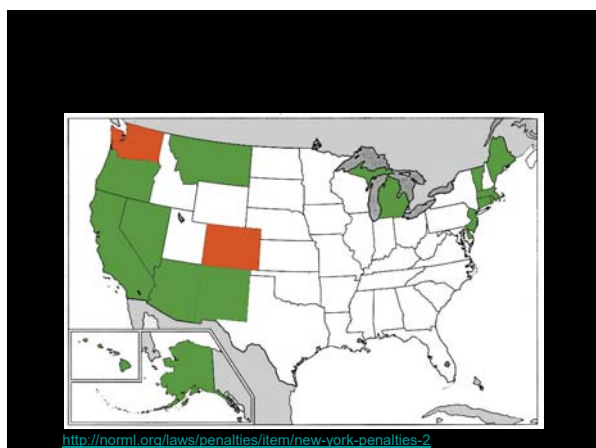
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	United States	Netherlands
Ever tried marijuana	42%	23%
Past month marijuana use	5%	3%
Lifetime heroin use	1.3%	0.4%
Overdose Rate	12.5 (37,500)	7.8
Incarceration Rate	753	125
Homicide Rate (per 100,000)	6.1	0.9
Per capita spending	€380	€220

Sources: Various, from 1998 to 2008, compiled mostly from Drugwarfacts.org and <http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/country-overviews/>

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