

JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

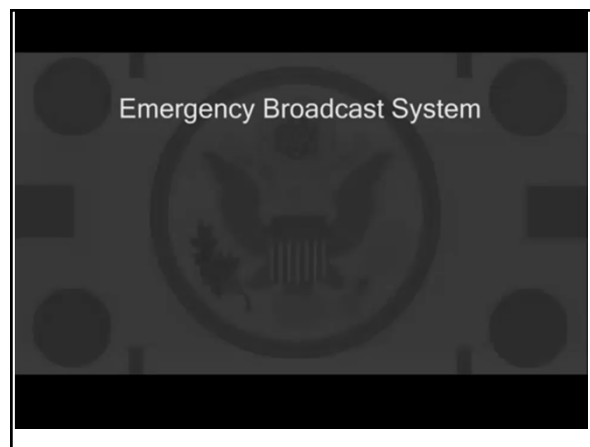
History of Police
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A world without police?

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A world without police?

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A world without police?

- Police didn't exist till 1829.
- What was there before police to keep order?
- What is "rule of law."

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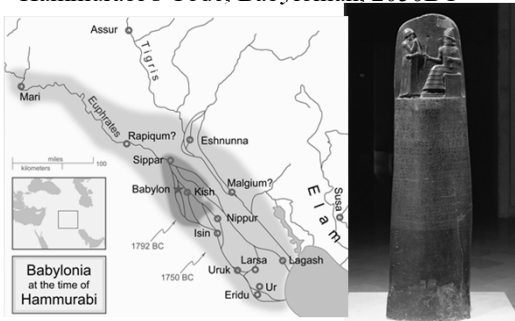
Rule of Law

- Is it good or bad?
- Is the government (ie: police) a force for good or repression?
- What if the laws are unjust?

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First Legal Code:

Hammurabi's Code, Babylonian, 2050BC



What is Legal: Hammurabi's Code,

Babylonian, 2050BC (4,066 years ago)

For instance:

#3: If any one bring an accusation... and does not prove what he has charged, he shall, if it be a capital offense charged, be put to death.

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Hammurabi's Code, Babylonian, 2050BC

#2: If the accused leaps into the river and sinks, his accuser shall take possession of his house. But if the river prove that the accused is not guilty, and he escape unhurt, then he who had brought the accusation shall be killed, and he who leaped into the river shall get the accuser's house.

#242: If any one hire oxen for a year, he shall pay four gur of corn for plow-oxen.

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Early Law Enforcement

- Romans had "Vigiles" and an "Urban Cohort" to maintain public order and fight fires.
- England in the late 9th Century had "tithing" — Ten to twelve extended families responsible for each other
- King Henry I issued the *Legis Henrici* in 1116, known as the "King's Peace." Introduced the concept of the state as the victim of a crime.

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Criminology in the Old & New Testaments

- What if we *only* punished with "an eye for an eye."
- Do we punish for the victims' sake or for the offenders? Or do not punish at all? Forgive and ask the offender to sin no more?
- Crime as sin & a sign of the Devil.

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What is Legal?

- *Socrates* argued that **deviance** is necessary to bring about change.
- *Durkheim* (much later): since deviant behavior is universal, it must serve a function, like uniting people against a common enemy (for good or bad).
- Is there a difference between deviance and crime?

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Crime Prevention?

- Deterrence, specific and general.
 - Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794): to deter, punishment must be swift, certain, and proportional.
- Personal morals.
- Can criminals be cured? (Biological, physiological factors?)
- Situational Crime Prevention: locks, doors, etc.
- Police?

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What is Legal?

- *Mala in se* and *Mala prohibita*.

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A world without police.

- America, pre-1845.
- Crime, Riots, Disorder, Gangs... But *with* laws, courts, punishment and alternative forms of social control.

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Alternate forms of social control

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| • Laws | • Politics |
| • Gangs | • Indentured servitude |
| • Hired Guards | • Slavery |
| • Parents | • Work |
| • Neighbors | • Schools |
| • Religion | • Elders |
| • Friends | • Courts |

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The world changes: Industrial Revolution

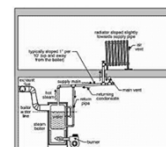
Major turning
Point in world
history in 18th and
19th Centuries.



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Steam!

James Watt's steam engine (circa 1780)



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A world without police

Industrial Revolution

- Steam Power
- Allowed Factories
- Factories needed workers
- An influx of people from across the world into cities.
- A greater need for law and order.



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Robert Peel & The London Police

- **Robert Peel, 1829 London:**
- “It should be understood, at the outset, that the principal object to be attained is *‘the Prevention of Crime.’*”
- Crime Prevention is much better than the “detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime.”



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Robert Peel & The London Police

- Peelers or Bobbies (named after Robert Peel) were full-time paid uniformed police officers. Hat, rattle, baton, and a blue uniform.
- Crime prevention through **foot patrol**.
- The Police Whistle wasn't invented till 1884



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Pre-1829 London Police

- In 1748 the Bow Street Runners (London) were thief catchers paid by the government to protect commerce and catch highwaymen.
- The UK's first Police Act was the Glasgow Police Act of 30 June 1800. But this followed the “watchman” model. Watchmen were often old men sleeping in watchmen's booths.
- Robert Peel established the Irish Police in 1812. But they were more a special-response team to troubled areas.

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The First London Police Officers

- Of the first 2,800 new policemen in London, only 600 kept their jobs.
- The very first police man -- collar Number 1 -- was sacked after four hours for being drunk on duty.
- The early police regulations tell us of problems with officers hiding their numbers, being drunk, rude, bad tempered, and arresting people who dared complain.
- The Coldbath Field riots of 1833.

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What did early police do?

- In the U.S., the first full-time police were formed in New York City (1845). (And many cities in the 1850s.)
- Some suggest police did very little. Citizen's arrests—bypassing the police entirely—remained common until the 1900s.
- No formal training, uniform, or weapons.
- Corruption and brutality were recognized problems.
- Police training was nonexistent until 1853 (and limited even then).
- But... **an effort was actually made to apprehend criminals.**

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U.S. Coppers vs. London Bobbies

New York Police modeled after Robert Peel's London Police, but **three big differences**:

- 1) **Arrests** were a measure of performance. (NY police arrested 4 times as many as London police.)
- 2) U.S. police forces were **partisan political tools**, often being replaced in their entirety following local elections (which they supervised).
- 3) Police carried guns in the 1850s. Issued guns after Civil War.

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Early Police Patrolled & Arrested

- 1852: 40 arrests per officer in NY (vs. 8 per officer in 2015. 900 New York Municipal Police arrested 36,226. Arrested 15 for murder)
- In first 8 years of policing, 1 out of 11 inhabitants of New York City were arrested (200,000 arrests, 600,000 people) (7,075 engaged in retail liquor traffic!)
- 1853: uniforms, baton (no gun), training (military)
- "One man has to watch from 9 to 15 blocks."

Sources: Chief George Matsell's reports to Mayor Kingland: Report of the Chief of Police, *New York Daily Times* Jan 1852, March 1853, Feb 1854.

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3 Eras of Policing (Kelling & Moore 1988)

- Political Era (1845-1920s)
- Reform Era (Roughly 1920s-1970s)
- Community Problem-Solving Era (began in the 1970s)

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Early Police Arrested Drunks

- First 6 years (1846 - 1851): 180,646 arrested in New York, "140,792 for offenses resulting almost entirely from the free use of intoxicating drinks." (Irish Potato famine 1845-1849.)
- 84% of arrests alcohol-related & 80% of arrested foreign-born (1859). Police Superintendent Pillsbury: "Youthful immigrants, many vicious characters, and a still larger number of needy and ignorant persons, who, under the influence of over ten thousand grog-shops become recruits to the army of law-breakers."

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Early Police did social work

- 2,544 NYC police officers made 91,500 arrests.
- Provided station-house lodging to 86,000 per year. Returned 9,200 lost children to their parents.
- Street cleaning, a perennial problem of the horse and buggy era, was the responsibility of New York City Police from 1872 until 1881.
- Source 1875 quarterly report (numbers multiplied by 4)

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Early police did a lot!

According to H.L. Mencken:

“Many of the multifarious duties now carried out by social workers, statisticians, truant officers, visiting nurses, psychologists, and the vast rabble of inspectors, smellers, spies and bogus experts of a hundred different faculties either fell to the police or were not discharged at all. ...

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“...An ordinary flatfoot in a quiet residential section had his hands full. In a single day he might have to put out a couple of kitchen fires, arrange for the removal of a deal mule, guard a poor epileptic having a fit on the sidewalk, catch a runaway horse, settle a combat with table knives between husband and wife, ...

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“... shoot a cat for killing pigeons, rescue a dog or a baby from a sewer, bawl out a white-wings [street sweeper] for spilling garbage, keep order on the sidewalk at two or three funerals, and flog a half a dozen bad boys for throwing horse-apples at a blind man.”

—H.L. Mencken, “Recollections of Notable Cops.”

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Political Era (from 1845)

Input from local politicians, citizens

Foot Patrol

Limited technology

Third degree common (if guilty, get confession)

Corruption problems (especially during Prohibition)

Curbside justice

Keystone cop image

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1857: You *can* fight City Hall

- New York Municipals (city) versus Metropolitans (state) battle for control at City Hall. Mayor Fernando Wood arrested. (City regains police control in 1870)



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Were there ever “Good Ol’ Days”?

- When the streets were safe?
 - When people respected the uniform?
 - When people didn’t talk back to police?
 - When police had the support of the community?
 - When “street justice” kept the streets safe?
- Charlie Chaplin, 1917: Easy Street

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3 Eras of Policing (Kelling & Moore 1988)

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Reform Era (began in the 1920s)

Part of the greater “Progressive Movement”

- Education
- Training
- Technology
- Ethics
- Professionalism
- Centralization
- Specialized Units
- Response Time
- Reduced Corruption
- Increased Pay
- FBI/UCR
- Scientific methods

Names: August Vollmer, Berkley.

O.W. Wilson, *Police Administration*.

J Edgar Hoover, FBI. & William Parker, LAPD

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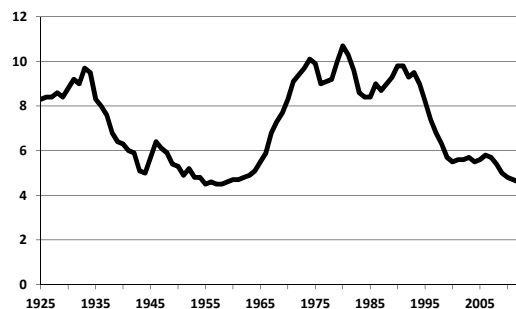
Reform Era (began in the 1920s)

- Efforts by the administration to **control the line officer** and separate the officer from the community he or she serves.
- **Car Patrol** and radios became the norm.
- **Reactive policing.**
- Stat driven departments.
- Arrests and response time.
- The 3 Rs: Random Patrol, Rapid Response, Reactive Investigation.

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US Homicide Rate (per 100,000): 1925 – 2014

14,249 murders in 2014 (last available year)



Source: U.S. Department of Justice,
FBI <https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u-s/2014/crime-in-the-u-s->

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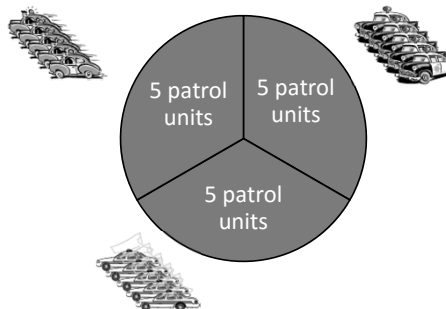
Why Car Patrol?

- 1) Cars can save money because they can cover more area than foot patrol, hence fewer police are needed.
- 2) Officers in a car are easier to control because cars could have police radios.
- 3) "Random" car patrol will give the illusion of "omnipresence," the idea that police are everywhere.
- 4) "Rapid response," (lower response time) will eliminate crime by catching all the bad guys.

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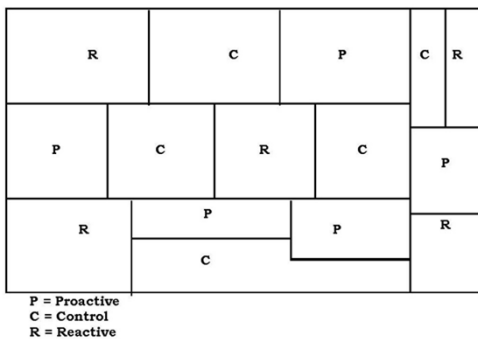
Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment

Kelling, George L., Tony Pate, Duane Diekmann and Charles E. Brown. 1974. *The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment: A Summary Report*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.



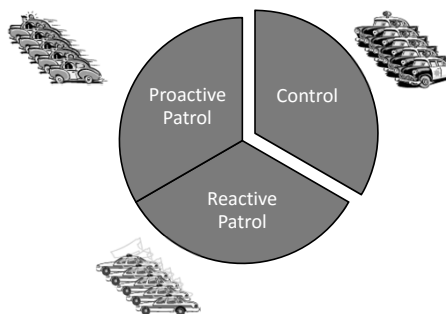
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Figure 1
SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE 15-BEAT EXPERIMENTAL AREA



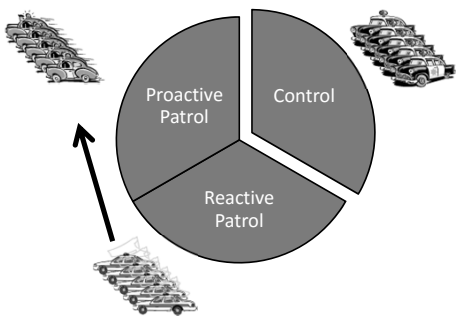
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Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment



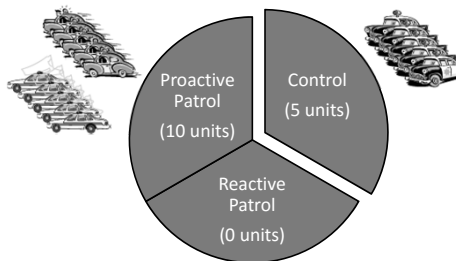
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Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment

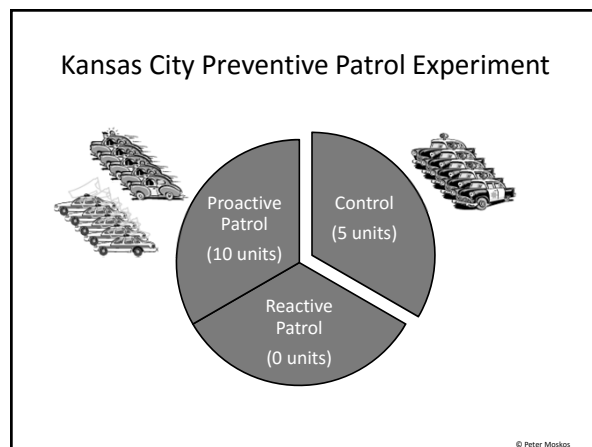
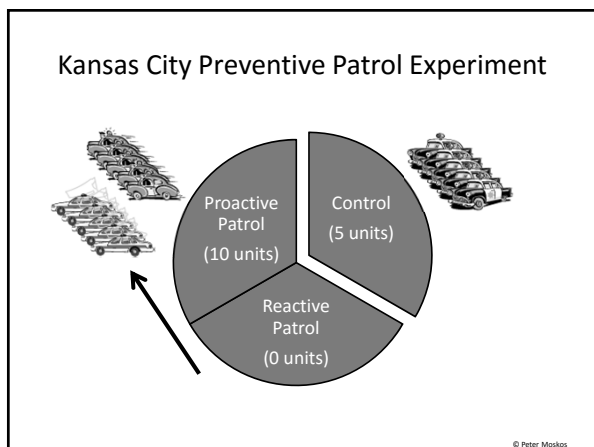
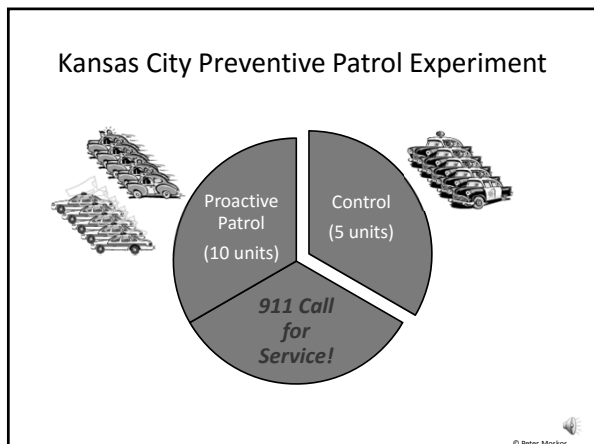


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Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment



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Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment

The authors examined crime, arrests, fear, citizen attitudes toward police, response time, and traffic accidents.

One year later...

- No significant differences were found on any of the indicators between the control, proactive, and reactive beats.

“In Service” Versus “Out of Service”

In order to respond quickly, police are pressured to be “in service,” ready to receive dispatched calls.

Parked alone in the middle of an empty parking lot a police officer is considered “in service.” When dealing with people—the essence of the job, some might argue—police are considered “out of service.”

It makes about as much sense to have police patrol routinely in cars to fight crime as it does to have firemen patrol routinely in firetrucks to fight fire.

—Professor Carl Klockars

The rise of telephone dispatch transformed both the method and purpose of patrol. Instead of *watching to prevent* crime, motorized police patrol became a process of merely *waiting to respond* to crime.

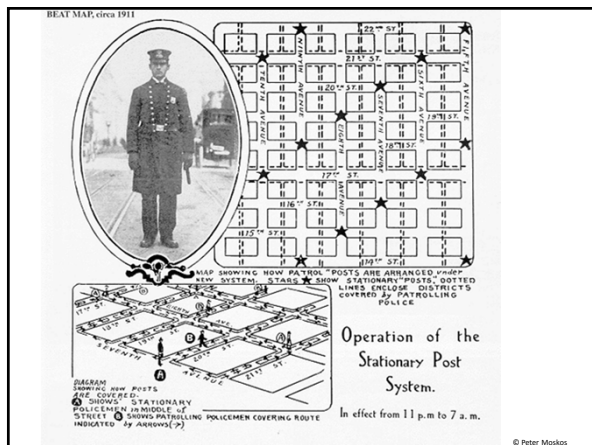
—Professor Lawrence Sherman

Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment

Question:

Why do we continue with random car patrol?

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Foot Patrol in NYC?

- Impact—rookies in high-crime neighborhood till other officers come through the academy
- 6,000 miles of streets in NYC and approx 35,000 officers. Roughly 6,000 officers on duty at any given time, or one officer on duty per mile of NYC street.
- Is there a better way?

• Rapid Response

A quick response time became an end in itself rather than a means to crime prevention.

As rapid police response is not designed to *prevent* crime, its failure to do so should come as no surprise.

Rapid police response has almost *no effect* on the odds that a criminal will be caught. Why?

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Why do we continue with random car patrol?

- *Control*: Cars provide a way to account for and control officers.
- *Comfort*: Police officers want to sheltered from the street.
- *Stats*: Police brass find it easier to focus on response time than crime prevention.
- *Image*: The public was sold on the illusion of picking up the phone and police officers magically appearing.
- *Just in case*: You store police officers in patrol in case the sh*t hits the fan.

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1968, the promise:

“Mayor Lindsay opened the new police communications center, the largest and most modern in the world. **48 policemen and police trainees** manning desk-type switchboards. They can receive a call for help and relay it to a radio patrol car in less than a minute. Then, depending on traffic, the radio car should be **on the scene within three minutes after the call is made.**”

The reality, today:

- **A 200-member dispatchers’ union.**
(starting salary: \$33,162) *New York Times*. By Al Baker. July 3, 2007 “For \$1.5 Billion, New York Plans a Much-Delayed Overhaul of 911”
- **306 311-operators, each with 90 calls per shift.**
(starting salary: \$27,349) *New York Times*. by Elissa Gootman. May 14, 2010. “Insights From a Week as a 311 Operator in N.Y.”
- **1,300 911-operators, 2,000 calls per hour, total.**
(starting salary: \$26,000) WNYC, October 29, 2012
- **540 NYPD runs generated through 911 calls each hour.**
Wall Street Journal, August 27, 2010, “911 System Flooded With Bogus Reports.”

James Q. Wilson’s Police Styles

- *Watchman*: Foot Patrol. Order maintenance and a great deal of discretion.
- *Service*: Emphasizes the service role, rather than crime fighting role. Answers all calls for service.
- *Legalistic*: Strict enforcement of the rules, crime fighter, rule enforcer, limited contact with non-criminal public (designed in part for anti-corruption purposes).

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LAPD Chief Daryl Gates and the end of “Reform”?

- LAPD Chief from 1978-1992.
- Like his predecessor William Parker (Gates was Parker’s driver), Gates advocated an **us versus them philosophy**
- Supporter of anti-gang unit: C.R.A.S.H.
- Early advocate of D.A.R.E.
- Early advocate of S.W.A.T. (publicly mocked community policing).

**1992 LA Riots**

53 Dead. \$1 billion property damage



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Sample of Daryl Gates quotes:

- Casual drug use is treason. Users “ought to be taken out and shot.”
- “Blacks might be more likely to die from chokeholds because their arteries do not open as fast as they do on normal people.”
- “We are the butchers of society. Everybody wants to eat meat, but nobody wants to know how it’s made! Which is exactly the same thing in law enforcement. **Everybody wants safe streets, but nobody wants to know how it’ll be done!**”

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- When the L.A. Riots broke out, Gates was at a political fundraiser. He didn't leave.
- As to the riots, "Clearly that night we should have gone down there and shot a few people.... In retrospect, that's exactly what we should have done. **We should have blown a few heads off.**"

The record of Daryl Gates

- L.A. homicides per year (40 year average): Without Gates, **522**. With Gates, **876** (1,092 in 1992)
- L.A.'s mayor said, "[Gates has] brought Los Angeles to the brink of disaster just to satisfy his own ego."
- 14 years as chief and he left a city in ashes and a police force mired in corruption and brutality.
- But the political era was over. And because of "successful" so-called "reform," **Gates couldn't be fired!**
- In 2011 there were just 298 homicides in L.A.

Community Problem-Solving Era (from the 1970s)

Problem Solving (*not* incident based).
Decentralization.
Reduce middle management.
Assumes police officers want to work.
Recognize that 911 is part of the problem.
Quality-of-life policing? Broken Windows?

Did it ever happen? Did "community policing" have an impact on policing as significant as car patrol or the telephone and two-way radio?

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Post Ferguson?



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Baltimore Riots

<http://www.cnn.com/videos/us/2015/04/28/baltimore-riots-video-cm-orig.cnn>



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New Era of Policing?

- **Homeland security era?** (post 2001?)
- Preventing terrorism through intelligence, information sharing?
- **Crime prevention era?** (post 1995?)
- Preventing crime through accountability, Compstat, Broken Windows, Quality of Life?
- **Rising Crime era?**
- But crime isn't going up... yet?
- **Anti-police era?**

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Are police the problem or solution?

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