The Influence of the Philosophy of Police Tactics on breaking down Social Barriers

Julien Niklaus[1]

Abstract

This article seeks to analyze the influence of a philosophy of policing on the decomparmentalization of the society. Indeed, the police are in fact a mirror of the society in which they operate. They are therefore influenced by it, but also influence the latter. To do this, four philosophies ('zero tolerance policing', 'compstat policing', 'hotspots policing', and 'community policing') are systematically reviewed in order to show how these police tactics compartmentalize or not the society. If many publications try to explain the tendency of society to withdraw into itself owing to factors such as insecurity, individualism and social and cultural diversity, none of those shows how specific police philosophies participate – or not – in the construction of an 'exclusive society' and in the building of symbolic boundaries between individuals and different social groupings like the police. This article is based on theoretical elements, a review of current and classic literature on the topic while providing innovative research avenues in the field.

Introduction

An attempt at understanding the police system and structure is tantamount to understanding the society in which police operate. Police are a mirror of society and particularly of the political system by which they are set up. Police are a social actor in their own right. They are influenced by the surrounding society, but in turn also affect that society. If many publications try to explain the tendency of society to withdraw into itself owing to factors such as insecurity, individualism and social and cultural diversity, none of those shows how specific police philosophies participate – or not – in the construction of an « exclusive society » and in the building of symbolic boundaries between individuals and different social groupings like the police. The present article falls under the interactionist perspective (Becker, 1963; Goffman, 1973; Le Breton, 2004) and tries to put some possible reflections and solutions from social actors, as well as their interactions, back at the heart of the problem. As Le Breton emphasized (2004: 46-47) with regard to interactionism, the individual is an actor interacting with the social elements and not a passive agent heavily influenced by social structures because of their habitus or because of the « force » of the system or culture of belonging.

This article will systematically analyse police tactics, notably « zero tolerance », « compstat policing », « hotspots policing », and « community policing », in order to bring out the link between the policing model as it is implemented and the « social exclusivity » which it may promote. We chose these philosophies of policing from a strictly theoretical point of view; each represents the archetype

[1] Institut de Hautes Etudes en Administration Publique (IDHEAP), Switzerland, Julien.Niklaus@idheap.unil.ch

of a model and precise practices and a specific political will. As a result, they are relevant to the demonstration we would like to make in this article.

To do this, we issued a central criterion of analysis and several secondary endpoints. The main criterion is in fact the degree of social communication that the police may have with citizens. We will return in detail to this criterion at the end of the article. With respect to secondary criteria, we selected the following:

- The degree of co-construction of public safety (police, including various social actors, some of whom are citizens);
- The search for adapted solutions;
- The knowledge of concrete problems which are specific to a place and a population;
- The degree of contact between police and citizens.

These criteria will then provide reading guides to this article and will show how these different police philosophies do or do not compartmentalize society. This article is based on theoretical elements, a review of current and classic literature on the topic while providing innovative research avenues in the field.

Moreover as Wisler (2009) points out, the history of the police shows that the traditional police model is organized around the idea of a boundary between police and society. This separation of the police elevated to a normative principle refers to the historical construction of states in continental Europe and in which police were a cornerstone and served to protect the regime (Wisler, 2009). This separation can also be understood within the context of the struggles of the late 19th century in the United States and related to the Progressive movement that meant fighting against corruption and the politicization of the police in the process of its professionalization (Wisler, 2009). Even today, some police models participate more than others to social fragmentation.

This article will then discuss the concept of compartmentalization (social boundaries) according to the degree of « repressivity » of each police tactic but will also put into perspective the concept of "communication" (Schneider, 1999; Scott, 2009) as part of a decompartmentalizing element. This contribution takes the OECD countries (mainly from 2000 to 2011) as references, drawing mainly from the examples of France (mainly, Chalom, and al. 2001; Dieu, 2002 ;Robert, 2004, 2005; Roché, 2005), and the Unites States(Braga, 2001, 2008 ; Jang, Hoover, Joo, 2010 ; Lab, Das, 2003; Newburn, Jones, 2007 ;Rahtz, 2001 ; Skogan, 2005 ; Weisburd, 2005 ; Wisler, 2009). We chose these countries because on the one hand, they have all experienced these philosophies of policing (in one way or another) and on the other hand, the United States and later France have lagerly contributed to the theoretical development of interactionism. These countries therefore represent an expedient framework in relation to the analysis proposed here.

The different philosophies of police tactics and their impacts on social boundaries

As said in the introduction, we understand the police (here understood in a wider sense) as a social actor in its own right, structuring as well as structured. Even though it is obvious that the police is in part structured by the society in which it acts, we aim here more at demonstrating how the police participate in the social structure, particularly in terms of (de-)compartmentalization. We are going to present four police philosophies, dealing in particular with « zero tolerance policing » and « community policing », while underlining the fact that none of those philosophies is better than the other but above all that they have permeable boundaries. Indeed any police philosophy « borrows » tools, ideas, concepts from other police philosophies.

We therefore put forward as a hypothesis that the more repressive a police philosophy is, the more it contributes to the building of social boundaries within society. On the other hand the more a police strategy is open and enters into partnership with the public?, the more it shall participate in breaking down social boundaries. Indeed, a compartmentalized society is in short a society withdrawn into itself in a partitioned manner in which every social actor, institution or organisation works in a

closed and tight silo. Whereas a decompartmentalized society is characterised by a high level of openness and, in the present context, by the co-elaboration of public security strategies. As a consequence the interaction with and between individuals is an essential component of social decomparmentalization. At this point we are going to present the various policing philosophies and how they do or do not participate in decompartmentalization and in the removal of some social boundaries.

Zero tolerance policing

Before becoming a policing philosophy, zero tolerance was (and certainly still is) a political ideology. Indeed the terminology was used for the first time at the end of the eighties in a the context of a widespread anti-drugs campaign. That period corresponds to Ronald Reagan's presidency during which the slogan « Just say no [to drugs] » became very popular. At that time it had more to do with a political slogan and less to do with a will to collaborate with the police. It was designed to pacify various accociations such as PRIDE (Parents Resource Institute for Drug Education) and the NFP (National Federation of Parents for Drug-Free Youth). The slogan « Just say no » was soon taken over by the First Lady, Nancy Reagan , making it even more popular. « Just Say No Clubs » were set up, opening the door to reflections about zero tolerance. Under the Bush (Senior) administration, the struggle against drugs continued and the rhetoric about zero tolerance intensified, as Baum (1996 :244) points it out while repeating George Bush's words

> Zero tolerance isn't just a policy, it's an attitude. My administration will be telling the dealers: whatever we have to do, we'll do, but your day is over, you're history.

At the beginning of the nineties, the expression « zero tolerance » did not apply exclusively to the struggle against drugs but equally to violence against women. That development began in Canada by the then Prime Minister who initiated the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women. Today, however, zero tolerance is quietly undergoing a transformation, increasingly being employed as a concept that can be used against any form of violence and deviance.Zero tolerance was earlier directed at drugs but now has become a « universalising » concept.

This wider meaning enabled the Mayor of New York, Giuliani, to make it his spearhead in his fight against criminality. After various meetings with the criminologist George Kelling, he (in collaboration with the General Staff of the New York Police) fused the notion of zero tolerance with broken windows theory (Wilson, Kelling, 1982). That theory was not inevitably repressive and was based chiefly on the revitalisation of the informal social control (Newburn, Jones, 2007). Yet, in New York, it was interpreted very narrowly and applied in a particularly harsh way (Scott, 2009). Any minor disorder was to be strictly dealt with so that it would not happen again. For instance, tags were quickly removed to demonstrate to their authors that they will not be tolerated. A battle basesd on resistance is fought between police and delinquants. Consequently zero tolerance becomes a hard, repressive public security policy, based on exemplarity. We may therefore sum up its principles in the following manner (Newburn, Jones, 2007 : 226) :

- Vigorous law-enforcement responses to minor crime and disorder ;
- The use of civil remedies against those perceived to be involved in criminal activities ;
- Enhanced accountability, using Compstat[2], of local police managers for crime and disorder in their areas ;
- Public target-setting in relation to crime reduction ;
- Conspicuous use of the media as a public relations tool on behalf of the police ; and
- Aggressive enforcement action against street crime.

Zero tolerance has in practice had rather counter-productive effects. Rather than making the public feel safer, the increase in police numbers and of the police patrols in certain districts led in fact to a feeling of fear among a majority of citizens, increasing tensions between the police and some groups of

---

[2]Compstat appears generally later in the philosophy of zero tolerance. We talk about it in the next chapter.

people. Whilst fear of crime fell in some place (Newburn, Jones, 2007), new fears were created, often with regard to the police (Sciarabba, 2009; Eterno, Silverman, 2006). Indeed some over-zealous police-officers put into practice the zero tolerance concept more than literally, adopting a violent attitude, thereby widening the (already existing) gulf between the police and citizens.

Thus, zero tolerance was transformed from a political ideology into a police philosophy. The latter is truly one-way, namely only the police think about and set up the public security policy, thereby erecting social boundaries. Actually, taking into consideration that there is no (constructive) communication between police and citizens, those two social groups never interact together and fail to form a lasting partnership. That repressive police philosophy then builds up symbolic barriers between the police and citizens and is a key factor in the building of an « exclusive » society.

Compstat policing

The term Compstat is actually a contraction of « Compare Stats » (Silverman, 1999:98) and not that of « Computer Stats » as it is often thought. The expression had to be shortened to eight characters so as to fit, at that time, within the limits accepted by DOS (Jang and al, 2010). Even though that terminology seems to put an emphasis more on technical and data processing aspects, it quickly changed into a management strategy. Bratton (Bratton, Knobler, 1998), one of the top officers in the New York police sets out principles in relation with the Compstat approach:

- Accurate and timely intelligence
- Rapid deployment of personnel resources
- Effective tactics
- Relentless follow-up and assessment

More briefly, Scott (2009:177) defines Compstat as

> an approach in which police analyze crime data in real time and dedicate resources quickly and persistently to the times and places where the data indicates crime and disorder is clustering .

Hoover (2004a:1) adds that Compstat is a "combination of a strategy and a management style."

We then note that Compstat is more a method than a police philosophy. So that it could become a police philosophy it had to be grafted on to an existing police philosophy. This is what Bratton did. Indeed as the strong man of the Giuliani period, Bratton took over that method and applied it to what he knew how to do best: zero tolerance. According to Kellling & Coles (1996), to understand Compstat as an innovative approach, it is important to examine its most controversial foundation: the broken windows model. In that way, from a neutral method applicable to any police concept, Compstat has become a repressive method, as much in the collective imagination as in fact. Zero tolerance (through the theory of the broken window on which it is based) combined with Compstat consequently creates a new police philosophy.

As with zero tolerance that philosophy has as its main purpose the reduction of crime and disorder. However, it is endowed with a higher degree of openness and social decompartmentalization. Whereas the model of broken window applies itself in a uniform manner and often with littleeffectiveness to the whole public space (often generating tensions in some places where it was not necessary to use it), Compstat targets specific places and attempts to find locally adapted solutions. As Jang et al (2010: 390) put it

> [Compstat] emphasized the specification of problems in a certain area and time, requiring tailor-made solutions for specific problems.

The idea of wanting to find specific solutions for the specific problems of a district already shows the mark of social decompartmentalization. Indeed, to do so, the police must be familiar with the geographics and sociodemographics of the district in which those problems occur. Consequently, police officers are encouraged to work upstream in the districts in order to know them as well as possible at the time of Compstat type interventions. Yet, the fact remains that there are very few

contacts with the residents and that decisions are taken unilaterally. The police remain the only actor of public security and does not taken into account the inhabitants' potential opinions (and needs).

Hotspots policing

This policing philosophy bears a name that does not leave much space for the imagination. Indeed, it suggests that criminality and delinquency do not occur in a homogeneous manner throughout the urban public space. On the contrary, it suggests that crimes are be concentrated in relatively small areas and that almost half of all offences happen in those very areas (Braga, 2001). Still more precisely, within those areas, there are be crime free spots, thereby reducing criminogeneous areas to extremely specific spots. Consequently, and from a perspective aiming at reducing criminality, police officers should increase their presence at those specfic spots, as Scott underlines it (2009: 177) :

> police can effectively control them [crime and disorder] by targeting police resources – specifically the physical presence of police officers – at those geographic places.

In short the police should develop an interest chiefly for places, times and people that present the most risks to public security rather than diluting their preventive actions within the totality of the urban public space (Braga, 2001).

We can then well understand the approach of this police philosophy. Yet, no or few answers are given (through this philosophy) to the fact that crime (and criminals) keep moving. Criminality is in no way static and this for several reasons (Elie, Legendre,1992). The concentration of police forces in a criminogeneous place is a strong factor causing a geographic shift of criminality. Consequently that is an endless work taking into consideration that potentially there may always be hotspots. Now policing strategies do not offer to tackle the conditions underlying crime but rather to launch « shock actions » such as increasing over a longer or shorter time the strength of the police forces in very limited places.

Looking at it from the prevention angle, as Braga observes (2001:105), the main method (and perhaps the only one), is "…preventing victims and offenders from converging in space and time." That method may look insignificant, yet it is all the same necessary to stress that this approach is in total contradiction with individual liberties to move freely in any public place. Moreover, that means that access to certain places is be restricted to certain people, thereby causing discrimination and compartmentalization of public spaces. Indeed, closing certain urban areas compartmentalizes public space and thereby society in general (the latter becoming truly 'exclusive').

Community policing

Whether it be called « police de proximité » in French speaking countries or « community policing » in English speaking countries, this policing strategy has identical objectives: to prevent crime and disorder, to decrease the fear of crime and to improve the inhabitants' quality of life. The concept of proximity in police matters is relatively recent when taking into consideration the history of police. Indeed its development beganin the United States and took a scientific form in G.Kelling's work « *Police and Communities: the Quiet Revolution* » in 1988. In France, it was necessary to wait much longer. Furthermore, the concept underwent transformations, changes and developments in relation to successive governments (swinging from the Left to the Right). In 1997, the concept of block police structure (« ilotage » as it is called in French) was fine-tuned by Bruno Le Roux, an advisor to Lionel Jospin (Roché, 2005). Yet, Jean-Pierre Chevènement is often considered as being the founding father of community policing in France as he stabilised and put the concept into practice in 1999. In 2003, Nicolas Sarkozy, the then Home Secretary, dismantled community policing (Havrin, 2010). At the moment, the terminology no longer exists in France.Yet the concept is getting a new lease of life through the City Police (« Police Municipale », in French) which is truely becoming the third police force in France (after the « Gendarmerie Nationale » and the National Police force) (Malochet, 2007). It manages public community policing.

In order to fulfill its community missions, that police draws nearer to the inhabitants. Such an approach may seem logical but in practice it is not so obvious.At first, it physically

draws physically nearer to the population (that is known in France as « îlots », or blocks). Then it does so socially (in increasing the contacts and the communication). Indeed community policing lays the foundations of its approach on the co-building of public safety through various partnerships, namely with those that are in the foreground, i.e., the citizens (see figure 3 in the annexe). In the partnership model (figure 3), various actors are involved in the construction of public safety and those actors retain more or less intense links. At the same time they have different influences. Nancoo (2004:31) defines community policing

> as a means of police service delivery which recognizes that the maintenance of order, the prevention of crime and resolution of crime and order problems are the shared concerns and responsibilities of the community and the police.

The partnership with the community is the cornerstone of community policing as Cazorla (2009:71) underlines: "The coproduction must permit to give back a certain legitimity to public action, particularly in reducing the inconsistencies of the traditional regulatory systems"[3]. Community policing improves contacts with the population in patroling on foot and in a manner facilitates communication with the population and in the long run increases its efficiency. "On account of that," writes Niklaus (2011:9), "the community police officer ('proximier') knows the block and its population, he/she becomes integrated into the life of the block, takes part in social cohesion and tries to solve the concrete problems with which the inhabitants encounter"[4].

Community policing, through that partnership, must be able to tackle the conditions underlying the problems and their roots. To that end, it is necessary to set up a process for solving problems. The approach to problem-solving presupposes that there are several basic elements. Efforts are then made to define the problems, to analyse them and to bring lasting solutions to those at the block level, then to evaluate their impacts. The citizens of a community (inhabitants, shopkeepers, members of associations, etc.) participate actively in the process of problem-solving (see figure 2 in the Annex). In that manner, community policing gives back legitimity and power to the citizens, as Trojanowicz and al, (1998 :1) note

> Community policing, in its ideal form, is not merely a means to address community concerns, but it is a philosophy that turns traditional policing on its head by empowering the community rather than dictating to the community. In this sense policing derives its role and agenda from the community rather than dictating to the community. Community policing rests on the belief that only when working together will people and the police be able to improve citizens' quality of life.

Furthermore, in the schema of figure 2, it is necessary to underline that every incident is not dealt with in an isolated manner as could be the case under a 'classical' police model, but is related with the other ones in order to rationalise on the one hand police strength and on the other policing efforts. Several incidents may arise from a single and similar central problem. Therefore, putting those incidents in relation with each other makes for the identification of their common origin. Besides, the police is not any longer alone in bringing answers, but those of the citizens are equally taken into consideration. The various answers that are given are communicated and compared in order to optimise them. Finally the process for solving problems makes it possible to go back to the origin of the problem (underlying condition) and to have a direct and ideally lasting impact on that origin. That process thus gives shape to a 'loop' of solutions to problems.

However, community policing has also experienced its conceptual and operational limits. A first limit is actually the degree of citizen's participation. Indeed, so that the concept may become operational, the inhabitants' participation is necessary, and that is not automatically granted.

---

[3] « *La coproduction doit permettre de redonner un certaine légitimité à l'action publique, notamment en résorbant les incohérences des systèmes de régulation traditionnels* », in the original.
[4] « *De ce fait, le 'proximier' connaît le quartier et ses habitants, s'intègre dans la vie du quartier, participe de la cohésion sociale et tente de résoudre les problèmes concrets que les résidents rencontrent* », in the original.

Furthermore, some more underpriviledged blocks have a rather negative perception of the police (Boucher, 2010) thereby making difficult the co-production of public safety. Moreover the very concept of community may become its own worst enemy if not applied properly. Community policing must not become too intrusive. It should not hinder public liberties through excessive surveillance and control (Mattern, 2010). Finally it should not turn into a State Police in taking over the ideas of zero tolerance. As far as community policing is concerned, that would be the « *absolute evil* »[5] (Dieu, 2002:68) for it would limit its efficectiveness, compartementalizing society anew. Be that as it may, community policing is a true policing philosophy "but it's a philosophy of action" (Rahtz, 2001:23). Moreover it is a philosophy that is open and communicative. In including the citizens and other social actors in the building of public safety, that policing philosophy decompartmentalises society through its participatory approach. Indeed, wheras other policing models set up barriers between police and citizens as they want to be the sole security agents, community policing creates a much more porous and egalitarian society while including itself as a security actor at the same level as citizens (see Figure 1 and Figure 3, in the Annexes). One of the keys to that decompartmentalization is communication, as Scott underlines (2009 :177) : "Community policing speaks to the nature of the relationship between police and citizens, how police should communicate with citizens." Indeed, as shown in Figure 1, the more a police philosophy uses active social communication, the more its efficiency increases. In addition, its effectiveness is intrinsically linked to the degree of decompartmentalization and again social communication is central.We will develop that in the following part.

Social communication as a key factor to breaking down social barriers

As mentioned in the introduction, social communication reprensents for us the primary criterion of analysis, as an iterative and active social communication participates in the quality of police services but also, and thus to social decompartmentalization. As Schneider (1999) stresses, social communication is an essential factor to police efficiency (also see Figure 1, in the Annexes). Inefficient communication hinders all policing models (whichever they may be), but more particularly community policing as it bases its approach on partnership and communication.

The research conducted by Schneider (1999) in Mount Pleasant (a block in Vancouver) constitutes an interesting basis for reflexion. He notes that one of the main problems is that communication between inhabitants and police is often one-way. The inhabitants lodge complaints against certain nuisances and incivilities and do not get any feeback from the police about their complaints. From perspective only the police reflect about the security strategies to be used. We thus find ourselves in the classical model of a triangle of actors (Knoepfel, Larrue, 2006) frequently used in public policies (see figure 4, in the Annexes) and in which

> at the top we would find community police as a politico-administrative actor, the base of the triangle being constituted of the active and potential criminals at one of the angles and of the citizens (residents) at the other angle. There would be here a 'top-down' vision of the model, in understanding that the politico-administrative actor (community policing in our case) would communicate the instructions from the top[6] (Niklaus, forthcoming).

That lack of bilateral communication may generate problems, as Schneider observes (1999:353)

> the lack of two-way communication in Mount Pleasant became a considerable source of frustration for some residents who had filed crime reports and would then beseech the CPO or police to inform them on any action that was taken on the problem.

---

[5] « *mal absolu* », in the original.

[6] « *à son sommet, nous trouverions la police de proximité en tant qu'acteur politico-administratif, la base du triangle étant formée des délinquants actuels et potentiels à un angle et des citoyens (habitants) à l'autre. Il y aurait là une vision 'top-down' du modèle en comprenant que l'acteur politico-administratif (la police de proximité dans notre cas) transmettrait depuis le haut la 'marche suivre' »,* in the original.

In some rare cases that frustration can transform itself into a positive energy. Schneider noted that certain residents decided by themselves to take policing into their own hands, patrolling and carrying out surveillance in their neighbourhood in order to improve their quality of life. But that remains an exception to the rule.

Generally speaking, the lack of two-way communication perpetuates a relationship of asymmetric power between police and residents because the police retains information. That relationship of asymmetric power contributes to social compartmentalization for it again creates two distinct social groups: although they concern themselves with the same problems (neighbourhood security and welfare), they do not communicate. The barrier of language, be it on the side of the dwellers or of the police, may still increase the difficulty related to communication.

> The lack of proficiency in English by many residents and the lack of non-English language
> skills by the police are an obvious barrier to communication. (Schneider, 1999 : 353)

That inability to communicate may then increase fear, hesitation towards the police or also mutual misunderstanding (Schneider, 1999).

A look back at Habermas' work (1979, 1987) on communication and language seems totally relevant (Schneider, 1999). For Habermas, language and communication are the key factors to discover the hidden potentialities of modernity. According to Habermas, a link exists between human knowledge, cognitive interests and their orientation towards human and social development. In essence, we understand that communication represents the prerogative of modern societies and that it participates to their social and human development. It would appear that this applies also to policing philosophies that represent in short micro-societies and that are, as mentioned earlier, mirrors of the societies in which they develop. Thus, and as far as the countries studied here are concerned, their developments depend on a renewed efficiency of communication.

Forester (1989) takes up the analytical framework used by Habermas and applies it to urban planners in order to show the power relationship they retain with the residents. For Schneider (1999:365), that framework can also apply to the police:

> The critical theory of Jurgen Habermas and Forrester's application of communicative action to
> the the relationship between state agents (i.e.,planners) and their clients (i.e., the public)
> provide a conceptual framework within which the asymmetrical power relations between
> police, on the one hand, and socially disadvanttged neighbourhoods and powerless groups, on
> the other, mined and potentially ameliorated.

The problem of the police has been for many years its reliance on technological evolution in order to « ameliorate » its services. Phone, car patrols and more recently Internet sites and e-mails are certainly a useful means of communication but are in no way substitutes for physical and social presence and human contact. Thus, community policing appear to be the policing philosophy which could once again facilitate that communication, breaking down existing barriers between police and citizens

> Community policing philosophy attempts to transcend the limitations inherent in the
> instrumental and technical approach to policing. (Schneider, 1999 :366)

From a symbolic viewpoint, the uniform equally perpetuates this relation of asymmetric power in setting up a barrier between those who hold authority and « the others ». The dialogue between those two groups necessarily comes out as being unbalanced.

Consequently communication seems to be a central element to social decompartmentalization between police and citizens. Community policing seems to be the model most suitable to social decompartmentalization for it bases its approach precisely on communication and partnership. Yet, it still uses more classical policing strategies (like the wearing of a uniform or other technological means). Though it favours decompartmentalization, this policing philosophy should shed traditional policing ideas. But at this level the strongest resistance is certainly not to be found within society but rather within the police itself. Indeed it fears the loss of its legitimacy in giving too much « security power » to citizens and also in becoming « too » integrated into society (loss of the police uniform by

the community policing officers who would look too much like « ordinary » citizens). Yet, in an ideal model that would be its most important development.

Conclusion

As seen earlier, the implementation of one policing philosophy or another within a given society is not the « fruit of chance ». The « chosen » policing approcah is dependent on the prevalent political system and we have had the example of the implementation (and subsequent abandonment) of community policing in France. Indeed, as Roché (1998 :154) observes,

> the matter of security […] is merged into the state and as such it can be used to the highest point by politics. There are cultural features of the political system that predispose it to interfere with certain matters (notably regalo-republican coupling in matters of violence)[7].

In that way we note a social structuring around the police, and that at two separate levels. First and at a macro level, the police is structured by the prevailing politics. Second, at a more micro level, for its part, the police helps to mould the society in which it operates, for instance at the scale of a village or of a neigbourhood. It is that approach that we have focused on in this article.Yet, any policing philosophy has the same goal: to decrease crime and the fear of crime. But the means to reach that goal are different, as we have said, according to the political, social and cultural framework in which the police operates. Yet, the consequences related to (de-)compartmentalisation are closely linked to the approach implemented. As a consequence, a police force working in repressive times shall implement a philosophy using tools borrowed for instance from the theory of the broken windows, as was the case in New York., thereby actually generating social compartmentalisation between the police and citizens. Citizens then perceive the police more as an institution not to be trusted rather than as a 'partner'. On the other hand, a police service which is open to the expectations and remarks of the citizens decompartmentalises society for it allows the building of bridges between social groups rarely come together in partnership. Such is the case for community policing.

As we have shown it, social communication seems to be a central criterion for social decompartmentalization. The level of openness of policing (whether or not the police forge genuine partnerships with the community when fighting crime) also plays an important role in relation to decompartmentalisation. In short, a policing strategy that communicates and enters into a partnership contributes to social decompartmentalisation. The diagram below demonstrates clearly that on this axis 'zero tolerance policing' has an inferior level of openness whereas 'community policing' has a strong level of openness:
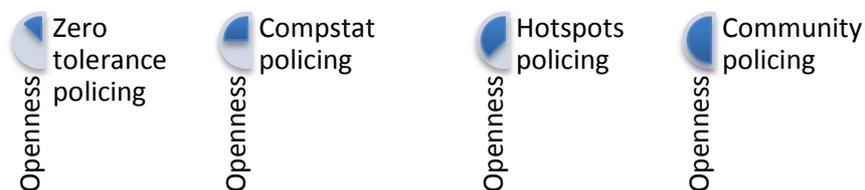
Finally, we have spoken much about the 'social' communication of the police towards the citizens. But as we have stressed, the challenges of policing, particularly of community policing, are to be met

---

[7] « *des particularités de la question de la sécurité est de constituer un sujet de réflexion très ancien de la philosophie politique, puis de la science politique. Bref, elle est fondue dans l'Etat, et à ce titre hautement politisable. Il y a des traits culturels du système politique qui le prédisposent à intervenir sur certains objets (notamment le couplage régalien-républicain en matière de violence)* », in the original.

within the police itself. As a consequence, policing also has to work at *internal* communication in order to receive the support of all levels of the hierarchy so that it may be allowed to reform itself and to develop.
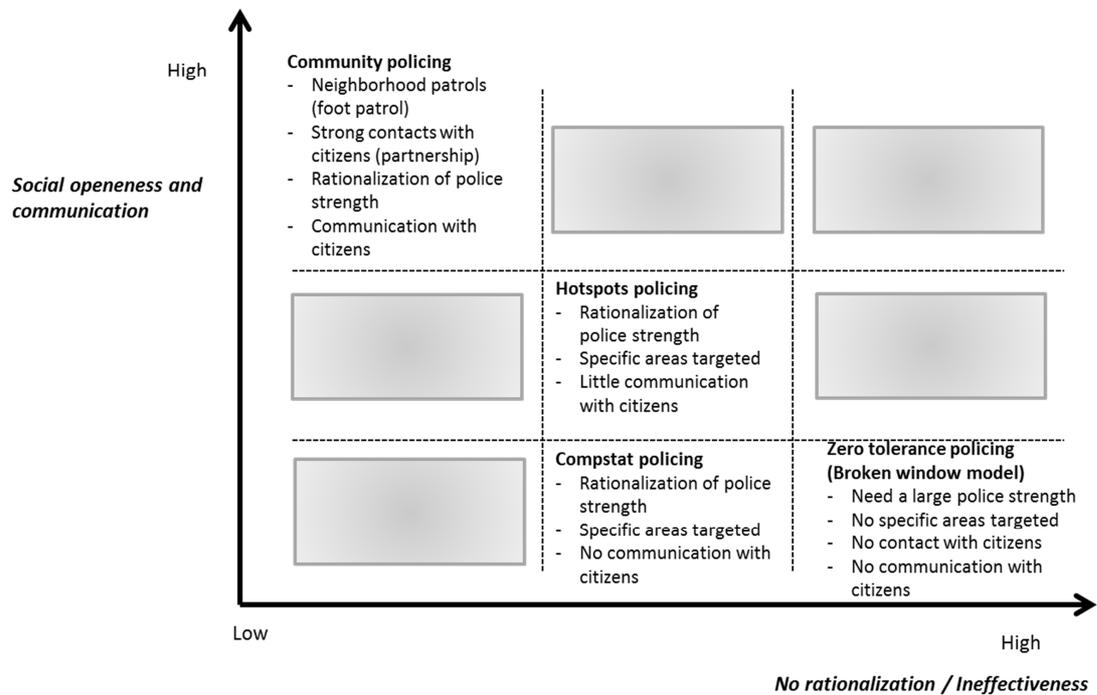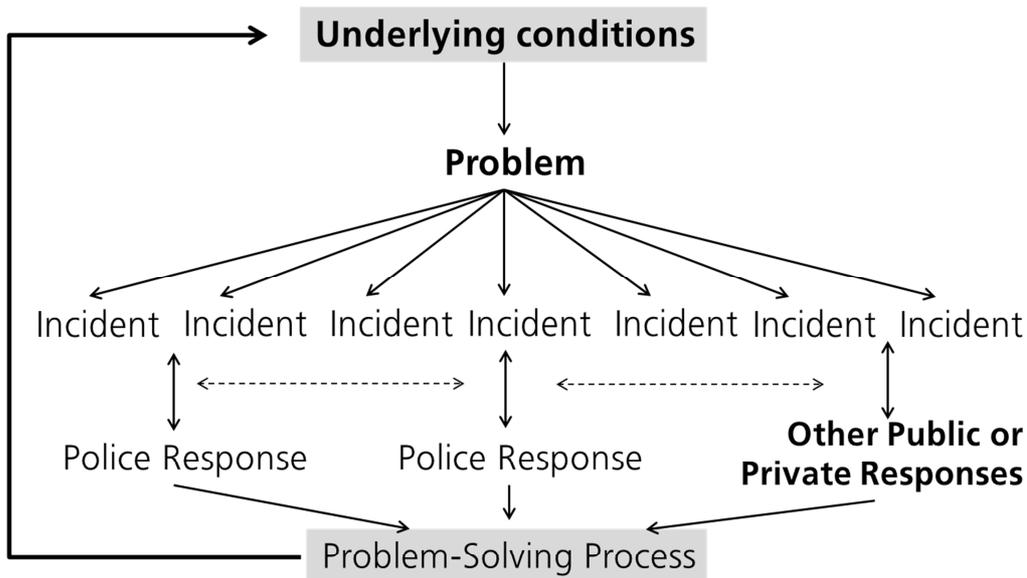
Annexes

Community policing
- Neighborhood patrols (foot patrol)
- Strong contacts with citizens (partnership)
- Rationalization of police strength
- Communication with citizens

Hotspots policing
- Rationalization of police strength
- Specific areas targeted
- Little communication with citizens

Compstat policing
- Rationalization of police strength
- Specific areas targeted
- No communication with citizens

Zero tolerance policing (Broken window model)
- Need a large police strength
- No specific areas targeted
- No contact with citizens
- No communication with citizens

Social openeness and communication

High / Low

No rationalization / Ineffectiveness

High

Figure 1 : Effectiveness of The Philosophies of Police Tactics
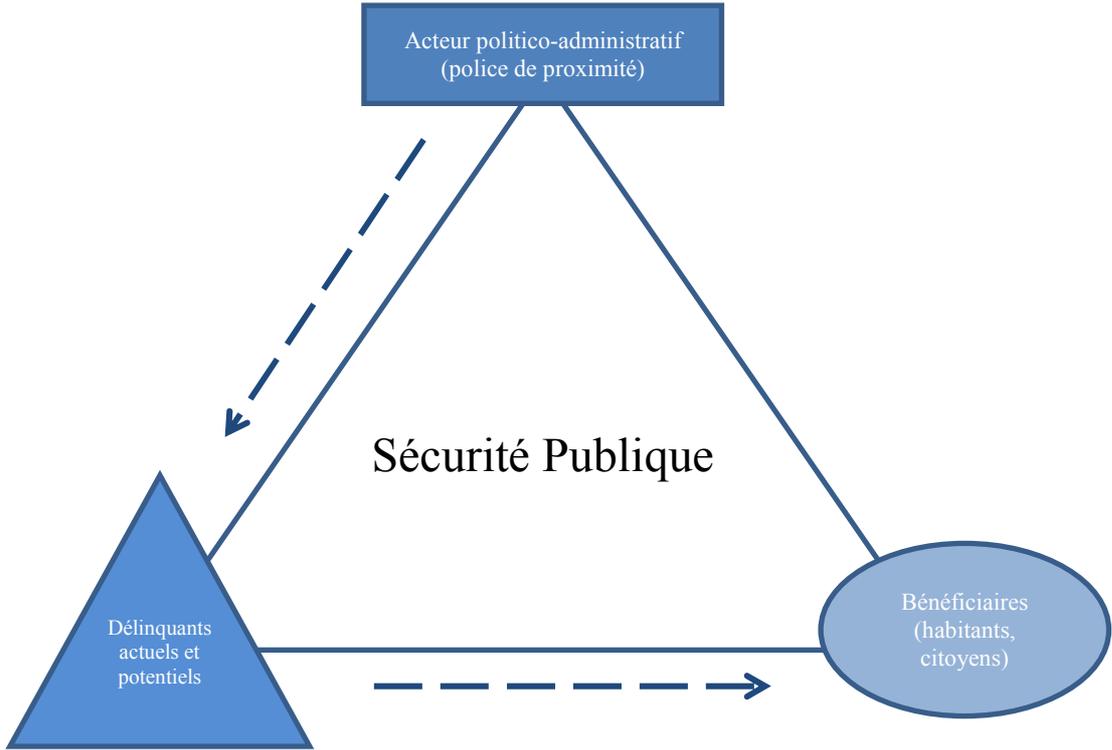

(Personal adaptation of Eck, Spelman, 1987 in Braga, 2008)

Figure 2: Community Policing Problem-Solving Process

818
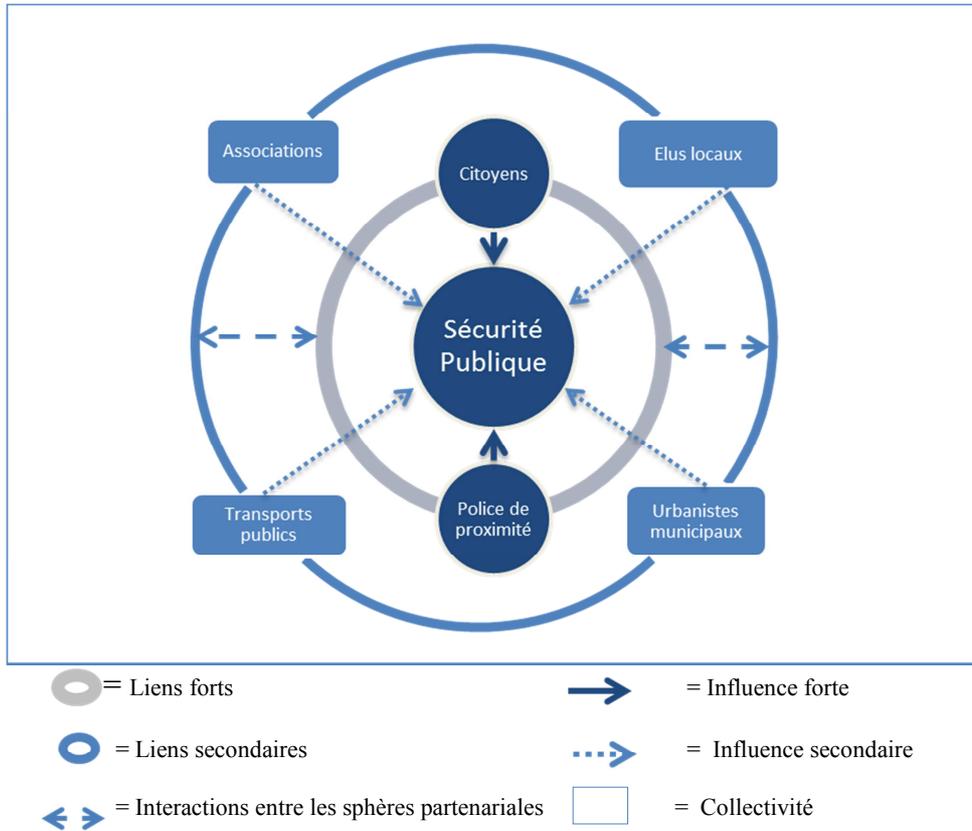
(Niklaus, forthcoming)

Figure 3 : Community Policing Partnership Model

= sens de l'influence

(Niklaus, forthcoming)

Figure 4: Classical Actors Triangle

References

Baum, D. (1996). *Smoke and Mirrors: The War on Drugs and the Politics of Failure*. New York: Little Brown.

Becker, H. (1985). *Outsiders*. Paris: Métaillié.

Boucher, M. (2010). *Turbulences. Comprendre les désordres urbains et leur régulation*. Paris: Téraèdre.

Braga, A. (2008). Problem-oriented policing and crime prevention. *Criminal Justice Press*.

Braga, A. (2001). The Effects of Hot Spots Policing on Crime. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 578*, 104-125.

Bratton, W., & Knobler, P. (1998). *Turnaround: How America's Top Cop Reversed The Crime Epidemic*. New York: Random House.

Cazorla, N. (2009). *La police de proximité. Entre mythe et réalité*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Chalom, M., & Léonard, L. (2001). *Insécurité, police de proximité et gouvernance locale*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Dieu, F. (2002). *Policer la proximité. Les expériences britanniques, françaises et new yorkaises*. Paris: L'Harmattan, Sécurité & Société.

Elie, D., & Legendre, P. (1992). Autocorrélation spatiale et déplacement de la criminalité. *Criminologie, 25*(2), 139-154.

Eterno, J., & Silverman, E. (2006). The New York City police department's Compstat : Dream of nightmare ? *International Journal of Police Science and Management 8*(3), 218-231.

Forester, J. (1989). *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley : University of California Press.

Goffman, E. (1973). *La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne, t. 2, Les relations en public*. Paris: Les éditions de Minuit.

Habermas, J. (1987). *The Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 2 : A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Oxford : Polity Press.

Habermas, J. (1979). *Communication and the Evolution of Society*. Boston : Beacon Press.

Harcourt, B. (2001). *Illusion of order: The false promise of broken window policing*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Harcourt, B. (1998). Reflecting on the subject: A critique of the social influence conception of deterrence, the broken windows theory, and order-maintenance policing New York style. *Michigan Law Review, 97*, 1-51.

Havrin, J.-P. (2010). *Il a détruit la police de proximité*. Paris : Jean-Claude Gawsewitch Editeur.

Hoover, L. (2004a). Compstat as a strategy: A Texas perspective Part 1 - Conceptual Framework. *TELEMASP Bulletin, 11*, 1-15.

Hoover, L. (2004b). Compstat as a strategy: A Texas perspective Part 2 - Texas practices. *TELEMASP Bulletin, 11*(1-15).

Jang, H., Hoover, L., & Hee-Jong, J. (2010). An Evaluation of Compstat's Effect on Crime: The Fort Worth Experience. *Police Quarterly, 13*.

Kelling, G. L., & Coles, M. (1996). *Fixing broken windows: Restoring order and reducing crime in our communities*. New York: Touchstone.

Lab, S., & Das, D. (2003). *International Perspectives on Community Policing and Crime Prevention*. Upper Saddle River Prentice Hall.

Le Breton, D. (2004). *L'interactionnisme symbolique*. Paris: PUF.

Malochet, V. (2007). *Les policiers municipaux*. Paris : PUF.

Mattern, J. (2010). Critique de la notion de « contrôle » : le cas de l'informatisation de la billetterie dans les transports publics urbains. Actes du colloque CREIS-TERMINAL, 10-11 juin 2010. *Les libertés à l'épreuve de l'informatique*. Fichage et contrôle social, juin, Paris, 2010.

Nancoo, S. (2004). Ontario Community Policing Model: An Integrated Approach to Policing. *Contemporary Issues in Canadian Policing*. Mississauga: CEP.

Newburn, T., & Jones, T. (2007). Symbolizing crime control: Reflections on Zero Tolerance. *Theoretical Criminology, 11*.

Niklaus, J. (Forthcoming). Espaces publics dangereux, espaces publics en danger… Délinquance, violences urbaines, sentiment d'insécurité. La police de proximité peut-elle contribuer à leur désenchevêtrement?.*Prima Facie - Direito, História e Política, 18*.

Niklaus, J. (2011). Sentiment d'insécurité et police de proximité – L'exemple de la police de proximité en ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds (NE). *Vues sur la ville, 26*, 9.

Rahtz, H. (2001). *Community Policing. A Handbook for Beat Cops and Supervisors*. Monsey, New York: Criminal Justice Press.

Robert, P. (2005). *La sociologie du crime* Paris: La Découverte.

Robert, P., & Pottier, M.-L. (2004). Les préoccupations sécuritaires: une mutation? *Revue française de sociologie, 45*, 211-241.

Roché, S. (2005). *Police de proximité. Nos politiques de sécurité*. Paris: Seuil.

Roché, S. (1998). *Sociologie politique de l'insécurité*. Paris : PUF.

Schneider, S. (1999). Overcoming barriers to communication between police and socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods: a critical theory of community policing. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 30*, 347-377.

Sciarraba, A. (2009). Community Oriented Policing and Community-Based Crime Reduction Programs: An Evaluation in New York City. *Professional Issues in Criminal Justice Vol 4*(2), 27-41.

Scott, M. S. (2009). Progress in American Policing? Reviewing the National Reviews. *Law and Social Inquiry, 34*(1), 171-185.

Silverman, E. (1999). *NYPD Battles Crime: Innovative Strategies in Policing*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Skogan, W. G. (2005). Citizen Satisfaction With Police Encounters. *Police Quaterly, 8*(3), 298-321.

Trajanowicz, R., Kappeler, V. E., Gaines, L. K., & Bucqueroux, B. (1998). *Community Policing. A contemporary perspective* (Second Edition ed.). Cinccinati: Anderson publishing co.

Weisburd, D. (2005). Hot Spots Policing Experiments and Criminal Justice Research: Lessons from the Field. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 599*.

Weisburd, D., Mastrofski, S., McNally, A., Greenspan, R., & Willis, J. (2003). Reforming to preserve: COMPSTAT and strategic problem solving in American policing. *Criminology and Public Policy, 2*, 421-456.

Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. (1982). Broken Windows. *Atlantic Monthly, 249*, 29-38.

Wisler, D. (2009). La police communautaire. Exposition d'une typologie, *International Police Executive Symposium* (Vol. 15). Geneva Centre for The Democratic Control of Armed Forces.

Wisler, D., & Onwudiwe, I. (2009). *Community Policing. International Patterns and Comparative Perspectives*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.