

The author(s) shown below used Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice and prepared the following final report:

Document Title: Does Quality-of-Life Policing Widen the Net?

Author(s): Andrew Golub ; Bruce D. Johnson ; Angela Taylor ; John Eterno

Document No.: 198996

Date Received: January 2003

Award Number: 98-IJ-CX-K012

This report has not been published by the U.S. Department of Justice. To provide better customer service, NCJRS has made this Federally-funded grant final report available electronically in addition to traditional paper copies.

Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

198996

Does Quality-of-Life Policing Widen the Net?

**Andrew Golub, Bruce D. Johnson, Angela Taylor
National Development and Research Institutes, Inc.**

**John Eterno
New York City Police Department**

submitted to
Justice Quarterly
August 13, 2002

This research was supported by grants from the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) and administered by the National Institutes of Justice National Institute of Justice (98-IJ-CX-K012 and 2000-7353-NY-IJ), by a grant from the National Institute on Drug Abuse (5 T32 DA07233-13), by the Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring Program in New York City, and by National Development and Research Institutes, Inc. (NDRI). Important contributions to this research were provided by staff of the New York City Police Department, the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice Coordinator, the New York City Criminal Justice Agency, and by the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services.

The opinions expressed in this report do not represent the official position of the U.S. Government, the National Institute of Justice, the New York City Police Department, the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice Coordinator, New York City Criminal Justice Agency, the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, nor National Development and Research Institutes.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Andrew Golub is a Principal Investigator at National Development and Research Institutes, Inc. His research employs and advances statistical procedures to study social problems with the aim of helping to develop more effective and cost-effective government programs. He has also been studying the integration of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Currently, he is studying the effects of policing initiatives, drug use trends, and welfare reform.

Bruce D. Johnson directs the Institute for Special Populations Research at National Development and Research Institutes, Inc., the nation's largest nonprofit research organization focused upon drug use/abuse. He has been affiliated with the ADAM/DUF program since its inception and is currently Director of the ADAM-Manhattan site. He is a leading authority on crime, drug use/sales, and the street economy. He has published five books and over 100 articles based on findings from more than 20 projects funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse, National Institutes of Justice, Center for Substance Abuse Treatment, and Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

Angela Taylor is a Project Director at the National Development Research Institutes, Inc. and a Ph.D. candidate in criminal justice at Rutgers University, School of Criminal Justice. Her dissertation research is an exploration of the situational determinants of violence among drug sellers.

John Eterno John A. Eterno is a Captain with the New York City Department. As Commanding Officer of the Mapping Support Unit, Captain Eterno makes policy recommendations and handles sensitive assignments for the Deputy Commissioner, Strategic Initiatives. Captain Eterno received his Ph.D. from the University at Albany and is also an Adjunct Assistant Professor at Queens College, City University of New York. His research interests and publications are on various topics such as democratic policing and police corruption.

Does Quality-of-Life Policing Widen the Net?

ABSTRACT

As part of its get tough on crime programs of the 1990s, NYPD instituted a policy of arresting persons for less serious offenses (e.g., farebeating, smoking marijuana in public) that impinge on the city's quality-of-life (QOL). There has been concern voiced that QOL policing widened the net for arrest, especially among minorities. A counter-argument consistent with the theory of low self-control suggests that criminal offenders tend not to specialize; accordingly, widening the scope of arrestable offenses does not necessarily widen the population of arrestees. This study of New York City arrestees interviewed in 1999 found QOL and serious arrestees to be similar regarding prior arrests, participation in QOL offenses and demographic composition. These findings suggest that QOL policing as practiced by NYPD in 1999 did not widen the net for arrest. Of note, blacks and Hispanics comprised close to 90% of both arrest populations.

Does Quality-of-Life Policing Widen the Net?

New York City experienced a renaissance in the 1990s. The streets became cleaner, the homeless were less visible, the economy was booming, real estate values surged, tourism increased, and serious crime was down, especially violent crime. Many credit the New York City Police Department's (NYPD) aggressive policing for the decline in crime and disorder (Kelling & Sousa, 2001; Silverman, 1999), especially former New York City Mayor Rudolph Guiliani and former Police Commissioner William Bratton (Bratton with Knobler, 1998). In a comprehensive review, Eck and Maguire (2000) conclude that there is strong evidence that numerous policing initiatives had an effect but that it was not yet possible to identify how much of the decline to attribute to each or to other historical factors including the end of the crack epidemic, a strong economy, demographic changes, and a decline in handgun use, particularly among youths.

Part of the NYPD's aggressive policing strategy was to arrest persons for less serious but highly-visible offenses (such as farebeating¹ or smoking marijuana in public) that detract from the quality-of-life (QOL) in the city.² In the past, police may have ignored these types of minor misbehaviors. Alternatively, police might have asked individuals to desist and possibly issued a desk appearance ticket requiring the offender to subsequently appear in court where they might

¹ Farebeating involves entering public transportation without paying by jumping over the subway turnstile, sneaking onto a bus through the back door, or other means.

² The police are generally clear about the behaviors they wish to target. However, there is not always a statute prohibiting the behavior. An essential part of QOL policing involves finding an applicable statute, adapting a statute to fit the need, or passing new ordinances (Kelling and Coles, 1996).

have been fined. Of note, Mayor Michael Bloomberg (who entered office in 2002) and Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly have announced that QOL policing will continue to be of central importance to the city's policing strategy (New York Times 2001ab).

Many contend that QOL policing "widens the net" of persons being pulled into the criminal justice system. Additionally, some contend that NYPD's aggressive law enforcement disproportionately targets blacks and Hispanics (Amnesty International, 1996; Harcourt, 2001; McArdle & Erzen, 2001; Spitzer, 1999). This paper compares QOL and serious arrestees³ to identify whether QOL policing was associated with net widening as practiced in New York City in 1999. It also examines the extent to which QOL arrestees were more (or less) likely than serious arrestees to be minorities. A separate analysis using the Policing Study data examines the extent to which QOL policing had an effect on individual offending (Johnson, Taylor, & Golub, 2001). The remainder of this introduction reviews the motivation for QOL policing, the evidence supporting this position, concerns raised about the program, and the extent to which the program's effectiveness is related to the extent that offenders tend to specialize or not.

Prior Research on QOL Policing

The broken windows perspective is frequently used to justify QOL policy (Kelling & Coles, 1996; Skogan, 1990). In a widely-cited article published in *Atlantic Monthly*, Wilson and Kelling (1982) argued that physical decay and incivility can initiate a spiral of disorder and decline. Public misbehavior offends the community's sensibilities, instills a fear of crime, creates a sense of disorder, leads law-abiding residents and visitors to withdraw from public

³ Analytic categories were defined according to top charge for the current offense and are not meant to serve as an indication of persons' routine behavior or the extent of their criminal activity.

spaces, sends a signal that deviant behavior is tolerated, and ultimately creates an environment conducive to crime.

However, the limited scientific evidence pertaining to the fixing broken windows perspective is mixed so far. In a widely-cited effort to link crime and disorder, Skogan (1990) analyzed responses from 13,000 interviews conducted in forty neighborhoods from six cities across the United States. He found that robbery victimization was higher in neighborhoods characterized by disorder, even after controlling for poverty, residential stability and racial composition using regression. However in a reanalysis of the data, Harcourt (2001) observed that the robbery-disorder relationship disappeared after excluding Newark (which had the highest incidence of both robbery and disorder) and that the crime-disorder relationship did not hold for other crime types including burglary, assault, rape and purse snatching/pickpocketing. Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) shed further doubt on the crime-disorder relationship. Their analysis of over 196 Chicago neighborhoods found that the association between crime and disorder disappeared after controlling for concentrated poverty and collective efficacy (a neighborhood-level measure of cohesion, informal social control, and optimism).

Three recent field studies provide direct tests of QOL policing. Braga et al. (1999) found significantly larger reductions in both disorder and crime in 12 Jersey City high crime areas that received increased attention (with aggressive order maintenance policing a central component of the treatment) compared with 12 matched locations that did not receive the experimental treatment. However, two other studies—one in Chandler, Arizona, (Katz, Webb & Schaefer, 2001) and one in a larger Midwestern city Novak et al. (1999)—found no significant impact.

A secondary justification for QOL policing is that it can sometimes help resolve serious crimes (Silverman, 1999). QOL policing focuses on minor offenses but not necessarily on minor offenders, especially to the extent that the same people commit both QOL and more serious

offenses. Advocates like to point to the case of John Royster, Jr. who in 1996 was apprehended for farebeating. A fingerprint match placed him at the scene of a recent murder. He was subsequently linked to four other unsolved cases and eventually convicted of homicide. Others suggest however that many more people engage in minor offenses and that QOL policing substantially widened the net for arrest, especially among minorities (Harcourt, 2001; McArdle & Erzen, 2001).

Allegations against the NYPD of Net Widening and Racial Bias

As index crimes dropped from 1993 to 1995, civilian complaints against the police doubled (Eterno, 2001). Several high profile cases involving minorities (Anthony Biaz, Abner Louima, Amadou Diallo, and Patrick Dorismond) raised much attention (see McArdle & Erzen, 2001, for a review). Amnesty International (1996) declared an urgent need for the NYPD to address persistent and extensive problems of police brutality and excessive use of force, especially against African Americans and Latinos. In a study of police stops occurring in 1998 and part of 1999 (in which civilians were temporarily detained, questioned and sometimes searched), the New York State Attorney General's Office found substantial racial disproportionality (Spitzer, 1999). Whereas blacks comprised 26% of the City's population, they accounted for 51% of all stops. Hispanics comprised 24% of the population but accounted for 33% of all stops. In strong contrast, whites comprised 43% of the population yet accounted for only 13% of all stops. There was evidence of racial disproportionality even after controlling for variation in arrest rates by race using regression models. In response to the findings, the NYPD countered that comparing persons stopped to residents by race was inappropriate (Flynn, 1999; NYPD, 1999). They contend that the representation of blacks and Hispanics among those stopped of 85% was

consistent with the rate at which victims of violent crimes described their perpetrators as black or Hispanic of 89%.

The aggressive policing style in New York City involved much more than simply focusing on QOL offenses. NYPD operated several aggressive policing programs in the 1990s. QOL policing may not have been the central cause of complaints against the NYPD. Indeed, in some cases programs were purposefully designed to overlap, which further complicates attempts to separately identify the impact of any particular program. The Getting Guns Off the Streets initiative aggressively pursued illegal firearms using a variety of investigative techniques including stops (NYPD, 1994). From 1994 to 1997, the NYPD confiscated 56,081 guns (OJJDP, 1999). Spitzer (1999, p. 53) notes that patrol officers frequently reported QOL infractions as the probable cause justifying a stop. In the 1990s, the NYPD also continued its use of Tactical Narcotics Teams (TNT) to close down drug markets through sweeps in which a large force of officers search everyone in a neighborhood to comprehensively remove all drug dealers and users (Belenko, 1993; Curtis 1998). New York City also authorized and encouraged numerous Business Improvement Districts (BIDs, not administered by NYPD) to serve as neighborhood-based chambers of commerce and quasi-governmental coalitions (Barr, 2001). These agencies often hired their own private security officers to maintain order.

Crime Specialization

Unarguably, QOL policing increased the total number of arrests by patrolling for an expanded range of behaviors. It is less obvious, however, whether QOL policing resulted in a wider variety of persons sustaining arrests, persons who would have otherwise been unlikely to be sanctioned. Some of the literature on crime specialization suggests the same population of persistent offenders engage in both serious offenses and less serious misbehaviors. Hirschi and

Gottfredson (1994, p. 2) contend that, “[I]ndividuals [with low self-control] will tend to engage in a wide variety of criminal and analogous behaviors [including drinking to excess, illegal drug use, and problems with school, interpersonal relationships and employment]—that they will not specialize in some to the exclusion of others.” Interestingly, Hirschi and Gottfredson (1994, p. 13) further argue that deterrence programs (such as QOL policing) will not work because of the “short-term orientation of the offender.” In this regard, their theory and the broken windows perspective seem fundamentally at odds with each other.

Other theoretical arguments have been advanced to suggest that offenders might specialize, and that specialization might increase over the life course (Mazerolle et al., 2000; Smith & Smith, 1984). Cloward and Ohlin (1960) contend that different subcultures develop in response to structural strains. Some subcultures specialize in property offenses, some in violence and others still in drug use. Several developmental perspectives suggest that with experience offenders may come to limit their misbehavior to a few preferred crimes (Smith & Smith, 1984).

Prior empirical research has found some evidence of specialization, especially among adult arrestees (Blumstein et al. 1988), but even more evidence of a lack of specialization (Farrington et al., 1988; Klein, 1984; Mazerolle et al., 2000; Smith & Smith, 1984). Conceivably, this non-specialization might also apply when QOL offenses are included in the mix of crimes enforced. Thus, QOL policing might simply provide additional opportunities to arrest members of a population that engage in serious crimes, less serious crimes, and QOL misbehaviors.

METHODS

This paper compares 195 QOL and 265 serious arrestees from the ADAM [Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring program] New York City Policing Study (hereafter the Policing Study) according to demographic characteristics, official New York State (NYS) criminal histories, self-

reports of involvement with various QOL behaviors, and recent drug use as detected by urinalysis. The use of arrestee populations provides a particularly valid test of whether QOL policing resulted in net widening for arrest. It provides a less explicit test of crime specialization because the composition of the arrest population is also affected by police discretion. In particular, any similarity between QOL and serious arrestees could have been strongly influenced by the NYPD policy of targeting high crime areas for intensive policing (Silverman, 1999).

Identifying probable QOL arrestees was difficult (Table 1 presents the end result). QOL policing is better characterized as a procedure than a set of statutes. Kelling and Coles (1996) describe how New York City policing initiatives often targeted a specific behavior (e.g., sleeping on subways) and applied whatever statute they could. In this manner, some individuals charged with a given offense might be QOL arrestees and others might not. We chose to operationally define QOL arrestees as those respondents with a top arrest charge of farebeating, trespassing, or misdemeanor possession of marijuana (hereafter MJ misdemeanor). This list of QOL offenses is by no means complete. It is far less comprehensive than the list of QOL offenses included in the Policing Study survey (see Table 4). This extremely limited group of charges helped assure that these arrests were the result of QOL policing, and not other policing activities. Farebeating, trespassing, and MJ misdemeanors have been discussed in the literature on QOL policing, have greatly increased in prevalence among ADAM-New York City arrestees, carry minimal sanctions, result from highly visible behaviors, and create a sense of disorder. Personal use of marijuana in private in small quantities does not carry criminal charges in New York State, it is merely a violation. For many MJ misdemeanants, it would have been their use of marijuana in public that led to arrest. In contrast, arrestees charged with misdemeanor possession of a controlled substance (such as crack or heroin) were not included with QOL arrestees. These

arrests could have resulted from other narcotics law enforcement activities including TNT sweeps. The misdemeanor severity indicates that the quantity of drugs involved was too small to qualify as a felony.

[Table 1 about here]

We chose to operationally define serious arrestees as those charged with a drug or index crime carrying felony status according to New York State law. This provided a clear contrast with the QOL arrestees. The remaining 432 arrestees, whose charges were either of intermediate seriousness or less common, were excluded from this analysis.

The Policing Study

This New York City Policing Study employed the ADAM program as a convenient and cost-effective platform for data collection (for details see Johnson et al., 2001). Participation in the ADAM survey is voluntary. At most sites in 1999, more than 80% of arrestees approached agreed to participate (NIJ, 2000). The ADAM data are kept confidential and used for scientific research purposes only. In 1999, data collection occurred in all five boroughs of New York City.⁴ The Policing Study collected an initial pilot sample in the second quarter of 1999 and additional data in the second half of the year. Prior to the interview, potential participants gave their

⁴ Arrestees brought to New York City's Midtown Community Court were not available to this study. This court was designed to provide *restorative justice* primarily through community service and has jurisdiction over misdemeanor offenses occurring west of Lexington Avenue between 14th and 59th street in Manhattan. Barr (2001) asserts that the Midtown Community Court widens the net for criminal justice supervision. However, she does not support her claim with the type of empirical analysis presented here.

informed consent for the project to obtain their criminal histories from New York City and State agencies. Respondents were promised \$15 after release for completing the questionnaire.

Starting in 1999, the ADAM program instituted procedures designed to obtain a representative sample of all arrestees (NIJ, 2000). To check the representativeness, the ADAM program compares the data to a complete census of all arrestees during the time that data collection occurs. Starting with the ADAM-2000 data, the program added sample weights to further assure the generalizability of estimates (Hunt & Rhodes, 2001). To facilitate comparisons across gender, the ADAM program purposefully oversamples females, who usually account for about 15% of New York City arrestees. For this analysis, simple weights were employed so that females would constitute 15% of the weighted sample.

Criminal histories for all the QOL and serious arrestees were obtained from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS). Prior arrests outside of New York State, in the federal system, or before age 16 were not obtained. In an extensive review of the self-report literature, Thornberry and Krohn (2000) describe how official arrest records are heavily influenced by police priorities. Accordingly, this study interpreted respondents' official records in their most literal sense, as a measure of previous contact with the criminal justice system and not as a measure of criminality.

A preliminary concern of the Policing Study was whether arrestee self reports were accurate. Golub et al. (2002) examined those Policing Study variables that could be confirmed with objective data (prior criminal arrest and recent drug use) to determine how response accuracy varied across questions and individuals. They found that arrestees were highly likely to disclose less stigmatized information such as whether they had ever been arrested before and whether they had used marijuana recently. This suggests that arrestees might be highly likely to disclose whether they engaged in QOL offenses. Arrestees were exceedingly unlikely to disclose a prior

index offense, especially a violent index offense. Consequently, self-reports of serious offending were excluded from this analysis as potentially highly inaccurate.

Golub et al. (2002) also found that arrestees who disclosed having a prior arrest were substantially more likely to disclose other aspects of their criminal behavior. Moreover, persons who did not disclose that they had a prior record tended not to disclose other criminal activities. In a multivariate analysis, this preliminary disclosure proved to be the strongest and most consistent predictor of disclosure on other questions—stronger than demographic characteristics, disclosure of recent drug use, and interviewer's assessment of the respondent's veracity. Accordingly, it was decided to limit the analysis of self-reported involvement in QOL offending behavior to those arrestees who had a prior record and disclosed it. This included the majority of the serious (61%, 162 of 265) and QOL (68%, 132 of 195) arrestees. The analyses involving variables other than QOL self-reports were not limited to this subsample.

The urine samples collected by the ADAM program provide a particularly valid indicator of recent drug use (NIJ, 2000). The EMIT (Enzyme Multiplied Immunoassay Testing) urinalysis screen used by ADAM can usually detect cocaine (or crack) and opiates (such as heroin) within 48 to 72 hours of use. Marijuana consumption can be detected up to 7 days after last use for infrequent users and up to 30 days or longer for chronic users. The accuracy of the EMIT test depends upon the frequency of use, quantity used, potency, and the time between consumption and the ADAM interview. The EMIT screen used does not distinguish between modes of consumption (e.g., sniffing, smoking or injecting); hence, this paper refers to detected cocaine/crack use. The EMIT screen also does not distinguish between various opiates. The most common opiate used on the streets of New York City is heroin, and so this paper refers to detected heroin use.

RESULTS

QOL and serious arrestees were quite similar on most characteristics analyzed. On some characteristics, arrestees for the three individual QOL offenses (farebeating, trespassing, MJ misdemeanor) differed substantially. In particular, the average age varied substantially across arrest types. Moreover, the differences across arrest charges in various other attributes (e.g., being single) were often attributable to differences in age. Logistic regression (presented in the Appendix) was used to examine the extent to which any differences across arrest categories remained, after controlling for age. In view of the large number of comparisons presented in this section, the $\alpha=.01$ level of statistical significance was used.

Demographics

QOL and serious arrestees were similar with regard to gender and race/ethnicity composition—see Table 2. Most of the QOL and serious arrestees were male (both 88%). Almost two-thirds of the QOL and serious arrestees was black (both 64%) and about a quarter of each was Hispanic (26% and 25%, respectively).⁵ White arrestees were uncommon among both QOL and serious arrestees (10% and 11%). On average, farebeaters and trespassers (both mean age of 35) tended to be significantly older than serious arrestees (mean age of 30) and MJ misdemeanants (mean age of 26). Likewise, the modal age category for farebeaters and trespassers was 40 and above as opposed to 30-39 for serious arrestees and 21-29 for MJ misdemeanants.

[Table 2 about here]

⁵ The study used the limited race/ethnicity categories recorded by the ADAM program in 1999.

Prior Arrests

Overall, QOL and serious arrestees' prior criminal histories were serious, extensive, and remarkably similar—see Table 3. QOL and serious arrestees were comparably likely to have been previously arrested (82% and 81%). Of central interest to this analysis, roughly the same small percentage lacked a prior record of arrest (under 20%). Most had also been arrested in the last six months (both 45%). On average, farebeaters had more prior arrests than serious arrestees (17 vs. 9), though this difference was not statistically significant after controlling for age (see Appendix).

[Table 3 about here]

A majority of QOL and serious arrestees had a prior record for an index offense (55% and 60%) and for a drug offense (69% and 64%). MJ misdemeanants were less likely than serious arrestees to have a prior arrest for an index offense (40% vs. 60%) but this difference was attributable to age (see Appendix). Substantially fewer QOL and serious arrestees had a prior arrest for a violent offense (22% and 26%; murder, rape or aggravated assault) or robbery (37% and 33%).

QOL Offending

Overall, QOL and serious arrestees were about as likely to self-report engaging in QOL behaviors in the last year—see Table 4. The greatest variation was associated with the criterion behaviors related to farebeating, trespassing, and MJ misdemeanors. Not surprisingly, farebeaters were significantly more likely than serious arrestees to report having engaged in farebeating (82% vs. 41%), even after controlling for age (see Appendix). The chance that all of the arrestees charged with farebeating had committed the behavior is quite high. The *NYPD QOL Enforcement Options Reference Guide* (as presented in Erzen, 2001) specifies that an

officer must personally observe someone farebeating in order to take action. Accordingly, the 18% of farebeaters (based on their arrest charge) that did not report farebeating in the last year are likely to be hiding information.

[Table 4 about here]

Trespassers were significantly more likely than serious arrestees to report having engaged in trespassing (55% vs. 20%), even after controlling for age (see Appendix). Almost half (45%) of the trespassers reported that they had not engaged in trespassing in the past year. This may indicate that arrestees are unwilling to report that they commit trespassing or a difference of opinion. Arrestees may feel that they have a right to spend time in an abandoned building, whereas the police may define this activity as trespassing. The data do not provide sufficient information to test this hypothesis.

MJ misdemeanants were significantly more likely than serious arrestees to report having engaged in public marijuana-related behaviors: smoked in public (71% vs. 41%), bought or carried in public (63% vs. 35%), and sold in public (32% vs. 14%). Note that two of the three relationships (smoking and buying) were not statistically significant after controlling for age (see Appendix). MJ misdemeanants and trespassers were more likely to report that they sold marijuana in public than serious arrestees and farebeaters, even after controlling for age (see Appendix).

The percentages of QOL and serious arrestees that engaged in each of remaining QOL behaviors were comparable and mostly small; typically 5-20%. The most common QOL behaviors were hanging out in the street (42% and 50%), drinking alcohol in public (33% and 36%) and urinating in public (both 32%). Only one comparison was statistically significant. Farebeaters were slightly more likely than serious arrestees to have failed to pick up after their

dog (12% vs. 3%), although this relationship was not statistically significant after controlling for age (see Appendix).

Analogous Behaviors

QOL and serious arrestees were comparably unlikely to have gone to college, to be married, or to hold a job—see Table 5. Many QOL and serious arrestees reported having not completed a high school education (40% and 44%). MJ misdemeanants were significantly more likely to be single than serious arrestees (80% vs. 63%); however, this difference was attributable to age (see Appendix). Farebeaters (34%) and trespassers (30%) were significantly more likely than serious arrestees (16%) to report that welfare was their primary source of income. Again, however, this difference was attributable to age (see Appendix).

[Table 5 about here]

Drug use differed substantially across arrest categories—see Table 5. Not surprisingly, urinalysis identified nearly all of the MJ misdemeanants (90%) as recent marijuana users in contrast to just under half of the serious arrestees (48%). MJ misdemeanants were also significantly less likely than serious arrestees to be detected as recent cocaine/crack (16% vs. 48%) and heroin users (2% vs. 12%). Trespassers were substantially more likely than serious arrestees to be detected as cocaine/crack users (73% vs. 48%). Multivariate analyses identified that much of this variation was associated with age (see Appendix). This finding is consistent with Golub and Johnson (1999, 2001) observation that marijuana appears to be the drug-of-choice among youthful arrestees in the 1990s as opposed to crack or heroin, which were popular among previous birth cohorts. However even after controlling for age, MJ misdemeanants were still significantly more likely to be detected as recent marijuana users and less likely as cocaine/crack users.

DISCUSSION

QOL policing broadened the range of misbehaviors that can result in arrest. It was part of a number of NYPD initiatives in the 1990s that increased intensity of enforcement. This analysis strongly suggests that QOL policing did not systematically broaden the target population for arrest at least as practiced in New York City in 1999. The primary difference between QOL and serious arrestees was only their current arrest charge, and not their demographic composition, prior record, past-year participation in QOL misbehaviors, drug use, or educational, marital or employment status. Of course, this tentative conclusion derives from a single study and should be replicated to determine if the relationships observed pertain at other times and in other places.

A major concern regarding QOL policing was whether it targets minorities. This study found that most (just under 90%) of the QOL arrestees in 1999 were black or Hispanic. However, most of the serious arrestees during this same time period were also black or Hispanic, again just under 90%. This suggests that QOL policing did not expand the targeting of minorities for arrest, nor did it reduce it. NYPD's law enforcement generally draws minorities more than whites into the criminal justice system through arrest. This broader racial disproportionality in comparison to the general population could be the possible result of other aspects of NYPD law enforcement, disproportionate involvement in crime (if any) among minorities, potentially criminogenic conditions faced by minorities or a combination of these and other factors.

This study was not designed as a test of crime specialization. However, the findings are consistent with prior empirical studies that indicate a lack of specialization among crime types and adds to that literature a finding that the same persons who tend to commit serious crimes also tend to commit QOL offenses. The rates of various analogous behaviors for both QOL and serious arrestees were also high and comparable. QOL and serious arrestees were likely to use

illegal drugs, to have not finished high school, to be single and to not hold a job. These findings are consistent with predictions based on the theory of low self-control. However, this study did not test whether these behaviors had a common root in low self-control. These behaviors could have alternatively resulted from structural disadvantages, subcultural differences or a combination of these and other factors.

The possible effect of police discretion on the data analyzed also needs to be considered. The NYPD explicitly targeted its use of QOL policing to send a message to serious criminal offenders. The findings of this study suggest that in 1999 the NYPD successfully reached this intended population either because of the versatility of offending among criminals or through the targeted implementation of their program. Further research is needed to establish the micro-level linkages as to whether the messages from QOL policing are received (or not) and whether this leads to individual behavioral changes as well as overall crime reduction.

REFERENCES

- Amnesty International. (1996). *United States of America: Police Brutality and Excessive Force in the New York City Police Department*. AMR 56/036/1996. Available at <http://web.amnesty.org>.
- Blumstein, A., Cohen, J., Das, S., & Moitra, S. D. (1988). Specialization and seriousness during adult criminal careers. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 4, 303-345.
- Barr, H. (2001). Policing madness: People with mental illness and the NYPD. In A. McArdle & T. Erzen (Eds.), *Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City* (pp. 50-84). New York: New York University Press.
- Belenko, S. (1993). *Crack and the Evolution of Anti-Drug Policies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Braga, A., Weisburd, D., Waring, E. J., Mazerolle, L. G., Spelman, W., & Gajewski, F. (1999). Problem-oriented policing in violent crime places: A randomized controlled experiment. *Criminology*, 37, 541-580.
- Bratton, W. J., with Knobler, P. (1998). *Turnaround: How America's Top Cop Reversed the Crime Epidemic*. New York: Random House.
- Cloward, R. A., & Ohlin, L. E. (1960). *Delinquency and Opportunity*. New York: Free Press.
- Curtis, R. (1998). The improbable transformation of inner-city neighborhoods: Crime, violence, drugs, and youth in the 1990s. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 88, 1233-1276.
- Eck, J. E., & Maguire, E. R. (2000). Have changes in policing reduced violent crime? An assessment of the evidence. In A. Blumstein & J. Wallman (Eds.), *The Crime Drop in America* (pp. 207-265). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge.
- Erzen, T. (2001). Turnstile jumpers and broken windows: Policing disorder in New York City. In A. McArdle & T. Erzen (Eds.), *Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City* (pp. 19-49). New York: New York University Press.

- Eterno, J. A. (2001). Zero tolerance policing in democracies: The dilemma of controlling crime without increasing police abuse of power. *Police Practice*, 2, 189-217.
- Farrington, D. P., Snyder, H. N., & Finnegan, T. A. (1988). Specialization in juvenile court careers. *Criminology*, 26, 461-487.
- Flynn, K. (1999). Racial bias shown in police searches, state report asserts. *New York Times*, December 1.
- Golub, A., & Johnson, B. D. (1999). Cohort changes in illegal drug use among arrestees in Manhattan: From the heroin injection generation to the blunts generation. *Substance Use and Misuse*, 34, 1733-1763.
- Golub, A., & Johnson, B. D. (2001). The rise of marijuana as the drug of choice among youthful arrestees. National Institute of Justice Research in Brief, NCJ 187490.
- Golub, A., Johnson, B. D., Taylor, A., & Liberty, H. (2002). The validity of arrestees' self-reports: Variations across questions and persons. *Justice Quarterly*, 19, 101-126.
- Harcourt, B. E. (2001). *Illusion of Order: The False Promise of Broken Windows Policing*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.
- Hirschi, T., & Gottfredson, M. R., Eds. (1994), *The Generality of Deviance*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Hunt, D., & Rhodes, W. (2001). *Methodology Guide for ADAM*. Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Johnson, B. D., Taylor, A., & Golub, A. (2001). Quality-of-Life Policing: Are offenders getting the message? How are they responding? Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Atlanta. (Currently under review for *Policing*).

- Johnson, B. D., Taylor, A., Golub, A., & Eterno, J. (2001). A pilot study for collecting data from arrestees and an analysis of the quality of self-disclosure. Final report to the National Institute of Justice.
- Katz, C. M., Webb, V. J., & Schaefer, D. R. (2001). An assessment of the impact of quality-of-life policing on crime and disorder. *Justice Quarterly*, 18, 825-876.
- Kelling, G. L., & Coles, C. M. (1996). *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities*. New York: Free Press.
- Kelling, G. L., & Sousa, W. H. Jr. (2001). Do police matter? An analysis of the impact of New York City's police reforms. Civic Report No. 22. New York: Manhattan Institute. Available at www.manhattan-institute.org.
- Klein, M. W. (1984). Offense specialization and versatility among juveniles. *British Journal of Criminology*, 24, 185-194.
- Mazerolle, P., Brame, R., Paternoster, R., Piquero, A., & Dean, C. (2000). Onset age, persistence, and offending versatility: Comparisons across gender. *Criminology*, 38, 1143-1172.
- McArdle, A., & Erzen, T., Eds. (2001). *Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City*. New York: New York University Press.
- National Institute of Justice. (2000). *1999 Annual Report on Drug Use among Adult and Juvenile Arrestees*. NCJ 181426.
- New York City Police Department. (1994). *NYPD Police Strategy Number 1: Getting Guns off the Streets of New York*.
- New York City Police Department. (1999). Police Commissioner Safir Comments on State Attorney General's Stop and Frisk Report. Press release 99-290. November 30.
- New York Times. (2001a). Quality of life is high priority for Bloomberg, December 27, D5.

New York Times. (2001b). A changed police department awaits Kelly in second term, December 4, D1, D6.

Novak, K. J., Hartman, J. L., Holsinger, A. M., & Turner, M. G. (1999). The effects of aggressive policing of disorder on serious crime. *Policing*, 22, 171-190.

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. (1999). *Promising Strategies to Reduce Gun Violence*. NCJ 173950. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (1999). Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, 603-651.

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

Skogan, W. G. (1990). *Disorder and Decline: Crime and the Spiral of Decay in American Neighborhoods*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, D. R., & Smith, W. R. (1984). Patterns of delinquent careers: An assessment of three perspectives. *Social Science Research*, 13, 129-158.

Spitzer, E. (1999). *The New York City Police Department's "Stop & Frisk" Practices: A Report to the People of the State of New York from the Office of the Attorney General*. Available from www.oag.state.ny.us.

Thornberry, T. P., & Krohn, M. D. (2000). The self-report method for measuring delinquency and crime. In National Institute of Justice, *Criminal Justice 2000*, vol. 4 (pp. 33-83). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. (1982). Broken windows: The police and neighborhood safety. *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 29-38.

APPENDIX

Logistic regression models were estimated to examine the association between various arrestee characteristics (e.g., being single as dependent variable) with two independent variables: arrest charge (coded as serious, trespassing, farebeating, MJ misdemeanor) and age (coded as 18-20, 21-29, 30-39, 40+). The Wald statistic was used to test whether the variation explained by each independent variable was statistically significant. This provided a systematic test for whether the variation observed across arrestee types for some characteristics could be reasonably attributed to age differences across arrestee types. An analogous procedure using weighted least-squares regression was employed to test the sources of variation in the number of prior arrests, a non-binary variable. In most cases, the variation across arrest charges was not statistically significant after controlling for variation with age—see Table 6. In the models for “did not pick up after dog”, the variation associated with both variables was not statistically significant suggesting that the significant finding in the binary comparison might have been the result of chance.

[Table 6 about here]

Table 1: Operational Definitions of QOL and Serious Arrestees (ADAM-NYC Policing Study)

Arrest Charge	Count^a	Arrest Charge	Count^a
<i>Quality-of-life arrestees</i>		<i>Serious arrestees</i>	
	195		265
Farebeating, misdemeanor	47	Drug possession, felony	42
Trespassing, misdemeanor	80	Drug sale, felony	78
Marijuana possession, misdemeanor	68	Robbery, felony	39
		Burglary, felony	14
		Grand larceny, felony	36
<i>Charges not included in this study</i>	432	Assault, felony	53
Drug Possession (7 th deg), misdemeanor	98	Rape/sexual assault, felony	3
Prostitution, misdemeanor	49		
Assault (3 rd degree), misdemeanor	43		
Petit larceny, misdemeanor	44		
All other less frequent charges	198		

^aUnweighted.

Table 2: Variation in Demographic Characteristics between QOL and Serious Arrestees

	Individual QOL Offenses			QOL Offenses	Serious
	Farebeating	Trespassing	MJ misdemeanor		
Male %	91	83	91	88	88
Female %	9	17	9	12	12
Black %	71	63	59	64	64
Hispanic %	26	25	28	26	25
White %	3	12	12	10	11
Mean age (years)	35**	35**	26**	32	30
Age 18-20%	6	6	27	14	17
Age 21-29%	20	15	47**	29	26
Age 30-39%	26	36	15**	25	35
Age 40+%	48**	43**	10	32	21

Note: Estimates weighted to control for overrepresentation of females.

**Differs from serious at the $\alpha=.01$ level.

Table 3: Variation in New York State Official Criminal Histories between QOL and Serious Arrestees

	Individual QOL Offenses			QOL Offenses	Serious
	Farebeating	Trespassing	MJ misdemeanor		
Arrest ever %	92	87	70	82	81
Arrest 6 mo. %	42	51	39	45	45
Mean # arrests	17**	13	7	11	9
Index %	73	58	40**	55	60
Drug offense %	80	71	60	69	64
Violent index %	21	22	22	22	26
Robbery %	51	38	25	37	33

Note: Estimates weighted to control for overrepresentation of females.

**Differs from serious at the $\alpha=.01$ level.

Table 4: Variation in Past-year QOL Offending between QOL and Serious Arrestees

	Percent that engaged in behavior by arrest charge				
	Individual QOL Offenses				
	Farebeating	Trespassing	MJ misdemeanor	QOL	Serious
Unweighted sample size^a	(43)	(55)	(34)	(132)	(162)
Engaged in farebeating	82**	45	44	56**	41
Engaged in trespassing	21	55**	28	36**	20
Smoked marijuana in public	26	39	71**	45	41
Bought/carried marijuana in public	28	44	63**	45	35
Sold marijuana in public	3	25	32**	20	14
Drank alcohol in public	43	32	26	33	36
Smoked in non-smoking areas	38	14	16	22	22
Urinated in public	35	42	16	32	32
Wrote graffiti	12	1	6	6	4
Littered	33	13	19	21	17
Failed to pick up after your dog	12**	2	1	5	3
Failed to recycle garbage	7	0	6	4	4
Engaged in disorderly conduct	24	24	25	24	26
Made loud noises in public	12	12	19	14	19
Loitered w/o cause	15	37	16	24	25
Been in a gang	9	0	3	4	4
Hung out in street	43	39	47	42	50
Aggressive panhandling	12	3	3	6	5
Did squeegee work	0	0	3	1	1
Vended w/o license	10	0	6	5	9
Sold counterfeit video/tapes	6	2	6	5	6
Gambled in public	18	13	9	13	12
Engaged in prostitution	4	2	6	4	1
Bought/sold alcohol to minors	0	2	6	3	3
Bought/sold cigarettes to minors	3	5	9	6	6
Drove while intoxicated	9	6	9	8	8
Drove w/o a license/registration	21	20	19	20	22
Ignored red lights and stop signs	9	15	12	12	8
Sped	9	8	12	10	11
Drag raced	6	5	0	4	4
Talked on cell phone while driving	6	5	3	5	3
Violated traffic laws on bicycle	24	5	16	14	11
Jaywalked	33	24	16	25	22
Failed to cooperate w/police	7	18	6	11	16

Note: Estimates weighted to control for overrepresentation of females.

^aCalculations include only respondents with a prior record who disclosed it.

**Differs from serious at the $\alpha=.01$ level.

Table 5: Variation in Analogous Behaviors (Education, Marriage, Employment, and Illicit drug use) between QOL and Serious Arrestees

	Individual QOL Offenses			QOL Offenses	Serious
	Farebeating	Trespassing	MJ misdemeanor		
< H.S.	35	44	39	40	44
H.S. grad	49	48	46	47	36
Any college	16	8	16	13	20
Single	66	67	80**	72	63
Married	3	10	6	7**	15
Sep/wid/div	14	8	1	7	10
Live w/someone	17	14	13	15	13
Full-time	19	18	36	25	32
Part-time	12	12	13	12	18
Welfare	34**	30**	13	25	16
Other legal	14	22	26	21	17
Illegal	21	19	12	17	18
Marijuana %	40	39	90**	58	48
Cocaine/Crack %	46	73**	16**	45	48
Heroin %	19	21	2**	13	12

Note: Estimates weighted to control for overrepresentation of females.

**Differs from serious at the $\alpha=.01$ level.

Table 6: Logistic Regression Analyses of Variation in Select Demographic Factors across Arrest Charge and Age

	Odds Ratios by Dependent Variable												
	Arrest record ^a		QOL Offending						Analogous behaviors				
	# of arrests ^b	Index ever	Farebeating	Trespassing	Smoked MJ in public	Buy/carry MJ in public	Sold MJ in public	Failed to pick up after dog	Single	Welfare	Marijuana ^c	Cocaine/crack ^c	Heroin ^c
Arrest Charge													
Farebeating	--	--	5.1	1.0	--	--	0.2	--	--	--	1.1	0.6	--
Trespassing	--	--	1.3	4.3	--	--	2.3	--	--	--	0.9	2.8	--
MJ misdemeanor	--	--	1.3	2.3	--	--	2.2	--	--	--	10.5	0.3	--
Serious ^d	--	--	1.0	1.0	--	--	1.0	--	--	--	1.0	1.0	--
Age													
18-20	-9.7	0.3	--	--	5.0	3.5	--	--	15.3	0.0	11.0	0.1	0.4
21-29	-7.3	0.3	--	--	2.5	2.4	--	--	2.1	0.6	4.8	0.2	0.1
30-39 ^d	1.0	1.0	--	--	1.0	1.0	--	--	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
40+	3.2	0.9	--	--	0.8	0.9	--	--	1.0	3.2	0.6	0.8	0.8
Base odds	12.9	3.1	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.5	3.0	0.2

Note: Estimates weighted to control for overrepresentation of females. Parameter estimates reported for variables associated with statistically significant variation at the $\alpha=.01$ level, based on Wald test.

^aBased on NYS official arrest history.

^bWeighted least squares analysis: constant entered in the line marked base odds; additive parameter estimates entered in the lines for odds ratios; F-test of significance used.

^cAs detected by urinalysis. ^dReference category. -- not statistically significant.