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EFFECTIVENESS VS. EQUITY IN POLICING: IS A TRADEOFF INEVITABLE?

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Our country is facing growing controversy regarding police-community relations. It is not the first of such concerns, rather just the most recent. In 2014, several high profile police-citizen interactions where lethal force was used by White officers against Black citizens resulted in public protests and riots that drew media attention from around the globe. Members of the public, particularly racial and ethnic minorities, are voicing concerns about what they perceive as overly aggressive tactics and abuses of force; tactics and abuses that they feel are disproportionately directed against minorities. While concerns about police bias continue to grow, police concerns about their safety are also at the forefront of our collective attention. The gunning down of two New York Police Department officers in December 2014 made these concerns exceptionally tangible.

But what makes this narrative a description of 2015, rather than any other tumultuous time in our nation's history, is that it coincides with unprecedented advances in policing and reductions in crime. By all accounts, the police have vastly improved their practices over the last two decades, with advances in technology, an emphasis on data-driven approaches, and a larger movement toward evidence-based policing (Bayley and Nixon 2010). The police are better educated, trained, and equipped, and have demonstrated effective and efficient results with often limited resources. They are demonstrating creativity and ingenuity in their craft, and reform efforts are underway in even many of the agencies that have endured years of pervasive police misconduct. Simultaneously, there has been a dramatic reduction in crime and disorder in cities across the country. Many urban areas are experiencing

a renaissance, led by the lowest levels of homicides and violent crime in decades. Although it is unclear how much police improvements have contributed to the decline in crime in the U.S., the evidence from rigorous evaluations is clear and no longer controversial: strategies such as hotspots policing, problem-oriented policing, and focused deterrence can reduce crime and disorder. The police have demonstrated that they can reduce crime – something they could not do consistently two decades ago.

And yet, despite the tremendous reforms demonstrated in policing coupled with significant decreases in crime and violence, a growing undercurrent of discontent among citizens has recently erupted in civil protests and riots across the country. Even as their neighborhoods have become safer, citizens lament that they have given up too

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much and received too little from the police. Many believe in the conventional wisdom that equity and effectiveness are opposing propositions, and they presume there must be an unfortunate, yet necessary tradeoff between the two. Have our communities, in fact, traded reductions in crime for policing tactics that are procedurally unjust? Have we given up too many of our individual rights, liberties and freedoms in exchange for greater societal protection? And has the burden of this tradeoff been unfairly borne by minority racial/ethnic groups? In this essay, we ask: Is this tradeoff truly inevitable?

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Effectiveness, Efficiency, and Equity

In 1994, one of us (Eck) and Dennis Rosenbaum recognized that citizens generally want and expect three things in policing: effectiveness, efficiency, and equity (Eck and Rosenbaum 1994). Although not always the case, effectiveness in policing over the last two decades has typically been measured as reductions in reported crimes. Enhanced by managerial practices that emphasize crime measures (e.g., COMPSTAT) and the larger evidence-based movement in policing (Sherman 2013), the effectiveness of police has been improving. In short, we are making progress, evidenced by specific policing strategies that have been rigorously evaluated and demonstrate crime reduction benefits.

Efficiency and effectiveness in policing are often tied together, with “efficiency” generally being measured in whether the police are operating in a cost-effective manner. There is less systematic evidence available regarding cost-benefit analyses; however, anecdotal evidence suggests that as police agencies have been forced by the economic crisis to “do more with less”, they have been able to enhance effectiveness (i.e., reduce crime) while managing significant reductions in police budgets. Most would agree

that the police are more effective and efficient than they were a decade or two ago (Bayley and Nixon 2010).

Eck and Rosenbaum’s final expectation for policing – equity – has proven far more elusive for the police to achieve. The first issue is a definitional one: What do we mean by equity in policing? As described by Eck and Rosenbaum (1994), equity is a form of fairness. It includes adherence to due process, as well as building trust and changing the perceptions of the police towards the community, and of the community towards the police, through personal contacts. It is based on the concept that the police need to serve all members of the community in a fair and impartial manner. Equity in this context does not necessarily imply equal outcomes during police-citizen encounters, but rather processes that are fair, and outcomes that are perceived by citizens as fair.

Police practitioners and scholars now make routine reference to procedural justice as a form of equity. Tyler (2006) finds that officer impartiality, efforts to be fair, and consideration of opinions influence perceptions of procedural justice. As described by Mazerolle et al. (2013), procedural justice “typically comprises four essential components: citizen participation (or voice), fairness and neutrality, dignity and respect, and trustworthy motives” (Mazerolle et al. 2013, p. 36). Other scholars have argued that when police act in procedurally just ways, they can build legitimacy with the public (Tyler and Fagan 2008, p. 241; Meares, 2009).

The Hypothetical Effectiveness-Equity Tradeoff

For decades, scholars and practitioners have been led to believe that there is an inevitable trade-off in policing between effectiveness/efficiency on the one hand, and equity on the other. For example, this perceived tradeoff is readily apparent in the on-going debate regarding the conflict between collective society protection and individual civil liberties. The expectation is that an increase in one necessarily creates a decrease in the other: As we focus on security and crime control, we necessarily give up more individual liberties and freedoms. This view was enhanced by an influential description of the criminal justice system written nearly five decades ago. In 1968, Herbert Packer wrote *The Limits of the Criminal Sanction*, which detailed two models of criminal justice processing: crime control and due process. The crime control model was described as valuing efficiency and process, with

an explicit goal of repressing crime. In contrast, the due process model valued reliability through an adversarial process, with an explicit goal of preserving individual liberties. These two ideals were described as polar opposites of a continuum that the criminal justice system (CJS) varied along. This model is still taught as the guiding philosophy of the CJS in most undergraduate introductory criminal justice courses; likewise, the described tradeoff between these two models is perceived as an inevitable truth by many researchers and practitioners.

Packer's theory has often been turned into a formula that balances effectiveness in crime control against equity in due process. And this underlying notion is consistently applied in police-related policy discussions, research efforts, and practice. Indeed, the hypothesized tradeoff between these polarized ideals has become a standardized short cut in our examination of the CJS. And yet, despite this incredible influence, these ideals (and the perceived inevitable conflict that results) have remained an untested assumption.

“We collectively decided that Packer’s untested assumptions were exactly that – untested – and further, that our experiences and available evidence demonstrated that a tradeoff between effectiveness and equity is not inevitable.”

About a decade ago, we started to unravel this perceived conflict. We asked ourselves, must there always be a conflict between police effectiveness and equity? Is this hypothetical tradeoff inevitable? We thought about policing in very different ways. Although Eck's research and expertise were based in police effectiveness, Engel's areas of expertise were in police decision making, and more specifically, racial profiling research. Whereas Eck was primarily concerned about crime reduction, Engel focused more specifically on the quality of police-citizen encounters. Importantly, what started as theoretical academic sparring evolved into a series of meaningful policy discussions. After much consideration, we collectively decided that Packer's untested assumptions were exactly that – untested – and further, that our experiences and

available evidence demonstrated that a tradeoff between effectiveness and equity is not inevitable.

To understand why Packer's tradeoff may not be necessary requires that we recall that Packer was describing the academic understanding of policing in the 1960s. This was at the very origins of police research, and the legal tradition that emphasized the “law on the books” rather than in practice still held sway in the minds of both academics and police (Bernard and Engel, 2001). The research that early police theorists (like Packer) stimulated, influenced changes in policing over subsequent decades. Consequently, we now have the advantage of hindsight that allows us to see that the narrow view of policing in the 1960s might not hold up to close scrutiny today.

After several years of discussions, Engel presented these ideas in an *Ideas in American Policing* lecture at the Police Foundation in June 2014. Only a few months later, our country had erupted in civil protests and riots due to growing concerns that police were unjust in their treatment of minority citizens. This growing discontent with policing practices was based, in part, on a collective unwillingness to continue to accept the tradeoff between effective and equitable policing. To show why Packer's tradeoff is avoidable, we will begin by illustrating Packer's thesis. We will then consider Packer's thesis in light of policing strategies unknown to Packer. Finally, we will draw implications from these discussions for the application of evidence-based policing.

Modeling Packer's Tradeoff

Similar to the crime control vs. due process model, the underlying presumption in many policing discussions is that to be effective (i.e., to reduce crime) policing strategies and tactics must be selected with less concern about equitable outcomes. And to be more equitable, police must sacrifice some effectiveness. In short, some level of crime is necessary to live in a just society. This hypothetical tradeoff is modeled in the graph below, where more of one (effectiveness or equity) necessitates a decline in the other. The only question is the shape of the curve, with the presumption that the level and amount of this tradeoff will vary across strategies and tactics. Packer was concerned with the tradeoff between due process and crime control, and assumed without evidence that if the police let some offenders go in order to hew to the constitution, that this

would lead to more crime. We can extend Packer’s thesis beyond due process to many proactive policing strategies (e.g., hotspot policing, stop and frisk, saturation patrol) that police claim are effective in reducing crime. Some in the public and academia perceive these tactics as unfairly targeting particular types of citizens (e.g., young minority males). Stop and frisk is the most prolific example of this graph. While widely used and initially defended by the NYPD as an effective crime reduction tactic (Costantini 2013; Spitzer 1999), the wide-spread use of stop and frisk has now been reduced amid growing concerns regarding its efficacy and fairness (Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007; Mathias 2014).

Figure 1. The Hypothetical Effectiveness-Equity Tradeoff



Applying Policing Strategies to the Hypothetical Tradeoff

The research regarding the varying effectiveness of policing strategies reminds us that not all policing strategies are created equal. Further, research suggests clear differences in perceived equity of various policing strategies. To better conceptualize the combination of these research findings, we applied them to the four different models of policing originally identified by the National Research Council (2004). The NRC identified these four models based on a two-fold typology that included: 1) the range of interventions (narrow to wide), and 2) the level of attention (unfocused to highly-focused). The result was the identification of four different models of policing: Standard, Community, Problem-Oriented, and Focused (see also, Weisburd and Eck 2004).

The Standard Model of policing is characterized by a low level of diverse approaches (mostly law enforcement based) and a low level of focus (resources used to target

all crimes across all parts of the jurisdiction). Examples of the Standard Model include: increasing the number of police, random patrol, rapid response to calls for service, etc. The available evidence suggests that while this model of policing remains the most widely used, it is the least effective and efficient model of policing to reduce crime and disorder. While the perceived equity of these tactics has not been systematically measured, the general literature on attitudes toward police shows large differences across racial/ethnic groups regarding their perceptions of police.

The Community Model of policing is described as having a high level of diversity of approaches, however a relatively low level of focus. While the Community Model is more difficult to define due to large variations in tactics, the general principle is that police draw from a large array of resources and use consultation, adaptation, and mobilization to work within communities. The evidence on the effectiveness of the Community Model is generally mixed, with weak overall effects (MacDonald 2002; Mastrofski 2006). In contrast, the evidence on equity suggests that citizens report general overall satisfaction with these types of approaches and more positive attitudes toward police (Tyler 2006; Sunshine and Tyler 2003).

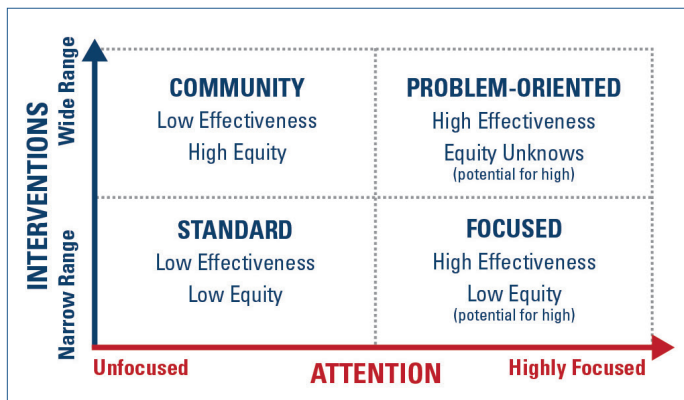
The Problem-Oriented Model of policing is described as having a wide range of interventions and high level of diversity of approaches, along with a high level of attention and focus. Police are expected to undertake systematic analysis of community problems, engage in a broad search for effective solutions, and evaluate the results of their efforts. Similar to the community model, the tactics under the Problem-Oriented Model vary dramatically and therefore testing the model is more challenging. There is a growing body of evidence that shows problem-oriented approaches are generally effective (Weisburd and Eck 2004; Weisburd et al. 2010). The evidence about equity, however, is generally lacking. While citizens’ attitudes and satisfaction are typically measured for specific individual approaches, the limited tests available do show some promise.

Focused Policing represents the final policing model identified by the NRC. Here the diversity of approaches is low, using mostly law enforcement interventions. The level of focus of these policing strategies, however, is quite high. These types of strategies generally focus on repeat patterns of crime, and examples include police crackdowns, hotspot policing, and focusing on repeat

offenders. There is a strong body of evidence that shows focused geographic approaches to crime problems increases effectiveness (Braga 2007), and the most recent research demonstrates moderate effectiveness of targeting specific types of offenders (Braga and Weisburd 2011). Again, however, there is limited research available that examines citizens’ perceptions of these strategies, with anecdotal reports that many strategies and tactics are not perceived as legitimate.

These four policing models are depicted in Figure 2 below (adapted from the NRC 2004, and Weisburd and Eck 2004) with additional information added summarizing the evidence regarding effectiveness and efficiency. As shown, one policing model has low effectiveness and equity (Standard Model), two have higher levels of effectiveness (Problem-Oriented and Focused), and two have higher levels of equity (Community and Problem-Oriented).

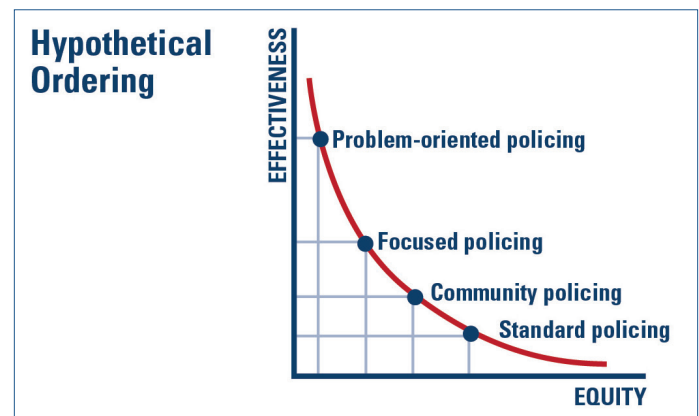
Figure 2. Summary of Effectiveness and Equity in Policing Strategies.



Applying this summary to the hypothesized effectiveness-equity tradeoff produces several possibilities. In the figures below, we graphically display these possibilities and describe the implications for policing strategies. In our first model (Figure 3), we assume that Packer’s notion was correct and is fully generalizable across policing models. That is, each policing strategy is represented at a different point along the line, and as a result they each have a different combination of effectiveness and equity. In this representation, the strategies are ordered based on the evidence for effectiveness. This conceptualization, however, quickly breaks down based on the empirical and anecdotal evidence available regarding equity. For example, this conceptualization would imply that standard

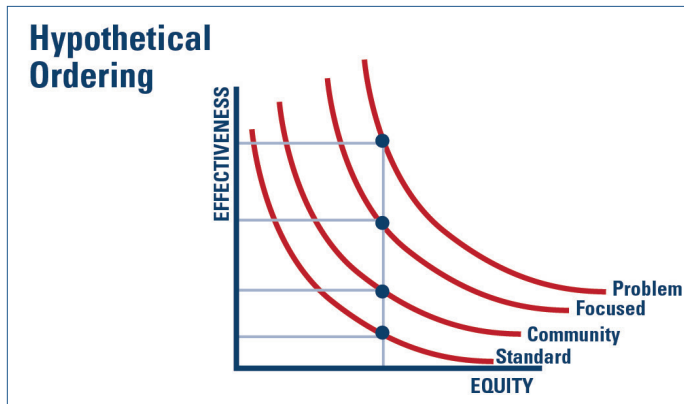
policing is more equitable than community policing. And it might mean that problem-oriented policing is less equitable than focused policing. This seems unlikely because community and problem-oriented policing strategies at least hold out the promise of greater equity than focused and standard policing. Most observers of police would find it implausible that standard policing would provide greater equity than community or problem-oriented policing. (see Braga and Weisburd, 2010, Chapter 6 for a summary of the research). Further, when policing is highly focused, fewer people are exposed to enforcement, so this should increase perceptions of equity, not decrease it. Therefore, we contend that way of modeling Packer’s hypothesized tradeoff between equity and effectiveness is implausible.

Figure 3. Model 1: Policing Strategies with Hypothesized Effectiveness-Equity Tradeoff



In Model 2 (Figure 4) below, we consider an alternative way to conceptualize these ideas. We suggest that each strategy shifts the entire tradeoff curve outward. That is, for any level of equity in standard policing, we can get greater effectiveness by adopting a new strategy. Or for any level of effectiveness at standard policing, we can get more equity by changing strategies. This model is more consistent with the evidence and our expectations about these policing strategies (Braga and Weisburd 2010). In addition, this model retains Packer’s original assumption that there is always going to be a tradeoff. It simply extends Packer’s core idea to suggest that different strategies have different tradeoffs. The implication is that to improve policing without trading off equity for effectiveness, the strategy needs to be improved. Although we believe it is better than the first model, we do not believe this revised model is a complete representation of reality.

Figure 4. Model 2: Policing Strategies Shift the Tradeoff



Finally, in Model 3 (Figure 5), we completely discard Packer’s assumption about there being a necessary tradeoff. In this model each strategy has its own relationship between effectiveness and equity. Here, in the hypothetical arrangement shown, standard and community policing show no relationship between effectiveness and equity: for the given level of effectiveness, equity can be increased. Standard policing has no tradeoff because it is likely to be equally ineffective regardless of how much it is applied. Increasing use of it might increase inequity, but there is no gain in effectiveness. Community policing has the opposite effect. More community policing may increase equity, but there is little evidence that one loses effectiveness (nor is there evidence one gains much effectiveness). Importantly, community policing is probably marginally more effective than standard policing.

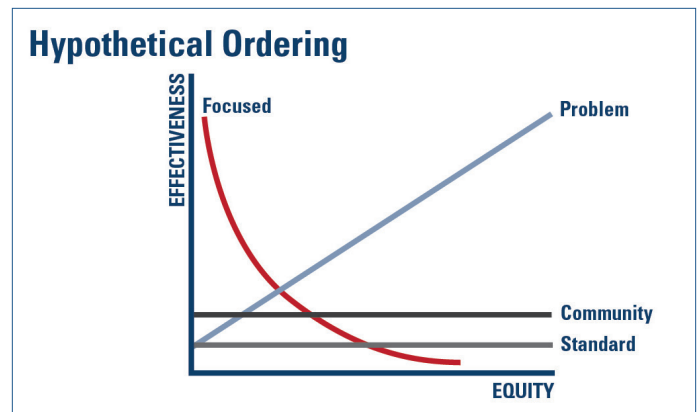
In contrast, focused policing, in this hypothetical arrangement, displays Packer’s tradeoff. Although one could always find a more equitable way of policing (standard or community) than focused, focused is more effective at the far left. Importantly, for some focused policing strategies – such as hot spots policing – increasing use of this tactic may create more inequity as effectiveness increases.

Finally, we have displayed problem-oriented policing as having a positive relationship between equity and effectiveness. This is because problem-oriented policing combines aspects of focused policing and community policing, but also demands tailoring the police approach to the problem. Improvements in both effectiveness and equity could be achieved by tuning up problem-oriented policing. At low levels of problem-oriented policing, it may be no more effective than other forms of policing, but when applied with greater rigor, it is superior in effectiveness and equity than

any other strategy. It is this type of conceptualization (which discards the untested tradeoff assumption), that we believe best represents the current state of policing. As such, it is possible to achieve both effectiveness and equity in policing – a possibility that has been dismissed for far too long – by selecting the right strategy.

Some caveats are in order. First, there is no singular way of implementing any of these strategies, and some methods of implementing them may be better than others. So, it is possible that there are ways of doing focused policing which enhance equity while increasing effectiveness, and there may be ways of implementing problem-oriented policing that reduce equity. Second, each strategy encompasses a wide variety of practices, and the relationship between equity and effectiveness might differ among these practices within a strategy. Third, our evidence about effectiveness comes from a relatively few studies, and there is little evidence about equity (Braga and Weisburd, 2010). Nevertheless, the ideas we have just described make more sense in 2015 than Packer’s ideas from the 1960s. However, we clearly need more evidence about equity and effectiveness.

Figure 5. Model 3: Policing Strategy Changes Relationship



The Role of Equity in the Evidence-Based Policing Movement

Although definitions vary, the evidence-based movement in policing has generally come to represent the process of identifying practices and strategies that accomplish police missions most cost-effectively; the goal is to test hypotheses with empirical research to determine what works (effectiveness) in policing (Sherman 2013). The bulk of this work is primarily concerned with measuring

effectiveness, and to some degree efficiency. More specifically, Sherman (2013) has defined evidence-based policing as a “Triple T” strategy that includes: targeting, testing, and tracking. Targeting requires the application of research to direct the use of scarce resources on patterns of crime and disorder. Testing is the process used to review the police methods used to target crime concentrations and determine their effectiveness. Finally, tracking is used to generate internal checks (or evidence) of the delivery of practices. Sherman suggests that while we are moving toward the Triple-T and the police have become more efficient at targeting, there is still very little testing and tracking systematically occurring.

However, aside from more testing and tracking, what we believe is lacking in the evidence-based policing movement is an explicit concern about equity and perceptions of legitimacy. Problem-oriented and focused policing are the preferred strategies of the evidence-based movement based exclusively on the evidence regarding their impact on crime – they have been shown to be the most effective. But what “targeting” often translates into for both problem-oriented and focused policing is differential outcomes for racial/ethnic, and low-income groups. While more strategic targeting of repeat crime patterns may help with perceptions of equity, this targeting will still result in disproportionate police contact with young, low-income, minority males residing in high-crime neighborhoods. This is simply a reflection of the uneven distribution of crime and criminal behavior in our society (Engel and Swartz 2014). In short, targeting will continue to have differential impact, particularly for minorities.

“Is there any room in the evidence-based movement for equity, or will the perceived tradeoff continue? How police implement evidence-based practices matters. What police do while implementing these strategies matters.”

Over the last decade, many researchers and police executives have focused their attention squarely on matters of effectiveness and efficiency. Their work has paid off – crime is down. But is there any room in the evidence-based movement for equity, or will the perceived

tradeoff continue? *How* police implement evidence-based practices matters. *What police do* while implementing these strategies matters. And what they do in different contexts matters, too.

Sherman suggests that these concerns are embedded in the “tracking” component of evidence-based policing, and that police should track public perceptions of police legitimacy (2013, p. 383). We contend, however, that equity needs to be directly embedded into our description of evidence-based policing, much like effectiveness has been. A strategy would not be considered “evidence-based” if the available research did not show that it was effective at reducing crime. Likewise, a strategy should not be considered “evidence-based” if there is no evidence or conflicting evidence regarding its equity. That is, rather than characterize evidence-based policing solely on crime reduction, evidence must also systematically include measures of equity, (e.g., perceptions of legitimacy, procedural justice, satisfaction, etc.). This will require significantly more research on equity to establish a base upon which practitioners can draw. Thereafter, strategies that reduce crime but alienate citizens in the process should not be described as “effective” for evidence-based policing.

From Triple T to Quintuple T

The clash in ideals – police effectiveness versus equity – is most apparent in the recent outbreak of civil unrest across the country, sparked by deadly police-citizen encounters in Ferguson, Missouri, New York City, and Cleveland, Ohio. But this does not have to be our future. We should resist the impulse to search for easy solutions (e.g., on-body cameras, citizen forums, more diversity training, political listening tours, etc.). Rather, we need to seize the opportunity to advance effective policing strategies that are also perceived as equitable, and with some adjustments, the evidence-based movement can provide us with that opportunity.

Making policy decisions based on good research, and continually adding to our knowledge through additional research is important work that should be embraced by police administrators across the country. As agencies continue to be more results- and data-driven, however, they must also focus on issues of equity, fairness, legitimacy, and procedural justice. To do this, we suggest that the Triple-T strategy of the evidence-based movement

needs to include two additional core components. In keeping with the “T” theme, we would suggest adding transparency and teamwork.

By transparency, we are referring to openness and visibility into the strategic, operational, and tactical decision-making processes within police departments. Transparency in policing is needed at all levels, including macro (e.g., strategic, policy, and budgetary decision making) and micro (e.g., individual decisions made by officers during police-citizen encounters). When citizens have additional insight into police decision making, they are more likely to perceive that the process is fair. For example, Tyler notes that one value of transparency in police activities is to demonstrate that police are making decisions in ways that are race neutral. “If the police make such efforts, they are less likely to be viewed as profiling” (Tyler 2003, p. 334).

Further, when citizens believe that the police act in ways that are fair and transparent, organizational legitimacy increases. More than a decade of research has demonstrated the importance of legitimacy for gaining citizen cooperation and voluntary compliance with the law (Tyler and Fagan 2008). This is particularly important for the police, as they will be more effective at regulating behavior and controlling crime if citizens are more likely to cooperate and comply with the law. Focusing on transparency as a central component of the evidence-based movement will enhance perceptions of equity and police legitimacy.

To strengthen the legitimacy of police, we must identify and implement specific strategies that increase equity while simultaneously reducing crime. What gets measured gets done; it is critical that we begin to systematically train officers in procedural justice and design measures to track their success. Measures of equity-related concepts (legitimacy, procedural justice, etc.) should be included in all evaluations of evidence-based practices. Researchers should merge bodies of literature (effectiveness and legitimacy) as a routine part of their evaluations (e.g., Weisburd et al. 2011; Mazerolle et al. 2013). Our main EBP tools – including the evidence-based matrix (Lum, Koper and Telep 2011) and www.crimesolutions.gov – should be expanded to report findings of effectiveness and equity. If evidence-based is the future of policing, academics must be willing to assist police agencies with implementation and not just post-hoc evaluations. We all know that the process matters – it is time we start treating police process with the

same research vigor as we have on the impact on crime.

For the “teamwork” component, we are really referencing partnerships. Unfortunately, partnerships is a nebulous term that often lacks credibility and substance in policing practice. When successfully created, however, police partnerships with outside entities can become an extremely valuable resource (Engel and Whalen 2010; Thacher 2001). These successful partnerships may be with community groups, academics, other criminal justice or city agencies, religious leaders, civic groups, etc. The successful development of a well-functioning collaborative relationship with partners outside of policing is a critical component for successful implementation and sustainability of any policing strategy. The addition of these core components to the evidence-based movement will reduce the likelihood of conflict between effectiveness and equity.

Police Effectiveness and Equity in Practice: The Cincinnati Example

The City of Cincinnati provides a particularly compelling environment for learning more about the interplay between effectiveness and equity, as their policing strategies over the last decade have been specifically designed to simultaneously reduce crime while enhancing police-community relations. In April 2001, Cincinnati experienced civil unrest and rioting triggered by the fatal shooting of an unarmed Black suspect by a White police officer. In the initial period after the riots, hostile police-community relations continued, police officers disengaged from their work, and crime rates rose dramatically. Yet over the last decade, Cincinnati has engaged in reform efforts initially guided by federal oversight and a Collaborative Agreement (Eck and Rothman 2006). The City aggressively addressed issues of racial tension, civil unrest, and the need for police reform by establishing proactive problem-solving approaches to policing, as well as collaborative efforts between police, community, and businesses to promote a better quality of life for residents. Specifically in 2002, after a year-long Department of Justice investigation, the City of Cincinnati entered into an agreement to implement numerous reforms within the police department, including changes in use-of-force reporting and training, implementing a risk management system, and creating the Citizens Compliant Authority. In addition, the settlement to a racial profiling lawsuit included the creation of the Cincinnati Community Police Partnering Center, as well as

other reforms to improve police-community relations. Years later, this work continues to flourish as the CPD actively engages in problem-oriented policing as its primary operational strategy and has implemented a variety of strategies to improve effectiveness, transparency, and legitimacy. These efforts are guided and evaluated through a strong working partnership with researchers from the Institute of Crime Science at the University of Cincinnati.

Multiple problem-solving projects addressing a wide range of community concerns are implemented each year, and these implementation processes and outcomes are recorded and tracked by CPD personnel. These problem-solving projects address harm caused by repeat offenders, victims, locations, and crimes. In addition, the agency began using crime analysis in a more robust manner in 2008 to guide patrol operations and deployment, including policing hotspot street segments. Interventions also include place-based solutions. In 2007, the CPD implemented a focused deterrence initiative (Cincinnati Initiative to Reduce Violence – CIRV, pronounced “serve”), which resulted in a 41% reduction in gang member involved homicides, and a 22% reduction in non-fatal shootings during its first three and a half years, and continues to be effective (Engel, Tillyer and Corsaro 2013). Each of these initiatives has contributed to a decade of crime reduction: Every Part 1 crime category has declined, for a total reduction of 40.5% of violent crimes and 27.1% of property crimes since 2005. The crime reductions of specific crime categories that were aggressively targeted by CPD with multiple problem solving strategies show the largest reductions, including a 44.0% decrease in robberies, a 42.4% decrease in aggravated assaults, and a 41.9% reduction in theft from autos. But most importantly, during this same time period, misdemeanor arrests declined 37.5%, felony arrests declined 40.1%, citizen complaints against officers were reduced 42.6%, and police use-of-force incidents declined 57.3% (Engel and Ozer 2015). The relationship between the police and residents by all accounts has been steadily improving over the last decade. The changes in the style and approach of the CPD – focusing on evidence-based approaches, which includes effective crime control strategies that are also perceived as legitimate and equitable by citizens – has made a dramatic difference. In a time when citizens are collectively questioning the legitimacy of the police in cities around the country, Cincinnati represents an example of what can happen when effective and equitable policing are merged. Other progressive police agencies

across the country are also demonstrating the promise of implementing effective focused and problem-oriented policing strategies that are also equitable (National Network for Safe Communities 2015).

“Research evidence and experience suggests that it is possible to reduce crime and preserve liberties with carefully structured enforcement strategies that are also embraced by citizens.”

In conclusion, we believe that the long-held assumption that police cannot increase crime control measures without reducing attention to due process is outdated and in need of revision. Research evidence and experience suggests that it is possible to reduce crime and preserve liberties with carefully structured enforcement strategies that are also embraced by citizens. A recent meta-analysis on police legitimacy concluded that “it is conceivable that with some training or a clear directive, *any* type of police intervention could be used to facilitate legitimacy, as long as it includes an opportunity for police to engage in dialogue with citizens” (Mazerolle et al. 2013: 25). Problem-oriented and focused policing strategies have shown the most effectiveness for reducing crime, and also demonstrate promise for increasing equity (both actual and perceived). As we refocus our research and practice on discovering the evidence of what works in equity as well as effectiveness, we can rebuild police-community relations while simultaneously increasing public safety. The tradeoff we have accepted for so long does not have to be our future.

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The Police Foundation is a national non-profit bipartisan organization that, consistent with its commitment to improve policing, has been on the cutting edge of police innovation for over 40 years. The Police Foundation's work is informed by available evidence and aims to increase public safety and strengthen communities. The professional staff at the Police Foundation works closely with law enforcement, judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, and victim advocates, community-based organizations in order to develop research, comprehensive reports, policy briefs, model policies, and innovative programs that will continue to support the work of law enforcement (police & sheriffs) personnel as it relates to increasing strong community-police partnerships. The Police Foundation conducts innovative research and provides on-the-ground technical assistance to police and sheriffs, as well as engaging practitioners from multiple systems (corrections, mental health, housing, etc.), and local, state, and federal jurisdictions on topics related to police research, policy, and practice.

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