



Class Five

Urban Policy ***4211/6606***

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Class Five

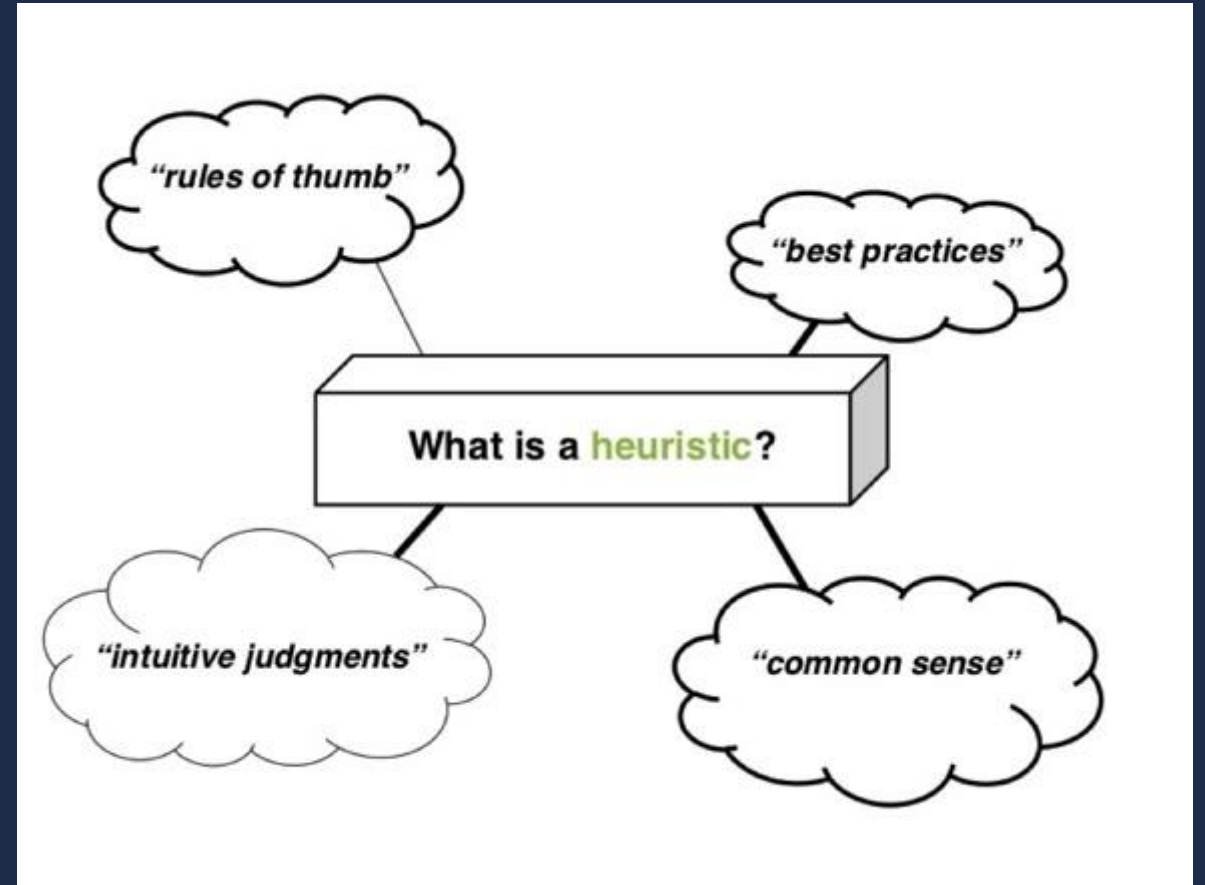
*Crime, Policing and the (Mis)Diagnosis of
Urban Problems*

Urban outcomes emerge from a set of conditions

- Cities are problems of **organized complexity** which are generated by complex adaptive systems
- In these systems, "macro" behaviors **emerge** out of the interactions of their component agents
- **Urban outcomes are emergent** in that sense, including public safety, health, education and economic mobility
- The neighborhoods where desirable outcomes fail to emerge are those that have been **disconnected from the urban fabric**: redlining, highway construction, and other interventions rooted in racial animus
- Our failure to effectively understand and address this dynamic is what leads us to interventions that are ineffective and often deleterious

Our tendency as a species is to use simply mental models to guide decision-making

- Rules of thumb or mental short cuts usually based on experience or conventional wisdom
- Often effective, but can lead to deep errors
- The point of having policy analysts is to avoid the need for the use of heuristics



Kahneman breaks decision-making processes down into two systems

SYSTEM 1

Intuition & instinct

95%

Unconscious
Reflexive
Relies on Heuristics



SYSTEM 2

Rational thinking

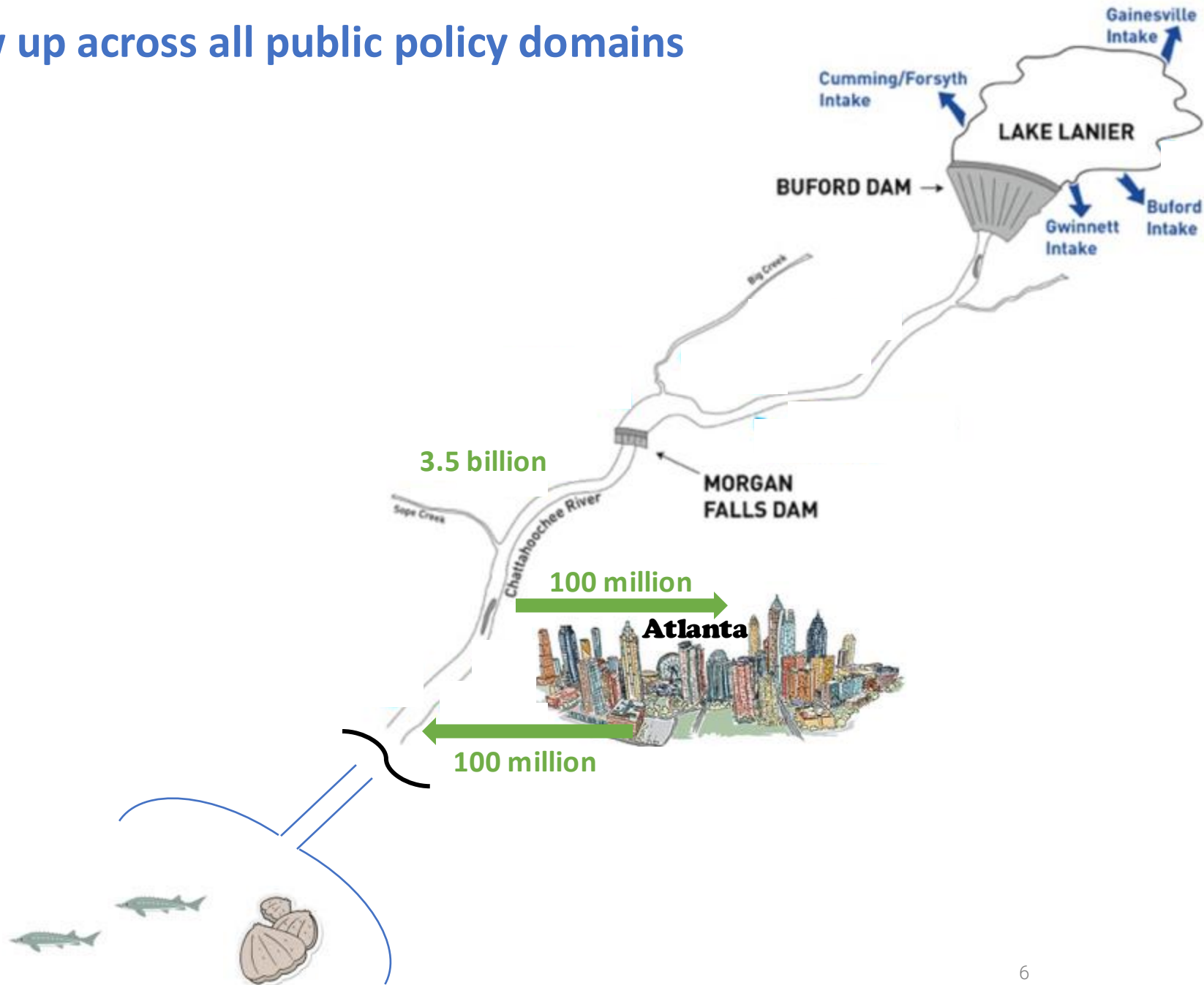
5%

Conscious
Reflective
Relies on Analysis

System 1	System 2
Unconscious reasoning	Conscious reasoning
Judgments based on intuition	Judgments based on critical examination
Processes information quickly	Processes information slowly
Hypothetical reasoning	Logical reasoning
Large capacity	Small capacity
Prominent in animals and humans	Prominent only in humans
Unrelated to working memory	Related to working memory
Operates effortlessly and automatically	Operates with effort and control
Unintentional thinking	Intentional thinking
Influenced by experiences, emotions, and memories	Influenced by facts, logic, and evidence
Can be overridden by System 2	Used when System 1 fails to form a logical/acceptable conclusion
Prominent since human origins	Developed over time
Includes recognition, perception, orientation, etc.	Includes rule following, comparisons, weighing of options, etc.

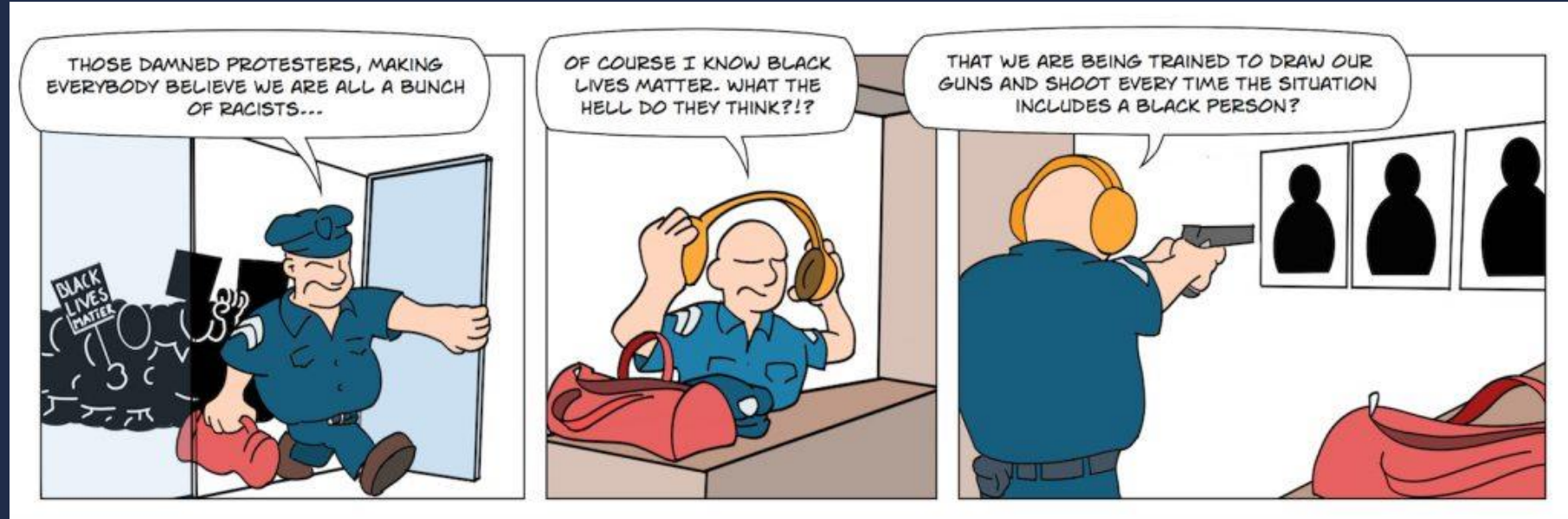
Policy analysis is all about System 2

Heuristics show up across all public policy domains



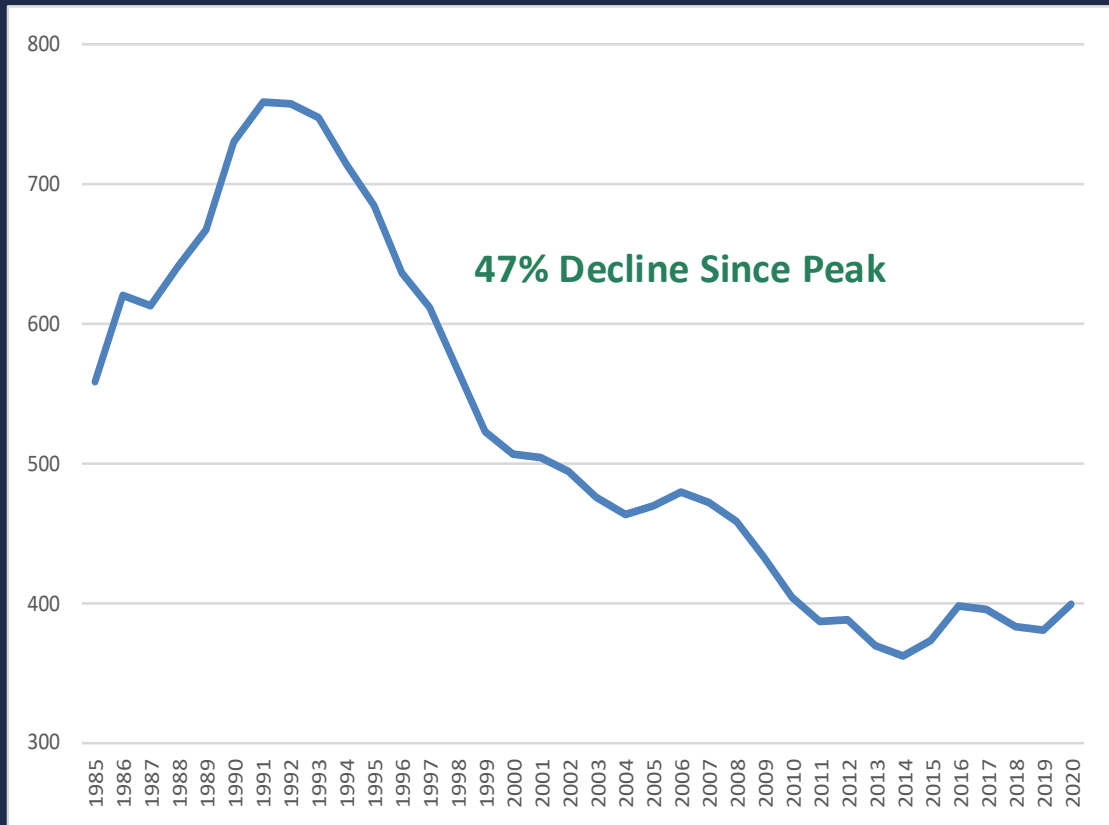
Policing and crime is full of deeply impactful, and deeply damaging, heuristics

- The use of stereotypes is common in policing
 - Racial
 - Ethnic
 - Geographic
 - Immigration status

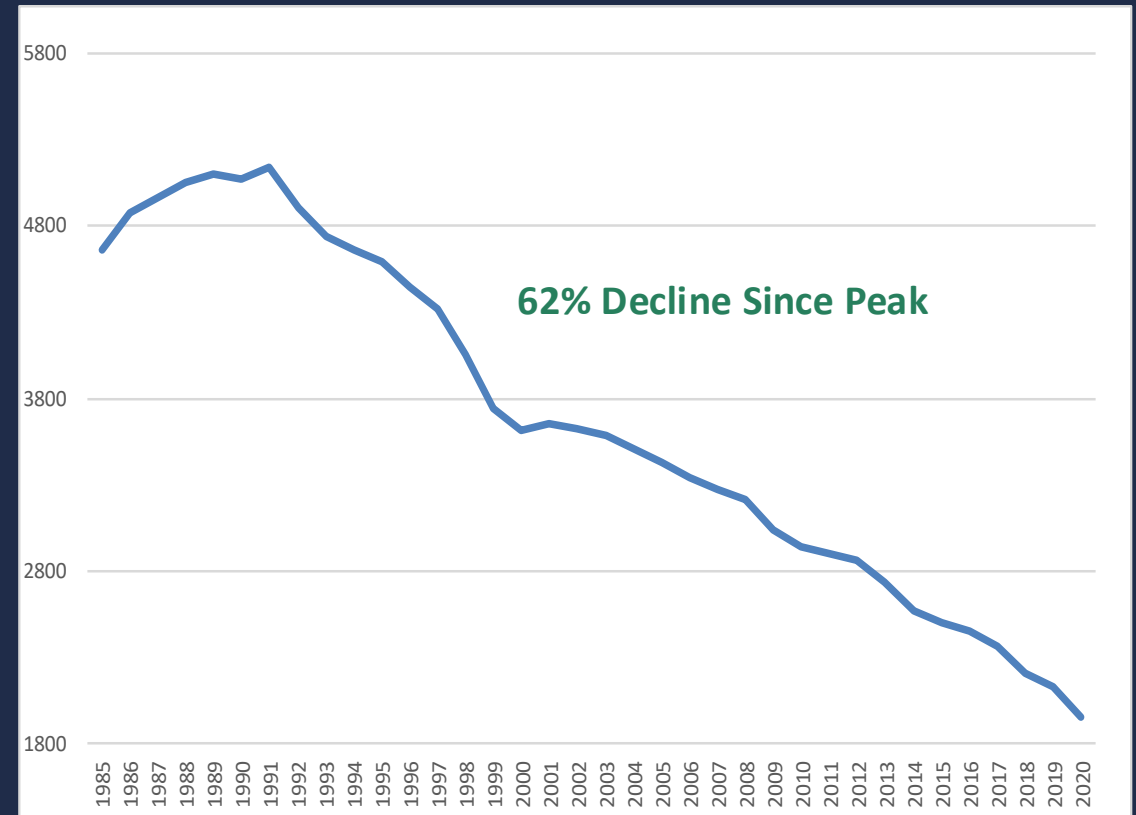


The United States has seen a massive and unprecedented reduction in crime over the past 30 years

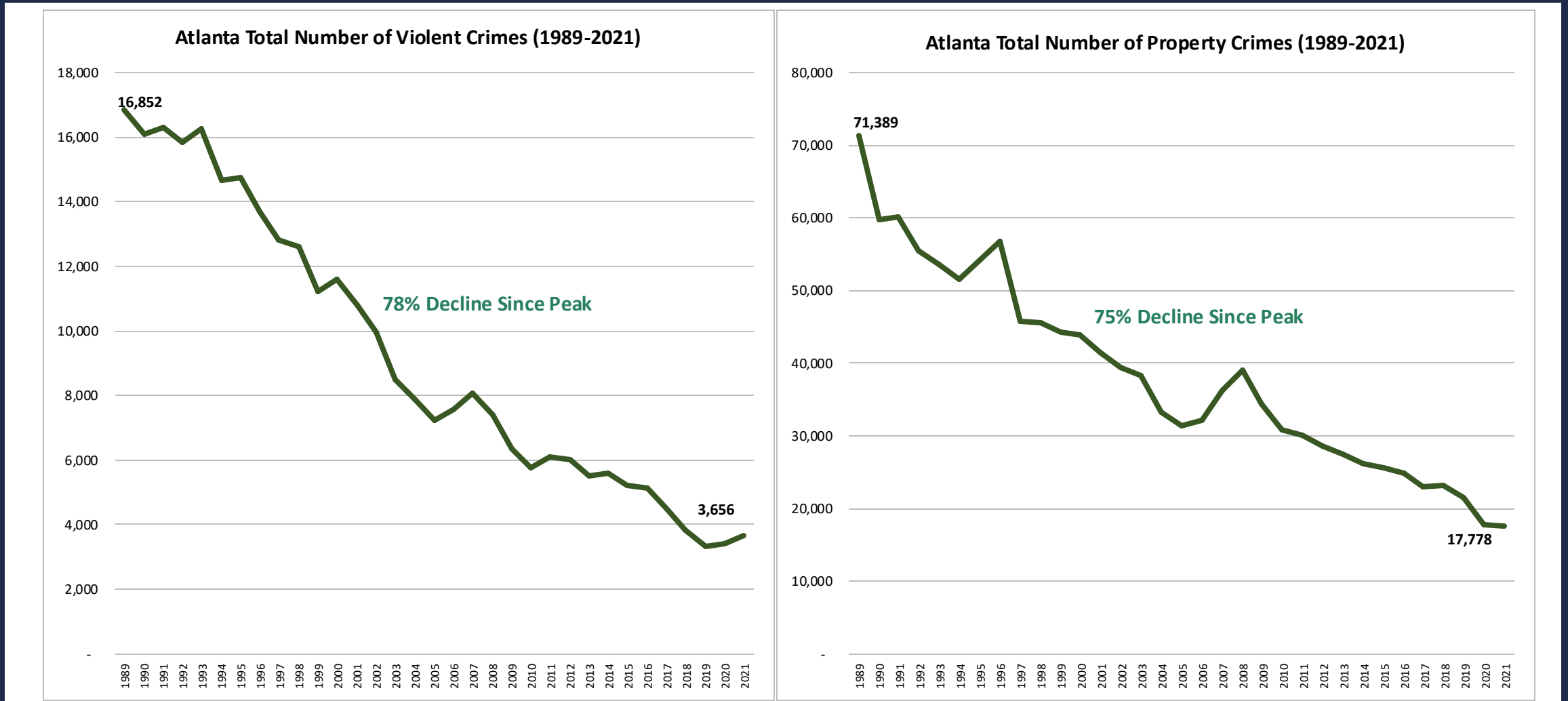
US Violent Crime Rate 1985-2020



US Property Crime Rate 1985-2020



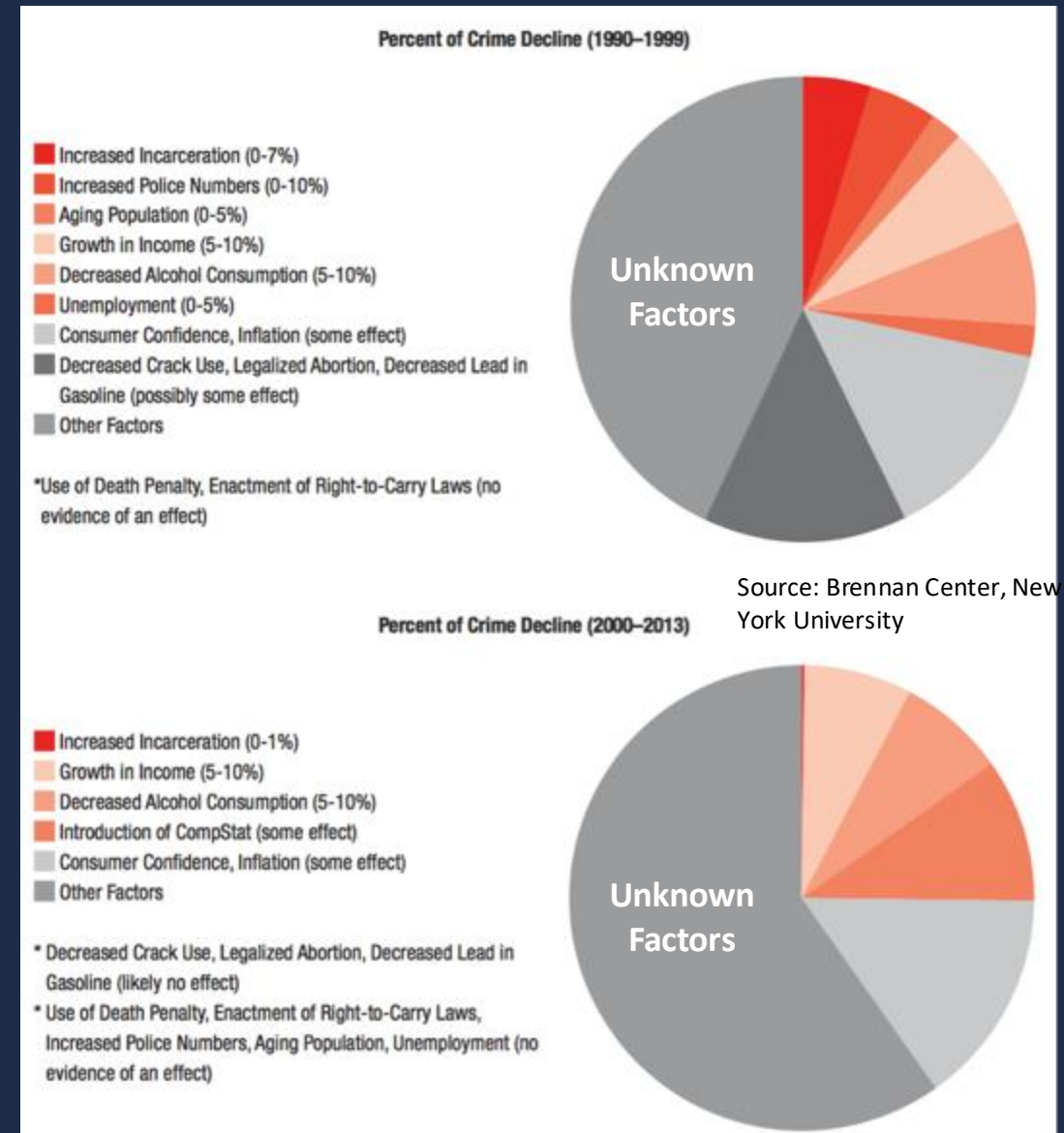
Atlanta's crime decline has been even more pronounced



Atlanta has not experienced this level of crime since the early 1960s

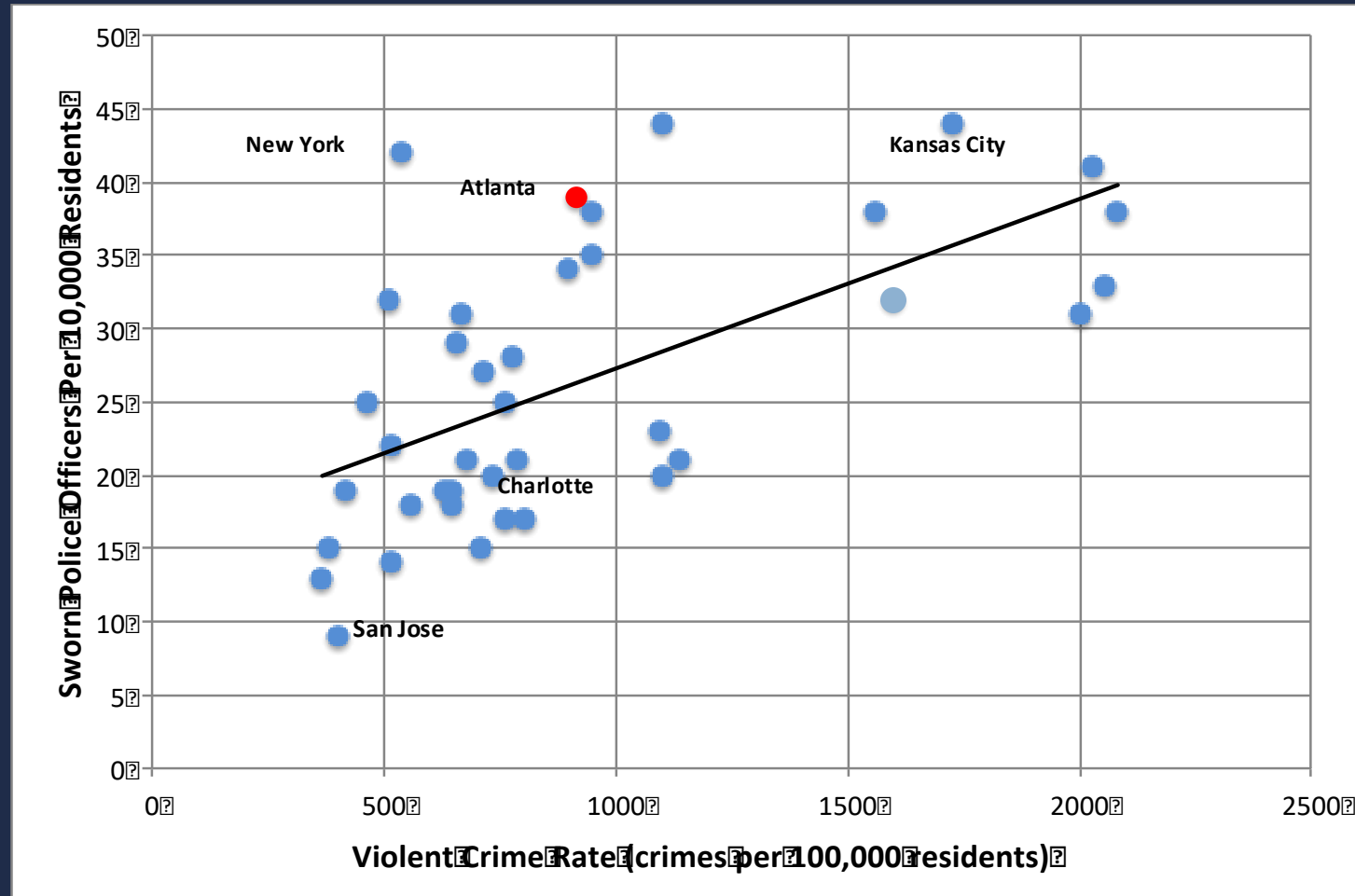
No one really knows why crime has declined

- No one predicted crime would decline
- Studies point to a confluence of factors, **mostly socio-economic and environmental**
- There is **little evidence that the size of police departments or their strategies and tactics are responsible for the decline in crime**
 - Crime has declined in almost all cities regardless of police resourcing or strategies deployed
 - Brennan Center claims that **criminal justice strategies of all types account for a minor proportion of the decline, and almost none since 2000**



The more police officers a city has, the more crime it has

Sworn Police Officers and Crime Rate for 40 Largest US Cities (2017)

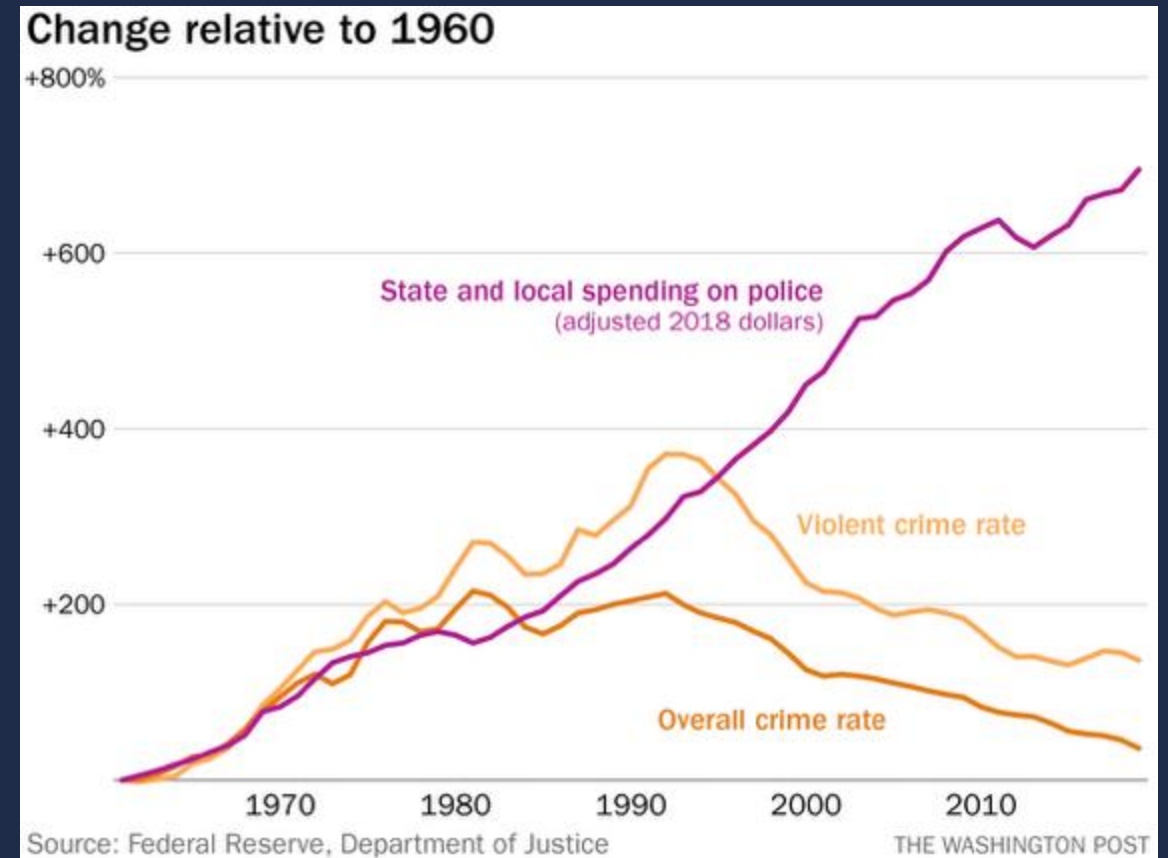


Source: FBI Uniform Crime Report

Are we “over policed”?

- Between 1960 and 1990, the crime rate increased at a rate of 3.8% annually and police spending increased at a rate of 9.8%
- Between 1990 and 2018, crime decreased by a rate of 2.5% annually, while police spending increased at a rate of 8.1%
- In real terms (inflation-adjusted 2018 dollars), state and local **spending on law enforcement has increased from \$34 billion in 1960 to \$340 billion in 2018**, even though crime levels are now comparable
- **There appears to be no change in public safety conditions that ever justify reductions in spending on police**
 - Crime goes up, more spending
 - Crime goes down, more spending

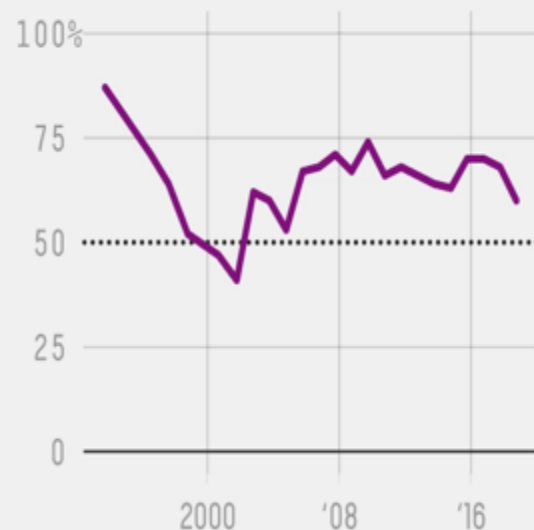
Total State and Local Government Spending on Police Services and Crime Rate (1960-2018)



But people don't believe it

Crime is steadily falling, but Americans don't believe it

Share of respondents* who believed U.S. crime had increased from the previous year



*Polling limited to adults

Victims of violent crime (per 1,000 people) or property crime (per 1,000 households)



*Polling includes those 12 and older

Estimates for victims of crimes in 2006 aren't comparable because of methodological changes.

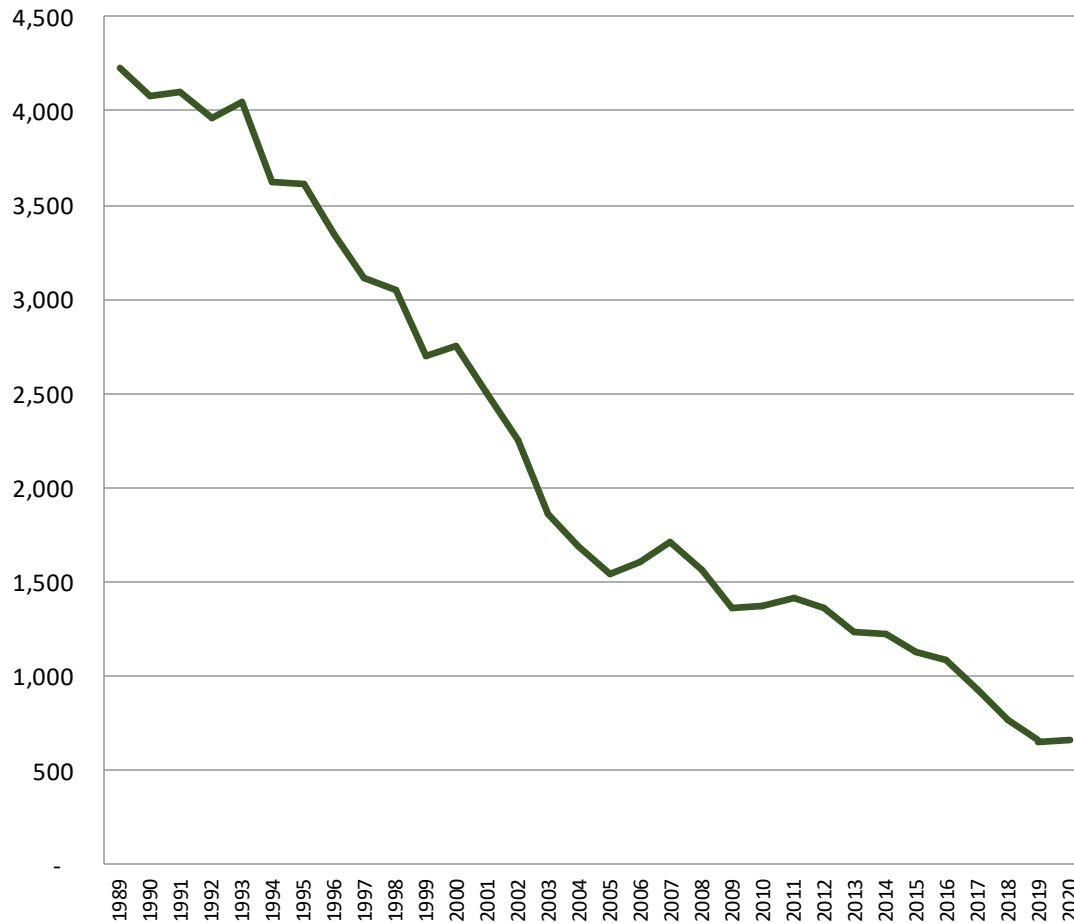
FiveThirtyEight

SOURCES: GALLUP, BUREAU OF JUSTICE STATISTICS

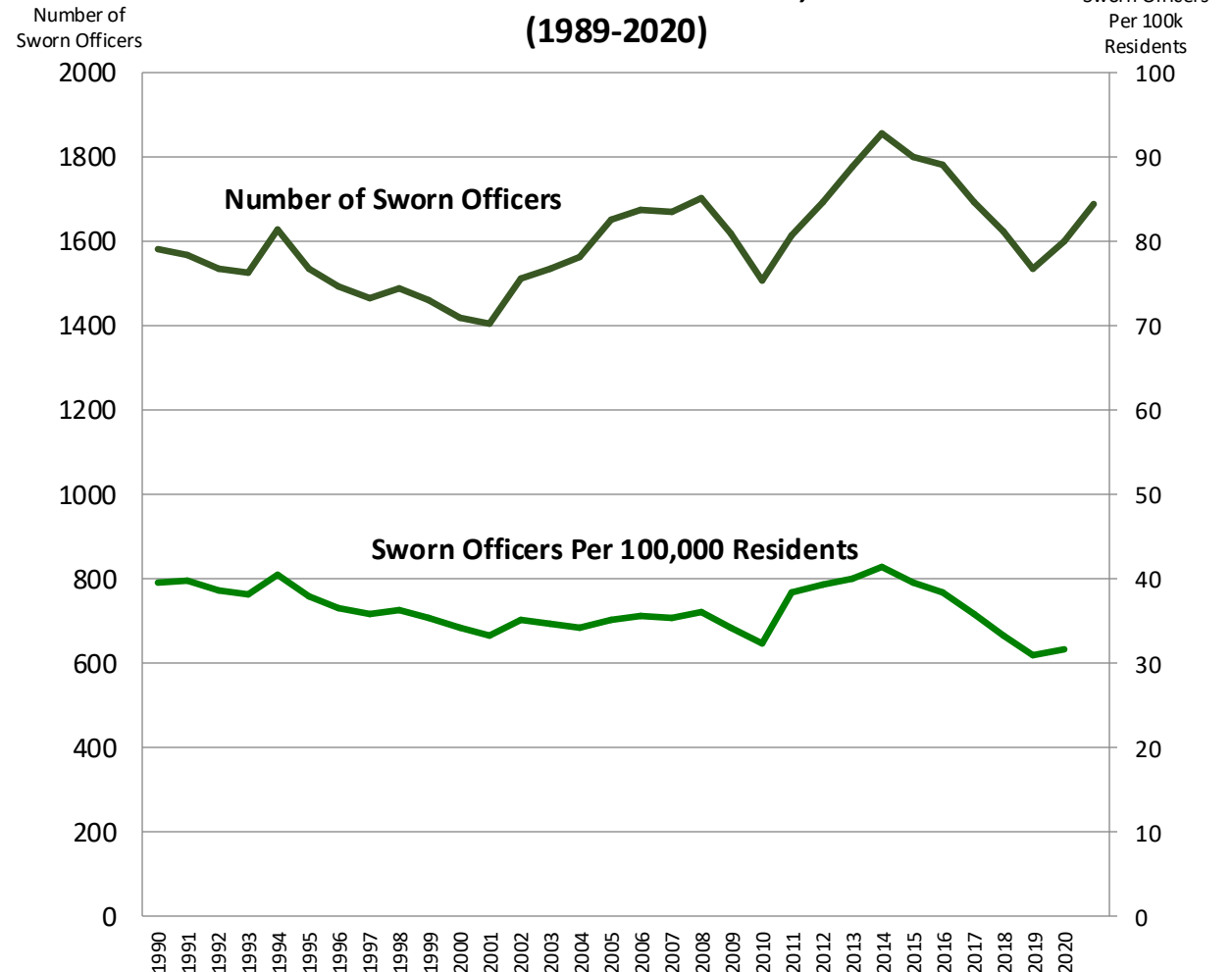
- A June 2020 Huff Post/YouGov poll finds that 57% of Americans believe crime has increased over the past decade
 - Only 10% agree (correctly) that crime has decreased
- Significant political divide on the issue
 - 63% of Trump voters think crime is a serious problem while only 35% of Clinton voters believe so
- However, only 12% think crime is a serious problem **in their neighborhood** and only 29% think crime has increased **in their neighborhood**
- **Public fear about crime isn't rational**, and it's hard to convince people to think differently about a problem that they don't experience on a day-to-day basis
 - "You can tell Americans that the crime rate is lower today than it was in the 1990s, but it won't feel real to them, unless politicians stop drumming up the crime rate" *Kevin Wozniak, Professor of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts*

And yet there is no relationship between policing levels and crime rates

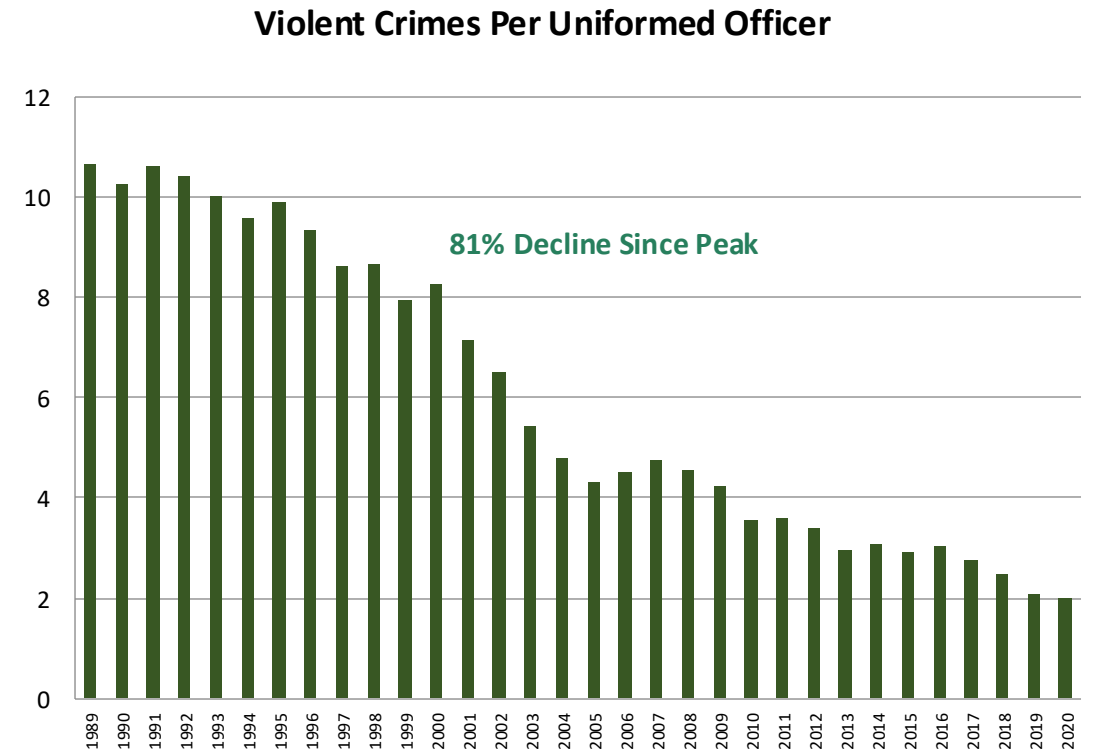
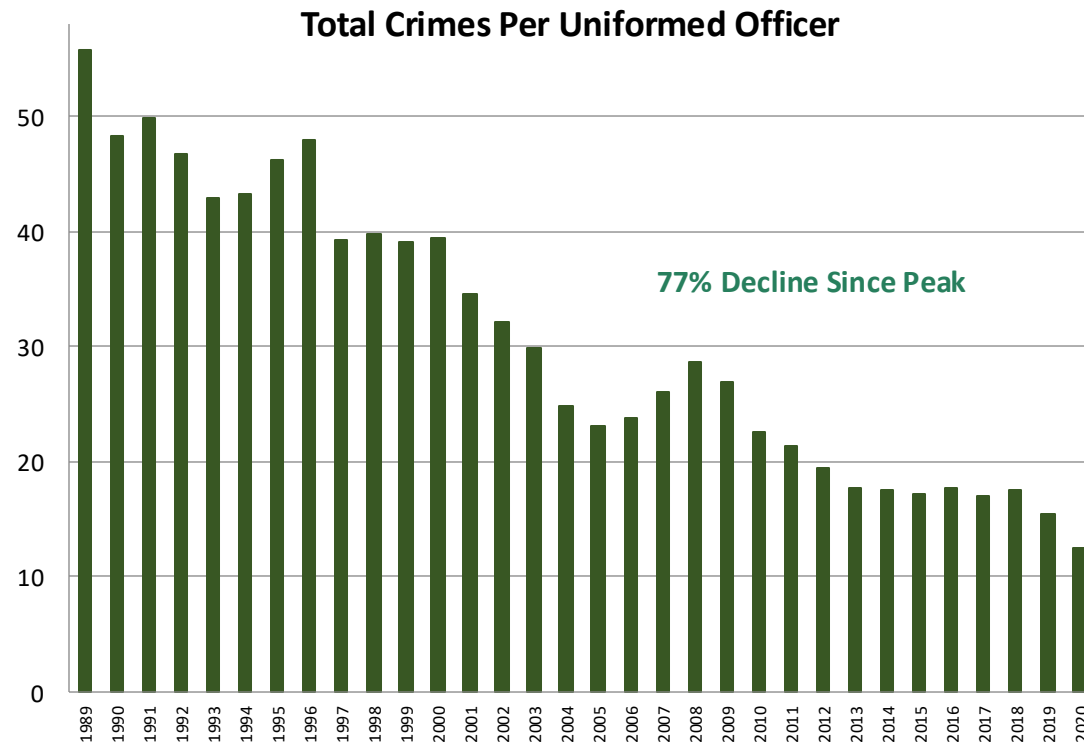
Atlanta Violent Crime Rate (1989-2020)
(crimes/100,000 pop)



APD Sworn Officers Actual and Per 100,000 Residents
(1989-2020)



As a result of the decline in crime, APD's crime management capacity has more than quadrupled since 1989



- In 1989, Atlanta had 54 crimes for every police officer; in 2020 it had 13, a 4X increase in capacity
- In 1989, Atlanta had 11 violent crimes for every police officer; today it has less than 2, a 5X increase in capacity

Policing has differential impacts on communities

- Policing in the United States is rooted in the efforts to protect white “property” (i.e. slave patrols)
- In low-crime, white majority zones, the police behave as *service providers*
 - Respond rapidly and try to work collaboratively with residents in problem solving
- In high-crime, Black majority neighborhoods police behave as *regulators*
 - Focus is on impacting behaviors, particularly those they think will lead to crime and violence
 - traffic stops, “stop and frisk”, surveillance cameras, “broken windows”, etc.

Poll: How much confidence do you have that local police will treat black and white people equally?

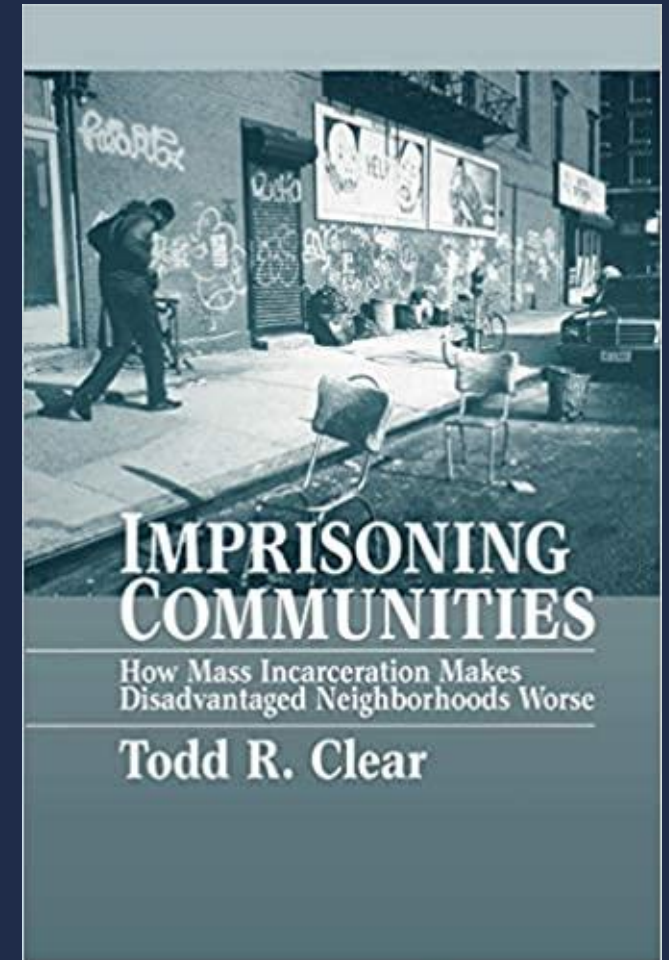


	A great deal	A fair amount	Just some	Very little/no confidence at all	Unsure
National adults	35%	28%	17%	18%	1%
White	42%	28%	16%	12%	1%
African American	6%	25%	17%	48%	4%
Latino	27%	36%	16%	20%	0%

NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist Poll National Adults. Interviews conducted June 2nd through June 3rd, 2020, n=1062 MOE +/- 3.8 percentage points.

These strategies have disruptive influences which may be making the situation worse

- Mass incarceration **reduces the number of productive men** in a neighborhood
 - A number of the men are gone at any given time; they're locked up... and are not able to produce income to support families, to support children, to buy goods, to make the neighborhood have economic activity to support businesses
 - The net effect is that **the neighborhood has trouble adjusting**.
 - Neighborhoods where there's limited economic activity around the legitimate market are neighborhoods **where you have a rightness to grow illegitimate markets**
- Having a parent going to prison increases the chances of a child ending up in the criminal justice system **by about 25 percent**
- So we're, in a way, in these neighborhoods with high incarceration rates, **producing the mechanisms that lead to high crime rates**



How does policing impact our communities?

- **Community Movement Builders** is a member based collective of black people dedicated to being a force for creating sustainable **self-determining communities** through cooperative economic advancement and collective community organizing
- Calls for People's Assemblies (PA) and People's Community Patrols (PCP) in order to envision and establish a **restorative and transformative justice system**
- Proposes that the total funding allocated to the Police Department be diverted to organize, carry out, and implement the results of the PAs and create PCPs
 - The PAs would be the **first steps towards local communities managing their own municipal budgets**



Kamau Franklin is the founder of Community Movement Builders, Inc

- Community organizer for over thirty years, beginning in New York City
- A leading member of a national grassroots organization dedicated to the ideas of self-determination and the teachings of Malcolm X
- Spearheaded organizing work in various areas including youth organizing and development, police misconduct, and the development of sustainable urban communities
- Coordinated and led community cop-watch programs, liberation/freedom schools for youth, electoral and policy campaigns, large-scale community gardens, organizing collectives and alternatives to incarceration program

