

INNOVATIONS
IN POLICING



NEIGHBORHOOD-DRIVEN POLICING REVISITED



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INTRODUCTION

In 2005, two of us (Levin & Myers, 2005) wrote an article describing a model of policing we referred to as Neighborhood-Driven Policing (NDP).¹ NDP introduced a non-traditional and aspirational vision of policing. As futurists, we offered the NDP model in the hope it would stimulate thought leaders to reflect and recommend changes in how the police could better serve their communities. Recently, we have been contacted by some who stumbled upon the NDP model and wondered if we knew in 2005 that the NDP model would encapsulate some changes being clamored for by many police reform advocates in 2020. Suffice it to say, our casual work as police futurists cannot be stretched to that of prognosticators with all-knowing prescience.

The events of the spring and summer of 2020 have provided us with the opportunity to rethink the Neighborhood-Driven Policing model. Like all thought-provoking works, the original essay needs some updating, and even more, it needs further discussion prior to any attempts to operationalize it within modern contexts. Much has changed in the fifteen years since the original piece was published, yet many other issues remain stubbornly entrenched. This paper seeks to describe an updated vision of how NDP might better-meet the needs and expectations of both police and residents in contemporary communities. We do not

claim this is a complete, final, or 'one size fits all' model. It remains a conceptual vision that has not been implemented or evaluated.

Our intent in revisiting this model is not to describe a definitive future for policing, but rather to stimulate discussion about alternative ways to think about the position and role that police and residents occupy in their relationship with each other as they seek to enhance community safety and resident well-being. It is vital to reiterate that NDP as a concept and is not a definitive model ready for wide-scale implementation. We offer this revised model in the spirit of what concepts are designed to do: stimulate thought, which can lead to planning, design, and ultimately implementation of a highly individualized model. Any attempts to implement NDP would need to be subjected to thorough process and outcome evaluations to ensure the application of the model and any resulting outcomes were fully understood.

¹ The original essay can be found at <https://futuresworkinggroup.com/publications>. See Volume 1, pp. 4-9 for the original essay. The entire volume provides further elaboration, discussion, and response to the NDP model.



WHAT IS NEIGHBORHOOD-DRIVEN POLICING?

Sir Robert Peel is widely credited with offering a set of principles defining modern policing.² Most centrally to NDP, Peel is credited with articulating a specific way of understanding the relationship between the police and the public. According to Peel's principles, the police are: "To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every resident in the interests of community welfare and existence" (Mayhall, 1985, p. 426). Several important values are embedded in this statement. First, it places the police and the public on equal footing. Second, it places responsibility for "community welfare and existence" on the shoulders of all residents. Third, it establishes the police are simply members of the public paid to provide full-time attention to responsibilities that

fall to all residents.

NDP is predicated on the notion that policing is something done with, rather than to, the public. It envisions the police and the public working equally and collaboratively to identify and solve community problems. Unlike community-oriented policing (COP), which still tends to place the police in the role of primary decision-maker, NDP "presumes precisely the opposite: neighborhood members are the senior partners; they make many of the decisions that historically have been made by the police" (Levin & Myers, 2005, p. 5). The police serve neighborhood members as consultants and perform traditional policing duties on behalf of the community. This does not imply the neighborhood weighs in on every matter handled by the police, nor that the neighborhood can over-rule or circumvent prevailing local, state, or federal law.³

- 2 It has been noted that the Peelian Principles are likely a product of policing scholarship and textbooks of the 20th century, rather than actual verbatim ideas crafted by Sir Robert Peel, Sir Charles Rowan, or Sir Richard Mayne (Rowan and Mayne served as the co-commissioners of the London Metropolitan Police Service upon its founding in 1829, helping give birth to much of the structure and operation of modern policing) (Lentz & Chaires, 2007). Despite the likely-erroneous attribution of the Principles to Peel, the core ideas they embody are grounded in much of the history and sentiment of the modernization of policing in the early 19th century and they represent an instructive vision of democratic, accountable, transparent policing (Emsley, 2014).
- 3 NDP may shift the geographic focus of policing to smaller units than traditional police beats. This is an element it shares with community-oriented approaches and more contemporary strategies, such as the Seattle Micro-Community Policing Plans (<http://www.seattle.gov/police/information-and-data/mcpp-about>). Likewise, NDP is similar to Neighborhood Policing Initiatives (NPI), such as those seen in New York (<https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/patrol/neighborhood-coordination-officers.page>) and Chicago (<https://www.chicagonpi.org/>), in that it seeks to move beyond a traditional COP framework. However, we argue MCPP and NPI still view these efforts as ancillary to the patrol function, which holds a primary role within the organization's structure and resource allocation. These are still efforts where the police are largely responsible for the direction and leadership of the programs, rather than seeing the community take ownership over matters of crime and community well-being. We see NDP as the 'hub' of the wheel of a police organization;



It is necessary to elaborate the relationship between Community Oriented Policing and Neighborhood Driven Policing. NDP, in reality, is a closer match to the late Dr. Robert Trojanowicz's original vision of COP in which the community and the police are equal partners in establishing the priorities for problem solving in the community. While Dr. Trojanowicz's COP model represented an organizational-wide philosophy that directs the manner in which all officers in an agency police, the predominant contemporary implementation of COP in the US is more unit driven with assigned COP officers. Further, the police retain the dominant and controlling role as primary decision makers with, at best, participatory input from the public. Thus, we see NDP and Trojanowicz's vision of COP as being similar in many ways; however, the actual implementation of COP has fallen short of that vision (Cordner, 2021). NDP is an effort to shift policing closer to Trojanowicz's ideas, while advocating for greater community empowerment than what he envisioned.

The very idea of 'neighborhood' is a concept with variable meaning and an institution of variable strength, influence, and durability (Gascón & Roussell, 2019; Herbert, 2006).⁴ Loosely viewed, however, for most of us 'neighborhood' still defines a physical place. In some spaces, the scope of a

neighborhood might be confined to only a few city blocks; in rural areas, it might be considerably larger. Residents would elect or otherwise select a board to represent their views. That board would work with local police to help make decisions at a neighborhood-level. We envision considerable variability in the size, composition, and operational structure of these boards. Repeating our prior central point, the authors are not prescriptive in the development and composition of these boards or councils; it is incumbent on each community to determine how to best implement NDP.

The key police official in NDP is the Neighborhood Beat Officer (NBO). As the agency's primary representative within a neighborhood, the NBO works with the neighborhood council and residents to identify problems, develop and enact solutions, and to coordinate broad efforts intended to improve the quality of life for area residents. The NBO needs to be problem solvers, communicators, organizers, advocates, and leaders. They need to be capable of analysis, research, evaluation, networking, and collaboration. These are not, in all cases, the skills agencies have sought and cultivated in police personnel. NDP is a vision of the police as intelligent guardians (who are trained and prepared to use force as a final resort), rather than 'warriors' or 'sheep dogs' who see force and coercion as

it exists as the central feature of the agency and all other functions (including patrol) exist in support of, and branch from, NDP.

- 4 Even when they are identified and defined, neighborhoods are not monoliths. Within an area that is accepted by residents to constitute a 'neighborhood', the views and attitudes of residents are not singular (Uchida, Swatt, Solomon, & Varano, 2015). Policing efforts that seek to engage residents run the risk of only reaching a part of the intended audience, and that part may not fully represent their peers. There might be particular risk that residents who are mistrustful of the police (who NDP would most like to empower and engage) might be less likely to participate, at least at the onset. The police must be mindful that engaging with an entire neighborhood, or even a truly representative cross-section, is difficult to achieve and sustain.



their primary tools (Stoughton, 2015, 2016). Unlike collaboration and community partnership in a COP model, in NDP, officers work on the priorities of neighborhood councils. This does not suggest officers are not employed and supervised by their department. Rather, the employing department provides the infrastructure, rules of engagement, and overall guidance on integrity and ethical expectations of conduct. In short, the agency leadership draws the lines within which the officers can ‘color’, with the primary emphasis on ethical, lawful conduct reflecting the integrity of both the agency and the individual officer.



A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A NEIGHBORHOOD BEAT OFFICER

OFFICER NAOMI SMITH HAS SERVED THE ANYTOWN POLICE DEPARTMENT FOR THE LAST SIX YEARS.

She was among the first officers hired to be trained under the new NDP model of policing, which meant her academy experience was vastly different than prior hires. She attended a modified traditional academy for 8 months, which included a strong emphasis on interpersonal communication skills, de-escalation techniques, and effective uses of force training. After a modified traditional FTO period, she returned to academy for a community-driven educational experience that involved many community members and strengthened her skills in engaging neighbors, identify neighborhood resources, and understanding available community social services resources. She was then assigned to her first NBO post where she has served for the last 4.5 years.

She starts her day at the local precinct station. The pre-shift briefing is largely done via computer, and she and two colleagues

participated in small group meetings with their supervisor to review the current status of any problem-solving efforts and supervisory inquiries on how they can help. Officer Smith will subsequently reconnect with her supervisor 2-3 more times during her 10-hour shift via a video chat service to sustain their strong sense of team and partnership.

Officer Smith proceeds to her assigned neighborhood. It is roughly .75 square miles in size, irregular in shape, and diverse in its demographics. It borders a mostly industrial area to the north, a retail neighborhood to the east, and has a mix of 40-60-year-old single family residences and rowhouse multi-unit housing. It used to be considered one of the higher crime areas of Anytown, with prostitution, drug running, and random gunfire regular occurrences. Since the formation of the Neighborhood Council and a period of development of the NDP beat program, the neighborhood has seen dramatic decreases in crime in the last 18 months.

Officer Smith primarily works on foot in her assigned area, and weather depending, also uses an agency-provided bicycle. Her police car is usually parked at her Neighborhood

Beat Office location, which in her case, is in the rear of a neighborhood bodega. A locally based elementary school has a library/meeting room where the Neighborhood Council meetings take place biweekly, and in between meetings, everyone on the Council as well as many of the residents have access to Officer Smith via video conference, voice call, text, or email. Additionally, Officer Smith and the Neighborhood Council, with assistance from the Anytown I.T. Department and funded by local philanthropists use an app-based tool that allows anyone within her neighborhood to quickly identify

emerging problems, concerns, or information about past crimes, or simply reach out for information. Officer Smith's phone alerts her every time there is an entry on the app.

Early in her shift, Officer Smith checks in with the Neighborhood Council chair, Mr. Riley, who is a retiree and longtime resident of the neighborhood. Mr. Riley indicates no concerns or information were passed on to him since yesterday and advised he continues to hear favorable feedback from area residents about the decline in crime. Officer Smith informs Mr. Riley that she has asked some investigators from the area drug





unit to assist her in identifying the pair of street corner drug dealers that the Council raised as a neighborhood concern at their last meeting. Once identified, she would contact them and report back to the Council for a potential restorative justice-style victim impact panel meeting along with Council-sponsored job training and education on the consequences of criminal conduct. Officer Smith is concerned that the pair, while described as quite young, may already be deeply involved in gang activity and be less receptive to these proactive, non-enforcement approach. Mr. Riley reiterates the Council prefers a non-punitive resolution, but they also trust Officer Smith's judgment on how best to handle the youth. He concludes by reminder her "you've earned the trust of the neighborhood, people will know if you have to arrest them, it was the only way."

After her phone call, Officer Smith runs through her list of priority locations, problem solving projects, and people with whom to follow up. She plans out a foot path to take for the next 3-4 hours, transmitting this to both

her sergeant and to dispatch so they have awareness of her 'game plan' for the first half of her shift. This information is also shared with the NBOs in the 4 surrounding beats. Anytown's smartphones include a GPS based tracking device interfaced with CADS, so dispatch always knows where Officer Smith is, in case her emergency button is deployed on her agency radio.

Officer Smith walks a couple blocks to the



home of Mrs. Jones, an elderly female resident who had previously expressed concern about youth hanging out near the corner she needed to pass to go shopping. Officer Smith had engaged several of the youth to perform some minor home improvements for the resident, who had then provided some homecooked meals and treats for the youth. On this visit, Mrs. Jones carried on about “those nice young boys” who kept checking in on her, had escorted her to the store recently, and how much safer she felt. Officer Smith reminded Mrs. Jones how she could be reached, promising to check in on her again the following week, and went her way, grateful that this time, it turned out well.

Next Officer Smith stopped by a vacant lot between a store and a single-family home. The lot had been trash-filled, a hot spot for drug use, and a haven for prostitutes who walked the street in front of the lot. The lot was now clean, closely mowed by the Anytown Public Works Department, and Officer Smith noted that the store owner had placed a couple of high intensity lights that illuminated much of the lot in the evening hours. The Neighborhood Council had erected a small swing set and slide on the property for neighborhood children to use, funded through local philanthropic groups, with a small sign saying “this micro park belongs to you and me”. One of the former streetwalkers was now employed at the store next door, her

first job not involving human trafficking.

Over the course of several hours, Officer Smith made her rounds, visiting residents, problem locations, former hot spots, and the handful of commercial/retail stores in the neighborhood. In the second half of her shift, she documented her observations, conducted another video meeting with her sergeant, and prepared a comprehensive update document to be shared with the oncoming NBO who covered the evening/night shift. During her 10-hour shift, Officer Smith only had to handle two traditional calls for service. The first was a minor traffic accident with no injuries and the second was domestic argument between a man and woman who were under financial distress and at risk of being evicted. During this incident, Officer Smith was backed up by a roving patrol supervisor and an NBO from an adjoining beat. The situation was resolved when Officer Smith was able to connect the couple to a financial planning educator, a rent assistance agency, and a family counselor specializing in interventions with couples experiencing increasing relationship conflict. Officer Smith ensured that both parties had her contact information. Both indicated that they knew of her from prior exposure at neighborhood events and would reach out if they needed anything.

Officer Smith ended her shift with a video debriefing with her supervisor and 4 other



NBOs. At the end of the debriefing, the Sergeant asked, “how do you all feel about your shift today, did you make a positive difference, and what was the worst part of your day?” Officer Smith indicated that she was gratified and felt that her presence was making a positive contribution to the community. The only negative was overcoming the small pockets of hard-core resistance that still existed in some corners of the neighborhood. The Sergeant reminded her and her colleagues that NDP is an evolutionary process, that they were doing a fantastic job, as reflected by their crime statistics and neighborhood trust surveys.



COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIRES TRUST AND PARTNERSHIP

A foundational part of NDP model is that the Neighborhood Beat Officer polices the neighborhood with full consent, under the priorities and focus of the residents as established through the representative neighborhood council. This requires a genuine and sincere partnership between the institution of policing and the residents of a given service area. The commitment to partnership must be demonstrated both by the police organization as a whole, as well as by the individual officers working in that organization. Partnerships, by design, must be mutually beneficial. A partnership that is to the benefit of only one of the partners to the exclusion of the others is not a partnership and certainly would feel more like imposed rule. Thus, before any attempts to form neighborhood councils and develop a resident-led vision of policing for any specific neighborhood, the police and the Community ('Big C' community= many 'small c' communities) must work tirelessly to overcome and minimize mistrust, operate with full transparency, and develop interactive and effective communication channels. Mistrust, transparency, and communication needs have to be met by all partners; it is not enough for the police to expect the trust of residents if the police are not willing to demonstrate trust toward residents. It is also

critical that police recognize many different groups comprise some neighborhoods, which can challenge the ability of a neighborhood council to function as a cohesive and representative body.

It is fair to ask, can NDP be used as a strategy to overcome mistrust between police and the Community, rather than simply a model to implement after mistrust disappears? There is no easy answer to this question. Perhaps the formation of neighborhood based 'reconciliation boards' could be precursors to the neighborhood councils and could work with designated representative of their police agency to work through the myriad issues that resulted in the existing mistrust. For example, when co-author Myers was Interim Chief in Sanford, FL, following the Trayvon Martin homicide, he frequently met with neighborhood groups to listen to residents' history with the Sanford PD. This local history was critically important to residents and had done much to contributed to disenfranchisement of the African American community. Some of those groups were later engaged in a community-wide project to develop a reconciliation plan.⁵ Some neighborhoods are largely dysfunctional, disjointed, and may lack cohesion. However, in these settings, NDP might well act as a galvanizing force to help

5 The National Network for Safe Communities (<https://nnscommunities.org/>) provides a number of helpful resources related to reconciliation and rebuilding community trust and engagement (see also Kennedy, 2011; Mentel, 2012).



bring together residents who previously felt disengaged and disenfranchised. If the police could be viewed as uniters in an otherwise disjointed neighborhood, it might well improve the level of

trust and partnership between police and residents. We do not suggest this transformation will be easy or immediate, only that it is possible.

COMMUNITY-LED POLICY REQUIRES REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS

For NDP to be implemented, public insight and expectations need to be fully outlined and understood; there must be parameters in place defining what the police and a neighborhood council can or cannot do. While councils should have a strong voice and power, those have to be used within the boundaries of law, integrity, and equality, among other considerations. If, for example, a neighborhood council decreed that their local patrol beat cop would no longer enforce domestic violence laws within their service area because doing so had resulted in strong perceptions of racial, ethnic, and/or economic disparate outcomes, even the most devoted NDP officer could not carry out that vision. Police, no matter what model or operating philosophy they work under, universally exist to ensure that community order survives actions that fall outside 'norms', which are usually articulated in the form

of laws. A council that wishes for police to ignore enforcement of the social norm against domestic violence is unrealistic in their expectations and showing a lack of insight into social norms and community needs to help achieve safety, peace, and order. On the other hand, if the neighborhood council indicated that they wanted to empower their beat cop to use a wide range of tools to respond to domestic violence, including doing more than was historically done by an agency to connect victims with social services and victims' advocates, that could hold promise for effective NDP. It would be clear that no one tolerates or supports any form of domestic violence. It would be equally clear that the beat officer had a wide range of social services, restorative justice methods, extra-judicial methods, and aggressive prosecutorial methods to choose from after careful analysis to match the 'crime' with the best response.⁶

⁶ In the first scenario, where a neighborhood council is asking for something that is ill-advised, if not illegal, the role of the NBO might be to educate the group about why the initial preferred approach is untenable. There will be times when NBOs and police leaders have to work with neighborhood councils to communicate and inform them about problems with some approaches. Final decisions might rest with neighborhood councils, but NBOs would play the role of trusted advisors to ensure the neighborhood council was fully informed and was not asking the police to operate outside of the law or demonstrated evidence-based practices.



The above example points out two major challenges or nuances within NDP. First, the Neighborhood Beat Officer will need a strong level of mentoring and support from senior leadership within the agency. Senior leadership needs to ensure the boundaries of neighborhood council power are clear and maintained. Having an experienced supervisor attend council meetings in support of the beat officer would be a good way to ensure this. That is not to say the police should engage in NDP using their traditional role of dictating to communities relevant policies and procedures. Rather, established boundaries help the council

understand their rights and ensure they do not drift into conduct that will result in biased, unfair, unlawful, or harmful policing tactics or outcomes. It is important that NDP includes routine collection, analysis, and review of key policing metrics. This will ensure that councils understand how their guidance is implemented and what consequences (both intended and unintended) that guidance might be having. It is not enough for councils to issue instruction; they must monitor and assess the outcomes of those instructions to ensure they made proper decisions, that objectives have been met, and that successes have been maintained.



Second, this kind of police structure might be effective in overcoming long-term neighborhood cultural acceptance of certain behaviors that fall under the criminal code. For example, in many economically depressed neighborhoods, the ‘running of numbers’ as a form of gambling on the sidewalk was historically popular and widely accepted as a harmless form of entertainment. It was a practice that generated community interest and engagement; participation was relatively inexpensive and participants had the chance to win a little money. Police, however, traditionally viewed this type of gambling as harmful to the neighborhood, leading to loitering and boisterous behavior that can be intimidating to some residents, attracting other vice related crimes such as drugs or prostitution, and in general, a good target of enforcement activity. Because of the types of places where ‘running of numbers’ traditionally occurred, legalistic policing responses tended to fall almost entirely on the poor and people of color.⁷

Under the NDP model, if the neighborhood council decrees police should cease enforcing street gambling laws, the police could capitalize on this moment to address a significant disconnect between what the police and the neighborhood view as social norms. Social norming defines

behaviors that are generally deemed deviant or illegal. A disconnect between the assessments of the police and the community has serious consequences resulting in conflict. This example, rather than generating conflict, could be used as an opportunity for the NBO to engage their community in a discussion about the impact of gambling on quality of life in that neighborhood. This could include bringing social service and gambling addiction experts into the conversation to help residents understand how this activity, while normative in the eyes of residents, might be contributing to concerns within the community. Likewise, the neighborhood council might inform and educate police perspectives through two-way communication so the police develop better understandings of the concerns, experiences, and viewpoints of residents. This could result in a more reasonable expectations of both the police and residents. Up front, no matter the law violation in question, everyone needs to agree that the standard sought should be reasonable and appropriate levels and styles of enforcement.⁸

Effective NDP is heavily predicated on the quality, culture, and knowledge of the neighborhood council. Neighborhood councils should accurately and thoroughly reflect the composition of that

7 White, middle- and upper-class residents had easier access to lawful forms of gambling and speculative gaming.

8 We do not envision a one-size-fits-all model under NDP. This approach can and should operate somewhat differently across communities and perhaps even within communities. The balance of power between police and neighborhood councils will need to be determined. Care will need to be taken to ensure councils guide the police in a way that ensures equitable public safety. There have been times when local police have been overly politicized and were used to target and control select segments of communities. It is imperative that NDP be used as a tool for enhancing community well-being, rather than become a tool of control or oppression. Prevailing methods of providing police accountability remain relevant, but other methods may need to be developed. Transparency will be key.



specific neighborhood with respect to gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, ethnicity, and other locally-relevant indicators. While police departments cannot control the composition of these groups, it is critical that agencies encourage broad involvement from residents to ensure all voices are heard.⁹ This is yet another opportunity for the police to act as agents of inclusion. To that end, NDP efforts might examine how the Chicago Police Department's Neighborhood Policing Initiative seeks to facilitate and obtain constructive input from residents and to support quality engagement from local leaders and neighbors.¹⁰

Towards a mutually clear understanding of reasonable expectations on both sides of this partnership, the role of analytics will be increasingly important. Crime analysts in 2020 are recognized as a way to help police work smarter rather than harder. Gathering seemingly disparate sources of information and turning them into actionable intelligence is a well-recognized way to limit traditional police responses to a narrower target for enforcement. The stigma of 'police intelligence', however, is that it can become part and parcel of the biased actions police may show

against any of the 'small c' communities within a 'Big C' Community.¹¹ Under NDP, it may be that analytics are far broader and more in-depth than simply limited to crime patterns, suspect patterns, and so forth. Analysis of underlying social forces that result in domestic violence, drug abuse, gang violence, and other social ills might help both the neighborhood councils and the Neighborhood Beat Officers find effective methods to address broader sets of social ills. With time and increasing trust, NDP could evolve to a point of police involvement in a broader set of neighborhood concerns to include health care, public transportation, job training and placement, and so forth. When the problems identified extend far outside either traditional or NDP-defined roles for the police, Neighborhood Beat Officers could serve a liaison role with the appropriate governmental or NGO services needed. This is not to suggest the police role would expand (in opposition to current calls to 'defund' policing); rather, it is an acknowledgement that police are called upon to deal with the failures of our social systems (i.e., they see the 'symptoms' of the failures of society to care for vulnerable members of communities). Given that reality, it makes sense to provide police with stronger resources and

9 We fully recognize that communities in greatest need of an NDP approach might be the most difficult for agencies to successfully engage. High crime neighborhoods tend to have high levels of social disorganization and might lack a tradition of a robust community engagement and involvement. These spaces might have the deepest level of distrust toward police. The challenges of creating representative, effective neighborhood councils that represent the diverse voices found within such a neighborhood are real. Success is unlikely to occur immediately. The challenges in policing such spaces are many and powerful, but that cannot be an excuse to justify inaction on the part of police or any other entity seeking to provide services or bring about positive change in those areas.

10 See <https://www.chicagonpi.org/community-engagement>

11 Examples of this abound in the summer of 2020 and the policing of protest movements across the country, including the tension between local police efforts and seemingly imposed federal law enforcement presence in select major urban centers.



pathways to connect communities and residents with the resources and non-police experts who can work to cure the underlying ‘disease’.

Neighborhood councils should work with the police to identify evidence-based police tactics, where they exist (Mitchell & Huey, 2019).¹² Using approaches that are proven to work, rather than simply believed to work, will ensure the best possible outcomes of NDP efforts. In addition, it is

imperative to embrace the importance of assessing NDP outcomes to determine whether chosen efforts achieve desired results. Evidence-based approaches need to be assessed to ensure they are working to meet local needs. New innovations need to be assessed to determine whether they are achieving desired outcomes. Additionally, councils and police should seek to assess unproven tactics to ensure these approaches are free of unanticipated negative consequences (Merton, 1936). In this way,

¹² While policing is more aware of, and receptive to, evidence-based practices (Mitchell & Huey, 2019), there is clearly continued room for improvement (e.g., Telep & Winegar, 2016)





the NDP model can help expand the evidence-base surrounding policing approaches to ensure communities, residents, and the police are using

sound, appropriate, and proven tactics to tackle social problems and community ills.

MATCHING THE RIGHT PERSONNEL WITH POLICING APPROACHES

Any agency wanting to implement NDP must rethink and reengineer its hiring process. If an agency's recruitment brochures depict scenes from SWAT and lots of flashing red/blue lights, the agency is probably not attracting candidates ideally suited to work within an NDP framework or anywhere else in contemporary policing.¹³ American policing still struggles to recruit and hire a sufficient volume of employees who have the skills, temperament, and desire to serve in COP or NBO roles. To implement an NDP model, an agency needs to critically analyze whether their marketing and recruiting of personnel, selection procedures, training and socialization processes, and personnel evaluation systems attract, cultivate, develop, and retain personnel who reflect the education, training, temperament, and critical skills sought for the ideal NDP officer. Likewise, until the agency culture is fully on board with the NDP philosophy, bringing in NDP-oriented officers who are led by old-school supervisors adhering to a warrior ethos will likely

result in dysfunction and frustration. Along with significant changes in who is hired, many other personnel related issues will require reengineering as well, such as:

- » What role will labor unions play in the relationship with the community members?
- » How will work schedules, time off, overtime, and chain of command be managed?
- » What are the leadership skills and organizational structure needed to facilitate NDP, support neighborhood officers, and strengthen community collaboration? (see FWG publications involving Net-Centric Policing for a different model)
- » How can agencies optimally balance ensuring officer and organizational accountability, while providing officers the discretion and autonomy to meet the unique needs of their assigned area?

13 Communication, de-escalation, conflict management, interpersonal skills, and other 'soft' skills are clearly needed for contemporary police personnel. There remains a paucity of research speaking both to the ability to measure these skills among potential employees and to develop them among new or existing personnel through training or other methods. Greater research is needed to understand both how to identify applicants with strong aptitude to police in a way that minimizes coercion and force and to ensure personnel have the skills to minimize reliance on coercion and violence.



- » How do agencies provide officers with the policies, training, resources, and connections needed to be successful in solving local problems?
- » What will be required to ensure there are partners in other government agencies and social service providers to help officers meet

non-law enforcement problems?

- » In what ways can agencies coordinate the efforts and activities of the team of officers working in a given neighborhood on different shifts to ensure comprehensive and cohesive service provision?

TRADITIONAL POLICE RESPONSES ARE STILL NEEDED UNDER NDP

It is our belief that NDP can work in agencies of all sizes, though the specifics would vary based on the needs and desires of local residents, the nature of the historical relationship between police and the public, and the resources available, among other considerations. In any community where NDP is the dominant policing model, there would still be a need for Rapid Response Officers (RRO). NBOs would focus on a neighborhood, building relationships, and enhancing community capacity. This might involve some call response and likely would have NBOs doing problem solving and community engagement designed to reduce future call volume. However, NBOs will not be available to handle all calls for service and some calls might require additional policing resources. RROs would

serve to provide assistance in handling matters when NBOs were not available or when NBOs needed assistance or back up.¹⁴ Blended staffing systems are not new in policing. For example, Chicago used a blended model for a number of years in the 1990s as they experimented with their version of COP (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). These earlier policing efforts might be instructive in understanding how NBOs and RROs might be used in a coordinated manner to meet various policing needs across place and time, while ensuring the integrity of the NDP effort is maintained across front-line personnel and units.

In many communities, residents support the police when they act efficiently and reasonably in the

¹⁴ An important issue each agency would have to consider is the balance of NBOs and RROs in their specific NDP approach. NBOs might be most effective if they are working during hours and days when residents and local businesses are awake and operating. For some agencies, this might mean a neighborhood has a single Beat Officer; for other agencies, there might be 2-3 Beat Officers working as a team to provide more extensive coverage across hours of the day and days of the week. The balance of personnel and how they would be most effectively deployed would be up to each agency, might vary by neighborhood, and might shift over time.



face of an incident requiring a mass response. The difference in an NDP environment, however, would require that RROs behave in a manner consistent with the overall community expectations. RROs would be providing primary policing services that would augment the efforts of NBOs, either because the NBO was otherwise occupied or an NBO might not be working during a given day or time. The RROs would have to understand and respect the work being done by the NBOs and make allowed adjustments to some of their policing responses in order to ensure the integrity of the broader NDP efforts within a given neighborhood.

One way to accomplish this is to require any officer seeking an assignment to be a Rapid Response Officer to have first served as an NDP Neighborhood Beat Officer who accomplished much and was highly rated and supported by his service area's residents. A different method might have NDP officers occasionally rotating into Rapid Response assignments, one shift a week or one week a month, for example. Rapid Response Officers would be required to have the same types of educational and training experiences as neighborhood officers, to ensure their insight into the historical, socioeconomical, and cultural factors that drive human behavior. If both NBOs and RROs understand the agency's NDP efforts, are aware of what is specifically being attempted in each

neighborhood, and embrace the overall philosophy and goals of NDP, it is possible that RROs could still provide responses in a given neighborhood that support the work being done by the NBO and the neighborhood council.

Long-term assignment to a Rapid Response Team, coupled with traditional policing culture, is likely to result in two strong and clashing cultures within an agency.¹⁵ One culture might represent the NDP philosophy, while the other reflects a 'we are the real police and you are not...' culture. Agencies must proactively work to create environments and cultures that do not cast NDP as a second class or 'empty holster' assignment. Movement of personnel across these two functions might be one measure to off-set this risk. Agencies might also consider how to incentivize and create pathways to promotion, special assignments, and agency awards based on performance that supports and advances NDP. Officers who succeed in creating safer neighborhoods should be venerated as much as those who heroically save lives in a singular event. While the heroism and impact of the latter are readily evident, the former may be just as likely to bring about positive changes in the lives of residents.

15 We recognize one of the greatest risks to the success of NDP will be how it aligns with traditional police culture and the need for agencies to balance the immediacy of call response demands with efforts to place resources in NDP, which will have a longer horizon. This tension is not new in policing and examples of the cultural and workload conflicts abound in community policing literature. The persistent and strong nature of this situation, however, does not prescribe that it must always foredoom policing efforts to be more proactive and innovative. Culturally supported blended staffing models are possible, even if their achievement is difficult.



WEAPONIZING OF WORDS AND LABELS MUST GO AWAY

Civilian policing in the US is highly distinct from the US military, which engages in operations and combat outside our nation's borders. The few things in common.... chain of command, all commissioned personnel armed with weapons, and adherence to an oath of office.... have often been cited to make cross-cultural comparisons (Cowper, 2000). Federal law and many state laws specifically preclude direct military action within the US boundaries, particularly specific to conducting police actions. The phrase 'militarization of the police', often used as a cry for reform, usually refers to the transfer of surplus military equipment from the federal military authorities over to local police agencies. This program has its roots dating back many decades and can include everything from aviation programs that evolved entirely dependent on the availability of surplus military helicopters and their parts, to surplus rifles, to protective vehicles. SWAT teams and other special purpose/heavy weapon police units have received military grade rifles through this program for many years, but the weapons and especially the policies and 'rules of engagement' have maintained a strong distinction between the military and civil policing.

In the aftermath of the Iraqi war, large, heavily fortified vehicles became available to some local agencies, such as MRAP'S (Mine-Resistant Ambush

Protected). The appeal of using military surplus vehicles capable of protecting police officers and civilians from gunfire is an appreciable cost savings over commercially-designed protective vehicles. Armored protective vehicles have been effectively used to save lives, such as the evacuation of civilians caught in the crossfire at the 2015 Planned Parenthood mass shooting in Colorado Springs, CO. Few would argue that use of such specialized assets was inappropriate when used to save lives and protect the public. The negative images that resulted in concerns about the militarization of the police most likely arose from too many police agencies failing to keep those assets out of sight, out of mind, and only deployed when absolutely needed (Institute for Intergovernmental Research, 2015). Instead, they were sometimes kept with their military camo paint schemes and paraded around as a show of force, particularly troubling when such deployments have occurred in response to recent protests and demonstrations regarding police conduct.

SWAT units initially were the domain of only the major cities, operating as full-time units that were highly trained and only deployed when needed. Over time, they have evolved to become more prevalent as a part-time assignment in medium and even small agencies. This has resulted in too many



police agencies increasing the role of such units to justify the training and equipment costs. It is likely this over-use has contributed to the perception that policing has become militarization of the police (Kappeler & Kraska, 2015; Kraska, 2001). Many agencies have begun to re-thinking their need for individual SWAT teams and contributed to the movement to regionalize and resource share among many agencies. In the trusting partnerships needed for NDP, residents would define the parameters of what kinds of equipment and when

it would be needed, while the police would be able to make a clear case statement for legitimate needs for the safety of officers and the public. It might surprise some reform advocates to see that in an NDP environment, MRAP's and ballistic vests still were part of the portfolio of police hardware, but how and when they were deployed would look drastically different. Again, words would not be weaponized against such tactics and hardware, as the police would be limited to use that which their community clearly supports.





Under NDP, agencies need to carefully consider the role of military tools and tactics within their operations. There can be legitimate officer and community safety justifications for the use of such equipment and methods. However, there is also growing concern that police agencies might be over-using militaristic approaches, uniforms, and gear. This can create a 'hard' and warrior exterior that risks working against creating stronger police-community relations. Militarization might be most likely to appear and be used against communities of color and disadvantage. The very spaces where

NDP is most needed to build community capacity and trust in police might see the success of those efforts compromised. There are legitimate times and places for the use of military equipment and methods, however agencies might over-estimate their frequency and deterrent value. Under NDP, agency leaders would need to be far more thoughtful and restrained, recognizing in particular that militarization in some communities has been disproportionately experienced by non-white and disadvantaged residents.

NON-SWORN AND VOLUNTEER PERSONNEL FIND PARITY WITH SWORN OFFICERS

A long-standing aspect of police culture in the US that many chiefs have unsuccessfully tried to address is the strong perception that sworn officers are a higher-class member of the organization than non-sworn, civilian personnel and especially volunteers. Most sworn officers today could not perform in the complex world of 911 Centers, yet telecommunicators usually feel like second-class residents within their agencies. Crime analysts with advanced graduate degrees rarely have the earning capacity of a veteran line-level officer, despite their role in playing pivotal roles in case clearance, violence reduction, and supporting successful prosecutions.

As police agencies reengineer and begin to off-load duties, the trend is likely to increase for the use of both non-sworn paid personnel and even well trained and vetted volunteers for critical police work. Non-sworn investigators, background investigators for hiring of entry level personnel, uniformed but unarmed, non-sworn responders (often called Community Service Officers) and the like can be highly efficient and cost-effective ways to maximize the use of sworn, armed police personnel for a specific level of response and service. Whether the NDP model is applied or another reengineered model, in the future, police culture must embrace the full value and parity of sworn officers and non-



sworn police personnel and include volunteers in the overall scheme of service delivery. With the NDP model, the trusting partnership between police

and the community they service may even result in a high pool of qualified volunteers, furthering the value of a collaborative partnership.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

As stated at the onset, NDP is an idea that has not yet been put into full practice. Aspects of what we have described might be untenable. Experience and evidence would be needed to refine the model, identify its aspirational outcomes, and recognize its limitations and failures. We also believe NDP would not look the same in every community, nor should that be the outcome. Communities have different needs, assets, and challenges. Agencies vary in structure, resources, traditions, and personnel. Both across agencies and within a given agency, NDP might look different.

Because this is an aspirational model, there remain many unanswered questions, administrative dilemmas, and organizational/cultural challenges that would need to be overcome. Our intention here is not to describe a fully formed and established policing model. But rather to advance an idea in the hope that it will lead to thought, discussion, and, ideally, experimentation. Among the many questions that still need to be considered and answered based on actual experience with NDP would include:

- » What relationship would a neighborhood council have with local elected officials (e.g., members of the city council for that part of the community)? How would the neighborhood council work with existing neighborhood structures (where they exist) such as Home Owners Associations or local business alliances?
- » When the neighborhood council and NBO come to an understanding of an issue or priority, how will that be effectively conveyed to RROs and others who will police a neighborhood when the NBO is not working or available? How will it be ensured that response officers operate in a manner the particular neighborhood is seeking?
- » How can police organizations be more effective in securing the cooperation and collaboration of social service agencies and other relevant entities? This is a persistent challenge to community policing efforts that would remain challenging in many communities pursuing NDP.



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- » In what ways can agencies effectively transition between NBOs who have worked with a given neighborhood? It will be inevitable that NBOs will transfer, promote, or retire, requiring a new officer to be assigned to work within a neighborhood. What best practices will emerge to minimize the disruption of changes in NBO assignments?
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- » Should NBO assignments approximate aspects of the diversity or composition of a neighborhood? What voice should neighborhoods have in who serves as their NBO, efforts to retain a favored NBO in that assignment, or efforts to reassign an NBO the neighborhood council does not care to keep in that role?
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- » How can agencies create work place cultures and reward structures that place NBOs at the heart of agency operations? How can agencies ensure NBOs, RROs, civilian personnel, and volunteers are on equal footing within the organization's culture and avoid informal status hierarchies?
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- » How can agencies create internal systems that recognize and reward the work done by NBOs to avoid this assignment becoming an 'empty holster' duty where careers go to die?
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CONCLUSIONS

This paper was written with the goal of helping those contemplating the applicability of NDP to 'fill in' some blanks and encourage further discussion on how policing may be more effective. The need for reengineering US policing has been well illustrated through public discourse. NDP is offered to help community and police leaders imagine a better future for a key ingredient to community safety and wellness. As much as the authors believe in the principles behind Neighborhood Driven Policing, we fully acknowledge that it is a theoretical model, not a blueprint ready to start construction or a roadmap with waypoints. Our intention in revisiting the model was to expand on how it might work

and to identify some of the unanswered questions agencies would need to consider and explore if they sought to bring NDP to life.

The essence of NDP is that the police and the community act as one body, with development of priorities, practices, and tactics being a shared responsibility requiring a consensus and collaboration. This is a significant departure from the traditional policing model wherein the police set the rules and the community experiences the consequences. Even in the progressive philosophy of Community Oriented Policing, the police are owners of the strategies and tactics used to then engage the community in problem solving



activities. NDP brings Peel's statement "the police are the public, and the public are the police..." to life. NDP promises a more empowered community that ultimately will take pride in, and show support for, the police through equal ownership of the responsibilities of community safety and order.

We readily concede this essay and the NDP model are aspirational, unproven, and raise many issues and concerns. The implementation of an NDP model would face many complications in terms of policies, practices, culture, norms, and contracts with labor associations, where they exist. The NDP model might not be the right approach for all communities. It might not work in all types of neighborhoods. We would argue, however, that our traditional, reactive, response-driven policing model has not achieved the intended outcomes. While alternatives such as community policing have been proposed, they have not been widely adopted and fully institutionalized in the profession. They have led to innovations such as the Seattle MCPP approach and the NPI model in Chicago and New York; these approaches, we believe, still could do more to empower residents in guiding police operations and objectives. We offer the NDP model in part to stimulate greater dialog within the profession about more innovative and experimental approaches to engaging citizens and serving communities. This must include the development of robust evidence bases evaluating these approaches so we fully understand 'what works' in policing with the communities agencies serve.



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