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Editor's Notes

In the lead article, Elena Azaola, Senior Investigator at the Center for Advanced Studies and Research in Social Anthropology in Mexico City, discusses a qualitative study conducted during 2001–2005, involving the preventive police in Mexico City. A key goal of the study was to ascertain police officers' views and their understanding of their job as well as the obstacles they face when doing their work. The study, which involved approximately 200 officers, also looked at what officers feel they need to accomplish their jobs. Azaola concluded that there is deep and widespread job dissatisfaction among the police and that deplorable working conditions have generated a sense of abandonment or lack of protection among police officers, leading to their growing loss of interest in fulfilling their duties properly. Another important issue the study presented was the feeling by the rank and file police officers that there exists a continual lack of citizen recognition and respect.

In the second article, Joshua R. Battin examines the literature used to argue that hot spot policing is an effective crime reduction technique. More specifically, Battin looks at the findings of researchers Sherman, Farrington, Welsh, and MacKenzie (2002), who used five experimental or quasi-experimental studies that received a Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS) of 3 or greater. Those authors had posited that these five articles provide enough evidence to establish that hot spot policing is an effective policing technique. Battin evaluates those five articles, allocating new SMS scores. His conclusion is that the findings reveal that each of these studies has less explanatory power than originally indicated. Although hot spot policing is potentially an effective policing technique, Battin shows that inadequate research has been used to document its successes. Consequently, he recommends that additional research be examined to understand the full effectiveness of hot spot policing practices.

In the third article, Eric G. Lambert, Morris Jenkins, and Lois Ventura examine the influence of gender, race, age, academic level, and political affiliation on corporal punishment attitudes. As the authors note, there is a paucity of research on attitudes toward the corporal punishment of criminal offenders. Their study explored the attitudes of college students toward corporal punishment. The authors found limited support for use of corporal punishment as a sanction for theft but greater acceptance for use of corporal punishment as a sanction for acts of violence. In their multivariate analyses of the influence of gender, race, age, educational level, and political affiliation variables on attitudes toward corporal punishment, the authors found that gender was the most powerful predictor of attitudes: men were more accepting of corporal punishment than women. After gender, political affiliation had the most influence. Republicans were more supportive of corporal punishment than Democrats. Race, age, and academic level had only limited influence on attitudes toward corporal punishment.

Editor's Notes

In the final article, Dennis W. Bulen examines the factors that influence police officer response to job vacancy descriptions in recruitment advertisements. In this study of police officer recruitment, the participants were 277 police officers from a large metropolitan area in the Midwest. In a recruitment simulation such as those private and educational sectors conduct, participants role-played as applicants for police vacancies and reacted to job descriptions in simulated recruitment advertisements. The dependent variable was the rating of the job advertisement by the participants. The independent variables were the following: residency requirement, opportunity for specialization, and opportunity for educational reimbursement. The design was a 2 x 2 x 2 completely crossed fixed-factor analysis of variance. The ANOVA did not detect statistical significance; however, a secondary analysis of police officer demographic variables involving correlations and stepwise multiple regression analysis as the analytical techniques determined that age was a significant negative correlate of job pursuit rating.

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The Weaknesses of Public Security Forces in Mexico City

Elena Azaola¹

This report discusses the results of a qualitative study conducted during 2001–2005, involving the preventive police in Mexico City. A key goal of this study was to ascertain police officers' views and their understanding of their job as well as the obstacles they face when doing their work. The study also looked at what the officers maintain they need to accomplish their jobs. The study involved approximately 200 officers. The study concluded that there is deep and widespread job dissatisfaction among the police. The study also found that deplorable working conditions have generated a sense of abandonment or lack of protection among police officers, leading to their growing loss of interest in fulfilling their duties properly. Another important problem the study underscored is what the rank and file describes as a continual lack of citizen respect and recognition.

Key Words: Police dissatisfaction ♦ preventive police ♦ police working conditions ♦ public trust ♦ citizen respect ♦ recognition

This paper outlines some of the results of a qualitative study the author conducted between 2001 and 2005 of the preventive police in Mexico City. One of the key goals of this study was to give voice to police officers so as to understand their views and their understanding of their job as well as the obstacles they face when doing their work. The study is based on the following premises: police officers must know about and be willing to carry out any police reform project if it is to produce deep changes (see Bayley, 2001); if reform is to have the backing of the police, it must take their needs into account and respond to their problems; and to know and understand the problems that are most important for police officers, it is necessary to listen to their point of view.

The study consists of the analysis of the testimony of 280 police officers in all ranks of the hierarchy. The author obtained 170 testimonies in interviews conducted at police headquarters and obtained 110 testimonies from eight-page autobiographies written by police officers of different ranks and career lengths in response to an invitation from their institution to write the story of their life as a policeman.

Elena Azaola is Senior Investigator at the Center for Advanced Studies and Research in Social Anthropology in Mexico City. Once an advisor on the National Commission on Human Rights (1991–1993), she is a current Council Member on the Commission of Human Rights of Mexico City. Most of Dr. Azaola's research is in the field of juvenile and women's justice institutions, human rights, and violence.

For the interviews, police officers were told that the interviewer had consent from the authorities and the interviews were strictly for academic purposes and could not have any effect on their work situation or their professional development as police officers. The author interviewed officers both in groups and individually. The group interviews lasted for about two and a half hours and were conducted with groups of eight to ten police officers of the same rank, covering the 10 ranks that integrate that hierarchical structure. The interviews were in a discussion format, and most of the officers contributed to the discussions. The officers did not receive any guidelines as to what kinds of information to include. The interviews were recorded on tape. The autobiographies were written freely and voluntarily by police officers who accepted the call to tell their experiences for a contest held by the Secretariat of Public Security.

The preventive police force in Mexico City² (population 9 million) is made up of 76,000 officers, half of whom are considered employees of the Secretariat of Public Security (*Secretaría de Seguridad Pública*, SSP); the other half (auxiliary and bank police) have an irregular status, so although they are members of the force, their labor rights are not fully recognized, and they operate autonomously and according to arbitrary and not very transparent criteria (Arroyo, 2003; Varenik, 2005). Of the total, including auxiliary forces, 20% are traffic police (*policía de vialidad*). Belonging to the traffic police is considered a privilege, even though not all officers have access to a patrol car or a motorcycle, because these officers have the greatest opportunity to extort those who have violated the traffic code, and the income they receive from extortion far outstrips their wage (Pérez, 2004).

The preventive police force is not only the most numerous in Mexico City but also in the rest of the Mexican Republic; as Table 1 shows, it encompasses 91% of the state force at the national level. The different preventive police forces all have the commitment to preserve public order, to take care of the demands of citizens, to protect citizens' lives and goods, and to control motor traffic, while judicial or ministerial police and the Federal Agency of Investigations take care of crime investigation. Nevertheless, preventive police can detain and present those who commit a crime and are caught in flagrante to the authorities.

Main Findings

It is a known fact that there is widespread dissatisfaction with police performance among the inhabitants of Mexico City (see, among others, Zepeda, 2004; López Portillo, 2003; Arango, 2004). It is perhaps a less known fact that there is also deep and widespread job dissatisfaction among the police. High levels of uncertainty prevail, as

Table 1. *National State Force, 2006*

Police	Force	Percentage
State Preventive	190,730	49%
Municipal Preventive	144,276	37%
Judicial or Ministerial	25,495	7%
Federal Preventive	19,597	5%
Federal Investigation Agents	5,945	2%
Total	386,043	100%

Source: Secretaría de Seguridad Pública Federal, January, 2007

norms are not consistently applied in the contractual relationship between the Public Security Secretariat and the police. There is also widespread vertical (inter-rank) and horizontal (inter pares) lack of trust within the institution, which constitutes a significant obstacle to the adequate performance of police work. Because norms and procedures are not applied consistently, a parallel informal or paralegal regime governs relations within the force. Deplorable working conditions have also generated a sense of abandonment or lack of protection among police officers, leading to their growing loss of interest in fulfilling their duties properly. Another important problem is what the rank and file describes as a continual lack of citizen respect and recognition.

Some recurring issues emerge in both the interviews and the autobiographies. First among them are the problems related to deficient working conditions. Second, there is the problem of corruption and the way the police address the issue. Other issues that come up frequently are relations with police chiefs, a negative self-image and the image citizens have of the police, problems related to lack of training, the way officers feel they are treated by the institution, and alcohol and drug consumption among officers. The following section uses a small sample of the collected testimonies to examine these issues.³

Deficient Working Conditions

A set of issues police officers often refer to relates to deficient working conditions. This matter has a broad consensus—nuances and differences exist depending on rank, seniority, or the sector or grouping to which officers belong. The problems relate to wages, material conditions, working hours, and promotions.

Wages

There is great dissatisfaction with wages among the rank and file. It is commonplace to hear officers of all ranks say that low wages promote and even justify corruption. They also say that poor police performance is related to low wage levels.

This job is not valued in our society. In any other country, a policeman is well paid, but a policeman is not well paid here and so he can't do his job properly.

To improve [the situation of] corruption, they would have to pay us a good salary. They pay us three thousand pesos per fortnight, minus the deductions. . . . This is not enough for the family . . . if we have no stimulus, well, we look for another way to get ahead . . . if we got a decent wage, we would do our work more carefully and we would not risk things for the 100 or 200 pesos that drivers give us. . . .

Strange as this may seem, some police officers have gone so far as to suggest that if it is not possible to pay them a better wage, their employer should help them to find another job.

I think that a policeman should be helped, or the corporation itself should help him, to find an extra job, to improve his living standard . . . I would like to be called into the office someday and told that they would find us another vocation other than this one of being a policeman, so that there would be more opportunities for the people who have a real service vocation.

If I were the head of the police, I would reduce the number of effective police officers in order to improve training and raise wages. I would take good care of my police officers and would recognize their achievements publicly.

The rank and file express dissatisfaction not just because of the poor wages they receive but also because rules and procedures that would make their jobs more secure are not applied consistently, because there is a lack of recognition for their work, because there are no other incentives and benefits, and because of the many promises they receive that are never fulfilled. Thus, one of the major causes of discouragement is that they do not know what they can count on.

The main problem is resignation among most of the elements and a great disillusionment because they feel deceived for so many promises that for whatever reason are never fulfilled . . . Clear rules are needed for this to work properly . . . rules that chain up the corrupt one who wants to be a chief and will not allow him to be one. Recognition of

higher ranking colleagues is very important when good work is done. We are greatly lacking in self-esteem, to the point of sometimes thinking about suicide because of the feeling that no one cares about us as human beings. We need people to listen to us and to take an interest in what is happening to us. . . .

The great majority of the elements fulfill their work more out of obligation than conviction. Our job lacks something: motivation and acknowledgment.

As these testimonies show, the problem is not just that policemen get paid very little for their work but also that their efforts are not valued or appreciated and they are not able to express their points of view. This is why they insist repeatedly on the need for their superiors to listen to them and to take their opinions into account. Indeed, they often describe situations in which far from gaining recognition for undertaking important work, they were further discouraged by inadequate responses.⁴

Equipment and Uniforms

Police officers are almost unanimous in their discontent with lack of equipment and with their uniforms, which are either inadequate or of very bad quality.

We the police lack equipment—we don't have it because of the corruption at the higher levels. They have not given us uniforms for two years. . . . Our flack-jackets are not part of our uniform and we have to buy them ourselves, the quality of the uniforms is very bad, and we are not given good equipment.

Because we are a special group, we suffer from many unmet needs. We have to buy our own torches [flashlights], batteries, everything we need to go into an alley. We are aware that we have to buy something but we do not have enough means to buy uniforms only to have them stolen.

The top administrative ranks have not given us uniforms or credentials for over ten years. The majority of delinquents carry better weapons than we do. We even have to pay for bullets—they charge us 10 pesos, and most of the times we shoot into the air just to scare people.

Regarding equipment, the problem is not just that the officers are not given the minimum equipment necessary to do their job properly but also—as the testimonies show—that equipment is distributed discretionally or stolen, or that police officers are forced to pay for it, be it access to a weapon, a motorbike, or a patrol car. And they are also charged if they want to work in certain (less dangerous and more profitable) areas. According to the testimonials, the officers are also charged for bullets, flashlights, batteries, and also for the repair of patrol cars, and, as is shown below, they prefer to pay for it themselves rather than limit their source of “income.” It is notable that the issue of the uniform is more relevant than that of equipment, or is at least more frequently mentioned. This is because the uniform is not only an important personal presentation element for officers, but it is also a part of what constitutes the identity of the police. Indeed, the identity of the police seems to be intertwined with or represented by the uniform, which explains why, when they are given a bad quality uniform, they feel offended or scorned.

I want to go on serving with this uniform, that is my life and thus honor the name of the Secretariat . . . I'm not thinking of turning in this uniform, I am not ashamed of being a policeman. . . . I love this uniform and wouldn't change it for anything in the world. . . .

Working Hours

The working day is a cause of complaint predominantly among the higher (superintendent) and mid-level ranks (officers and inspectors), as these testimonies show:

We get no family or social life, no working hours. . . . We have not had a holiday for more than 15 years. Many of us are single because we destroy any chance of having a family. . . . We do not get to see our children grow up. Sometimes we see what we gain, but we don't see what we lose: family and health.

We get up at 4 o'clock in the morning and at 22:30 we get home, annoyed, exhausted, tired, angry . . . everything on the street is a noisy confusion . . . we only want to get home so that we can begin to get comfortable. The family sees us from 11 o'clock at night until 4 in the morning. . . . We cannot enjoy our family.

Chiefs and sub-chiefs should do shifts and work only 8 hour days, and not work for the long hours that we do because it feels horrible to fall asleep when we get into the patrol car. . . .

We never get holidays, never. In 7 or 8 years we have not missed one day [of work]. Having a post in the structure means we cannot miss work, get ill, nothing. If we get ill, we get fired.

We are always at work at 5:30 in the morning until 11 at night. So the people who run the Secretariat are tired, exhausted. A mid-level officer is not allowed to go on holiday or take sick leave. This is an attack on the family, not only on oneself, and this has an effect on the discontent of commanding officers.

Although working hours appear to be a greater source of discontent among the upper ranks, for many reasons working hours should concern police officers with no leadership positions also. The main reason is probably that the area where they live is not taken into account when assigning them to a sector or group, which often means that the journey to and from work prolongs their working day by up to three or four hours. Indeed, policemen are not allowed to request reassignment for this reason. Other reasons why the working day might be prolonged is when police officers are punished with 8 to 36 hours of arrest, which usually happens for banal misdemeanors (such as not wearing their helmet, for instance) or because of arbitrary decisions by their bosses. Even when interviewees say that the time and the conditions of arrests have improved, they still claim that conditions far from comply with clearly established rules and procedures.⁵ Indeed, almost every police officer says that he or she has been subjected to unjustified arrest.

Another issue many interviewees addressed is the bad quality of the food they are given at police barracks or that they get when they are on the street, as well as the difficulties they face when trying to satisfy their most elementary needs while at work. Many policemen said their bosses were indifferent to or insensitive about their basic necessities, and the same was true of citizens who make fun of them or censure them for eating in the public space to the point that they feel their humanity is ignored.

If you are a policeman, it is as though you were not a human being: you can't go to the bathroom or eat; citizens don't like it when they see you eating some tacos. When they see us eating, people shout at us, asking if that is what they are paying their taxes for. . . .

There are no proper facilities at the barracks, good toilets, a dining room, a library. . . . There would be no need for a policeman to go out and get [money] to have lunch if there was a good dining room with even just some coffee and bread. A human being with a nice bellyful

would go out to work happily. . . . If they want better security, they have to improve the barracks, the toilets, dining facilities, otherwise in what conditions do we leave the barracks to go out on the street?

There is something that is very fundamental: people have to realize that us police are human beings, not robots. We cannot work like robots. . . . Society does not trouble to think that we also think and feel like they do, that we are not made of steel and that we are not supermen either. . . .

I would ask for more psychological support because sometimes we need to know that we matter to somebody.

The image of the robot, the machine of steel, or the superman emerges when they refer to their condition and their human needs, which clearly shows how they feel ill treated.

Promotions

Another main cause of discontent is lack of respect for procedures and norms that regulate careers and promotions. There is a broad consensus about this within the rank and file (not among the top ranks). The testimonies include frequent references to disappointment because promotions are not made even when the requirements stipulated in the regulations have been met.⁶ There are also references to the innumerable arbitrary decisions that ignore the requirements and lead to the practice of giving jobs to family members, friends, or people who are recommended, without recognition of the efforts made by officers who have served for years without ever being promoted (see Gaceta Oficial del Departamento del Distrito Federal, 1994).

There have been no courses for promotion in ten years. I was promoted twice during the first eight years, but over the last ten years I have not been able to rise up the ranks. . . . There are so many obstacles in our way, and when you do not find the right way, you lose heart. When you prepare for something and you don't succeed, you get frustrated. . . . What has happened to all those promises?

There are people that prepare themselves and rise up the ranks, but there are others that ascend just because they are someone's relative. Everyone wants a motorbike or a patrol car, but only chosen relatives get a look in. There are no places other than for the mounted police or in the grenadiers (granaderos).

Table 2. Views of Working Conditions Among Police Officers by Rank

Top Ranks	<p><i>I have been on the job for 45 years and I earn a good wage, I cannot complain. Things have gone well for me, so what I have I owe to the police. I have not paid for my rise up the ranks; I have earned it with my work. The regular policeman works [an] 8 or 12 hour shift, but we who have a post in the structure have no personal life, and because of my age and seniority I hold on to this. I do my job carefully because it is the only thing that sustains me. If I retire, they give me a pauper's wage of 5 thousand pesos, and I lose my rank. And do you know what this has cost us? Our life. . . .</i></p> <p><i>It is harder to be a boss now because the elements talk to you as an equal (se te ponen al tú por tú). Arrests used to last 8 to 15 days, but not anymore, there was more discipline before. They did not know as much before, and now they read the regulations and know that arrests can only last 36 hours. They have lawyers advising them. We should not let them be advised like this.</i></p>
Mid-Level Ranks	<p><i>The street is a jungle; you have to cross yourself to go out. It is not our judgment but that of our bosses that counts on the street, or we risk being arrested. For them everything is wrong, if they find us eating or if we go to the toilet, you have to ask permission for everything. They don't care what we eat or if we drink, they don't care about what time we go home, so what rights has a policeman got? Only a few of us enjoy this job. We do it because we need to, because as we say, where shall we go at our age? I prefer to risk dying here, to go to jail or to be kicked out, than to be [. . .] unemployed.</i></p> <p><i>One feels bad because there is no work security, if a new superior comes along one gets fired, or one loses one's position. Effort is not rewarded.</i></p>
The Rank and File	<p><i>I took exams to get promoted and they even gave a rank to those who failed, and those of us who passed were told there were not enough posts. They tell me the same thing at every examination session. It would be better if they told me how much I have to pay for a rank rather than making me go round in circles. I've been in service for 22 years and have taken the exams several times; they always say the same thing—there are no open posts. They demoralize you and even lower your wages. They should be fair and not have preferences, because they promote their friends and their secretaries. It is traumatizing to be in service for so many years and always remain a lowly policeman. We are not given the chance to ascend honestly. We have been here for so many years and I have not even been thanked. We don't even get the medals we used to receive every five years. Now they just give us 2 additional pesos for every five years and 34 pesos for meals for the family.</i></p>

Source: Interviews by Elena Azaola and Esperanza Reyes, Secretariat of Public Security.

Various testimonies pointed in the same direction: loss of motivation due to repeated attempts to make rules work that are never applied; lack of trust and uncertainty that generate a sense of insecurity when rules exist but are not obeyed; and, finally, a sense of apathy and paralysis these situations cause. Table 2 compares opinions about working conditions according to rank.

Corruption

This section looks at the different explanations that policemen offer for corruption and at some of the corrupt practices they engage in. It also offers an overall view of the issue and raises some questions about it. First, there is the simplest explanation that corruption occurs as a result of low wages paid to the rank and file.

Policemen are corrupt because what they get paid is not enough.

If they paid us a good wage, corruption would be solved. What happens right now is that with the infractions we are paying ourselves for the salary that we are not given.

By contrast, others think that people become policemen because they intend to obtain income through corruption:

The uniform is used to get rich: 95% of the policemen come in with the idea that they will get rich.

For others, the problem is the lack of institutional support they receive at the onset of their professional careers, which becomes a decisive factor in the corruption of police officers. Some policemen mention the moment they started the basic training course given at the police academy as the time when they began to have close contact with corruption.

. . . the teachers and instructors themselves were part of the much hated corruption because some teachers with no ethics would sell exams and ranks, and some instructors, for a certain amount of money, would let people off when they were arrested.

We went to the shooting range three times, but as we were not given bullets, the teacher would tell us that if we wanted to shoot we would have to pay him to buy them. . . . This is when I realized that it is in the academy that the spirit of corruption of the policeman is formed.

Yet others stated that corruption began when they were assigned to a specific sector or group:

You get to the sector and the bosses begin to ask you for money. They force the policeman to get money off people. There are policemen who say that if they go out with 5 pesos, they have to come back with 1,000; that's what they say.

As soon as you set foot in the sector, you get asked for money for everything: the uniform, notebook, not to get sent here or there or not to have to do this or that job, and most of all for a patrol car As soon as you get in, it's a begging spree (pedidera). I give the money, if I have it, because you get a benefit There is consent at all levels.

It is hard to add anything else to the above testimonies. In any case, it is important to emphasize the common element among them: the ease with which people admit their own and others' participation in corruption; the absence of a framework in which legality is the frame of reference; and the acceptance of a parallel order or paralegal regime that in fact governs the institution. Equally, the lack of questioning corruption and the sense that one is confronted with something inevitable is striking. Some women police officers said that they also participate in corruption:

There is more corruption among the men than among us women, which is why they say that the police are corrupt. We also take what we can, we don't ask for money but if we are offered it, we accept it. What happens is that we are not offered it as openly and unashamedly because some of us get offended and kick up a fuss, but others don't.

Cases of corruption are also mentioned by those who have held administrative posts:

There are lots of irregularities, for example, according to a staff list I had 1,200 policemen in my charge, but in reality there were only 200; the others were assigned to politicians and I didn't even know them nor have their files. The DF [Federal District, which covers the Mexico City metropolitan area] government itself would give them leave and would send them out with journalists, former presidents; a crime of diversion of human resources. . . . Some were seconded for as long as 15 or 20 years and I never knew where they were; but they had a rank and received a wage.

Before, there were also journalists and actors who received the rank of police officers and would receive a wage corresponding to their supposed rank. The wives of the chiefs got them as well. So there were actors who were captains, colonels, etc.

The above quotes show how the ties of corruption are woven between institutions through informal agreements that reveal the predominance of a paralegal order. This system operates on a personal and political basis that includes the higher and middle management of the police organization. In other words, on the margins of and above existing laws, a number of policemen have ceased to carry out their public security functions, so they can protect the private security of civil servants and their family members, members of the governing party, friends, or journalists. On the other hand, groups within the institution, such as the patrols on motorcycles or cars, are especially envied since they are considered to be the best sources of "income." It is therefore said that not just anyone can enter these groups, because posts are reserved for family members or people recommended by the chiefs.

Patrol car duty brings in quite a lot of money . . . some colleagues repair their patrol cars or buy parts when the cars break down, because if they wait for them to get fixed, they stop earning . . . they prove that it is best to invest their money in the institution than in any other business. . . . In the police, you can invest and gain juicy benefits, although the fault is partly that of the population that does not report on this.

We get charged 100 pesos for not coming in to work, 500 for getting in the patrol car, and I could go on like this listing the infinite number of acts of corruption that exist within the corporation. . . .

Some policemen hold their chiefs responsible for corruption. Various testimonies mention the existence of what is known as the Brotherhood (the *Hermandad*) among the chiefs.

The top ranks are part of a power group, of the so-called corrupt Hermandad that does not allow trained young policemen to take up leadership posts, since those posts have not only cost them years of service but also money, and they do not think that one should rise up the ranks without paying the price. They own this Secretariat and between them they rotate sectors with the help of a godfather (Jefe Halcón). There have been sector chiefs that have been removed for

corruption but instead of being punished, they have been put in another sector.

The famous Hermandad has to end, that mafia that does so much damage to the corporation and the only thing it does is rotate posts. . . . But never has a chief been fired; that really would be a notable thing.

We all go in wanting to be good policemen, but our aspirations are cut short by some chiefs who, instead of supporting us, send us out to work so that they can demand quotas from us.

All of us who have been career officers get caught up in the game of receiving money [from people] to give to the commander and [in this way] receive privileges . . . it is a chain that reaches up to the top.

The above provides another different and practically opposite reason for corruption: according to these latter testimonies, corruption is not a result of insufficient wages among the rank and file but the result of pressure that the top rank officials put on lower ranking officers to raise for them certain amounts of money. This operation is also portrayed as unchangeable even though most of those interviewed report that, in one way or another, they are victims of such a system. Other testimonies mention that ranks can also be bought, and many are chiefs because they paid for the post they occupy:

There are still personnel whose ranks were given or bought during past administrations.

That is the first link in the chain of that old corruption: everything has a price here.

Here you can ascend through your wallet (bolsillo), buying posts. I have never had that opportunity because I never came across any of the influential ones . . . they would have to be my acquaintances for me to do it.

Another form of corruption is to earn money by protecting criminals:

One of the things that aids corruption is fear, because when we get a criminal, we know who they are and we know they will get out and sometimes even offer us money . . . and since wages are very bad and we do not get promoted, well, sometimes we take it.

Another source of corruption relates to the distribution of benefits. For example, the contribution of the police to build houses [for the officers], which is allocated through a lottery system, is flawed and tilted. Various policemen testified to the fact that their chiefs often win the lotteries:

Here, the police do not get houses, but they say that there are police chiefs with three or four apartments they receive because they have "won lotteries."

Another corruption problem that officers often mention is the management of the police force savings bank, a problem that has not been resolved despite having been the object of a criminal investigation and prosecution a few years ago.

Another view is that police corruption cannot be explained without taking into account the participation of the citizenry, although in some cases the emphasis on citizen responsibility appears to be an attempt to exonerate the police. In addition, some policemen cover up corruption by saying that they do not extort citizens but rather the latter give them "gifts" to show their gratitude and appreciation for their services.

Corruption is often the fault of citizens who offer us [money] to sort out a problem. Other times it is a gift because they are grateful for our work. . . . So we don't know if it is right or wrong to accept what citizens give us out of gratitude, which is a gift . . . I don't think there is anything wrong with it, it's not as if we extort them.

People think that all police officers are corrupt, but corruption starts with the citizens because it is easier for them to speed up their business and save time with money. The government allows many things, the city is engulfed in corruption, and since we do not get good social benefits because of the economy of the country, the policeman allows himself to be corrupted.

I would like to ask citizens and the mass media: why are they so keen to put the blame on us if there is corruption everywhere in this country? [Even] various government authorities and leaders have stolen money from the Mexicans.

There are others who steal millions and get immunity. But when the policeman steals four pesos, he is persecuted.

The preceding testimonies are worrying because, in addition to referring to gifts as a way to cover up or justify corruption, they appear to suggest the following argument: if politicians can steal, why should the police not? Or, if there is impunity for politicians, why should the police not benefit from it as well? This seems to suggest that police corruption is justified or minimized by the fact that others are also corrupt. There is also a rather widespread view that it is not possible to put a stop to corruption or even to address it with any degree of success:

*Corruption within the police is an evil that cannot be exterminated. . . .
At the rank and file level, when a policeman is efficient, corruption
should not be seen negatively.*

*People say that if we were paid better wages there would be no more
extortion (mordida). I don't think so; there would be extortion and the
wage.*

Finally, others suggest in their testimonies that corruption is not just a mark of the relationship between police officers and citizens, but it profoundly alters the relationship police officers have among themselves. This is apparent in the following testimonies:

*Discipline has to be imposed, but what breaks the chain of command is
corruption, since we cannot look at our chiefs in the same way after we
have given them money and after they have accepted it. If I am going to
apply corrective measures to someone for not doing their job and if the
chief has received money from someone, then he will not be able to
apply that corrective [measure] because the subordinate will not respect
him anymore, so that is how the chain of command is lost, because of
corruption.*

Corruption, then, not only alters or subverts the relationship between police and citizens but also irremediably distorts relations among police officers. The testimonies suggest that most policemen cannot escape corruption. This fact not only exposes them to citizen opprobrium but also breaks down and undermines police self-confidence. If chiefs ask their subordinates to pay dues, and if the latter, in turn, ask citizens to do so; if anyone who has attained a certain rank is suspected of having bought their post; or if every person knows about acts of corruption among their colleagues, and their colleagues, in turn, know about one's own acts of corruption, then nobody is immune and nobody can trust anyone else or be trusted by anyone else. The inevitability of this situation is perhaps the greatest weakness of the police institution. This being the case,

corruption is probably more damaging to the police than to citizens. In other words, it is clear that policemen cannot escape corruption, which leaves them exposed, makes them vulnerable, and puts them in such a weak position that their capacity to carry out their duty properly is extremely limited. It is as though they are unable to act other than from a position of vulnerability, a state that does not allow them to escape corruption: theirs, that of their chiefs, and that of their peers. A situation like the one just described is clearly unsustainable or places a heavy burden on the functioning of the organization, and so it appears that the only way to counteract vulnerability is to subscribe to a sort of tacit pact that forces policemen to protect themselves and cover up for one another. This pact, however, only serves to establish a precarious equilibrium that is under a constant threat of breakdown. This explains the growing number of policemen who have been reported, are being investigated, or are in prison.

As regards corruption among the citizenry, it seems that the procedures in place to ensure compliance with traffic rules are so ineffective that, as various testimonies point out, everyone finds it advantageous—even if only on the surface and in the short-term—to violate the rules and find a way around them through corruption. In this case, it is necessary to think about how to elaborate procedures that both favor rule obedience and also allow for the reestablishment of bonds of trust between the police and the citizenry.⁷

Image and Self-Image

One of the issues that has received little attention in the specialized literature is the self-image of the police; however, this issue is relevant when trying to understand the way they view themselves and the way they think others see them, in their language and according to their own categories. It also seems important to see whether there have been changes in the way officers viewed the police before they entered the institution and how they see themselves once they are members of the organization, as well as the way they think citizens view them and how they view citizens from their own vantage point. These “images” are important insofar as they can tell us how policemen feel vis-à-vis everyone else, the perceived constraints on their work that emerge as a result of their image, and the way this affects their performance.

By collecting the views of policemen on these issues, we have attempted to understand how they see themselves and how they think others see them, which is another way of looking at how they relate to others once they have adopted the policemen identity. This work is also an attempt to relate or integrate a subjective dimension (self-perception) and an objective reality (relations with other agents or sectors). As we know, both dimensions are always present and interact with and condition each other.

Self-Image

Most testimonies that follow aim to answer the question of how policemen viewed the police before they entered the institution and how they see it and themselves now:

Just hearing the word 'police' would leave a bad taste in my mouth . . . I thought that all these people did was to rob or extort people who had the misfortune of falling into their hands. Six years on the other side has not changed my idea of the police much; there is no end of justifications, some very valid, others less so, but what is for sure is that the police does not work as it should.

Before I entered the organization, the opinion I had was the same as the one many people have today: I thought that being a policeman was the worst thing, that policemen were crooks, extortionists. I was one of those people who would hurl insults when I saw a patrulla detaining a driver. . . . I thought that it was degrading to be a uniformed police officer, that these were people who were not educated enough. I was against the police in every way. When I entered the institution, I was insulted and attacked and even beaten on many occasions by people who think like I used to think.

For normal people or civilians, the police have always been a source of fear, repression, beings from another world, illiterate, drunkards, drug addicts, thieves, etc. Obviously, I could not think differently; when seeing an armed officer, I would imagine being detained so that they could rob me or put me in the police car.

Before I entered the organization, I thought that they were going to treat me badly to train me, that they were going to scorn me for making a mistake or because I had not done well in my training.

The idea I had was that the police lacked academic training, which was apparent in the way they spoke; that they were careless with themselves (dirty); that they were thieves and all the other synonyms that society uses to label us, abusive and even murderous.

Before becoming a member of the institution, I thought that being a policeman was degrading, that it was a job that did not live up to the sacrifice I had made to study for my degree. . . . When I used to see

policemen on the street, they never symbolized security, but rather they inspired my mistrust. However, the need for economic income led me to overcome my prejudices and to ask to be admitted to the mounted regiment.

Initially, I had a deplorable and very negative idea about the police, perhaps because I had never had any dealings with them or maybe because of their reputation for corruption and arrogance, but experiencing the inclemency and arbitrariness faced by a good police officer as myself, I realize how wrong I was.

In my opinion, 80% of policemen are negative and only 20% want to serve society.

The above testimonies provide a good idea of how policemen see themselves and how they think others see them. Some of the characterizations they made are that policemen are thieves, abusive, arrogant, ignorant, dirty, alcoholic, corrupt, rude, addicted to drugs, and aggressive. Although not all testimonies mention these traits, taking the sample as a whole, what comes across is the predominantly very negative view they had of the police before entering the organization. In some cases that image became more positive with membership, when some officers report that their perception changed somewhat. In other cases policemen say that entering the organization did not change the negative image they had previously, but that image was actually corroborated. It is perhaps relevant to ask what kind of relationship can be established with the citizenry on the basis of this self-perception, or how are they able to perform with such low self-image? The following section addresses these questions.

Image Citizens Have of the Police

Having looked at how policemen view themselves and how they think others observe them, this section now looks at how policemen view citizens and what they would like to say about the created image of the police.

Everyone, from the highest politician to the lowliest of citizens, uses the police as their shield to hide the bad things they do. They say we are corrupt when in fact it is the citizen who is corrupt, and the first thing he does is to offer us money to get rid of the problem after infringing a law or a regulation.

Citizens make demands of us, and I feel angry with the citizenry because it complains, for example, that I am a drunkard, but they themselves don't start by changing things. It is not just the police who is corrupt, but the citizen who is willing to give [us money] as well. Corruption is bred because of necessity. Citizens do not support us; they shout at us, they throw stones at us. . . .

I would like a society that would not stigmatize us for our humble origins. In fact, it is true that we lack a certain economic status, but we do have a strong fighting spirit and enough courage to give our lives for someone who we don't know.

I am aware and know the problem that surrounds us perfectly, because of the pressure that citizens especially submit us to . . . I think that everyone knows that we the police are not loved or supported by anyone. Everyone calls us thieves, conmen.

As regards the citizenry, my experience, like that of any colleague, is of aggression, as well as insults and the classic threats that they will put me in jail for doing my work, but, even with all this, I have a good view of society since in the end we are there to serve it.

When we try to impose order, we get insulted. They have no idea what it is like to spend eight hours standing at a crossroads. . . . There are crazy people on the street who insult us for no reason. Sometimes you get into arguments with people and even when a citizen attacks us, he is always right. Sometimes you have to shout at people.

We are the scum of the earth for society because they say we are evil and corrupt, and it does not occur to them that we are part of that same society and we are as corrupt as it is. The whole of society has lost its values. . . . It is not worth talking to a society that is more corrupt than we are. . . .

For the police officer, citizens are also arrogant, corrupt, and incapable of respecting the rules. It is as though the police feel they have become scapegoats, so they have to purge the evil that others do. Their anger comes across in many ways. They feel scorned, made to look ridiculous, abused, and some even refer to a desire to get revenge on the citizenry. Others adopt a more resigned attitude as if they had no choice but to tolerate

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the citizens' abuses. Whatever the case is, at least in the abstract, their relationship with the citizenry is apparently characterized, if not by confrontation, at least by fear of being insulted, scorned, and mistreated. It seems as though policemen have to engage in various battles when they go out on the street: on the one hand against crime, accidents, and disorder, and on the other against the mistrust of citizens. Under these conditions policemen are unlikely to offer protection and security given the way citizens regard them.

Institutional Image

The following testimonies refer to the way policemen view the institution to which they belong and how they see themselves as members of that institution, as well as how they compare with other police organizations in the world.

We are at a disadvantage internationally, but only in terms of equipment and installations because in terms of courage, aptitude, of what we call esprit de corps (espíritu policial), we are at the level of any other country, if not in first place.

I think that there is no comparison that can be made with international institutions because we are so far below any that one might mention, not because we despise ourselves, but we must know our place and try to overcome [our situation] and improve so that one day we can be counted among the best police forces in the world.

The SSP is among the best public security forces in the world, and what we lack is better training to optimize our performance, legal support when we carry out our duties, and to improve the quality of life of police officers with better salaries and benefits.

I think that in the police corporations in our country there are great deficiencies, not only economic, to acquire the whole infrastructure that would allow us to be better equipped, trained, to be professionals when combating crime; but also deficiencies related to culture, conscience, commitment, loyalty, and honesty.

The testimonies above contrast with those in the previous sections because they show that while there is recognition of the institutional deficiencies that put the police at a disadvantage in relation to similar institutions in other countries, there is also an undeniable pride in belonging to the institution. This is true to such a degree that many testimonies underline what policemen consider to be their greatest virtues: bravery,

commitment, *esprit de corps*, which in the eyes of some compensates for the mostly material deficiencies and places them on a *par* with other police forces abroad. However, what prevails and is apparent in the testimonies are the very high levels of tension and the lack of trust between citizens and the police. Statements devaluating or denigrating the police appear constantly in their self-portrayal. What is clear is that whatever means they adopt to confront that reality (including identification with the image that denigrates them, rebelling against it, and considering that such an image is better applied to corrupt citizens, or expressing a hope that police-citizen relations will improve in the future), at present the ability of the police to perform their duty and to provide citizens with security and protection is compromised.

Conclusions

This paper has focused mainly on the obstacles that street preventive police officers in Mexico City face in order to fight rising crime effectively. As shown, two of the most important obstacles are the deficiencies and weaknesses of the police organization, which have become more visible lately. These shortcomings were already there, but they seem to get worse as the demands on the institution increase. Regarding the challenges that fighting rising crime poses on democratization, it is clear that the consolidation of democracy and the rule of law requires more solid and better managed organizations, enjoying higher levels of trust and credibility.

The need for better managed police organizations is particularly important if one takes into account the fact that in Mexico the rate of having been exposed to crime is very high compared with other Latin American countries. During 2006, 20.2% of Mexicans reported having been victims of crime—a number lower only than those reported among Peruvians (26.2%), and Chileans (23.1%). It is worth mentioning that the rate of victimization in Mexico in 2006 increased three points over that of 2004 (Parás & Coleman, 2006, p. 73).

It is important to note that in Mexico City there has been no comprehensive police reform process, but although one cannot talk about successful policies to transform the police, compared with the organization of 25 years ago, there have been modest improvements and some slow progress in the right direction. Civilian control over police has been somewhat achieved, but efficient police administration is still lacking.

On the same note, it should be kept in mind that corruption has been identified as a *significant challenge* for the democratization process as it implies a clear deviation from the rule of law (Ambos, 2003; Frühling, 2001; Parás & Coleman 2006). At the same time, it is worth remembering that almost two thirds of the Mexican population (64.9%) surveyed in 2006 said they are *seriously worried* about the effects of delinquency on the

present well-being of citizens as well as their future well-being, and those who have been victims of crime are less inclined to consider that government functionaries should always act according to the law (Parás & Coleman, 2006 pp. 82, 86).

In terms of human rights accountability, it must be said that this issue is only just beginning to emerge on the institutional police agenda, and the organizational changes to implement it have not been carried out. Just over the last decade public institutions began to supervise the compliance with human rights. The police was the focus of many complaints lodged against it and the one that has resisted the most (see Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez, 2005; and Comisión de Derechos Humanos del Distrito Federal 2003, 2004a, 2004b).

Finally, the difficulties of reforming an institution with 76,000 officers should be taken into account. There are significant obstacles to improving working conditions and expanding incentive programs for officers. At the same time, constant changes at the leadership level undermine serious efforts at stable practices. The design of new policies calls for high-level expertise, and indeed the lack of experts in police administration has been a liability. As for corruption, there are no mechanisms and procedures to ensure accountability at all levels of the organization. Equally, there is no strategic plan to combat the culture of corruption and the predominance of the paralegal regime within the organization.

Notes

1. The author is a researcher at the *Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social*. This article is based on a conference paper presented at *The Challenges of Criminality for Democratization and the Rule of Law in Latin America*, a seminar held at Oxford University, June 17–19, 2004. An earlier version of this paper will be published by the Trans-Border Institute of the University of San Diego, in the monograph: "Militarization and Public Security in Mexico." Also, some fragments appeared in *Imagen y autoimagen de la policía de la Ciudad de México* (Azaola, 2006).

2. Although the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City has 19 million inhabitants, the Preventive Police of Mexico City can act only within the perimeter of the Federal District (*Distrito Federal*), which comprises 9 million inhabitants.

3. Findings from this work are consistent with those found by Suárez de Garay in a study carried out in the Police Department of the City of Guadalajara (2006). See also Ríos (2004) and López Ugalde (2003).

4. These findings are consistent with those found in other studies such as Yañez (1999), López Ugalde (2003), and Tello (2005).

5. Article 42 from the Law of Public Security of the Federal District, 1993, in force at the time of the study, states that: “the arrest or detention suffered by a subordinate for significant misdemeanors or for accumulating five warnings in a calendar year can last up to 36 hours.” However, the law does not stipulate which kind of conduct deserves this punishment, which gives bosses ample margin for discretion.

6. Norms regulating contractual police relations can be found in Secretaría de Seguridad Pública (2000) and (2001).

7. Results obtained by other studies also show that corruption is one of the main problems of Mexican police, although it can be compared with that of other Latin American countries. For example, results of the Barometer of the Americas for 2006 show that after Paraguay, Mexico occupies the second place in Latin America, where almost one third of the population (31%) declares that they have paid a bribe in the last 12 months. This percentage rises to 47% in the case of the Mexico City inhabitants who reported having been victims of corruption in 2006. In the same way, the Mexican police obtained the lowest qualification (3.3 in a rank of 1 to 7) regarding the trust citizens have in public institutions (Parás y Coleman, 2006, pp. 56, 61, 79).

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Is Hot Spot Policing Effective Empirically?

Joshua R. Battin

This paper examines the literature used to argue hot spot policing is an effective crime reduction technique. More specifically Sherman, Farrington, Welsh, and MacKenzie (2002) used five experimental or quasi-experimental studies that were given a Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS) of 3 or greater. The authors posited that these five articles provide enough evidence to establish that hot spot policing is an effective policing technique. This paper reevaluates those five articles, allocating new SMS scores. The findings reveal that each of these studies has less explanatory power than originally indicated. Although hot spot policing is potentially an effective policing technique, this manuscript will show inadequate research has been used to understand its successes. Consequently, additional research should be reviewed to understand the full effectiveness of hot spot policing practices.

Key Words: Directed patrol • hot spot policing • program evaluation • evidence-based research

Crime prevention strategies have evolved, incorporating evidence-based research in an attempt to evaluate implementation strategies and thus reduce crime and delinquency. Assisting in the assessment of better informed practices within the criminal justice system, Sherman, Farrington, Welsh, and MacKenzie asked: "What works, what does not, what is promising, and what is unknown . . . ?" (2002, p. 18). Sherman et al. reviewed and critiqued the experimental research available on criminal justice issues by applying the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS). Additionally, Petrosino, Boruch, Soydan, Duggan, & Sanchez-Meca's (2001) claim that the exclusion and inclusion of specific literature, when creating policy or practice, has been erratic and without any mentionable method in the past; in response to this problem, Sherman et al. systematically categorized selected research to inform policymakers about the successful techniques available.

The purpose of this paper is to reexamine the literature Sherman et al. reviewed in *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention* (2002), in which the authors claimed that directed patrols by using spatial analysis "works" as a crime prevention technique. In doing so, the author reevaluates each article Sherman et al. used to make their determination—those scoring a 3 or above on the SMS—and gives it a new score based on additional inquiry. The outcome of this paper suggests that the literature used to categorize directed patrols as a technique that "works" has less explanatory power than originally indicated. The

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author concludes that, after closer scrutiny of the selected studies, these five articles do not have enough explanatory power due to methodological, analytical, and/or inferential flaws. Moreover, two of the studies Sherman et al. used were wrongly categorized into the directed patrol paradigm, meaning these two articles should have never been used to measure the effectiveness of directed patrol.

Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to provide in-depth information about hot spot policing/directed patrol and review the main aspects of what constitutes this policing technique. Moreover, the following will provide information from additional studies that found positive results from the use of hot spot policing. This will assist in understanding the overall implications of the five experimental or quasi-experimental studies reviewed later in this article.

Hot Spot Policing

Hot spot policing uses computer technology to disseminate and illustrate statistical trends in criminal data. This technique, also called crime mapping, is built off the premise that crime is distributed unevenly across an area (Braga, 2007). These problem areas can be targeted by increased police patrols in an attempt to reduce specific crime problems within that area (Braga, 2007; Sherman et al., 2002).

Crime mapping is a broad term, broken down into two categories, statistical spatial analysis and spatial modeling, both of which focus on the distribution of crime within an area, but with two main differences (Ratcliffe, 2004). Statistical spatial analysis concentrates primarily on the spatial relationship between datum points of crime activity in a specific region (Ratcliffe, 2004). The analysis is conducted exclusively on spatial patterns of similar crimes and offender demographics. Patterns of crime activity are the primary focus of spatial analysis, but other secondary factors must be considered when studying crime patterns. For example, a specific crime area may be the result of a particular business or key demographic within that particular area. It is important for researchers always to be aware of such outside factors when analyzing patterns of crime activity.

Spatial modeling focuses on the technology and the application of data into an understandable grid (Ratcliffe, 2004). Today, spatial modeling uses computers to map statistical data taken from law enforcement agencies. The advantage of using technology is that data can be easily entered and viewed by using demographics, type of crime, and many other variables. Using the variables of crime to create maps enables an individual to analyze effectively specific types of crime patterns, which can be useful in the future prevention of that particular crime.

Both spatial modeling and spatial analysis attempt to understand the criminal activity in a specific area, or hot spot. The U.S. Department of Justice defines a hot spot as an area that has a greater than average number of criminal or disorder events, or an area where people have a higher than average risk of victimization (Eck, Chainey, & Cameron, 2005). The proper interpretation of these hot spots is just as important as the data and technology within crime mapping. In the past, these hot spots were improperly interpreted, resulting in the misallocation of police patrol (Gorr, Olligschlaeger, & Thompson, 2003; Ratcliffe, 2004). For example, data entry flaws create incorrect incident maps, which can lead to the misallocation of police services. With an increase of mapping technology, problems such as this can be lessened or avoided.

The use of spatial modeling and crime mapping in the criminal justice system began with police departments using a map of their jurisdiction and different color pins to show crime types. Ratcliffe (2004) points out that this approach has many problems, such as the overlapping of crime in an area and the departments' inability to distinguish and properly interpret crime clusters. Recently, the use of Geographical Information Systems, or GIS, has made spatial modeling and spatial analysis more effective in the criminal justice system (Gorr et al., 2003). Combining spatial modeling and spatial analysis is the primary function of this new technology. Three main categories of technology allow the user to map crime activity effectively in a particular region and interpret the meaning of those findings. The categories are hot spot mapping, CompStat, and geographic profiling (Ratcliffe, 2004).

Hot spot mapping uses a comparative approach to interpret the findings of the distribution of crime in an area. The technology allows the user to overlay maps, for example of unemployment or socio-economic data, above maps of specific crimes to understand the relationship between variables. In addition, hot spot mapping gives the user a temporal option, which allows the user to create maps based on a period of time (i.e., hours, days, etc.) (Ratcliffe, 2004). This creates an intelligence base for law enforcement agencies to combat future crimes.

CompStat, which began in New York City in the early '90s, is not considered crime mapping, but rather applying the intelligence gained from crime mapping technology to inform police management and practice. CompStat began when statistical mapping data was presented at a high level meeting among NYPD officers. The data were analyzed and interpreted, and eventually conclusions were drawn about the amount of enforcement in specific areas (Ratcliffe, 2004; U.S. Department of Justice, 1999). This intelligence allows for a shift in patrol and enforcement in specific areas in an attempt to reduce crime.

The main focus of CompStat is to provide accountability among the officers and departments (U.S. Department of Justice, 1999). CompStat provides an accurate report of

where and when crimes happen. By identifying these high crime areas, top officers of a department can hold mid-level officers accountable for the methods they may or may not have used to combat these high crime areas.

Ratcliffe (2004) states that geographic profiling uses existing crime data and demographics to produce projected crime activity maps. Geographic profiling requires knowledge of criminological theories to better understand the application. This type of mapping fuses routine activities theory with the crime pattern theory to create an anticipated area of crime activity. Routine activities theory states that a person will create patterns of the same activities over time. A criminal also will create patterns of criminal activity. When combined with crime pattern theory, which says that a criminal has preferred areas in which to commit crime, a map can be produced, effectively showing the likelihood of specific crimes in specific areas.

Despite the increasing use of crime mapping technology, the future is still uncertain, although it is evident that crime mapping will be a permanent fixture among most law enforcement agencies. The use of crime mapping seems to be leaning toward particular areas and may indicate future techniques. For example, broad algorithms are currently being used which are much more specific than in the past. For instance, increased technology has allowed queries to indicate specific criminal types, criminal characteristics, and/or temporal designation (Boba, 2005). This increased use of technology may be a clear indication that more specific algorithms will be used in the future, which will allow for better intelligence for upcoming crimes (Bowers, Johnson, & Pease, 2004). Also, the use of technology has made crime mapping reports more accessible and easier to produce. This may suggest that future reports may be distributed daily, or even by shift, to keep officers better informed and allocate patrol most effectively. Lastly, the improvements in technology have allowed for the definition of more specific areas as hot spots (Bowers et al., 2004). This focusing implies that future crime mapping will be extremely precise, identifying exact areas of distinct crimes.

The question that arises after the presentation of a working definition of hot spot policing is whether hot spot policing can actually be effective in reducing crime rates when it is implemented correctly. Sherman et al. (2002), as well as other organizations and researchers, have tried to answer that question through a series of studies.

Measuring the effectiveness of hot spot policing requires an experimental or quasi-experimental research design. This design allows researchers to obtain control of the stimulus (in this case, use of hot spot policing), while maintaining a base line comparison with the control group (Maxfield & Babbie, 2005). Braga (2007) conducted a meta-analysis of published articles measuring effectiveness of hot spot policing. Braga chose nine similar and comparable cases for his analysis based on operational definition,

research design, and the hot spot policing techniques used. The result of the study led to two main conclusions.

First, contrary to the literature, hot spot policing was not found to have a significant displacement effect on crime. For the purposes of this manuscript, crime displacement is the relocation of criminal behavior due to specific enforcement practices (Gabor, 1990). Barr and Pease (1990) concluded that most analysis of crime displacement is too narrow. Crime displacement often occurs outside of the unit of analysis and is therefore occurring but not taken into account. Choosing only studies with broad areas of analysis, Braga (2007) sidestepped this argument and concluded that there is no evidence of crime displacement after the onset of hot spot policing implementation.

Braga's (2007) second conclusion focused on the overall effectiveness of the hot spot policing practices analyzed in the study. He summated that seven of the nine experimental or quasi-experimental designs concluded that hot spot policing had a reduction effect in both crime and disorder reported. This is important to the overall theme of this manuscript. Although it will be shown that specific literature has been used incorrectly to understand the effectiveness of hot spot policing, the intention is not to claim this policing practice is ineffective; in contrast, the purpose is to ensure only the most methodologically rigorous research is used to measure effectiveness. Braga's research shows that a number of studies, having acceptable methodologies, properly establish and document the success of direct patrol practices.

In comparison with Sherman et al's (2002) research, Braga's (2007) research is limited, reporting only whether the techniques were successful rather than providing a ranking system to determine the most effective techniques available. Additionally, the long-term effect of hot spot policing is not available. A longitudinal design, measuring the continuity of the crime reduction, would be a noteworthy and practical piece of literature.

Adding to the support for hot spot policing, Bowers et al. (2004) explored the effectiveness of hot spot policing after the onset of local burglaries. The authors found that residents are more susceptible to burglary two months after a burglary occurred within close proximity. Building off of that research, they added that the use of crime mapping will update the communities' needs and alert the police where increased patrol is required. This technique was found to have a better effect on burglary rates than traditional policing practices.

A study was conducted by using Pittsburgh crime data to understand the effectiveness of short-term hot spot policing techniques. Gorr et al. (2003) designed a study that mirrored the techniques used by the Pittsburgh Police Department as well as other large police departments throughout the United States. Considering monthly meetings are held to review the progression and effectiveness of hot spot policing, the

authors created a study that questioned the ability of the crime mapping technology to forecast effectively crimes over a short period. In addition, the authors questioned whether the enforcement techniques used can effectively reduce crime and disorder.

Gorr et al. (2003) had mixed results when analyzing short-term crime forecasting techniques. The authors reported that accuracy of forecasting depended on the number of calls for service and the crime that was reported. Small numbers of crimes and calls for service did not create reliable short-term predictions in small areas; when forecasting was most effective, crime and calls for disorder were reported extensively in the month prior. In short, crime mapping techniques could provide a short-term forecast more easily and accurately for areas with high disorder and crime. The other major discovery was that traditional techniques of car beats were found to be insufficient when compared with the policing based on crime forecasting. Combining crime mapping technology and hot spot policing had a more substantial effect on the crime rates within Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, than traditional routine policing.

It is obvious that the evidence-based literature in criminology is littered with hot spot policing evaluations having positive findings. It is not this researcher's intention to refute the findings of all the research available, nor is it to claim that hot spot policing techniques do not work. The purpose of this paper is to suggest that Sherman et al. (2002) did not properly apply the SMS to the literature selected, consequently leading to a faulty conclusion. The following sections explain the methodology and analysis this author used to reevaluate the literature Sherman et al. used.

Methods

This paper reviews only a limited number of studies. Sherman et al. (2002) evaluated nine studies but used only five to make their determination. According to the authors, for hot spot policing to be classified as an effective technique, at least two studies had to show a reduction in crime or delinquency rates; additionally, the study must have received a score of three or higher on the SMS. Of the nine studies Sherman et al. reviewed, only five obtained this SMS rating, with only one study scoring a four and one scoring a five (see Table 1).

To achieve the goal of this paper, it is necessary to reevaluate only the studies that scored a three or higher on the SMS. The studies that received a score of two or below are not relevant to the overall rating process due to their methodological inadequacies. Table 1 shows the studies that were reevaluated, their overall SMS rating, and the study's conclusions according to Sherman et al. (2002).

Table 1. *Directed Patrol Studies*

Studies	Scientific Methods Score	Findings
Press, 1971	3	40% more police, reductions of outdoor crime
Chaiken et al., 1975	3	Police on subways at night, reduced crime
Sherman & Weisburd, 1995	5	100% more patrol, less observed hot spot crime
Koper, 1995	4	Longer patrol visits, longer post-visit crime-free time
Fritsch et al., 1999	3	Undirected saturation patrolling less effective than truancy and curfew patrolling in curbing gang violence

Note. For reference, this table describes the research used to assess the effectiveness of directed patrol practices and Sherman et al.'s SMS rating and findings of each study.

As the table illustrates, Sherman et al. (2002) posited that a total of five studies had a high enough rating to accept the findings. This paper reexamines these five articles individually, reformulating a new SMS score for each. The evaluation criteria is similar to that of Sherman et al.; however, additional literature concerning each study is introduced to cast doubt as to whether hot spot policing techniques are the sole explanation for the decrease in crime rates in the selected areas. The author reviews each of the five articles systematically, identifying methodological, analytical, and inferential flaws, which include plausible miscategorization and unaccounted variables. A score is then allocated to each study. The conclusion of this paper summarizes the implications of these scores and what is really known about hot spot policing and directed patrol based on these five articles.

Analysis

The following section reviews the five studies that Sherman et al. (2002) claimed received a score of three or better on the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale. Each study is reviewed individually, assessing experimental methodology, analysis, unaccounted variables, and concluding rationale. A new SMS score is given to each based on the reevaluation.

Press (1971) examined the effect of a 40% increase in police manpower in the 20th police precinct of New York City. The study collected data consisting of the rates of crimes reported for a five-year period between 1963 and 1967. Additionally, data were collected from neighboring precincts with similar demographics and crime rates; however, this was not part of the original methodological plan. After the study was concluded, rates of

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reported crimes were collected from the 18th, 20th, and 24th precincts to take into account the seasonality effects on crime. Sherman et al. (2002) gave this article a SMS rating of three, citing a pre and post program measure of crime, in addition to having multiple control groups available for comparison.

For a study to receive a score of five on the SMS, it must possess the following five elements: be an experimental design and have multiple comparison groups, randomization of treatment, pre- and post-treatment measures, and control for outside variables. In this case, Sherman et al. (2002) posited that Press (1971) did not account for outside variables affecting the dependent variable and there was no randomization of the sample (thus, obtaining a SMS score of three). On the other hand, they claimed this article had a pre and post measure of crime reported in the 20th precinct and comparison groups for baseline crime reporting rates.

Further examination of this article shows that the claim of multiple comparison groups and pre/post measures of crime is weak at best. Beginning with the pre and post measures of crimes reported in the 20th precinct, Press (1971) maintained that this study examined crime reporting figures from a five-year period between 1963 and 1967. However, the way crimes were reported and collected changed after March 10, 1966. This shift in reporting methodology changed the rates so drastically that it forced the author to base his finding solely on the last eighteen months of the study. Consequently, the pre-treatment measure of crimes reported was April 12, 1966 to October 18, 1966, and the post-treatment measure of crimes reported was November 21, 1966 to December 31, 1967. These dates suggest that the findings were based on a 5-month pre measure and a 13-month post measure of crimes reported. Moreover, the pre measure was taken during the time of year where crimes increase due to seasonality effects. The only outcome was either to discard non-corresponding months, having only ten total months available for pre and post measures or use the data collected from the prior four years. The author chose the latter, comparing crime reporting rates collected in a recognizably different manner. This procedure allowed to author to claim he accounted for the seasonality effects, having enough data collection points for pre- and post-test measures. Though it may have looked like there was an acceptable pre and post measure of crimes reported, this is not the case. In fact, the author writes: "As a result, incidence of reported crime showed a substantial increase after the change in the reporting system. Analytically, the data in the two periods are not strictly comparable" (p. 5).

Without consistent data collection methodology, one cannot posit that data are comparable. As a result, this article should have been deducted one point on the SMS for not having a legitimate pre and post measure of crimes reported.

Press (1971) also mentioned that an ad hoc technique was used to create comparison groups after the data were collected. Three precincts were chosen, which were said to have comparable demographics and rates of crime reported. A comparison group is used to establish a baseline for the dependent variable, so a comparison can be made with the experimental group's dependent variable. Moreover, without randomization, it is important to choose control groups that have similar characteristics, whether that is demographics, crime rates, or the physical environment (Maxfield & Babbie, 2005). The author in the study chose the control groups based on similar demographics and crimes reported to the experimental group. This attempt at creating a post-research comparison group is acceptable within the academic community; however, outside variables may have affected the comparability aspect of the control groups. During this time period the New York Police Department more than doubled its manpower from approximately 1,200 to 3,100 police officer (Sherman, 1990). Although Press (1971) claimed that the comparison groups had only minor fluctuations in manpower, it was also found that these neighboring precincts were experiencing a displacement effect from the precincts that had a large influx in police manpower. Taking that information into account, it would be difficult to claim that the control groups were comparable, when this outside variable affected the crime reporting rates so drastically. Consequently, though there was an attempt at creating post-research comparison groups, other factors had too much of an influence to claim a true comparison between the control and the treatment groups. Due to this rationale, the study should have been deducted another point on the SMS.

The final point that must be made about this article regards the conceptualization of directed patrol. Sherman et al. (2002) conceptualize directed patrol as increased patrol presence in high crime areas during times with the highest criminal activity. Press's (1971) research focused on the impact of a manpower increase, not necessarily hot spot policing. Simply adding more police does not necessarily mean that high crime areas were targeted; rather, there was only increased police presence. As a result, this article should have never been used to advocate hot spot policing because it does not fall under this policing technique paradigm.

As a result of the aforementioned information, this article should have been given a SMS rating of one if it was to be used to advocate some type of evidence-based policing practices. This score applies only if the article was to be used to understand the effect of police presence, although it wouldn't have been useful obtaining a SMS rating of one. On the contrary, the SMS rating does not even apply in the case of hot spot policing because the article does not qualify as a study of hot spot policing or directed patrol. Therefore, the SMS rating of one is not relevant, leading to the conclusion that this article should have never been reviewed to evaluate hot spot policing.

Chaiken, Lawless, and Stevenson (1975) studied a mass manpower increase in New York City's subway system. This study spanned eight years, from 1963 to 1970. In that time period the New York City Transit Authority, the entity that enforces the laws on New York City's subway system, tripled its manpower. This was the mayor's response to an increasing number of crimes that were occurring on the city's subway system. The study attempted to understand the deterrent effect of an increased law enforcement presence in the subway system. The authors focused on robberies occurring on all mass transit within the city limits and any displacement effects of the increased police presence in the subway system. The mayor's strategy was to increase police presence at "every station and train in the system during the night from 8:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m." (p. 8). Sherman et al. (2002) allocated this study a SMS score of 3, claiming comparable control conditions and pre and post measures of robbery were present.

The study found a decrease in the number of robberies due to an increase in police presence during peak times, but the problem with this article revolves around the idea that a comparable control group was present. It is not difficult to understand why a blank increase of enforcement presence will decrease crime. It is, however, more difficult to compare taxi and bus robbers to subway robbers, especially when the text mentions specific characteristics of each. For example, subway robbers have specific characteristics consisting of "booth robbers" and "passenger robbers," depending upon their approach to robbery. Moreover, there was an increase in the number of New York City Police presence during this time period (Sherman, 1990). As a result, the only viable way to study the effect of increased subway system policing was to allocate half of the number of transit authority police to half of the subway system (e.g or some proportional variation). The other half of the subway system should have kept the same numbers of police that they had been using. This method allows for a comparison to be made with a control group that has similar characteristics (subway system robberies). Consequently, the article should not be given a three on the SMS, because it does not give enough evidence that the control group is similar enough in characteristics to the experimental group.

This article also has the same conceptualization issues as the previous study in that an exhaustive increase during night hours on every train and station does not qualify as directed patrol. The transit authority police must be allocated to areas of increased criminal activity to qualify as directed patrol. As a result, this article should not have been used to measure the effectiveness of hot spot policing or directed patrol.

The next article by Sherman and Weisburd (1995) was given a five on the SMS by Sherman et al. (2002). This insinuates that the study has randomized assignment of the treatment and control, multiple treatment and control groups, controlled for outside variables, and pre and post measures of crime. This study, called the Minneapolis

Preventive Patrol Experiment, identified 110 hot spots throughout the city, which were no bigger than one street block. Times with high criminal activity were identified as 7:00 p.m. to 3:00 a.m., which accounted for approximately half of the crime calls for service. The treatment was randomly assigned to 55 hot spots, with the other 55 hot spots acting as the control. The control was given normal patrol, while the experimental group was given extra patrol. Experimental patrol was erratic: officers left an area and then moved right back in within a short time. The dependent variables were calls about crime and observed disorders.

The overall methodological approach is sound in that the authors have multiple randomized experimental and control groups and a pre and post test of crime (June 1986 to June 1988). However, controlling for any outside variables was not addressed. Sherman and Weisburd (1995) may have addressed other plausible threats that could have influenced the study's results, but they did not mention doing so. Another concern is the statistical technique used to analyze the seasonality effects on crime. Only one year, or twelve months, was used to collect data concerning observed disorders. It would not be reasonable to take a SMS point away for not mentioning variables accounted for without actually finding one or more that did influence the outcome. On the other hand, statistically accounting for seasonality requires at least four to five separate periods of data collection for comparability purposes, which is also required to produce significant results (Menard, 2002). Consequently, one point will be taken away from this article, giving it a four on the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale. However, other plausible variables may have attributed to the overall findings of the study.

Koper (1995) attempted to understand the residual deterrent effect of police presence. The study followed a secondary data analysis format where data were obtained from the Minneapolis Preventive Patrol Experiment. The research question focused on the amount of time a police officer spent within an area considered a "hot spot." It was hypothesized that the more time a police officer is present within a high crime area, the higher deterrent effect when the police presence is absent (survival time).

The study included data from a twelve-month period (December 1, 1988 through November 30, 1989) (Koper, 1995). Data were collected by observing police presence within areas considered hot spots and a 30-minute follow-up period to detect any criminal activity. In short, the findings were that a period of 14 to 15 minutes had the highest survival time without any crime or disorder. Moreover, police presence over 15 minutes had an adverse effect on crime and disorder. That is, survival times diminished as presence moved past 15 minutes. The study was given a SMS rating of four, meaning there were pre- and post-test measures of crime, multiple experimental and control groups (comparable), and control for other variables (Sherman et al., 2002).

This study merely attempted to reevaluate secondary data from the Minneapolis Preventive Patrol Experiment. Though the preventive patrol experiment is considered an experimental design and could be included in the policing chapter of *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention*, this does not automatically qualify the inclusion of a secondary data analysis study. That is not to say that Koper (1995) did not use sound methodological techniques in his analysis; he found consistent results with the data that were utilized. Koper used all data to measure the amount of time a police officer is present in an area and the amount of time it takes for a crime to occur after the police officer has left the area. It was considered an experimental design because the hot spots with increased patrol had less crime occurrences observed in the 30-minute period than areas with low police presence (control). The only inference that one can take from this study is that criminals know that police presence is higher in specific areas and wait longer to commit crimes after the police have moved out of the area.

Additionally, if the results of this study were to be used, the overall conclusion actually contradicts the general intention of hot spot policing and directed patrols. The purpose of directed patrols is to decrease the amount of activity occurring within a high crime area over a period of time. This article merely suggests that a survival time between the presence of police and the next criminal occurs dependent upon the number of police in an area. In short, the criminals know not to commit crimes when police are in their area, and the longer police stay (up to 15 minutes), the longer they wait to commit another crime. To measure the effect properly in both the experimental and control groups, there must be a measure of overall crime in the specific areas (which were defined by street blocks). The implication of this study contradicts the continuity of the effect of hot spot policing.

Considering this information, the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale cannot be applied. The conclusions and findings can be useful to police however. Police can maximize the time between their presence and another crime occurring if they stay in an area for about 15 minutes. That does not sidestep the overall purpose of this paper; that is, are directed patrols effective in reducing criminal occurrences within an area with high crime rates? The amount of time it takes for a criminal to commit a crime once a police officer leaves the area, either areas with high police presences or not, does not necessarily answer this question. Consequently, the study should not be used to make a determination of the effectiveness of directed patrol.

Fritsch, Caeti, and Taylor (1999) researched the Dallas Anti-Gang Initiative and its effect on violent offenses. The purpose of the Anti-Gang Initiative of 1996 was to reduce many problems within the high crime areas of Dallas, Texas. The authors focused on how the program affected violent crime rates over a two-year period. Five control and five

experimental groups were formulated that targeted areas consisting of seven of the most violent gangs in Dallas. The authors created comparable control groups by examining the number of violent crimes within each area. This article was given an SMS rating of three based on the comparable control groups and pre and post measures of crime (Sherman et al., 2002).

To understand the true implications of this article's findings, it is important to examine crime in Dallas historically. The Anti-Gang Initiative of 1996 was created to reduce violent crime, but this was not its sole purpose. The purpose of this program was to reduce violent crime, drug activity, and fear in cities (U.S. Department of Justice, 2008). Viewing this article from a holistic sense, with the inclusion of all types of gang related crime, this program does not look as beneficial as the authors previously claimed. For instance, the authors' findings focused on violent crime, claiming the program was a success. They also collected data about additional gang-related crimes such as robbery and auto theft. Mentioned only briefly is the fact that there was a significant increase in both these categories in the experimental groups. Moreover, two of the control groups had a significant decrease in both these categories. What can be inferred from this is that there is a high likelihood that there is a variable or variables that have not been taken into account or the program was not implemented as originally planned. There is no available data to suggest that the implementation process was not followed. Therefore it would be impossible to deduct a SMS point for that reason. However, there is a possibility that the authors did not account for a third variable influencing the dependent variable.

The authors mentioned briefly a revitalization program, called Enterprise Zones, in which businesses were given tax credits to locate in areas in need of renewal. This program was occurring during the same time period as the Anti-Gang Initiative of 1996. It would not be a concern if the Enterprise Zones were deemed ineffective, but Sherman et al. (2002) categorized these types of programs as "promising," which leads one to assume that this program could have had an influence on gang-related crime rates.

Enterprise Zones overlapped disproportionately with the 10 groups within the Anti-Gang Initiative of 1996 study (Fritsch et al., 1999); a study in which obtained an SMS score of three (Sherman et al., 2002). Consequently, the authors should not have declared comparability across the control and experimental groups. For this reason, the article should have been given a two, deducting one point for non-comparison groups available. It is important to note that just because an author claims comparability of control and experimental groups at surface level, that does not mean the groups are truly comparable. Further inquiry is required to understand the actual level of comparability.

Discussion and Conclusion

It has been shown that Sherman et al. (2002) did not have enough evidence to claim that hot spot policing “works” as a crime reduction technique. This is not to say that hot spot policing does not work in general. This assessment merely asserts that Sherman et al. should have included additional research in the review process. The articles they reviewed had flaws that Sherman et al. did not mention. Three of the studies should not have been included because the hypotheses did not match the conceptualization of directed patrols (Chaiken et al., 1975; Koper, 1995; Press, 1971). Chaiken et al. and Fritsch et al. (1999) failed to identify a comparable control group. Additionally, Fritsch et al. did not control for outside variables that may have influenced the crime rates in the areas they studied. The only useful study Sherman et al. incorporated into their assessment was that of Sherman and Weisburd (1995). Though Sherman and Weisburd did not mention explicitly accounting for any outside variables, supplemental literature did not suggest the presence of an outside variable. The only problem this author found with the Sherman and Weisburd study was the limited number of data collection points to account for seasonality. If the authors had addressed this factor properly, the SMS score would be a five.

The literature suggests that the use of crime mapping technology has advanced the researcher’s ability to identify specific high crime areas. Gorr et al. (2003) found that even with increased computer technology (collecting data between 2000 and 2001), it is still extremely difficult to identify specific hot spot crime areas. This claim is important because Sherman et al.’s (2002) assessment of directed patrols uses five studies preceding this finding, with four outside of the computer technology era (two studies collected data in the 1960s and two in the 1980s). Therefore these studies designated high crime areas with no identifiable method—without the use of technology. It is plausible to assume that without the use of technology, properly identifying these high crime areas was very difficult, if not impossible. As a result, when measuring the effectiveness of directed patrol in the future, more recent studies should be included that use technology to identify high crime areas more efficiently.

Another important idea that emerged from these findings involves the conceptualization issues. Two studies should have been classified as an increase in police manpower rather than a directed patrol (Chaiken et al., 1975; Press, 1971). Sherman et al. (2002) found that increased police manpower was an ineffective crime reduction technique. If these two studies were to maintain their overall SMS score of three, the findings would actually contradict Sherman et al.’s conclusion. This miscategorization insinuates that there is a possibility that increased manpower is an

effective technique when attempting to reduce crime. Future research should reevaluate the entirety of this literature to make a determination about the effectiveness of this specific topic.

In conclusion, Sherman et al. (2002) posit that it is necessary to have two articles scoring a three or above on the SMS to claim that a particular program “works.” This reassessment of the articles they used finds that only one study meets this requirement. Hot spot policing should be categorized as “promising,” given the one article maintaining a three or above on the SMS. As a result, hot spot policing should not be considered as an effective policing technique when strictly using these articles. That is not to say that hot spot policing is not effective. This paper merely establishes that the articles used in *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention* do not meet the requirements, and an assessment of additional, more recent, research is essential to understand the true effectiveness of hot spot policing and directed patrol

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The Influence of Gender, Race, Age, Academic Level, and Political Affiliation on Corporal Punishment Attitudes

Eric G. Lambert, Morris Jenkins, and Lois Ventura

There is a paucity of research on attitudes toward the corporal punishment of criminal offenders. This research study explored the attitudes of college students on corporal punishment. The authors found limited support for use of corporal punishment as a sanction for theft. There was greater acceptance for use of corporal punishment as a sanction for acts of violence. The authors conducted multivariate analyses to assess the influence of gender, race, age, educational level, and political affiliation variables on attitudes toward corporal punishment. Gender was the most powerful predictor of attitudes: men were more accepting of corporal punishment than women. After gender, political affiliation had the most influence. Republicans were more supportive of corporal punishment than Democrats. Race, age, and academic level had only limited influence on attitudes toward corporal punishment.

Key Words: Corporal punishment attitudes • punishment attitudes • gender • political affiliation

Corporal is from the Latin *corpus*, which refers to the body (Leighton, 2004); thus, corporal punishment involves inflicting pain to the body as a punishment for an unacceptable behavior or crime (Maddan & Hallahan, 2002; Newman, 1983). Before the advent of prisons, corporal punishment was often used to punish criminal offenders (Maddan & Hallahan, 2002; Newman, 1983). Corporal punishment was often administered in public as a form of deterrence. The whipping of offenders is a historic form of corporal punishment and is referenced in nearly all ancient codes, including the Code of Hammurabi, the Old Testament of the Bible, and the Koran (Fuller, 2006; Wieche, 1990). Since the rise of prisons in the 1800s, the use of corporal punishment has become less frequent in the United States. Contemporary sentences of imprisonment rely on the loss of liberty to achieve the penological purpose of punishment rather than inflicting physical pain on the body of the offender (Bloom, 1995; Henries, 1970; Leighton, 2004; Rothman, 1971). The last whipping of an offender convicted of crime in the United States took place in 1952 in Delaware, even though whipping of offenders was not abolished in Delaware until 1972, making Delaware the last state to have legislatively

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endorsed corporal punishment as a criminal sanction (Bloom, 1995; Hall, 1995; University of Delaware Library, 2006). The use of corporal punishment of inmates in prison ended shortly after the Eighth Circuit Federal Appeals Court ruled in *Jackson v. Bishop* (1968) that this form of inmate discipline, as it was administered in that case, violated the Eighth Amendment prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment (Maddan & Hallahan, 2002; Pollock, 1997). While no state currently imposes corporal punishment as a criminal sanction, the United States Supreme Court has not ruled on the constitutionality of legislatively authorized, judicially ordered corporal punishment as a sentence for convicted offenders (Hall, 1995).

While the sentence of corporal punishment has not been used for more than three decades, there are still calls for its use. Newman (1983) argues for the use of public electric shocks for the punishment of many minor crimes. In 1994, the case of Michael Fay, who was sentenced to be caned by Singapore authorities for vandalizing cars (Bloom, 1995; Hall, 1995; Weiner, Graham, & Reyna, 1997; Wiechman, Weiss, & Bea, 1995), led to a renewed debate in the United States about the reestablishment of corporal punishment as a sanction for convicted offenders (Bloom, 1995; Hall, 1995; Maddan & Hallahan, 2002). While some were appalled by Mr. Fay's sentence, others called for the reinstatement of corporal punishment for criminal offenders. There has been little research on the attitudes of people toward corporal punishment and the differences of these views by gender, race, age, academic level/division, and political affiliation; therefore, the authors undertook this study.

Brief Literature Review

As mentioned previously, there has been little research on the views of corporal punishment of offenders; however, views on corporal punishment of children have been a more popular topic. Corporal punishment is often used to discipline children in the United States. Most young adults report that they were spanked at least once as a child (Graziano & Namaste, 1990). Moreover, most adults support parental spanking of children (Flynn, 1996, 1998; Graziano, Lindquist, Kuncze, & Munjal, 1992); however, support for corporal punishment of children has declined since the 1960s (Davis, 1999; Douglas, 2006). Attitudinal research on corporal punishment of children indicates that support for the practice varies among different sub-populations in the United States. While some studies have found that more men than women support the use of corporal punishment with children (Douglas, 2006; Flynn, 1998; Grasmick, Morgan, & Kennedy, 1992; Graziano et al., 1992), other studies did not elicit similar findings (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993; Flynn, 1994). Educational level has been inversely linked to support of corporal punishment (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993). While many studies have found that Black

individuals are usually more supportive of spanking than White individuals (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993; Flynn, 1994, 1998; Straus, 2001), some studies found no differences between Black and White individuals in level of support for corporal punishment of children (Cazenave & Straus, 1990). Finally, Flynn (1998), Grasmick et al. (1992), and Ruane (1993) all found that support for corporal punishment of children increased as the misbehavior of the child increased in severity.

The attitudinal research on corporal punishment of children suggests that attitudes concerning corporal punishment of offenders might also differ across different subgroups. Indeed, the research on attitudes regarding punishment and treatment of criminals, in general, suggests that attitudes vary by gender, race, age, educational level, and political affiliation. Research suggests, for example, that women tend to be more supportive of rehabilitation (Applegate, Cullen, & Fisher, 2002; Cullen, Clark, Cullen, & Mathers, 1985) and are less punitive than men (Applegate et al., 2002; Blumstein & Cohen, 1980; Grasmick & McGill, 1994; Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986). Additionally, women are less supportive of the death penalty (Applegate et al., 2002; Bohm, 1987; Borg, 1997; Ellsworth & Gross, 1994). Some studies report that White individuals tend to be more punitive in their views (Blumstein & Cohen, 1980; Lambert, 2005; McCorkle, 1993). Other studies have found no differences between White and Nonwhite individuals in their views of punishment of offenders (Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, & Lanza-Kaduce, 1996; Tsoudis, 2000). The literature also suggests there is a racial gap in support of the death penalty, with White individuals more supportive of capital punishment (Arthur, 1998; Bohm, 1991; Ellsworth & Gross, 1994). In addition, as people age, they often become more punitive in their views concerning crime and punishment issues (McCorkle, 1993; Tyler & Boeckmann, 1997). Education has been found to have a liberalizing effect on views toward crime and punishment (Blumstein & Cohen, 1980; McCorkle, 1993; Tyler & Boeckmann, 1997). Studies also suggest that affiliation with the Republican party and those who identify themselves as conservative are more supportive of the punishment of offenders, including the death penalty, than are those who are affiliated with the Democratic party and those who identify themselves as liberal (Lambert, 2004; Lambert, Clarke, & Lambert, 2004; Mackey & Courtright, 2000; Sandys & McGarrell, 1995; Young, 1991).

This study examined attitudes about whipping criminal offenders and children. Based on the literature regarding views on corporal punishment of children and the literature on punishment and treatment views in general, the authors proposed the following hypotheses. First, men would be more supportive of corporal punishment (i.e., whipping) for both offenders and children than women. Second, race would also be significant with White individuals more supportive of whipping than Nonwhites. Third, support for whipping

would be positively associated with age because corporal punishment, especially of children, was more common and socially acceptable in the past. Fourth, educational level would have an inverse relationship to views on corporal punishment of children and offenders. Specifically, lower level/division students (i.e., freshmen and sophomores) would be more supportive than upper level/division students (i.e., juniors and seniors). Finally, political affiliation would be associated with corporal punishment views. Specifically, individuals affiliated with the Republican party and those who indicated that they are Independents would be more supportive of corporal punishment than those affiliated with the Democratic party.

Methods

The data for this study came from a survey of college students at a public four-year university in the Midwest with an enrollment of about 20,000. A convenience sampling design was used to select the students in the study. More than 20 college courses offered were selected for administration of the survey. On average, each of the selected classes had 25 to 35 students. The classes represented a wide array of majors and included general education classes required by all majors at the university. A survey was provided to students who attended the day of the survey administration. The students were informed that the survey was voluntary. While no student was required to participate, and all were told that they could decline without penalty, more than 95% of the students completed the survey, resulting in 611 usable surveys. Among the respondents, 54% were women, 17% were Black, 4% were Hispanic, 73% were White, and 6% classified themselves as another racial group. For purposes of analysis, gender was coded as women = 0 and men = 1. Race was collapsed into a dichotomous variable where Nonwhite = 0 and White = 1. The median age was 21, with a range of 18 to 69 years old. The mean age was 21.61, with a standard deviation of 6.70. For the purpose of analysis, age was left in continuous years. Approximately 25% of the respondents were freshman, 25% sophomore, 26% junior, and 24% senior. For the purpose of analysis, academic status was recoded into a binary variable of lower level/division (freshman and sophomore, coded as 0) and upper level/division (junior and senior, coded as 1).

The respondents were asked whether they believed that “the United States should use corporal punishment, such as caning or whipping, on convicted criminals” which they answered by using a five-point Likert scale of strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), uncertain (3), agree (4), and strongly agree (5). Eleven questions dealing with corporal punishment, which respondents answered by using an agree/disagree binary response option, were also selected for analysis; Table 1 presents these questions. The respondents were informed that the corporal punishment would not result in a permanent

injury to the recipient. Specifically, it was indicated that the sanction of whipping would not result in the breaking of skin. The respondents were also informed before answering the eleven questions that they should assume that corporal punishment could be used legally.

Results

When asked whether “the United States should use corporal punishment, such as caning or whipping, on convicted criminals,” 18% strongly disagreed, 27% disagreed, 20% were uncertain, 24% agreed, and 12% strongly agreed. Respondents were asked their views on eleven aspects of corporal punishment, and the percentages for the frequency results appear in Table 1.

Almost two-thirds of the respondents believed that whipping an adult for theft was cruel, but slightly less than half thought it was cruel to whip an offender who committed a violent crime. The majority of respondents indicated that they feared whipping more than a month’s incarceration. Only about a third thought that whipping would deter offenders from reoffending. They also believed that a month in jail would reduce recidivism more than eight lashes from a whip. Additionally, respondents were asked whether they would prefer eight lashes with a whip or one month in jail if they were convicted for minor drug possession; most of the respondents preferred one month in jail. An even greater number of students would sentence a first-time offender of minor drug possession to a month in jail rather than eight lashes with a whip. The majority indicated that offenders should not be able to select whipping or incarceration as punishment and whipping of offenders should not be public.

The vast majority (87%) of respondents believed that parents should be allowed to spank their children. Fifty-two percent thought the government should not try to stop parents from whipping their children for bad behavior. The respondents were split on whether they thought parents who whipped their children for bad behavior were cruel. While we defined that whipping would use a whip that would inflict pain but not break the skin or leave scars, we did not indicate whether spanking would involve a hand only or an object.

To determine the influence of gender, race, age, academic level/division, and political affiliation on responses to each of the corporal punishment questions, multivariate analysis was conducted. For the question about whether “the United States should use corporal punishment, such as caning or whipping, on convicted criminals,” ordered ordinal regression was used to analyze the data because the response options for this question were reported on a five-point Likert scale, which is an ordinal level measure. When the dependent variable is an ordinal level measure, the use of ordered ordinal regression is

Table 1. *Percentage of Responses to Questions on Corporal Punishment (N = 611)*

Question	Cruel	Not Cruel
I believe that whipping (8 lashes) an adult who has stolen \$1000 is:	65%	35%
I believe that whipping (8 lashes) an adult who has hit a victim in the face while stealing the victim's wallet is:	48%	52%
	8 Lashes From a Whip	1 Month in Jail
If convicted for minor drug possession, which would you prefer as a sentence:	41%	59%
If you were a judge, how would you sentence a first-time offender for a minor drug violation:	33%	67%
Which form of punishment do you think would be most likely to prevent criminals from committing the same crime again:	35%	65%
Which punishment would you fear more:	55%	45%
	Yes	No
If whipping or caning was allowed as a form of punishment, should they be public:	34%	66%
Should we allow offenders to decide if they would rather be whipped or incarcerated:	33%	67%
Should parents be allowed to spank their children:	87%	13%
I believe the government should stop parents from whipping children for bad behavior:	47%	52%
	Cruel	Not Cruel
I believe that parents who whip children for bad behavior are Cruel or Not Cruel.	51%	49%

Note. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

recommended (Long, 1997; Menard, 1995). Only gender (b estimate = .99, $p \leq .001$) and being Republican (b estimate = .74, $p \leq .001$) had statistically significant effects. Men and respondents who indicated they were affiliated with the Republican party were more likely than women and Democrats to believe in the use of corporal punishment of offenders.

Multivariate analysis was conducted with the 11 questions in Table 1 as the dependent variables, and gender, age, race, academic level/division, and political affiliation were the independent variables. Because all 11 questions had a dichotomous response option, binary logistic regression was used (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). The results appear in Table 2. (For a description of how the independent variables were measured, please see the note section that accompanies Table 2.) Due to space constraints, the table presents the independent variables in the columns and the dependent variables in the rows. Gender had a statistically significant effect for nine of the 11 questions. Women were more likely to believe that whipping an offender for a theft offense or for a theft with violence offense was cruel, were more likely to prefer serving a month in jail than being whipped, and were more likely to sentence a first-time drug possession offender to serve a month in jail than to be whipped. Women were also more likely to believe that it was cruel for parents to whip their children and were more supportive of a government-imposed prohibition of parental whipping as a form of child discipline. Men were more likely to believe that corporal punishment had a greater deterrent effect than sentencing an offender to a month of incarceration and were more supportive for public displays of caning or whipping of criminals. Men were more likely to think that an offender should have the option of selecting either incarceration or corporal punishment.

Race had only a significant relationship with two of the 11 questions. Nonwhites were more fearful of receiving eight lashes from a whip, while Whites were more fearful of being incarcerated for a month. Nonwhites were more likely than Whites to believe parents who whip their children for bad behavior were cruel.

Table 2. *Binary Logistic Regression Results; B Coefficient Reported.*

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables					
	Gender	Race	Age	Academic Level	Republican	Independent
I believe that whipping (8 lashes) an adult who has stolen \$1000 is: Cruel or Not Cruel.	.75**	.18	.02	-.37*	.51*	-.07
I believe that whipping (8 lashes) an adult who has hit a victim in the face while stealing the victim=s wallet is: Cruel or Not Cruel.	1.06**	-.17	-.01	-.21	.65**	.36
If convicted for minor drug possession, which would you prefer as a sentence: 8 lashes from a whip or 1 month in jail.	-.65**	-.08	.01	.00	-.34	-.25

Table 2, cont.

If you were a judge, how would you sentence a first time offender for a minor drug violation: 8 lashes from a whip or 1 month in jail.	-.89**	-.04	.00	-.04	.69**	-.47*
Which form of punishment do you think would be most likely to prevent criminals from committing the same crime again: 8 lashes from a whip or 1 month in jail.	.66**	.40	.00	-.82**	.39	-.26
Which punishment would you fear more: 8 lashes from a whip or 1 month in jail.	.14	-.54**	.00	-.17	-.17	-.32
If whipping or caning was allowed as a form of punishment, should they be public: Yes or No.	-1.06**	-.11	-.03*	.20	-.62**	.32
Should we allow offenders to decide if they would rather be whipped or incarcerated: Yes or No.	-.42*	.05	-.03	-.17	-.41	-.78**
Should parents be allowed to spank their children: Yes or No.	-.41	-.22	-.05	.08	.04	.43
I believe that parents who whip children for bad behavior are: Cruel or Not Cruel.	.39*	-.49*	.02	-.25	.46*	-.50*
I believe the government should stop parents from whipping children for bad behavior: Yes or No.	.45*	-.26	.10**	-.46*	.42	-.76**

Note. Due to space constraints, dependent variables are reported in the rows titles and independent variables are reported in the column headers. $N = 611$. Gender coded as 0 = female and 1 = male; Race coded as 0 = Nonwhite and 1 = White; Age measured in continuous years; Academic Level measured as 0 = lower level (freshmen and sophomore) and 1 = upper level (junior and senior); Republican measured if the respondent was affiliated with the Republican party (1) or not (0). Independent measured if the respondent marked that he/she was independent or another party. The reference group for the Republican and Independent variables is Democrat. The Wald test was used for statistical significance of the b coefficient.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Age also had only two significant associations. Older respondents were more likely to believe that corporal punishment of offenders should be public but were more likely to think that the government should stop parents who whip their children for bad behavior.

Academic level/division had a significant influence on three questions. Lower level students were more likely to believe that whipping an adult who stole \$1000 was cruel. Upper level students were more likely to think whipping had a greater deterrent effect than incarceration and were more likely to think that the government should stop parents from whipping their children.

The variable measuring Republican party affiliation had a significant association with five of the questions. The reference group was those respondents who indicated they were affiliated with the Democratic party. Democrats were more likely to believe that whipping an offender for a nonviolent or violent crime was cruel and were more likely to agree that parents who whip their children were cruel. Republicans were more likely to sentence a first-time drug offender to jail than to be whipped. Conversely, respondents who indicated that that they were affiliated with the Republican party were more likely to think that whipping or caning of criminals should occur in public. The variable political independence had a significant relationship with four of the questions. Again, the reference group was those respondents who indicated they were affiliated with the Democratic party. Those respondents who indicated that they were not affiliated with either the Republican or Democratic parties were more likely to sentence a first-time drug offender to receive eight lashes with a whip, were more likely to agree that offenders should be able to choose a sentence of corporal punishment or incarceration, were more likely to believe that parents who whipped their children for bad behavior were cruel, and were more likely to agree that the government should stop parents from whipping their children.

Discussion and Conclusion

The majority of respondents believed that whipping an offender who stole \$1000 was cruel. There was greater support for whipping of an offender when the crime involved violence. The finding of greater support for corporal punishment for more violent crimes is reflected in the literature of corporal punishment of children. As indicated previously, support for corporal punishment of children increases as the seriousness of the misbehavior increases (Flynn, 1998; Grasmick et al., 1992; Ruane, 1993). It is interesting to note that support for whipping of offenders was lowest for the crimes for which corporal punishment is traditionally sanctioned and increased for violent crimes that are generally punished by imprisonment. Newman (1983) proposed that corporal punishment is a superior form of punishment to incarceration in some cases. Specifically, he argued that

well controlled and monitored electric shocks could be a less cruel punishment for nonviolent offenders than being separated from family, employment, and the other dimensions of one's life that result from incarceration. On the other hand, retribution is often provided as a reason for the use of corporal punishment of offenders (Bloom, 1995). Thus, under the retributive principle of punishment, support for corporal punishment should be greater when the harm done to the victim is greater. Responding with a violent punishment of whipping would be deemed more appropriate when the offender was violent with the victim. The results appear to support this postulation.

Deterrence is another reason advanced for use of corporal punishment (Caldwell, 1947; Walker, 1936; Henries, 1970; Scarre, 2003; Turner, 2003; Weiner et al., 1997). Many of the respondents indicated that they feared being whipped more than being sent to jail for a month. This fear may have led them to indicate that they would prefer incarceration rather than eight lashes for minor drug possession. It is unclear whether this fear would have any deterrent effect on their behaviors. Only about a third of the respondents believed that whipping would have a specific deterrent effect on offenders. This finding is interesting in light of the finding that the majority of respondents indicated that they would prefer to be sentenced to a month in jail than to receive eight lashes from a whip. It could be that they have a different view of deterrence for themselves and what they view as typical criminal offenders and think that corporal punishment would deter them but would not deter criminals. Respondents may view most offenders as living a tough life and having a fatalistic attitude of not caring that pain is inflicted on their bodies. This view may have led the respondents to perceive that corporal punishment would not deter offenders. On the other hand, respondents probably view themselves as rational human beings who are deterred by pain or, at the very least, try to avoid pain. It is also possible that the respondents do not believe deterrence is an effective means to deal with crime. They may believe that incarceration is a more effective response to crimes, which would explain why they were more supportive of a jail sentence for an offender rather than a whipping sentence. This area needs further exploration to reach a more definitive explanation.

It is unclear whether the threat of corporal punishment would actually deter people from committing crimes. The deterrent effects of corporal punishment on offenders have not been widely studied. Some of the research on corporal punishment of children suggests that it may actually lead to increased misbehavior rather than curbing it (Flynn, 1996; Straus, 2001). Caldwell (1947), in his study of whipping of offenders in Delaware, reported that whipping had little effect on recidivism of offenders. The respondents may have thought corporal punishment could lead to further offending when they indicated that incarceration would have a greater deterrent effect. Additionally, only a third of the

respondents thought that corporal punishment should be public. Newman (1983) argued that corporal punishment must be public to have its greatest deterrent effect. There does not appear to be much support in this study for public displays of corporal punishment.

The majority (67%) of the respondents indicated that they would rather sentence a first-time minor drug offender to a month in jail rather than to eight lashes from a whip. This is probably the result of their own personal fear of being whipped and their hesitation to use corporal punishment for nonviolent crimes. A common assumption underlying the criminal justice system in this country is that the punishment should fit the crime. This assumption is violated if an offender is punished in a violent manner for committing a non-violent act. Interesting, most respondents believed that offenders should not be given the choice of selecting whipping or incarceration. This finding may reflect a basic belief that offenders do not have a right to choose their sentence, or it could also be due to society's acceptance of prison as a normal and accepted form of punishment.

The vast majority of respondents believed that parents should be allowed to spank their children; however, there was an almost even split among respondents' thoughts on the cruelty of whipping children. Determining whether whipping a child is cruel may depend on the respondents' selective perceptions of what level of harm is inflicted in a whipping. Those respondents who perceive a whipping to be nothing more than a severe spanking may not consider it cruel. Other respondents may have been socialized to believe that inflicting bodily harm on a child, regardless of the misbehavior, is wrong and immoral. Additionally, there was division among the respondents regarding whether they thought that government should stop parents from whipping their children. This finding may reflect respondents' attitudes toward the role of government as well as their attitudes toward corporal punishment. The popular media's portrayal of child abuse may influence respondents' hesitation in [allowing] [approving of?]whipping of a child for bad behavior as might respondents' exposure to non-violent parenting techniques and information on the potential harm of corporal punishment on a child's health and social development.

The multivariate analysis supported some but not all the hypotheses. Overall, women were less supportive of corporal punishment than men. This finding is consistent with the research on punishment and treatment views of men and women. This finding also supports Gilligan's (1982) contention that men and women differ in their moral reasoning and perceptions of fairness and justice. Gilligan argued that men generally believe that people must be held accountable for their actions, and punishment is an acceptable sanction for a crime. Women, on the other hand, believe that people must be treated compassionately, and sanctions are used to change people for the greater good of the group. The second best predictor of corporal punishment views was political affiliation. In general, those respondents affiliated with the Republican party were more supportive of

corporal punishment than those students affiliated with the Democratic party. Thus, the differences observed in association with political affiliation in terms of general punishment and treatment views continue for corporal punishment views.

Academic level/division was not a strong predictor of corporal punishment views. There was a difference between the views of lower and upper level/division students on only three of the twelve multivariate questions. As predicted, upper level/division students were more likely to believe whipping for stealing was cruel and were more likely to believe that government should stop parents from whipping their children. Education appears to have some liberalizing effects. On the other hand, upper level/division students were more likely to believe that corporal punishment would have a greater deterrent effect than incarceration. There was no relationship between academic level/division and nine other corporal punishment views. It could be that there is no relationship between educational level and corporal punishment views in most circumstances. A limited measure of educational level was used in this study as it surveyed only undergraduate students. No respondents had less than a high school education or a graduate education. It is very possible that with a wider range of educational levels, a relationship between educational level and corporal punishment would have been observed. Similarly, age was a poor predictor of corporal punishment views. There was a significant relationship for age in only two of the twelve multivariate analyses. It could be that age is not linked to corporal punishment views when the effects of gender and political affiliation are taken into account. It is also possible that the lack of more relationships was due to the population surveyed. While age ranged from 18 to 69 years, the vast majority (85%) of the respondents were between the ages of 18 and 26.

Interestingly, race had a significant relationship in only two of the twelve multivariate models. It could be that race has little to do with attitudes about corporal punishment. There has been little, if any, research on views on corporal punishment of criminals. It is also possible that the dichotomous measure of being White or Nonwhite failed to capture the differences in views. Most of the research on views of punishment and views of corporal punishment of children has examined the differences between White and Black respondents. New multivariate analyses were run, dichotomizing the respondents as either Black or White. In addition to the significant effects of race Table 2 reports, the new measure had a significant association on one new question only. White respondents were more likely than Black respondents to believe that parents who whipped their children for bad behavior were cruel. This new finding is consistent with the literature that suggests Black individuals are more supportive of corporal punishment of children (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993; Flynn, 1994, 1998; Straus, 2001). It is possible that the relationship between race and corporal punishment views depends on the type of corporal punishment

that is examined and whether children or adults are being subjected to it. The literature suggests that White individuals are more likely to support punishment of offenders but are ambivalent on corporal punishment of children. Conversely, the literature reports that Black persons are more supportive of treatment for criminal offenders and opposed to the death penalty but are more supportive of corporal punishment of children. Thus the relationship between race and corporal punishment views may be complex and vary by the situation.

This study has limitations. It was but a single exploratory study that examined the corporal punishment attitudes of students at a Midwestern public university. There is a need for much more research in this area. If possible, a random sampling of people in the community should be done. In addition, incarcerated convicted offenders should be surveyed. There may also be regional differences in corporal punishment attitudes. The current study examined only a limited area of corporal punishment attitudes. Future research needs to examine other forms of corporal punishment. For example, this study did not examine the use of electrical shocks as Newman (1983) proposed. Additionally, this study asked only about the imposition of corporal punishment or incarceration. It is unknown what level of support there would be for joint sentences involving corporal punishment and another sanction, such as probation, house arrest, or incarceration. Future research may wish to examine the views on the use of corporal punishment in prisons and with juvenile delinquents. In addition to the personal characteristics of gender, race, age, educational level, and political orientation, other variables need to be explored to determine what relationship they have, if any, with corporal punishment attitudes. Research on views of corporal punishment of children has found that religious variables were important factors in explaining level of support (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993). This is clearly a need for more research in this area.

While offenders are not sentenced currently to corporal punishment in the United States, it is important to explore corporal punishment attitudes. Studying corporal punishment attitudes provides a better and richer understanding of people's perspectives on crime and sanctioning of offenders. Additionally, there is a chance that corporal punishment of offenders may be reinstated in the United States. Undoubtedly, public opinion would influence such a legislative decision, and it may also be a factor in any subsequent judicial review (Hall, 1995). Regardless of whether corporal punishment is reestablished and/or constitutional, understanding corporal punishment views is necessary to broaden the scope and depth of criminal justice knowledge. It is hoped that this research will spark an interest in exploring people's views on corporal punishment and why they vary.

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Police Officer Recruitment: The Influence of Residency Requirements, Job Specialization, and Educational Reimbursement on Applicant Rating of Job Description

Dennis W. Bulen

This study investigates factors that influence police officer response to job vacancy descriptions in recruitment advertisements. Study participants were 277 police officers from a police agency located in a large metropolitan area in the Midwest. In a recruitment simulation such as those private and educational sectors conduct, participants role-played as applicants for police vacancies and reacted to job descriptions in simulated recruitment advertisements. The dependent variable was the rating of the job description by the participants. The independent variables were the following: residency requirement, opportunity for specialization, and opportunity for educational reimbursement. The design was a 2 x 2 x 2 completely crossed fixed-factor analysis of variance. The ANOVA did not detect statistical significance, however, a secondary analysis of police officer demographic variables, involving correlations and step-wise multiple regression analysis as the analytical techniques, determined that age was a significant negative correlate of job description rating.

Key Words: ♦ Police recruitment ♦ hiring ♦ selection ♦ job description

This investigative study examines the use of classified advertisements to recruit qualified individuals to serve as police officers. The literature review failed to identify any empirical studies that address police officer job applicant reactions to recruitment advertisement stimuli. This research investigates the reactions of police officer job applicants to job descriptions in formal position announcements that appear routinely in classified sections of print media and the factors that make a job description attractive to recruit police officers. For the purposes of this research, a recruit police officer is an entry-level position in a local law enforcement agency.

Recruitment is a two-way, interactive process. The job applicants and the organizational representatives take an active role in the decision-making process (Schwab, Rynes, & Aldag, 1987). Law enforcement organizational decisions include selecting recruitment media, advertising position vacancies, administering a written examination, administering a physical fitness examination, conducting an oral interview, conducting a pre-polygraph/background interview, administering a polygraph examination, conducting a background investigation,

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administering a psychological suitability screening, conducting a medical examination, and accepting an employment recommendation from the screening committee. Recruitment decisions job applicants make include deciding to apply for a vacancy, applying for the job, participating in each phase of the screening process, and accepting a job offer. Both the job applicant and the organizational representatives must make affirmative decisions for the hiring process to be successful.

Police Officer Recruitment

The ability of a police organization to provide optimal police service to the community depends on its ability to recruit personnel who are equipped to cope with the increasingly complex demands of the police occupational role.

Administrators are well aware that the most important resource within any criminal justice agency is the personnel. Recruiting qualified officer candidates is a key element in building an effective and successful law enforcement agency (Bennett & Hess, 1996). During the cycling of personnel within an organization, members will terminate their employment for a variety of reasons. The replacement of departing personnel must become a top priority for agency success. Through the adoption of a meaningful recruitment plan, it will be much easier to attract the right type and quality of criminal justice personnel to contribute to the organization's growth. Rowe (1985) suggests:

In view of the growing sociopolitical importance and complexity of the service role, police administrators must seek-out and *actively* recruit those people who are *best* suited to a police career. In order to achieve this aim, the traditionally passive recruiting practices of many police agencies require drastic change (p. 37).

Gaines, Kappeler, and Vaughn (1997) defined police recruitment as "the development of a pool of sufficiently qualified applicants from which to select officers" (p. 75). The number and quality of persons in the applicant pool depend in part on the department's recruitment efforts. A more active effort is likely to produce a larger applicant pool with more qualified applicants. Departments take a variety of approaches in recruiting suitable police officer candidates. Strandberg (1996) touted the benefits of implementing various types of recruiting techniques that address the changing demographics of law enforcement candidates. McKay (1996) found that 95% of survey respondent departments used the newspaper as the primary information source for recruitment.

Recruitment research in criminal justice has focused primarily on the effectiveness and reliability of traditional selection methods such as a written examination, an oral interview, and a psychological assessment. Police officer candidates who fail to meet a

satisfactory rating on a traditional selection method were dropped from the process and not recruited by the police agency. The author found no empirical recruitment research that focused on applicant reactions to particular recruitment message content. Literature focuses only on segments of the selection process that occur after the applicant has decided to apply for employment.

The difficulties of hiring qualified police officers have been well documented. Police administrators themselves have expressed concern regarding increased recruiting problems. As a result, many police agencies are significantly below their authorized strength. Stone and Deluca (1994) found attracting qualified applicants for police vacancies "has become increasingly difficult and will only get more difficult in the future" (p. 267).

Bowers (1989) identifies three primary reasons for increased recruitment problems: (a) the increased demand for police officers, (b) the appeal for racially representative police departments, and (c) a decline in the number of law enforcement applicants. These variables represent significant hiring problems for police administrators.

One goal of any recruitment program is attracting an applicant pool that is diverse enough to meet the organization's objectives. But recruiting qualified police officer candidates is a major factor in police organization effectiveness. Nislow (1999) suggests that:

Whether one blames the nation's roaring economy, higher educational requirements, or noncompetitive wages and benefits, police and sheriff's departments in virtually every region of the country agree that the generous pool of applicants from which they once sought qualified candidates is becoming increasingly shallow (p. 1).

The applicant pool from which police departments recruit officers has indeed been growing smaller. Traditionally, the great majority of entry-level police officers are in the 21- to 30-year-old group. This 21- to 30-year-old demographic has been growing smaller both in the context of new police recruits and in the nation in general as the number of persons reaching 18 years of age in any give year has fallen from 3 million in the late 1970s to 1.3 million in 1991 (Hymes, 1991). The diminished number of employment candidates for police departments reflects this reduction in the available labor pool. The reduction in the available labor pool also increases the competition for qualified candidates among law enforcement agencies as well as between law enforcement organizations and organizations outside law enforcement.

The Rynes and Barber Applicant Attraction Model

This research project is the first application of the Rynes and Barber Applicant Attraction Model in a police officer recruitment study. Rynes and Barber (1990) developed an

interdisciplinary model of applicant attraction strategies from the organization perspective. The applicant attraction strategies component of the Rynes and Barber Model outlines three general strategies for enhancing applicant attraction: (a) improving recruitment practices, (b) targeting non-traditional applicants, and (c) modifying employment inducements. Based on economic and sociological field research, the authors suggest that applicant-targeting strategies and monetary and non-monetary inducements play a vital role in the organization's attempts to attract more, better, or more cost-effective applicants.

Rynes and Barber's suggestions regarding altering recruitment practices to focus on applicant attraction strategies has received research attention in the private sector (Winter, 1996a; Winter, 1996b; Young et al., 1997; Young, Rinehart, & Heneman, 1993). Examples of recruitment factors that they hypothesized to influence applicant attraction include the characteristics of organizational representatives, recruitment message content, recruitment source, and timing of the recruitment activity.

Methods

This research addressed whether inservice police patrol officers, as applicants for the position of recruit police officer, differ in their reactions to and ratings of job descriptions in formal position announcements with respect to three independent variables: city residency requirement, specialization opportunities, and educational reimbursement. To date no empirical studies have investigated how the mention of such factors as city residency requirement, specialization opportunities, and educational reimbursement influence the attraction of job applicants to the position of recruit police officer.

Research Questions

The demographics of police departments are changing. To be successful in recruiting a representative demographic applicant pool, organizational representatives must construct and implement police officer recruitment practices (e.g., written or verbal benefits of the job) that (a) meet the personal needs of the officers, (b) meet the organizational needs of the police department, and (c) meet the needs of the community being served. Police officer recruitment and selection may be one of the most critical factors in determining the overall effectiveness of a police department. It is the officer on the street who interacts with the public and becomes the police department in the eyes of the citizens. If the officer makes a positive public impression, the department can expect community support. If the officer makes an impression that is not positive, the result can be criticism and reduced community support. All other aspects of departmental operations depend on the quality of the officers wearing the uniform. Therefore, officer selection is a key factor in determining overall departmental effectiveness (Schonengerdt & Robinson, 1983).

The typical police officer today is better educated, better trained, and more representative of the community the departments serve. Educational levels have risen, training programs have improved, and there are more African-American, Hispanic, and women police officers today than at any time in the past (Walker, 1999). A review of the current print media advertisement, the collective bargaining agreement, and the departmental hiring standards of the participating agency was conducted to identify areas that the researcher believed may be attractive to or detrimental to potential candidates within this changing police officer demographic.

The research questions are:

1. Is applicant attraction to and likelihood of pursuing the job of police officer influenced by a city residency requirement?
2. Is applicant attraction to and likelihood of pursuing the job of police officer influenced by specialization opportunities?
3. Is applicant attraction to and likelihood of pursuing the job of police officer influenced by an educational reimbursement policy?

Results

This study had an experimental design involving a 2 x 2 x 2 completely crossed fixed-factor factorial ANOVA (Kirk, 1995). The study participants were working police officers who took part in a recruitment simulation.

To implement the data collection, the researcher attended inservice training to collect data at a police agency located in a major metropolitan area in the Midwest. The data collection effort resulted in responses from 277 study participants. Analysis of the data proceeded in three stages: (a) descriptive statistics, (b) reliability analysis, and (c) inferential analysis.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for study participants appear in Table 1. The mean age of the participants was 36 years. The mean number of dependent children was 1.2. A majority of the participants were male (76.5%), White (62.8%), and married (57.8%). The distribution for highest degree earned was: high school diploma (12.3%), associate's degree (16.6%), some college (36.8%), bachelor's degree (31.0%), and other (3.2%). The majority of the participants were patrol officers (70.8%) and had either 0 to 5 years experience (39.7%) or 6 to 10 years experience (28.2%). A majority of the participants worked the day shift (60.0%) and were assigned to the patrol division (94.9%).

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics for Study Participants (N=277)*

Variable	<i>n</i> (%)	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Range
Age		36.0	7.9	21–58
# of Dep. Child.		1.2	1.3	0–6
Gender				
Female	65 (23.5)			
Male	212 (76.5)			
Ethnicity				
White American	174 (62.8)			
African American	97 (35.0)			
Hispanic American	3 (1.0)			
Native American	1 (0.5)			
Other	2 (0.7)			
Marital Status				
Married	160 (57.8)			
Single	117 (42.2)			
Highest Degree				
High School	34 (12.3)			
Associates	46 (16.6)			
Some College	102 (36.8)			
Bachelors	86 (31.0)			
Other	9 (3.2)			
Current Job Rank				
Patrol	196 (70.8)			
Specialist	39 (14.1)			
Sergeant	2 (0.7)			
Lieutenant	2 (0.7)			
Other	38 (13.7)			
Years Experience				
0–5	110 (39.7)			
6–10	78 (28.2)			
11–15	38 (13.7)			
16–20	24 (8.7)			
20+	27 (9.7)			
Work Shift				
Day	155 (60.0)			
Afternoon	58 (16.9)			
Night	64 (23.1)			
Job Assignment				
Patrol	263 (94.9)			
Traffic	6 (2.2)			
K-9	8 (2.9)			

Reliability Analysis

To assess the internal consistency of the two items serving as an additive composite score for the dependent variable (job rating), the researcher computed coefficient alpha for the composite score (Table 2). Coefficient alpha for the two-item scale measuring job rating was .93. This value indicates a strong internal consistency.

Table 2. *Reliability Analysis for Dependent Variable (N = 277)*

Item	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation
1	3.838	1.195	.865	.749
2	4.000	1.000	.865	.749

Note. Item Code: 1 = Likelihood of accepting an interview for the job; 2 = Likelihood of accepting the job if offered. Coefficient alpha was computed to assess the internal consistency for the two-item 5-point scale measuring the dependent variable (job rating). The coefficient alpha of .93 far exceeds the magnitude recommended for use in a composite scale statistical analysis.

Inferential Statistical Analysis

The cell means and standard deviations appear in Table 3. The next step in the analysis was to compute the three-way ANOVA results that appear in Table 4.

As the data in Table 3 show, the magnitudes of the cell means were very similar, suggesting the ANOVA might not yield significant effects. The data from the ANOVA shown in Table 4 confirmed there were no significant main or interaction effects.

In designing the experiment conducted for this exploratory research, the researcher made three assumptions: (a) a residency requirement would be a disincentive to potential job applicants; (b) the opportunity for job specialization would be a positive incentive to potential job applicants; and (c) the opportunity for educational reimbursement would be a positive incentive to potential job applicants. As the ANOVA results demonstrate, the actual participant reactions to the research protocols did not support the above assumptions.

Table 3. *Cell Means and Standard Deviation (N=277)*

Residency	Yes		No	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Specialization				
Reimbursement				
Yes				
Mean	7.6	7.9	8.2	8.1
SD	2.5	2.0	1.5	1.8
No				
Mean	7.9	7.5	8.2	8.0
SD	2.0	2.5	1.7	2.0

Coefficient alpha = .93

Note: The analysis computed cell means and standard deviations for the eight cells in the 2 x 2 x 2 crossing of the three independent variables. The independent variables were labeled as residency (yes, no), specialization (yes, no), and reimbursement (yes, no). For table interpretation, the mean and standard deviation for residency (yes) by specialization (yes) by reimbursement (yes) is 7.6 and 2.5, respectively.

Table 4. *Analysis of Variance of Job Rating by Residency, Specialization, and Educational Reimbursement (N = 277)*

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Residency (RES)	1	6.5	6.5	1.6
Specialization (S)	1	0	0	0
Reimbursement (REI)	1	1.3	1.3	.3
RES x S	1	1.2	1.2	.3
RES x REI	1	1.5	1.5	.4
S x REI	1	0	0	0
RES x S x REI	1	3.0	3.0	.7
Error	269	1,114.2	4.1	
Total	276	1,127.7		

Discussion

This study represents the first application of the recruitment simulation technique (Rynes & Barber, 1990) relative to the task of recruiting law enforcement personnel. Although this investigation was grounded in an appropriate recruitment framework--the Rynes and Barber (1990) applicant attraction model--the study was exploratory in nature due to the lack of previous empirical findings addressing police officer recruitment.

The researcher made the assumption that the existence of a residency requirement at the hiring police agency would influence job rating (dependent variable) negatively. A residency requirement may limit the quality-of-life options for a prospective police officer. Examples of quality-of-life options follow: (a) the quality of the local school system, (b) the local crime rate, (c) the local housing market, including the cost of housing; (d) the resale value of housing; (e) the quantity of housing in neighborhoods perceived as "good" (f) the local tax rate, including real estate taxes, (g) payroll taxes; and (h) other miscellaneous taxes. Another assumed disincentive of a required residency requirement is that police officers and their families may become targets of harassment from individuals the police officer may contact during the course of performing the law enforcement function and from friends and family members of these individuals.

As the ANOVA results demonstrate, the assumption that a residency requirement would be a disincentive to potential job applicants was not supported in actual participant reactions. The researcher speculates the independent variable residency requirement was not significant to the practicing police officers in this study for the following reasons: the participating police officers role-played as applicants for a police officer vacancy by imagining they were at an early stage in their career seeking an entry level police officer position. It may be that quality-of-life options are a secondary consideration in the decision making process for a potential police officer at the start of a career.

The researcher further speculates that the study participants' age, number of dependent children, and amount of job experience may be factor in lack of significance of the residency variable not being significant. It may be that the police officer participants with a mean age of 36, a mean number of children of 1.2, and less than 10 years job experience were not as affected by quality-of-life issues as older and more experienced police officers might be.

The researcher also assumed that the opportunity for job specialization would be a positive incentive to potential job applicants. The ANOVA results suggest the assumption that opportunity for specialization is a positive incentive to potential job applicants was not confirmed. The possible explanation for the independent variable of opportunity for specialization not being significant to practicing police officers in this study is the same

explanation given above for the residency requirement variable. Officers at an early stage in their careers may find specialization to be a secondary consideration in the job search decision making process.

The researcher also assumed that the opportunity for educational reimbursement would be a positive incentive to potential job applicants. The ANOVA results demonstrate the assumption that opportunity for educational reimbursement would be a positive incentive to potential job applicants was not supported in participant job ratings. The same potential explanation noted above may also explain the result that educational reimbursement is not significant to practicing police officers who meet the profile of younger inexperienced police officers.

One final explanation for the lack of significance with the independent variables may lie with the participants used in this research. The participants were in-service police officers who role-played as applicants for recruit police officer vacancies. The researcher asked the participants to react to a simulated recruitment advertisement as if the participants were seeking employment. The participants may have had some difficulty in role-playing a job applicant. The independent variable residency requirement may not have been significant to the participants because the participants' working conditions already included a residency requirement. Therefore, the residency requirement may not have been important to the participants. The independent variable opportunity for specialization may not have been significant to the participants because the participants may not have had enough years of service to be eligible for specialty assignments. Nearly 40% of the participants had less than five years experience. The opportunity for specialization in a large police department may not be available to officers until the officer has reached a minimum number of years of service. Therefore, the opportunity for specialization may not have been important to the participants. The independent variable tuition reimbursement, may not have been significant to the participants because the participants were eligible for tuition reimbursement as part of their current labor agreement. Some of the participants may receive tuition reimbursement, and some of the participants may have made the decision not to exercise the tuition reimbursement benefit. Therefore, the tuition reimbursement benefit may not have been important to the participants.

Future Research

The results of this study demonstrate that identifying the most salient factors influencing police officer job attraction still remains a task for future investigation. However, this research does provide a conceptual framework (e.g., Rynes & Barber, 1990) to guide future investigations. The Rynes and Barber (1990) applicant attraction model offers

several propositions as they relate to modifying employment inducements to influence prospective applicants positively. One of the propositions is that monetary incentives positively influence job attraction. Educational reimbursement proved not to be a strong enough monetary inducement in the police officer recruitment context. Other monetary incentives that might influence police job attraction to a greater degree are base pay, insurance benefits, disability benefits, and overtime availability.

A second proposition of the Rynes and Barber (1990) applicant attraction model as it relates to modifying employment inducements is that non-monetary incentives positively influence job attraction. An example of a non-monetary incentive that might positively influence job attraction is shift assignment, a factor addressed in this research only through descriptive statistics and not used as a focal independent variable.

A third proposition of the Rynes and Barber (1990) model as it relates to modifying employment inducement is that job characteristics influence job attraction either positively or negatively. Opportunity for specialization and residency proved not to be significant influences on job rating. Other job characteristics that might influence police officer job attraction may include: police officer job experiences, the perception of “making a difference”, and gaining acceptance into the police culture. Future research could address the task of developing valid and reliable measures of such to serve as focal independent variables in either experimental or correlation studies.

Also, this investigation addressed only the position of police officer within a large metropolitan police department. Future studies might also address state police agencies and federal law enforcement agencies and more senior law enforcement positions such as police chief and state police commissioner.

Finally, this study involved the use of an experimental design used in numerous studies in the private sector (Rynes & Barber, 1990). The secondary analysis suggests future studies might include use of the correlation design with multiple regression analysis as the primary analytical technique. The secondary analysis suggests personal characteristics of police officers (e.g., age) might influence police officer job attraction. This study addressed police officer demographics only for the purposes of descriptive statistics, rather than using personal characteristics as the focal independent variables in the analysis. Other personal characteristics, yet to be examined by means of, either correlation or experimental research designs include: personality type, family structure, and socio-economic status.

Addressing personal characteristics would also be consistent with existing recruitment conceptual frameworks including: (a) the Rynes and Barber model (1990) job attraction model, (b) the Schwab (1982) employment process model, and (c) the Schwab, Rynes, and Aldag (1987) general model of job search and evaluation. All three of these

models cast applicant personal characteristics as potential predictors of applicant job attraction.

Conclusion

The task of investigating police officer recruitment is in its infancy, with the present investigation being the only attempt to address the topic empirically. And, yet, police officer recruitment is an essential task for the general security of American communities and would appear to be an even greater priority relative to the particular post-9/11 security issues recounted daily in the national news media. Also, the demographic trends accompanying the retirement of the post-World War II “baby boomers,” are making recruitment of qualified personnel problematic across a wide array of professions (U. S. Department of Labor, 2000), including law enforcement.

Finally, an advancement of this study was its demonstration of the recruitment simulation technique in the field of law enforcement, a technique proved successful in various other recruitment contexts, including the private sector (Rynes & Barber, 1990). It is hoped other recruitment researchers will extend the stream of research initiated by this study in the interests of enhancing recruitment of the qualified police officers and other law enforcement officials, needed to provide for the safety and security of American communities.

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