

ENGAGING COMMUNITIES ONE STEP AT A TIME

Policing's Tradition of Foot Patrol as
an Innovative Community Engagement Strategy



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although support for foot patrol as a policing strategy has shifted over time, in modern policing foot patrol has received substantial attention (Fields & Emshwiller, 2015; Bekiempis, 2015). Primarily lauded as a potential remedy to strained relations between community members and police, the effectiveness of foot patrol at reducing crime, diminishing fear of crime, or relieving strained relations with the community is unclear. While foot patrol may hold promise as a crime reduction approach, no definitive conclusions can yet be drawn as to its effectiveness in this regard.

The conflicting evidence on the effectiveness of foot patrol may relate to variation in how foot patrol is implemented in various departments. Considering that foot patrol ultimately manifests as one-on-one interactions between officers and community members, differences in attitudes toward foot patrol assignments, as well as variation in the specific activities undertaken as part of foot patrol, may help explain contradictory research findings. However, few detailed descriptions outlining variation in foot patrol exist. This limitation is noteworthy as detailed descriptions of different implementations of foot patrol may also provide direction to agencies considering adopting foot patrol as part of their operational strategies.

Present Study

Using semi-structured interviews with officers, focus-groups of community members, and observational techniques, this report examines how five different agencies—(1) Cambridge (MA) Police Department, (2) New Haven (CT) Police Department, (3) Kalamazoo (MI) Department of Public Safety, (4) Evanston (IL) Police Department, and (5) Portland (OR) Police Bureau—utilize different foot patrol strategies to interact, engage, and build relationships with their communities. Descriptions of these agencies and their approaches are detailed, and attitudes of officers and citizens are analyzed. Organizational issues are discussed, and recommendations for agencies considering adopting foot patrol are presented. The remainder of this executive summary presents the primary findings and summarizes the key recommendations of the overall report.

Key Findings

Key findings of the study generally related to two distinct areas. The first area focuses on the perceived benefits of foot patrol. Given the nature of the analysis, these benefits reflect those positive characteristics noted by officers that were supported by community-member statements or through observational data, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Benefits of Foot Patrol

- Foot patrol facilitates relationship-building between officers and the community.
- Foot patrol enhances the enforcement and problem-solving capability of law enforcement.
- Relationships built through foot patrol can change how the community views police officers.
- Relationships built through foot patrol can increase the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the community.
- Foot patrol is rewarding and psychologically beneficial for the officers involved.

The second area relates to key challenges of implementing and maintaining foot patrol. Based on the type of analysis conducted, these themes relate to challenges noted at multiple sites. These challenges are listed in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Challenges for Implementation of Foot Patrol	
•	Foot patrol is manpower intensive.
•	Traditional productivity measures may be inappropriate for assessing the performance of foot patrol officers.
•	Foot patrol focused on community engagement may be seen as antithetical to the traditional crime control model of policing, which may create challenges for internal acceptance in some cases.

Recommendations to Departments

Based on the analysis and emergent themes, departments considering implementing foot patrol as an operational strategy should consider four key areas: (1) purpose, (2) resources, (3) continuity, and (4) commitment. These areas reflect both the challenges of foot patrol as discussed by various agencies as well as components of implementation that were noted as beneficial by foot patrol officers and community members. Table 3 presents the rationale for each area and suggested questions for self-assessment.

Table 3: Key Areas for Foot Patrol Implementation Planning		
AREA	RATIONALE	ASSESSMENT
Purpose	Agencies should understand why they are adopting foot patrol.	<i>Can the organization clearly articulate the reasons that they are choosing to implement foot patrol and the goals that they hope to accomplish?</i>
Resources	Agencies should understand the resource implications of foot patrol.	<i>Has the department identified the necessary resources to adequately implement foot patrol?</i>
Continuity	Agencies should maintain ongoing foot patrol in areas utilizing the same officers.	<i>Is there an established plan to assure continuity in foot patrol, including continuity of officers as well as continuity of patrol?</i>
Commitment	Agencies should maintain foot patrol over an extended period.	<i>Does the organization demonstrate a long-term commitment to implementing foot patrol, or is the decision reactionary or temporary in nature?</i>

INTRODUCTION

Over the span of American policing, views on foot patrol as an enforcement strategy have changed. Originally considered a fundamental component of policing, foot patrol was later viewed as unnecessary. At times considered outdated, foot patrol was later recast as an innovative approach. Perhaps most importantly, belief in foot patrol's ability to achieve law enforcement goals has oscillated back and forth with foot patrol being lauded as effective at times and criticized as ineffective at others.

In modern policing, foot patrol has been suggested as a remedy to strained relations between community members and the police, and the practice has made a resurgence in a number of law enforcement agencies across the country (Fields & Emshwiller, 2015; Bekiempis, 2015). The reemergence of foot patrol as a policing strategy has spurred substantial discussion of potential benefits. Additionally, a number of evaluations of the effectiveness of foot patrol on several law enforcement goals, including crime reduction, community sense of safety, and increased community/police interaction, have been completed.

To date, evaluations of foot patrol have yielded mixed results. While some have demonstrated reductions in crime when foot patrol has been implemented, others have not. Similarly, several evaluations offering evidence that foot patrol reduces fear of crime have been contradicted by other evaluations demonstrating no such reductions. As well, improvements in approachability, familiarity, and sense of trust resulting from foot patrol have received only partial empirical support.

Underlying the conflicting evidence is a definitional problem wherein foot patrol is often discussed and/or evaluated as a singular patrol strategy. Statements such as, "foot patrol improves community relations," imply that foot patrol is a homogeneous activity. Yet, variation between foot patrol deployments exists. At a core level, foot patrol is about one-on-one interactions between officers and citizens, and different officers engage in diverse activities while conducting foot patrol. Likewise, officers vary in their approaches to the practice. Officers' approaches may be partially guided by agency protocols, and variation between agencies likely reflects differential implementation strategies, goals, and buy-in. These differences can result in substantially different police-citizen interactions which likely explain why foot patrol is sometimes effective and other times ineffective at achieving various outcomes.

To date, limited empirical work has focused on documenting variation in foot patrol activity. Thus, empirical understanding of foot patrol's effect on departments' desired outcomes is limited by this implementation concern. Agencies considering adopting foot patrol as a policing strategy also have few resources that provide models demonstrating how the practice can be utilized. To address these two key limitations and to better understand differences in foot patrol implementation between and within departments, the following study was undertaken.

Using field observations, semi-structured interviews, and focus group interviews, this report examines how five geographically diverse agencies utilize different foot patrol strategies in order to interact, engage, and build relationships with their communities. This study adds to the existing research on foot patrol by offering greater insight into different uses of foot patrol across five sites, including the perceived benefits of various foot patrol strategies, the challenges associated with implementation, and the organizational dynamics within each of the five examined agencies. Additionally, the study offers an assessment of officer and citizen perceptions of, and attitudes towards, foot patrol. Notably, the five agencies included in this study are engaged in long-term and manpower intensive efforts to build relationships with their communities amidst a national conversation regarding community-police relations.

After a discussion of the current literature on foot patrol and a brief description of the methodology used in the present study, this report presents a series of case studies on the five participating agencies describing what the agencies are doing with foot patrol and how they are doing it. Following these site descriptions, the report discusses several salient themes related to foot patrol that emerged across sites and participant groups, broadly classified into benefits and challenges of the foot patrol deployments. Finally, the report concludes with final thoughts and general takeaway points gleaned from the study.

I. LITERATURE REVIEW

Early models of policing embraced foot patrol as a means to establish a constant vigil based on the assumption that officers engaged in foot patrol would provide a deterrent function thereby reducing crime (Ratcliffe, Taniguchi, Groff, & Wood, 2011). However, as policing evolved into the professional era, foot patrol was shunned as a strategy. Compared to motorized patrol, which increased the range of patrol, decreased the time necessary to respond to incidents, and provided a means of pursuit of criminals who increasingly utilized cars to commit crimes, foot patrol was viewed as inefficient and as a waste of departmental resources (Wilson, 1963). Supported by technological improvements including telephone and radio communications, preventive motorized patrol and rapid response became the primary policing functions while foot patrol waned (Kelling & Coles, 1996).

Research into the effectiveness of motorized patrol and rapid response indicated that these strategies were ineffective at reducing crime (Kelling et al., 1974; Spelman & Brown, 1981). Amidst the lack of demonstrated effectiveness, critics argued that motorized patrol damaged police-community relations. Motorized patrol led to increased beat sizes and minimized interactions between police officers and citizens (Esbensen, 1987). The lack of interaction created social distance between officers and community members and, in some instances, added to community sentiments that patrol officers represented an occupying force. In light of these sentiments, proponents of community-policing advocated for foot patrol as a potential remedy (Kelling & Coles, 1996).

While early evaluations of foot patrol indicated that it was similarly ineffective at reducing crime (Bowers & Hirsch, 1987; Esbensen, 1987; Kelling, 1981; Pate, 1986), community-policing advocates asserted that foot patrol resulted in other benefits, namely producing approachability, familiarity, and trust between officers and residents (Cordner, 2010, Kelling & Coles, 1996). Belief in these benefits was echoed by the public's increased demands for foot patrol which was viewed as a "proactive, non-threatening, community-oriented approach to local policing" (Wakefield, 2007, p. 343).

Although the validity of these claims has yet to be definitively established, a growing body of research on foot patrol has established a core understanding of its effects in three key domains. The first domain centers on effectiveness as a crime reduction strategy. The second domain focuses on impact on citizens' perceptions, including fear of crime within their communities, satisfaction with police, and trust in police. The third domain considers the impact on officers' perceptions, including job satisfaction, sense of safety, and challenges faced by officers when assigned to foot patrol. The key findings to date for each of the three domains are outlined in the following sections.

Crime Reduction through Foot Patrol

Early research suggested that foot patrol was ineffective at reducing levels of crime. While an evaluation of foot patrol in Flint (MI) found crime reductions of 8.7% for foot patrol areas (Trojanowicz, 1982), other studies found foot patrol's effect to be negligible. Both the Newark Foot Patrol Experiment, conducted by the Police Foundation, and an evaluation of Boston Police Department's 1983 Patrol Reallocation Plan failed to uncover any reductions in crime associated with foot patrol (Bowers & Hirsch, 1987; Kelling et al., 1981). Similarly, other studies failed to demonstrate support for an effect of foot patrol on levels of crime in other regions (Esbensen, 1987; Esbensen & Taylor, 1984).

Despite these early findings, researchers continued to consider the effectiveness of foot patrol on levels of crime. As place-based policing – which focuses policing efforts in areas of high crime concentrations

– gained traction, researchers concluded that a focus on smaller places might allow patrol functions to alter the deterrence equation emphasizing the certainty of detection to reduce crime (Durlauf & Nagin, 2011). Still, others asserted that place-based foot patrol might aid enforcement efforts in other ways. Officers on foot patrol working small areas are more likely to become familiar with people, and increased familiarity might improve communication resulting in greater exchange of information needed to prevent crime (Groff, 2013; Trojanowicz, 1984).

Guided by place-based insights, directed foot patrol efforts in crime hotspots were undertaken, and the Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment established through a randomized control trial that targeted foot patrols in violent crime hotspots can significantly reduce violent crime through a deterrent effect at the micro-spatial level (i.e. street segments and intersections) (Ratcliffe et al., 2011). Additional work provided support for the effectiveness of foot patrol at reducing violent crime in Newark (Piza & O'Hara, 2013). However, subsequent analysis of the Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment indicated that, while foot patrol reduced violent crime by 23% compared to areas without foot patrol (control areas), none of the foot patrol beats exhibited residual deterrence after the experiment ended (Sorg et al., 2013). Further, attempts at replicating the findings in Philadelphia through a second foot patrol intervention implemented as part of the Philadelphia Police Tactics Experiment failed to produce evidence of a similar effect on crime (Groff et al., 2015). However, as Groff et al. (2015) notes, these differing findings may have been the result of differences in implementation between the two studies. In the former study, foot patrol officers spent twice the amount of time in hotspots and engaged in significantly more enforcement activity, compared to control areas, than foot patrol officers in the replication study, leading Groff et al. (2015) to conclude, "the effectiveness of [foot patrol] is contingent on the timing and duration of [foot patrol] and on the activities undertaken by foot patrol officers" (p.45).

More recently, an experiment conducted in Peterborough, United Kingdom, found that increased foot patrol in hot spots of crime and disorder decreased reported crime by 39% and emergency calls-for-service by 20% when compared to areas that did not receive increased foot patrol (Ariel et al., 2016), supporting the notion that foot patrol, with adequate dosage, can be used effectively for crime reduction. Moreover, the study found that the foot patrol resulted in a cost savings of at least £5 in potential imprisonment costs for every £1 spent on foot patrol based upon the number of crimes prevented by the foot patrol officers.

Impact on Citizens

Even though limited evidence suggests that foot patrol can reduce crime, the practice became the most widely implemented strategy to enact community policing (Rosenbaum & Lurigio, 1994). However, the strategy may have been adopted primarily to address community relations and fear of crime rather than to reduce the incidence of actual crime (Cordner, 1986; Jim, Mitchell, & Kent, 2006). While some evidence suggests that foot patrol can reduce fear of crime, the National Research Council classifies foot patrol's effect on fear as supported by only weak-to-moderate evidence (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

Many of the studies that attempted to discern the effectiveness of foot patrol as a crime reduction strategy did find that foot patrol impacted community fear of crime. The Police Foundation's Newark Foot Patrol Experiment uncovered evidence that areas with higher levels of foot patrol reflect lower levels of fear of crime (Kelling, 1981). Similar reductions in fear of crime were noted in the evaluations of the Flint Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program (Trojanowicz & Baldwin, 1982) and in the Baltimore Citizen

Oriented Police Enforcement program (Cordner, 1986). However, surveys of residents in the Philadelphia Policing Tactics Experiment suggested that foot patrol had no impact on community perceptions of crime and disorder or perceptions of safety (Ratcliffe, Groff, Sorg, & Haberman, 2015).

Beyond fear of crime, foot patrol is also believed to create a sense of approachability, familiarity, and trust of officers among residents as well as higher levels of satisfaction with police (Cordner, 2010, Kelling & Coles, 1996). Empirical work has demonstrated partial support for these effects. Both the Newark Foot Patrol Experiment and the Flint Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program demonstrated evidence that community members expressed increased satisfaction with police in areas where foot patrol was established (Kelling et al., 1981; Trojanowicz & Baldwin, 1982). However, foot patrol did not impact the sense of police professionalism, support for police, or relations between police and business owners (Esbensen, 1987). As with fear of crime, evidence from Philadelphia suggests that foot patrol did not impact satisfaction with the police (Ratcliffe et al., 2015).

Despite some studies indicating no effect for foot patrol on community perceptions of police, authors have noted that the lack of change may be associated with employing foot patrol in communities with initially-positive views of police. Evidence that foot patrol efforts seemingly closed the gap between black and white residents' perceptions of police suggests that foot patrol may be effective at altering perceptions of police in communities that hold less initially-positive views of police (Trojanowicz & Banas, 1985a).

Impact of Foot Patrol on Officers

The impact of foot patrol on officers has also been studied. Evaluations have shown that officers engaged in community policing through foot patrol report increased job satisfaction compared to officers engaged in other forms of patrol (Hayeslip & Cordner, 1987; Pelfrey, 2004). Evidence suggests that this is not an artifact of the novelty of foot patrol as an experimental condition. Five years after the experimental Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program resulted in higher levels of job satisfaction for foot patrol officers compared to motorized officers, follow-up research with officers indicted that foot patrol officers maintained higher levels of job satisfaction and enthusiasm for their job than officers working motorized patrol (Trojanowicz & Banas, 1985b). Moreover, evidence has shown that officers who displayed higher levels of positive motivation, a type of job satisfaction, were more supportive of police-community relations (Greene, 1989). Similar findings have been associated with officers involved in community engagement activities through foot patrol (Yates & Pillai, 1996).

In addition to job satisfaction, foot patrol has been demonstrated to impact officers' perceptions of safety. Some studies indicate that foot patrol officers feel safer on patrol than officers on motorized patrol (Trojanowicz & Banas, 1985c; Trojanowicz & Pollard, 1986). Officers indicated that their increased sense of safety relates to knowing their beats geographically, knowing the residents of the communities they patrol, and having confidence that residents would help them if they needed assistance (Trojanowicz & Banas, 1985c).

Finally, evidence suggests that foot patrol impacts the way officers conduct their work. Field observations of foot patrol officers indicate that foot patrol facilitates officers getting to know their communities and engaging in proactive policing efforts; however, officers working foot patrol struggle to balance their community interaction activities with crime-control tactics that more often receive recognition

from their departments (Wood et al., 2014). This issue may relate to cynicism among foot patrol officers who express a desire to do what they deem “real police work”. Despite these views, foot patrol officers seemingly utilize an effective combination of legal and non-legal remedies to influence their environments. Their presence on foot patrol introduces an element of guardianship which may prevent crimes from occurring (Wood et al., 2015).

Research Summary

To date, the research across all three domains has exhibited mixed support. While limited evidence supports crime reduction benefits of foot patrol, support for perceptual benefits for both citizens and officers has been more common. Despite several studies demonstrating perceptual benefits for citizens, contradictory evidence for decreases in fear of crime or increases in community satisfaction with the police suggests limitations in this strategy’s potential impact. The evidence that foot patrol has benefits for officers is likewise murky. Unfortunately, any increased job satisfaction and sense of safety associated with working foot patrol may be contradicted by institutional cultures that view foot patrol and community policing efforts as antithetical to the crime control model of policing.

Given the limitations in the evidence, substantial thought has been given to understanding why foot patrol seemingly intermittently impacts crime, citizens, and officers. While effectiveness studies focusing on crime reduction have ranged from analysis of simple interventions applied throughout jurisdictions to randomized controlled trials applied only in crime hotspots, these studies have typically adopted similar measurements analyzing official records of crimes known to police or calls for service as measures of crime. While these differences may explain variability in findings and the lack of a consistent conclusion, key issues including dosage and implementation remain largely unexplored. Particularly important in the context of fidelity is that the Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment, which demonstrated a crime reduction effect for foot patrol, utilized rookie officers. The replication attempt, which failed to demonstrate an effect, relied on veteran officers who were less aggressive in their enforcement strategy (Groff et al., 2014). Thus, differences between officers’ levels of activities and perceptions of foot patrol are important fidelity considerations.

Studies of changes in citizens’ and officers’ perceptions have primarily been assessed through survey methods. While differences in citizens’ perceptions may relate to limitations with the underlying implementation of foot patrol protocols (i.e., the Philadelphia Police Tactics Experiment) or other design issues, survey methods have yielded greater support for officer benefits. However, a key limitation to the research on officers’ perceptions relates to insufficient qualitative information available from officers about their experiences of working and their perceptions of foot patrol. This limitation is noteworthy as qualitative approaches, including interviews and focus groups, are ideal for discovering details from nuanced discussion that surveys may be unable to capture. While focus groups and observational techniques were utilized as components of the Philadelphia Foot Patrol Experiment (see Woods et al., 2014; Woods et al., 2015), the experimental nature of the protocol raises questions about perceptual differences between officers in a treatment versus natural condition.

The Present Study

The present study incorporates a qualitative approach to isolate key issues surrounding foot patrol in multiple study sites. While the sites include both urban and suburban departments, all departments studied have previously integrated foot patrol into existing operations. As foot patrol represents an existing function within these agencies, officers were not temporarily assigned to foot patrol as an experimental condition. Thus, the qualitative assessment of officer attitudes and perceptions provides an assessment that is likely more important to agencies considering implementing foot patrol as an ongoing operational strategy.

To provide greater insight into both the individual and organizational dynamics that impact foot patrol, the present study involves qualitative interviews with officers of varying rank, including officers engaged in foot patrol operations as well as supervisors overseeing these efforts. Although limited, the study incorporates community perceptions of foot patrol collected through community focus groups. This allows for a triangulation approach where the research considers perspectives within and across rank but also looks to community perceptions to validate officers' sentiments. Finally, much of the detail focuses on organizational challenges of real-world implementation which can only be examined outside of an experiment.

II. METHODOLOGY

Five agencies engaged in long-term foot patrol operations were selected for participation in this study: (1) Cambridge (MA) Police Department, (2) New Haven (CT) Police Department, (3) Kalamazoo (MI) Department of Public Safety, (4) Evanston (IL) Police Department, and (5) Portland (OR) Police Bureau. To examine how each agency uses foot patrol to build relationships with their community as well as address crime concerns, site visits were conducted for two days at each agency. Individuals within each agency, ranging from patrol officers to chiefs, were interviewed using a semi-structured format. These interviews focused on a number of key issues, including:

1. the goals of the agency's foot patrol strategy,
2. specific details about the foot patrol deployment, such as the number of officers assigned to foot patrol or the size of the walking beats,
3. the regular activities performed by the foot patrol officers during a shift, and
4. the interviewees' general assessments of the advantages, disadvantages, challenges, and effectiveness of foot patrol.

Researchers also conducted focus group interviews of citizens¹ served by each agency, including clergy, members of local business alliances or community management teams, community leaders, business owners, and current and former members of local government. These focus groups assessed general perceptions about foot patrol as well as perceptions of effectiveness. In total, researchers conducted 31 interviews (including focus groups) involving 64 interviewees across the five sites. Interviewees included:

- Four (4) Chiefs
- Five (5) Assistant/Deputy Chiefs of Operations²
- Five (5) Shift/Unit Commanders³
- Five (5) Sergeants
- Five (5) focus groups consisting of a total of twenty-six (26) foot patrol officers
- Seven (7) focus groups consisting of a total of nineteen (19) community members

In addition to interviews and focus groups, researchers conducted field observations with foot patrol officers at each site to identify the activities regularly performed by foot patrol officers and to observe the nature of the interactions between officers and community members. A team of two researchers participated in "walk-alongs" with foot patrol officers, and while accompanying the officers, the researchers documented all of the activities of the officers and noted the subject-matter of all conversations between officers and community members. Walk-alongs generally ranged from 2 – 5 hours at each site and took place during the afternoon/evening hours to correspond with the officers' regular deployment schedule⁴.

Thematic analysis of the interviews was conducted utilizing the citizen focus groups and the field observations to gain a more detailed understanding of the officers' responses. Codes were derived to identify key themes within the aggregated data, and multiple researchers were consulted to ensure the validity of the coding process. Based on the frequency of codes, salient themes emerged across all five sites as well as across specific participant groups (e.g., chiefs, foot patrol officers, etc.). These themes, discussed in Section IV of the report, represent the key findings of this study and serve as the basis for our recommendations. (For a more detailed description of our methodology and site selection process, please see Appendix A).

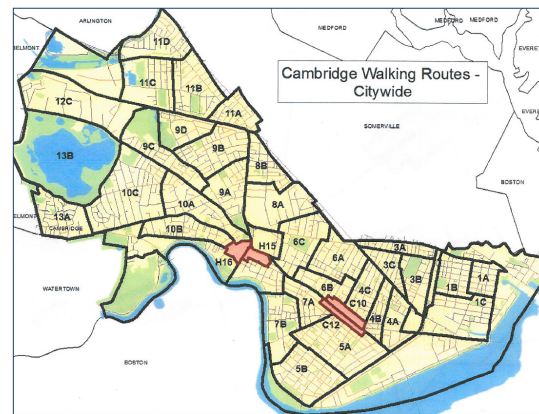
III. SITE DESCRIPTIONS



Cambridge Police Department – Cambridge, MA

Cambridge, Massachusetts, is a 6.39 square mile city located northwest of the city of Boston, directly across the Charles River. The city has a population of approximately 105,000 residents, with a racial composition of approximately 62.1% White, 11.7% African-American, 7.6% Hispanic or Latino, and 15.1% Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a). Serving the city of Cambridge is the Cambridge Police Department with a sworn force of 272 officers.

With a tradition of foot patrol dating back to the 1970s, the Cambridge Police Department is using foot patrol as a way to foster a greater connection and relationship between the police and the community. The department deploys officers on foot, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, in two of the city's business districts—Harvard Square and Central Square (shaded in red on the map)—due in large part to the amount of people that either work in or transit the areas. Each square is approximately ten city blocks and has a minimum of two foot patrol officers capable of covering their assigned area in 10 to 15 minutes.



Courtesy of Cambridge Police Department

The department also deploys foot patrol officers in some of the city's 13 neighborhoods, including The Port, Riverside, Cambridgeport, and North Cambridge. While the city is currently experiencing a 50-year low in crime, these neighborhoods have tended to be the city's more violent areas with a number of shootings and murders, prompting many of the neighborhoods to specifically request that the department conduct foot patrols.

To meet the community's requests, the department conducts foot patrol in the neighborhoods, when staffing permits, from 6:00pm to 2:00am in the summer months and from 4:00pm to 12:00am in the winter months. On nights when the neighborhood foot patrol beats are staffed, the department could have up to eight foot patrol officers deployed across the city, with two in each square and the remainder in the neighborhoods.



Courtesy of Cambridge Police Department

On foot patrol, officers are expected to not only enforce law, but also to engage and interact with people, taking the time to get to know them and address any problems or concerns they may have. While foot patrol officers are still responsible for calls-for-service within their assigned areas, the department generally tries to limit the number of calls these officers receive to afford them the necessary time to invest in relationships and solve problems in the community.

To develop these relationships, foot patrol officers engage in activities such as attending community events and meetings, assisting stranded motorists (pictured below), playing basketball with kids, and striking up conversations with people on the street, including homeless individuals. In Harvard and Central Squares, foot patrol officers routinely go into businesses, introduce themselves, and talk with managers, owners, and employees about any problems they are facing.

Many of the problems identified by the foot patrol officers through conversations with business owners and community members tend to be quality-of-life issues, such as loitering, urinating in public, panhandling, and drinking in public, generally related to the large homeless population present in Central Square and the young, transient population in Harvard Square. Since foot patrol officers are generally free from responding to calls-for-service, they have the time to interact with the community and address the root causes of some of these identified problems. For example, the department was receiving numerous complaints about homeless individuals sitting on milk cartons and loitering in front of businesses. One of the foot patrol officers figured out that these individuals were taking the milk cartons from the very businesses that were making the complaints because those businesses were not locking up their storage rooms. That officer went around to all of the businesses and arranged for the businesses to lock up their storage rooms, and the problem subsequently ceased.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

It is important to note that the foot patrol officers are not only engaged in community engagement and problem-solving activities; they are also regularly engaged in enforcement activity. They do a significant amount of self-initiated or directed patrol (code 86's) within their walking beats to hotspots identified by the daily crime analysis bulletin or to other known problematic areas. When the city was dealing with an open drinking problem in Harvard and Central Squares, the foot patrol officers were heavily involved in engaging the homeless and transient populations and conducting stringent enforcement until the issue was resolved.



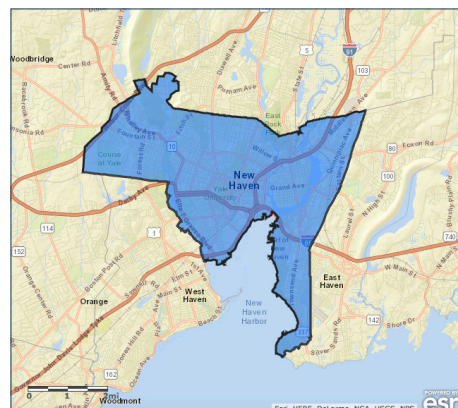
Courtesy of Police Foundation



New Haven Police Department – New Haven, CT

Located along the Eastern Seaboard, New Haven, Connecticut, is 18.68 square miles with a population of approximately 129,000 residents. The population is approximately 31.8% White, 35.4% African-American, 27.4% Hispanic or Latino, and 4.6% Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010b). New Haven has a sworn police force of 442 officers.

The New Haven Police Department has been using foot patrol as a way to reconnect and build trust with its community since 1990, but in 2011, the department rededicated its policing strategy to foot patrol. What is particularly innovative about New Haven is that the department has committed to putting all rookie officers on foot patrol for one year after they graduate the academy in order to immerse them in the community they serve.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

Out of the department's patrol officers, sixty-one are presently assigned to conduct foot patrol. These officers are deployed citywide, with walking beats in each of the city's ten districts. District walking beats are designed by the district commanders, who have full discretion to adjust the boundaries of the walking beats to best meet the needs of their district. As such, walking beats vary in size, but generally, officers report being able to walk their beats within 15 to 20 minutes.

Since one of the primary goals is to interact and build relationships with people, the bulk of foot patrol officers are deployed in the evenings from 3:00pm to 11:00pm or 4:00pm to 12:00am when the majority of people are home from work and school. In any given shift, the number of officers on foot within each walking beat ranges from two to nine officers, with an average of about six. Motorized patrol tends to handle the majority of the calls-for-service within each district, while foot patrol officers are only expected to respond to calls within their walking beats. Not having to respond to calls-for-service city-wide reportedly affords foot patrol officers time to not only develop relationships with community members, but also to engage in more in-depth problem solving in the community.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

The foot patrol officers perform a wide range of engagement-related actions while on patrol. In residential areas of the city, foot patrol officers routinely greet and initiate conversations with residents in front of their homes or out on the sidewalk, and in downtown, officers go into businesses and develop relationships with owners and employees. Downtown foot patrol officers also routinely interact with the large homeless population in the area and work to not only develop a rapport with them, but also to provide them with information on services and shelters available to them. Officers have tried to take interactions with community members to the next level by playing basketball with neighborhood kids, purchasing food for persons in need, passing out candy to kids, providing Thanksgiving baskets to families, giving Christmas presents, and handing out their own cell phone numbers to people on their beat, all in an effort to bridge the gap between the community and the police.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

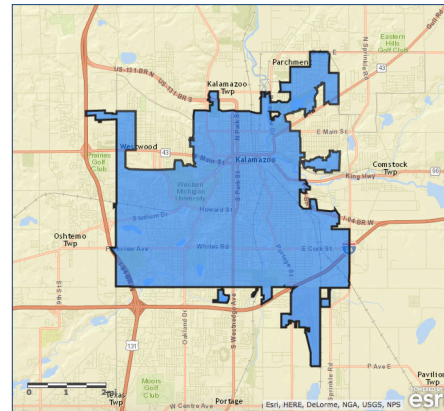
When necessary, foot patrol officers tailor their actions to address identified crime problems in the community. If, for instance, there is a home burglary in a neighborhood walking beat, foot patrol officers will follow up with the family a few days later to see how the family is doing and offer any assistance they can. When confronted with a string of thefts from vehicles, two foot patrol officers created pamphlets to inform residents about the most commonly stolen items and to offer tips on theft prevention, and they organized a community meeting to discuss the issue. In downtown, officers have focused on public drinking enforcement to address the large number of intoxicated individuals routinely in the area.



Kalamazoo Department of Public Safety – Kalamazoo, MI

The city of Kalamazoo is 24.68 square miles, located in the southwestern region of Michigan. Of the city's approximately 74,000 residents, approximately 65.6% are White, 22.2% African-American, 6.4% Hispanic or Latino, and 1.7% Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010c). The city is served by the Kalamazoo Department of Public Safety, in which all 257 sworn officers are cross-trained to respond to all of the fire, EMS, and law enforcement needs of the city.

The Kalamazoo Department of Public Safety has undertaken a particularly innovative approach to build trust and enhance its relationship with the community. In March 2014, the department recognized a need to connect its officers with the residents of Kalamazoo on a more personal level. In response, the department set out on a mission to knock on every residential door in the city as a way to introduce its officers to the community, learn about community problems, and gather feedback on the department's performance. Referred to as "canvassing", this involves officers walking the city on a daily basis, two blocks at a time, to interact and engage with residents. In addition to this, the department has also committed to conducting daily foot patrols in the downtown Kalamazoo mall to increase its interaction and visibility with the downtown shoppers and business community.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

Public safety officers are deployed across seven zones in Kalamazoo. Each zone conducts canvassing according to a rotating schedule so that, in any given day, only one zone is scheduled for canvassing. When a zone is scheduled to canvass, one officer and one sergeant deploy on foot and knock on each residential door in a pre-designated two-block area of that zone. Depending on how many people answer their doors, canvassing could take anywhere from five minutes to an hour to complete.



Courtesy of the Kalamazoo Department of Public Safety

In the conversations officers have with residents, the officers introduce themselves and ask "Are there any problems in the neighborhood that you would like us to know about?" and "Is there anything that we, from public safety, can do better?" If a problem is identified with a resident, officers are given latitude to devise a solution. Officers do not simply "pass the buck" and let the problem persist. If someone needs a ride to the bus stop and it is four blocks away in 10-degree weather, they ask if the resident wants a ride. If the officers have to call another city agency to address a problem, they do it. The officers will even go out of their way to assist residents. For example, officers encountered a dispute between two neighbors, one of which was upset about leaves blowing into her yard from her neighbor's. One of the officers went and got a rake from the station down the road, and the officers raked up the leaves. In other situations, officers have purchased Thanksgiving meals for families or replaced kids' bicycles after they were stolen, all out of their own pocket.

Should officers miss connecting with a resident while canvassing an area, they leave a card at the door that says “Sorry we missed you” and provides them with a contact number to call if they want to speak with someone in the department. Once a canvass is completed, that two block area is marked as completed using GIS mapping, and officers provide a narrative of their interactions to their sergeant, who then incorporates the narrative into a daily activity report that is reviewed by the Operations Captain.

Occasionally, the department deviates from the regularly scheduled canvassing to conduct canvassing in an area recently affected by a violent incident or high-profile police activity. If, for instance, an area of the city experiences a shooting incident, the department will move its canvassing operations to that area of the city for a few days to address residents’ concerns and provide any information they can about the incident. Similarly, if the police conduct a highly visible search or arrest warrant on a house, the department will focus canvassing on the surrounding 3-block area to explain the event to residents and answer as many of their questions as possible.



Courtesy of the Kalamazoo Department of Public Safety

In addition to canvassing, the department also conducts foot patrol in the downtown Kalamazoo mall for six hours every day to increase its interaction and visibility with the community. At the beginning of each shift, a sergeant creates a list of six officers from the seven patrol zones and assigns each of them to a one-hour time slot at the mall. During their one-hour “mall walk”, officers will take enforcement action when necessary, particularly against panhandlers, but the overarching emphasis is community engagement—giving the officers an opportunity to introduce themselves and talk with shoppers and workers that they might otherwise never encounter in their normal patrol operations.

Officers engaged in canvassing and mall walks are generally not responsible for answering calls-for-service, with the exception of in-progress calls, because of the priority placed on community engagement. Should a fire or a similarly high priority incident occur, canvassing and mall walks will be temporarily suspended to reallocate manpower for the response; otherwise, the department relies on its power shift (the 3pm – 3am shift that overlaps with the 7am – 7pm and the 7pm – 7am shifts) to help cover an area while officers are canvassing a neighborhood or conducting foot patrol at the mall. If calls-for-service are overwhelming a zone’s resources, the zone sergeant may reassign officers from adjacent zones to assist with canvassing.

In the 29 months that the department has been canvassing, there have only been five shifts in which neighborhood canvassing was not conducted, due to priority calls-for-service, such as fires. In May 2015, after 16 months of canvassing, the department met its goal of knocking on every residential door in the city. The department is currently conducting their second city-wide canvass due to the success of the canvassing efforts.

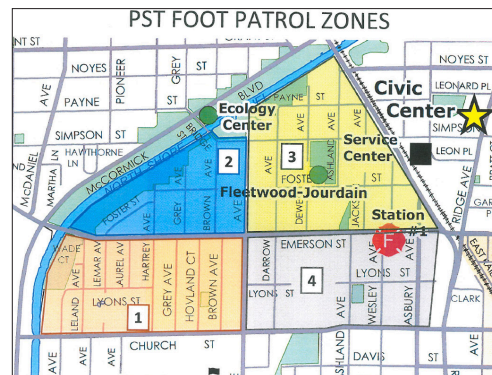


Evanston Police Department – Evanston, IL

Situated approximately 14 miles north of downtown Chicago, Evanston, Illinois, is a city of 7.78 square miles with a population of approximately 74,000 residents across nine political wards. The racial composition of the population is approximately 61.2% White, 18.1% African-American, 9% Hispanic or Latino, and 8.6% Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010d). Evanston is served by the Evanston Police Department, which has a sworn force of 167 officers.

Originally utilized in the mid-80s and early 90s, the Evanston Police Department began redeploying foot patrol officers in its 5th ward in 2008 after repeated requests by the community to reinstitute foot patrol. The primary focus of these officers is to communicate, engage, and build relationships with residents in the 5th ward to help people feel more comfortable with the police; however, the officers have also been instrumental in the department’s efforts to improve safety in the area.

The Evanston Police Department deploys two officers on foot in the city’s 5th ward, a predominately African-American community troubled by gangs and violence, averaging about 3 – 5 shootings per year. Together, the officers patrol a one square-mile area on foot from Tuesday – Saturday in the afternoon/evening hours to maximize the number of interactions they have with the community. Officers that volunteer for the foot patrol assignment serve on a three-year rotation, at the end of which the officers are allowed to choose their next assignment in the department.



Courtesy of the Evanston Police Department

As a part of the Community Strategies unit, the foot patrol officers are generally not responsible for taking calls-for-service, such as a noise complaint, but they will respond to in-progress calls in their area, such as a shooting in progress, utilizing their patrol vehicle if necessary. This freedom from answering calls-for-service affords the foot patrol officers the requisite time to talk and build relationships with the residents. While on patrol, the officers routinely meet with residents at their homes to engage in casual conversations and to listen to their concerns. In one instance recounted by a community member, the officers even showed up to her house and saw her son off to his prom.

The officers also regularly participate in community events. Every month, the officers attend the 5th ward community meeting, and on the first Wednesday of the month, they read to kids, ages 3 – 5, for 30 minutes at the local community center. The officers routinely accept requests from the community to attend other events at the community center or the local churches, and they occasionally host “coffee with a cop”, an event designed to give the community an opportunity to talk with their police officers.



Courtesy of the Evanston Police Department

Through their interactions with the community, the foot patrol officers have developed a working relationship with pastors in the 5th ward. One evening, the officers organized a meeting with local pastors

to answer their questions and discuss why the police do the things they do and why encounters with the police do and do not go well. Since that initial meeting, the department has offered the class to other churches and now conducts regular classes for kids at the junior-high level. Thus far, about 250 people have attended the classes.

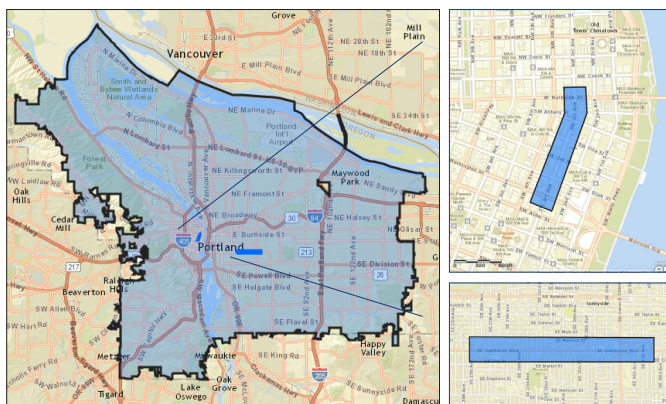
Another area in which the foot patrol officers are seeking to make an impact is in outreach to youth at risk for gang involvement. The 5th ward has a heavy gang presence, so the foot patrol officers have been working to develop relationships with vulnerable youth. If, for example, three or four individuals are hanging out at a local barber shop, the officers will stop by and initiate casual conversations with them. Through relationships built with these individuals, the officers can talk to them about gang involvement, and they can connect them to the city's outreach services.

The officers also work to identify problems or concerns in the community and develop long-term solutions. Last summer, a shooting occurred in the 5th ward between two rival gangs. The residents began voicing concerns about gang members congregating on a dead-end street near one of the local parks. That particular area was very dark, overgrown, and secluded, and it was being used by gang members to hide guns and drugs. Focusing on situational crime prevention through environmental design, the foot patrol officers partnered with Streets and Sanitation, Parks and Recreation, Forestry, police supervisors, and the 5th ward alderman. Together, these agencies worked to trim bushes, remove fences, and improve the area's lighting, which successfully addressed the problem. If the officers identify a complex problem requiring longer term resources to address, they will bring the problem to officers in the department's Problem Solving Team, whom they work closely with in the 5th ward.



Portland Police Bureau – Portland, OR

Portland is a city of 133.43 square miles located in the northwestern portion of Oregon on the Columbia River. The city has a population of approximately 583,000 residents, of which approximately 72.2% are White, 6.3% African-American, 9.4% Hispanic or Latino, and 7.1% Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010e). Responsible for the safety of Portland's residents is the Portland Police Bureau, an agency of 858 sworn officers.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

Every year, the city of Portland experiences a large influx of young homeless individuals, also known as “travelers”, “street kids”, or “transients”, traveling from all across the country. The offenses committed by this group of individuals are generally minor in nature, such as littering, panhandling, loitering, and drinking in public, but the community began expressing heightened concern after a storeowner was assaulted by a “traveler”. In response, the Portland Police Bureau began deploying foot patrol officers in March of 2014. However, instead of focusing on heavy enforcement, the foot patrol officers were instructed to focus on engaging and connecting with the community.

The bureau currently deploys six officers on foot patrol in its Central Precinct. These officers are concentrated in two deployment areas—downtown on 3rd Avenue and east of downtown on Southeast

Hawthorne Boulevard—due to the high number of complaints and the volume of pedestrians in these locations. The officers deploy as a part of the bureau’s B shift, patrolling from noon until 10:00pm to cover the busiest time of day for pedestrian activity.

When foot patrol first began in March 2014, the foot patrol officers functioned as a dedicated unit. However, due to recent staffing limitations, the officers are now being used to fill in as a part of regular patrol to respond to calls-for-service from noon until 4:00pm when the bureau’s C shift comes on duty and frees up the foot patrol officers. At that time, the foot patrol officers are no longer expected to answer calls-for-service, but they will still respond to calls within their walking beats.

The primary goal of the foot patrol officers is to get to know the people in their beats and to learn about their problems and concerns. Much of their time on patrol is spent interacting with the homeless and/or transient populations in their walking beats, many of whom do not have positive views of the police. In an attempt to build better relationships with these individuals and improve cooperation, the officers make an effort to not only talk to them and get to know them, but also to provide for some of their basic needs. For example, in fall of 2015, the foot patrol officers participated in Operation Overcoat, partnering with Union Gospel Mission to hand out socks, shoes, and overcoats to people on the streets. Additionally, the officers created Operation Puppy Coat, which involved foot patrol officers handing out dog coats and pet food donated from the Oregon Humane Society to individuals who may have difficulty providing for their pets—all in an effort to develop positive relationships with these individuals.



Courtesy of the Portland Police Bureau

When the foot patrol officers have to contact individuals in response to minor offenses or citizen complaints, they utilize enforcement actions—such as arrests and citations—as a last resort. Officers generally start with a conversation—simply asking individuals to cease the behavior at issue. If the individuals they contact are in need of services, the officers will work to connect those individuals to available services, such as shelters or addiction treatment facilities. One officer recounted an incident where an individual, new to Portland, observed an interaction between the foot patrol officers and a group of transient individuals on the street. The individual saw how the foot patrol officers were interacting with the group in a very positive manner, so when the group dissipated, this individual was willing to approach the officers to ask for help—he was out on the streets for the first time and did not know what to do. Within five minutes, the officers had him in the back of their car, and they were able to secure a housing situation for him at a local youth shelter.

Outside of their interactions with the homeless and transient populations, the foot patrol officers also regularly engage in other activities with the community. They frequently start conversations with people on the street or go into businesses to introduce themselves, and from time to time, they engage in the occasional photo opportunity with Portland tourists. They also engage in activities with the community for special occasions, such as decorating Christmas cards for the children’s hospital with the local Boys and Girls Club.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

IV. FINDINGS: FOOT PATROL BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES

Our analysis of the five foot patrol deployments revealed a number of salient themes, some of which offer support for prior research on foot patrol. Generally, the identified themes, listed in Table 4 below, can be organized as potential benefits of foot patrol deployments or as challenges that agencies may encounter when implementing and utilizing such a strategy:

Table 4: Identified Benefits and Challenges of Foot Patrol
Benefits of Foot Patrol
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Foot patrol facilitates relationship-building between officers and the community.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Foot patrol enhances the enforcement and problem-solving capability of law enforcement.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Relationships built through foot patrol can change how the community views police officers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Relationships built through foot patrol can increase the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the community.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Foot patrol is rewarding and psychologically beneficial for the officers involved.
Challenges for Implementation of Foot Patrol
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Foot patrol is manpower intensive.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Traditional productivity measures may be inappropriate for assessing the performance of foot patrol officers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Foot patrol focused on community engagement may be seen as antithetical to the traditional crime control model of policing, which may create challenges for internal acceptance in some cases.

Some themes were particularly prevalent across all sites and participant groups, while others only emerged in a smaller subset of sites or specific groups. These themes are discussed in greater detail in the remainder of this section.

Benefits of Foot Patrol

Foot Patrol Facilitates Relationship-Building

Across all five sites and all participant groups, including community member focus groups, there was very strong support for the notion that foot patrol facilitates relationship-building between police officers and community members. Support for the relationship-building benefit of foot patrol was seen in 84% of interviewed supervisory officers, 100% of foot patrol officer focus groups, and 100% of community focus groups. As one assistant chief commented, “You can’t build a respectful relationship with a community when you are driving by them. Foot patrol allows

“The key to policing, no matter where you are in the country, is building relationships. It’s not rocket science.”

– Community member

you to connect with the community you work for.” This point was echoed by a community member who stated, “[Foot patrol] is a really good way for the police officers to know the community and for the community to know the police officers.” Community groups at all study sites strongly agreed that their communities are getting to know their foot patrol officers, a finding in support of prior research conducted by Wood et al. (2014), which indicated that foot patrol facilitates officers getting to know their communities.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

Based on the interview responses of supervisory officers, foot patrol officers, and community members, four subthemes emerged that may offer an explanation as to why foot patrol may be particularly conducive to facilitating relationships between communities and the police.

First, 86% of community focus groups, 80% of officer focus groups, and 89% of interviewed supervisory officers indicated that **foot patrol increases the opportunities for interaction between the police and the community**. This may be due to the fact that the nature of the foot patrol deployments places officers in and among shoppers, pedestrians, residents, and business owners as opposed to sitting in a patrol vehicle. As one community member explained it, “When the officers got into the squad cars, it really provided a physical barrier and it eliminated a lot of that interaction—just the day to day interactions with officers.” Echoing this assessment, a foot patrol officer noted, “A car is a barrier. It’s whizzing by to an emergency call—that’s all people see of their police force.” As such, foot patrol officers are in an advantageous position to see, greet, talk, and simply interact with members of the community, all necessary elements of any relationship. One business member described how, “with foot patrol, you get to know and see the same group of guys on a regular basis... whenever they are in the area, they come in and stop by.” Similarly, another community member pointed out, “When you walk by someone, it’s hard not to make eye contact and say hello.”

In Portland, Cambridge, and New Haven, foot patrol places officers in a position of constant interaction with the cities’ homeless populations, which enables the officers to not only be conduits to city services, but also to build relationships with and get to know these individuals. Similarly, foot patrol allows officers in Evanston to interact with gang members present in the area, outside of normal enforcement-related activity, thus creating opportunities for intervention. In Kalamazoo, the department’s neighborhood canvassing and mall walks have given officers opportunities to interact with residents that they would likely not meet otherwise. One officer observed, “There’s a ton of people that have lived in neighborhoods, and [officers] have never once been to their house or contacted them.” The impetus behind neighborhood canvassing is to get officers to meet and interact with these residents. After all, the chief commented, “How many times does an officer knock on your door without wanting anything other than [to say], ‘Hey, I’m here. How can I help? What can we do better?’”

“If we are going to make this fundamental shift back to where we need to be as law enforcement, we have to get back into the communities and get out of these [expletive] cars.”

— Shift commander

A second explanation for why foot patrol facilitates relationship-building is because **foot patrol officers are easier for the community to approach than motorized patrol officers**, a belief voiced by 71% of community focus groups and 60% of foot patrol officer groups. This finding supports previous research conducted by Cordner (2010) and Kelling & Coles (1996) that found foot patrol created a sense of approachability for residents.

One community member noted that it is a lot easier to approach officers on foot than “trying to get their attention as the patrol car goes by.” Emphasizing this point, one foot patrol officer commented, “A lot of people know our schedules...and they’ll see us and run up and talk to us. Before [foot patrol], we would have never gotten that.” As one of the sergeants explains, “People are more comfortable going up to an officer walking by them, shoulder to shoulder on the street, than they are to approach a cruiser.” From the perspective of a foot patrol officer, the community loves this approachability:



Courtesy of Police Foundation

“When we’re out there and we’re accessible and people can come out and talk to us or maybe ask us a question or ask for help, they love it. They love talking with the police. It seems like the community, and I would go as far as to say nationwide, just wants a relationship with their police.”

Moreover, foot patrol officers at three of the five study sites are finding ways to be even more approachable for the communities they serve by providing their own personal cell phone numbers to the residents and businesses on their walking beats.

A third reason why foot patrol may be conducive to relationship-building is because **foot patrol humanizes the officers involved**. While not widely mentioned by foot patrol officer focus groups or supervisory officers⁵, more than half of the community focus groups (57%) expressed this view, and it was a theme that emerged in all five sites. One foot patrol officer commented that, “[On foot patrol], you can get to know the people that you’re working for in that area and they can get to know us as humans and not just as police officers.” Similarly, a community member explained how the foot patrol officers “go into the businesses, up and down, everywhere, so that they are not an alien presence in blue with a gun—they are human beings.” It is possible that this humanizing effect bridges a gap and lays the foundation for a positive, much more intimate relationship between police officers and community members than the kind of relationship typically seen between patrol officers and the communities they serve.

While mentioned explicitly by only a minority of interviewees and focus groups⁶, a common characteristic of all five foot patrol deployments is that **foot patrol officers are afforded the time by their agencies to develop relationships with their communities and to engage in problem-solving**. Typically, foot patrol officers at each of the five sites are not expected to answer calls-for-service while on foot patrol unless the officers are in the immediate vicinity of the call or the call is for an in-progress event. This relative freedom from calls-for-service is likely yet another reason why foot patrol facilitates relationship-building between communities and the police. According to one shift commander:

“[Foot patrol officers] are afforded the time to engage by the mere fact that they are walking. They have the opportunity to engage the homeless population downtown; they have the opportunity to engage the people at [the] park...whereas the car is going from call to call to call.”

Similarly, another shift commander explained, “If you’re spending most of your time in your car just responding, call to call, you’re going to have less time to just talk and establish relationships.” Indeed, as one chief explained, an advantage of foot patrol is that it “[allows] relationships to build fully rather than [being] driven by incidental 911 calls.” A foot patrol officer echoed this comment, saying that, while on foot patrol, “you have that extra time to really show that person that you give a [expletive] about what they’re talking about, not just, ‘oh yea, okay, see you later,’” as is the case while going from call to call while on motorized patrol. Thus, the interaction between the community and the officers is much more relational, not transactional. This underscores the importance of a recommendation offered by the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015): “Law enforcement agencies should evaluate their patrol deployment practices to allow sufficient time for patrol officers to participate in problem solving and community engagement activities” (p. 44). Otherwise, officers may not have the requisite time to talk with their communities and develop personal relationships.

Table 5: Foot Patrol Facilitates Relationship-Building between Police Officers and Community Members: Summary of Subthemes

1. Foot patrol increases the opportunities for interaction between the police and the community.
2. Foot patrol officers are easier for the community to approach than motorized patrol officers.
3. Foot patrol humanizes the officers involved.
4. Foot patrol officers are afforded the time by their agencies to develop relationships with their communities and engage in problem-solving.

The notion that foot patrol facilitates relationship-building between community members and police officers is the single most important theme this study identified across all five sites and participant groups. It is the foundation upon which most other benefits of foot patrol are derived, as discussed below.

Foot Patrol Enhances the Enforcement and Problem-Solving Capability of Law Enforcement

Another theme that was particularly prevalent across all sites is that foot patrol enhances the enforcement and problem-solving capability of law enforcement. It does this through the familiarity and relationships that foot patrol officers develop with members of the community. This theme is supported by four main subthemes, described below.

Across sites and participant groups, researchers found that ***relationships with the community increase the flow of information to the officers regarding crimes and community concerns***. This subtheme was voiced by 68% of supervisory officers, 71% of community focus groups, and 100% of foot patrol officer focus groups, and it confirms a previous finding by Trojanowicz (1984) that increased familiarity might improve communication, resulting in greater exchange of information needed to prevent crime. One shift commander provides a good explanation of this process:

“You are in an advantageous position as a foot patrol to create relationships with the public, and with relationships, you start to build trust. And when they start to trust you, all of a sudden they start telling you things. When something bad happens in the neighborhood, you’ll have someone walk by and say, ‘Hey officer, that guy that shoplifted at Wal-Mart up there, he’s up the street in the laundromat.’ They start to tell you things. Now, on the flipside, if you’re not engaging the public, they’re not going to learn to trust you, and if they’re not going to trust you, they’re not going to tell you, even if that guy that committed that crime is in that laundromat.”

As the commander explains, people begin to talk to officers when they know and trust them. The benefit of this is particularly evident in a story shared by another shift commander. The commander recounted a neighborhood foot patrol he conducted in the aftermath of a shooting. The residents on the street where the shooting occurred were historically not particularly cooperative with police, but the commander, along with another officer, went to the neighborhood to engage and talk with whomever they could. Toward the end of their patrol, a resident shook the commander’s hand and said, “Hey, this is probably something you want to know.” In shaking the commander’s hand, the resident passed the commander a note that had the shooter’s name written on it. That note subsequently allowed the police to investigate further, arrest the shooter, and recover weapons. The commander concludes, “If we hadn’t spent that time and formed relationships [with the community], that would have never happened.”

“There is a disconnect between officers in their cars and a real understanding of the problems that are out there on the street”

- Foot patrol officer

Relationships can also help officers when seeking information from suspects. According to one foot patrol officer:

“A lot of times, we are able to get more out of individuals than our patrol officers or detectives or gang guys because we took that extra step and built a relationship prior to the incident that we are there for. We may have seen this individual for 3-4 weeks, stopped by and talked to him, said, ‘Hey, how you doing? How’s the family?’ And then when they do something wrong or they are accused of doing something wrong and they see us, they are more willing to talk to us and deal with us, a lot of the times, because of the relationship that we built.”

This cooperation received as a result of relationships enhances the officers’ ability to resolve incidents in an effective and efficient manner.

It is important to note that while relationships can result in increased information regarding criminal activity, they also open up an avenue for community members to voice their concerns to the police—concerns that may otherwise not come to light. Indeed, the importance of developing relationships with the community in order to fully comprehend the community’s concerns cannot be overstated. One foot patrol officer keenly observed,



Courtesy of Police Foundation

“There is a disconnect between officers in their cars and a real understanding of the problems that are out there on the street.” As such, foot patrol officers, through their interactions and relationships with the community, are well positioned to identify and understand the full range of problems plaguing a community. For example, during a neighborhood foot patrol, one resident pointed out that she was concerned about an abandoned house across the street where people were living and leaving trash everywhere. Over the next few months, the officers worked with city services to clean up the trash and secure the property. Reflecting on this story, the officer involved noted the importance of the neighborhood foot patrol in identifying and addressing this problem:

“She didn’t call us on that, but once we made contact with her, she had a face and a person that she could talk to about her problems. She felt more comfortable, so she would fire off that email. Where she wasn’t calling the police department to have it fixed, she was emailing one of us because she had that personal connection with us.”

Capturing the essence of this story, a community member explained, “The more familiar you are with the police, the more you will reach out to them in times of need.” Thus, relationships with the community are of critical importance for officers seeking to accurately identify and solve problems within the community.

“The more familiar you are with the police, the more you will reach out to them in times of need.”

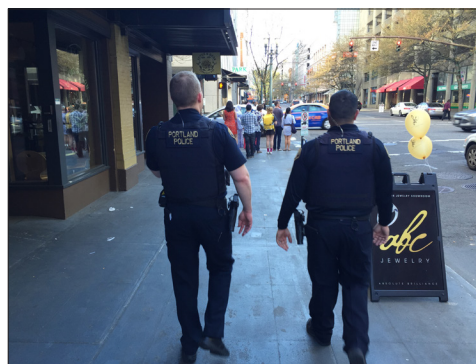
– Community member

A second way in which foot patrol can enhance the enforcement and problem-solving capability of law enforcement is by **assisting in the identification of suspects through the familiarity that officers develop with the people on their walking beats**. This notion was expressed in four of the five study sites, but it was only strongly supported in one site, where all supervisory officers and the officer focus group discussed a previous murder investigation that the foot patrol officers were instrumental in closing. The detectives on the case had video and picture evidence showing the murder suspects, but due to the fact that the suspects were transient individuals, no one knew who the individuals were. The detectives asked the foot patrol officers for help in identifying the suspects, and because of their constant interaction with the transient population, the foot patrol officers were able to easily identify the suspects. Moreover, the foot patrol officers were able to determine the location of the suspects through a relationship with another transient individual, and the foot patrol officers were able to arrest the suspects without incident.

Similarly, a commander from another study site recalled an investigation he helped close back when he was in foot patrol. At that time, he had a friend that worked for the State Troopers as an undercover narcotics detective. His friend was doing undercover buys in his walking beat, but the troopers did not know who they were buying from in the area. His friend approached him to ask for help in identifying the suspects, and the commander was able to identify each individual because of the familiarity he had developed with the people on his walking beat. Had he not been there to identify these guys, the commander commented, “the investigation never would have been completed.”

Analyzing by participant group, researchers found that 60% of shift commanders and 40% of sergeants across sites indicated that foot patrol assists in the identification of suspects. The fact that this theme is confined to these specific participant groups may be due to the fact that shift commanders and

sergeants are traditionally the individuals responsible for running roll call at the beginning of each patrol shift, a time in which officers are normally briefed on persons of interest and wanted individuals. One commander explained, “You’ll have detectives who are inundated with cases upstairs. They’ll come down with a nickname. Who’s going to know that nickname? The walking beat... knows the nickname because they are out there and they know who’s who. That has happened numerous times.” Thus, one can conclude that foot patrol offers a demonstrated benefit to the crime fighting efforts of law enforcement.



Courtesy of Police Foundation

Thirdly, ***the relationship that foot patrol officers develop with their communities can be instrumental in the success and acceptance of enforcement efforts.*** This subtheme was almost exclusively⁷ seen at one study site, where it was a salient theme across 75% of supervisory interviews and both community and officer focus groups. The reason why this point is particularly salient at this site and not other sites may be due to the success of the department’s recent efforts to take guns off the street in order to curb the violence in its community.

In response to a series of shootings and homicides, the department decided to implement stop-and-frisk, a controversial police tactic associated with disproportionate minority contact in many cities across the country. However, this department proceeded differently. At the outset, the department relied on its foot patrol officers to meet with the community and to explain what the department would be doing and why they were doing it. The officers explained that they would not be stopping people indiscriminately, but rather, would be focusing their enforcement effort on the people that had been identified as associated with criminal activity. The point of emphasis here is that the relationships and the familiarity the foot patrol officers had with the community allowed the officers to not only obtain the cooperation of the community, but to also target the enforcement in such a way as to substantially reduce the collateral damage on the community. Indeed, as a community member noted, “The fact that they had [stop-and-frisk] without any complaint and got a little less than 20 guns in that effort, that tells you they know who [to focus on], and they are doing their job properly.” She goes on to say, “As a mother of a 20-year-old black man, I would be getting the feedback from his friends that we’re getting frisked all the time, and I haven’t heard anything.” Importantly, the community members attribute the success of the intervention to the fact that the foot patrol officers “know the kids” and “know the people” in the community.

The relationships that foot patrol officers have with the community can have even more direct results on enforcement efforts. For example, foot patrol officers at one site developed a relationship with a particular gang member. That individual subsequently contacted them wanting to give them a gun (a Mac-10), no strings attached, because it needed to be off of the streets and the individual wanted to help the officers, to which the officers responded, “Huh? We used to have to go out there and find guns.” According to one of the officers, “That doesn’t happen every day; that comes from relationship-building.”

“You can de-escalate situations by just having a relationship with somebody.”

- Foot patrol officer

Lastly, the relationships and familiarity that foot patrol officers have with community members can enhance the enforcement and problem-solving capability of law enforcement by helping officers de-escalate and address certain situations more effectively. As an example, foot patrol officers at one site came into contact with a mentally ill individual known to the officers. This individual had a reputation of being a very nice man, but he had been going without his medications for a week. In contacting the man, it helped that the man knew the officers and the officers knew him. As one of the foot patrol officers explained, “You can de-escalate situations by just having a relationship with somebody.” Adding another element to this, one assistant chief commented:

“When you have walking beats, you know your neighborhood; you know the people that live in your neighborhood, and if a situation arises where you are going to a call, the person you are dealing with on the other side is no longer a stranger, and a lot less mistakes happen. And a lot of the mistakes currently happening around the country, in my opinion, have to do with fear. So if you know the other person, the fear goes down quite a bit.”

This familiarity with the people in their community can help foot patrol officers deal with situations more effectively than officers that do not have prior experience with the involved individuals, and it could prevent or reduce the need to use force in order to obtain compliance in some situations. Interestingly, this theme was only discussed in two study sites, and within those sites, support was concentrated in 75% of community focus groups and 100% of foot patrol officer focus groups (versus 25% of supervisory officers).

Table 6: Foot Patrol Enhances the Enforcement and Problem-Solving Capability of Law Enforcement: Summary of Subthemes

1. Relationships with the community, developed through foot patrol, increase the flow of information to officers regarding crimes and community concerns.
2. Foot patrol assists in the identification of suspects through the familiarity that officers develop with the people on their walking beats.
3. The relationships that foot patrol officers develop with their communities can be instrumental in the success and acceptance of enforcement efforts.
4. The relationships and familiarity that foot patrol officers have with the community can help officers de-escalate and address certain situations more effectively.

Relationships Built Through Foot Patrol Can Change How the Community Views Police Officers

Relationships built through foot patrol change how the community sees police officers, a finding supported by 71% of community focus groups. As people interact with and get to know the foot patrol officers, a community member explained, “what happens is, instead of looking at them as police, you see them as humans who are trained to help, assist, and protect you, so that it’s not just *the* police, it’s *our* police officer who knows my block, who knows that that’s a dark street, and they’ll be there.”



Courtesy of the Portland Police Bureau

Another community member stressed the importance of developing a relationship and rapport with officers in order to overcome negative stereotypes or views associated with the police. She discussed how her relationship with the foot patrol officers “helps [her 8-year-old son] to see the police in a different way because if he’s hearing on the news about police being violent towards young black boys, for him to see his mother waving and saying hello [to officers], ... I think that sends him a broader view of what police officers can be.” One foot patrol officer acknowledged this potential to overcome negative perceptions of law enforcement through greater engagement with the public:

“We see the impact that we’ve had, and it’s just going out and talking to people. I think this is the way that police work should be done in this country, and I think people are looking at ‘what do they want from their police in this country?’ It’s not going and constantly hitting the same drug houses with no effect. I think it’s cool that we have all of this armor and stuff, but there are a lot of people in this country that think we’re some occupying force in their community and that we’re out specifically to get them. If people can come out—whether it’s foot patrol or whatever other unit—if they can go out and contact people on several different levels and get to know them and forge these relationships with them, people will see us a lot differently. They will.”

This potential for changing perceptions of police is particularly evident in Portland, where the relationships the foot patrol officers are building through their outreach efforts are changing the way they are seen by the community. One community member explained that “a lot of the homeless folks tend to have an adversarial view of the police...so to have the officers from foot patrol participate in [an operation helping to provide coats to the homeless] was really a huge positive [because] they’re developing a friendly relationship with these folks.” This supports a finding of Trojanowicz & Banas (1985a) that foot patrol may be effective at altering perceptions of police in communities that hold less positive views of police.

“America better police this way because the crisis in legitimacy is not going to be changed in this day and age without the slow painstaking work of building relationships.”

– Chief

Relationships Can Increase the Legitimacy of the Police in the Eyes of the Community

Across all study sites, 60% of foot patrol officer focus groups and 57% of community focus groups voiced that relationships between the police and the community can increase the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the community. In other words, when communities have relationships with their officers, community members are more likely to view the enforcement actions of police as appropriate and within their legal authority as police. One community member offered an illustration of this point:

If a foot patrol officer has a relationship with kids in the neighborhood, when that officer goes to arrest someone, “[the kids] will have a broader view of that officer because they’ll know him as being a good guy versus ‘he’s just a bad cop.’ They’ll at least say, ‘no, that’s officer so-and-so; that [person he’s arresting] had to do something because he’s not a mean person.’”

Relatedly, officers at another site explained that the relationships they have with residents through neighborhood foot patrol can be instrumental in explaining enforcement action:

“[If] you see a house surrounded and we pull someone out in handcuffs who is yelling and cussing . . . and that’s all you see, of course it doesn’t look great. [During the foot patrol, we can explain], ‘well the reason that [the person] was dragged out of the house was because they were holding someone at knife-point’ or whatever the situation is. That automatically will change people’s opinion.”

Without these relationships, negative impressions of the police and their actions may go unchecked. Relationships with the community are seemingly critical for maintaining and increasing the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the community. Affirming this assessment, a chief commented, “America better police this way because the crisis in legitimacy is not going to be changed in this day and age without the slow, painstaking work of building relationships.”

Foot Patrol Is Rewarding and Psychologically Beneficial for the Officers Involved

During the course of the study, researchers found that the majority of foot patrol officer focus groups discussed how rewarding and beneficial foot patrol has been for them as officers. Specifically, 80% of officer focus groups and 60% of shift commanders discussed the personal benefits of foot patrol, and the theme was particularly prevalent in one site, where all interviews with the police (supervisory interviews and officer focus group) were in support of this theme.

Much of the psychological benefit derived from foot patrol is a result of the increase in positive interactions foot patrol officers have with members of the community. As one foot patrol officer explained:

“When you’re working a car, you’re getting a call somewhere specific; it’s something that needs the police there, so it’s only going to be something negative. Whereas just walking around, sometimes you see parents with their kids—you know, ‘Hey, officer. How are you doing?’ You’re out there shaking hands, being friendly with people. You have more positive interactions on foot.”

This assessment was echoed by officers across study sites, and it is understandable given the types of interactions and outreach opportunities that foot patrol officers have engaged in with their communities. For instance, in Portland, foot patrol officers are able to take part in handing out clothes to homeless individuals, and in Cambridge, officers are able to play basketball with kids in the neighborhoods. In Kalamazoo, officers can interact with kids at the mall or go door to door meeting people they have never met before. In Evanston, the officers get to take part in classes designed to improve understanding between the police and the community, while officers in New Haven are able to place individuals in need into contact with city services.

These positive interactions that officers are able to have with their communities can give officers a better view of the community they serve. One assistant chief asserted:

“The more we can get a patrol officer in front of the 94-97% of good people, that’s going to balance the cynicism that this industry creates where the night shift officer thinks, ‘Man, everyone is an [expletive] that I deal with—everyone’s like that.’ Well, no, not really.”

The assistant chief went on to tell a story about how an experienced officer approached him to discuss his thoughts on the agency’s foot patrol deployment. The officer said he initially thought it was [expletive], but then he was able to meet an elderly lady in one of the neighborhoods. The officer ended up

talking to her for 45 minutes, in which the resident told the officer how much she supported the police. The officer concluded that had the department not implemented the foot patrol strategy, the officer would never have experienced that positive interaction.

Not only can the positive interactions give officers a more positive view of their community, they can also give officers a mental break and an opportunity to reduce stress. One officer commented, “You can only get [cursed] so much in one day, so when you talk to normal people, it’s kind of nice and refreshing.” At one site, the department actually sees foot patrol as an opportunity for officers to de-stress. If an officer experiences a particularly stressful call, sergeants are empowered to place that officer on an immediate foot patrol assignment to provide them with an opportunity to de-escalate and de-stress through positive interactions with the community.

It is important to note that many of the foot patrol officers across the sites indicated that they did not initially want to do foot patrol. One shift commander noted, “I would’ve never thought I would’ve bought into this program, but not only do I see the benefits, but I also see the benefits within myself.” Only after doing it and seeing the benefits firsthand did the officers come to support and believe in foot patrol. For agencies considering implementing foot patrol, this is likely an important consideration to keep in mind.

Another point to consider is that a lack of internal support within an agency for foot patrol, particularly among patrol officers, may have a dampening effect on the psychological benefits foot patrol officers receive. In one agency in particular, foot patrol officers noted that a lack of support and respect from officers in motorized patrol was actually detrimental to their satisfaction in conducting foot patrol. One foot patrol officer commented, “If I didn’t believe in the work that we’re doing, I definitely wouldn’t be doing [foot patrol] right now.” This organizational dynamic will be discussed in greater detail later in the report.

Challenges for Implementation of Foot Patrol

Foot Patrol Is Manpower Intensive

While interviews and field observations revealed a number of benefits associated with foot patrol deployments, they also provided some understanding of the challenges agencies may face when implementing a foot patrol deployment. One such challenge is cost. As one sergeant explained, “Foot patrol is taxing when it comes to manpower.” Across study sites, 80% of officer focus groups and 47% of supervisory officers (including 60% of assistant/deputy chiefs) echoed this assessment. The point was particularly emphasized in Portland and New Haven, where, between the two sites, 71% of supervisory officers and 100% of officer focus groups mentioned resource constraints as a challenge of foot patrol. The fact that this point was particularly salient in New Haven and Portland may be due to the fact that these two agencies consistently deploy the greatest number of dedicated foot patrol officers out of the five study sites.

One of the biggest challenges agencies are facing is maintaining their foot patrols while also keeping enough officers available to respond to calls-for-service. One foot patrol officer highlights this struggle:

“Staffing ruins everything—if you don’t have enough bodies, the walking beats are the first to go—they’ll pull you out of the walking beats and put you somewhere else.”

This struggle can be magnified when foot patrol officers are included in the minimum staffing on a patrol shift, as is the case in a few of the study sites. Officers indicated that this reduction in officers available to answer calls can cause frustration among the motorized patrol officers, who are then left with a disproportionate load of calls-for-service. This may subsequently cause tension and resentment towards the foot patrol officers, who are seen as the reason for the increased call load. One remedy suggested by some supervisors is to have foot patrol as a separate unit so as to not decrease the number of officers available for calls-for-service on any given shift. However, the issue here is that some departments simply do not have enough officers to have a separate foot patrol unit. The bottom line, explains a chief, is that foot patrol “costs more money. In a time of budget consciousness, you save money by putting officers in patrol cars. . . [Foot patrol] takes more officers to do.”



Courtesy of Police Foundation

Traditional Productivity Measures May Be Inappropriate for Assessing Foot Patrol Officers

One theme that emerged among supervisory officers is the notion that traditional productivity measures, such as the number of arrests, citations, citizen contacts, etc., may be inappropriate or insufficient for assessing the performance of foot patrol officers. This theme was evident in 79% of interviews with supervisory officers⁸, including 100% of interviews with chiefs. For example, foot patrol officers at one site remarked that they make less arrests while on foot patrol because they believe there is more compliance and voluntary desistance in response to officers’ attempts to address minor offenses, a result they attribute to the positive way in which the officers have engaged and developed relationships with the community. As such, evaluating foot patrol officers’ performance on the basis of arrest statistics may be inappropriate. Furthermore, traditional measures may insufficiently capture the full range and quality of activities performed by foot patrol officers. One foot patrol officer noted:

“We’ve gotten so used to, for several years, stats, custodies, citations—that’s the only way that a lot of police management have seen productivity; trying to measure it with a stat. And so much of what we do is just going out and talking with people. There are things you can’t really put a stat on.”

While some supervisors still discussed the applicability of some traditional measures of performance, like the number of citizen contacts or pre- and post-crime statistics, the majority made mention of or suggested alternative measures for assessing the performance of foot patrol officers. For example, one chief suggested foot patrol officers should be assessed based upon their effectiveness in resolving the problems identified by the community.

The majority of supervisors, however, indicated that they rely on the community’s feedback in assessing the performance of their foot patrol officers. If foot patrol officers are doing their job well and building relationships, the supervisors expect that the community will know the officers and provide positive feedback about them. Similarly, one shift commander relies on the number of requests he receives to have foot patrol appear at community events as a measure of how well the foot patrol officers are engaging the community. According to the commander, “That’s as important as any type of number that

can be produced by going out and doing enforcement.” Alternatively, another supervisor mentioned that the absence of citizen complaints about problems in an area is an indication that the foot patrol officers are performing well.

Given the feedback of supervisory officers across study sites, agencies interested in implementing a foot patrol strategy should consider relying on other measures of performance that more accurately capture the activities of foot patrol officers as opposed to solely relying on traditional measures such as the number of arrests, citations, etc. As the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) recommends, “Law enforcement agencies should evaluate officers on their efforts to engage members of the community and the partnerships they build. Making this part of the performance evaluation process places an increased value on developing partnerships”(p. 44).

Foot Patrol Focused on Community Engagement May Be Seen as Antithetical to the Traditional Crime Control Model of Policing

At two sites, researchers found a perceived lack of support for the foot patrol deployments among motorized patrol officers, a view voiced by 57% of supervisory officers and 100% of officer focus groups across the two sites. According to one foot patrol officer, “Everybody that we work with thinks foot patrol doesn’t do anything.” Adding to this, a couple of supervisors noted that motorized patrol units view the work of the foot patrol officers as “huggy” or “touchy feely” as opposed to “real police work.” One foot patrol officer explains:

“Sometimes foot patrol isn’t looked at as doing hard-nosed police work because we’re not out there locking people up every day; we’re not out there doing traffic stops every day; we’re not out there doing street stops every day and things like that. Community engagement is what we’re doing, and sometimes that gets lost in the police field nowadays.”

Echoing this, one of the shift commanders noted:

“What foot patrol is trying to do is return to a style of policing that existed long before anybody here was working as a patrol officer, but yet we’re so focused on 911 calls and racing from call to call that [officers] can’t imagine how something else can work that way.”

The underlying point made by these officers is that much of law enforcement is entrenched in the crime control model of policing emphasizing arrests, citations, and enforcement, so a strategy emphasizing anything else may not be viewed as legitimate or worthwhile to officers. Supporting this assessment, some of the officers drew attention to other specialty units in their department that “don’t get the positive feedback that [foot patrol does]”, but “because they have been around so long and because it fits that mold of traditional police work—hard chargers, arrests, kicking [expletive]” the department turns to foot patrol first when considering budget cuts.

Thus, one challenge that agencies may need to address when implementing a foot patrol deployment is the apparent disconnect between traditional crime control interventions and community engagement activities. Otherwise, as one assistant chief noted, a “rift” may result between foot patrol officers and motorized patrol officers which can cause conflict and, as previously mentioned, may be detrimental to an officer’s enjoyment of foot patrol.

It is important to note that fostering internal support for community engagement activities can be done, particularly by valuing these activities in the performance review process. One department involved in the study actively encourages all officers to help the community whenever the officers have an opportunity to do so, such as helping someone change a tire or giving someone a ride to the gas station if their vehicle ran out of gas. The department has created awards and recognition for such activity, which then become additional factors to consider for special assignments and future promotional opportunities. For rookie officers, community engagement activities are noted in the reports submitted by their field training officers. As a result of the department's emphasis, community engagement activities have become a valued part of the performance process.

Foot patrol officers indicated that much of the internal negative perception associated with foot patrol may be due to a lack of understanding about exactly what foot patrol officers do and how these patrols benefit both the community and the department. As such, another way an agency may be able to foster internal support is by exposing motorized patrol officers to foot patrol. Indeed, officers indicated that once some of their colleagues actually experience what it is they do and/or see how the officers are able to talk with, and get information from, the people they contact, they begin to have a greater appreciation for the foot patrol officers.

Summary of Benefits and Challenges

Interviews and field observations across the five sites revealed a number of potential benefits of foot patrol deployments for law enforcement agencies. At a foundational level, foot patrol facilitates relationship-building between foot patrol officers and the community. These relationships, in turn, enhance the enforcement and problem-solving capability of law enforcement, change how community members view police officers, and increase the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the community. Additionally, the increase in positive interactions foot patrol officers have with the community while on foot patrol, as opposed to the generally negative interactions motorized officers experience answering calls-for-service, are rewarding and psychologically beneficial to the officers.

However, agencies must balance these benefits with the potential implementation challenges posed by foot patrol deployments. One challenge most agencies will face is cost. Simply put, foot patrol is manpower intensive and expensive. Additionally, agencies may need to explore alternative ways for measuring the performance of foot patrol officers that more accurately assess and encourage relationship-building and problem-solving as opposed to traditional enforcement activity, such as arrests and citations. Finally, agencies may experience some internal tension between foot patrol officers involved in community engagement and motorized patrol officers who may view the work of the foot patrol officers as not real policing.

V. CONCLUSION

This study examined how five agencies across the United States use various foot patrol strategies to build stronger relationships with their communities. The report adds to the developing literature on foot patrol by providing nuanced detail about the attitudes and perceptions of officers and community members towards community-focused foot patrol efforts. Officers engaged in foot patrol across sites offered support for the efforts. Importantly, many of these officers expressed support despite having initially been resistant to their foot patrol assignments. Interviewed community members at all five sites, including some from challenging areas, expressed overwhelming support for the foot patrol officers, with their only criticism being that they would like to see even more officers on foot patrol.

The report supports prior research demonstrating benefits of foot patrol for both officers and citizens. The main findings suggest that foot patrol facilitates relationship-building between officers and community members consistent with previous work showing that foot patrol officers get to know their communities (Wood et al., 2014). Furthermore, officers and community members across all five study sites indicated that their experiences did create a sense of approachability, familiarity, and trust supporting earlier findings (Cordner, 2010; Kelling & Coles, 1996). These benefits, in turn, were found to enhance the exchange of information between officers and community members, aiding the problem-solving capability of law enforcement as previously suggested (Groff, 2013; Trojanowicz, 1984). Finally, officers reported psychological benefits associated with foot patrol that echo prior findings relating increased job satisfaction and support for police-community interactions to officers engaged in foot patrol (Hayeslip & Cordner, 1987; Pelfrey, 2004; Yates & Pillai, 1996).

Despite these benefits, the study identified several key challenges associated with implementing foot patrol. Agencies engaged in foot patrol in this study indicated that implementation resulted in issues related to cost, performance evaluation, and the potential for internal conflict between officers focused on community engagement and officers focused on the traditional crime control model of policing. Given these challenges, the potential benefits of foot patrol deployments must be balanced with implementation concerns. Thus, foot patrol requires significant planning and preparation by the agency prior to deployment. Likewise, key issues affecting the effectiveness of foot patrol, such as dosage and activity (Groff et al., 2015), suggest that planning and preparation are key components in achieving successful outcomes.

Implementation Guidance

The benefits achieved by the five agencies in the present study may be attributable to the way in which these agencies deploy their officers, and key similarities may provide a template for planning foot patrol implementations. All five agencies in this study:

1. Deploy foot patrol officers primarily for the stated purpose of community engagement.
2. Provide their officers with enough time during their shift to engage and build relationships with the community and to conduct problem-solving by largely freeing them from responding to calls-for-service.
3. Provide consistency to the community by deploying the same officers to the walking beats.
4. Have committed to long-term deployments of foot patrol officers.

These four characteristics suggest four key areas for planning and implementing foot patrol. Specifically, these four areas include:

- (1) Purpose
- (2) Resources
- (3) Continuity
- (4) Commitment

Purpose implies that agencies should understand their rationale for implementing a foot patrol deployment, particularly the officers engaged in foot patrol. There should be a clearly articulated reason why foot patrol is implemented. Given the present state of knowledge about the impact of foot patrol, implementation should be primarily motivated by a need to increase community involvement and interaction with officers and a need to generate mutual trust and respect, all of which can lead to improved policing. Likewise, purpose implies that there are well-established goals for the foot patrol implementation. Agencies should assess their own understanding of purpose by answering questions such as, ***can the organization clearly articulate the reasons that they are choosing to implement foot patrol and the goals that they hope to accomplish?***

Resources imply that agencies should have evaluated their available resources and have determined that sufficient support exists to enact meaningful foot patrol dosages. Given that foot patrol efforts function differently than motorized patrol, adequate consideration of resource availability represents a substantial challenge. Foot patrol covers less area than motorized patrol per officer, and assignment of officers to foot patrol may reduce the available number of motorized patrol officers to respond to calls-for-service or other assignments. Determining the impact of these adjustments in advance in the context of desired dosage and duration is an important challenge. Essentially, the resource component relates to the fundamental question, ***has the department identified the necessary resources to adequately implement foot patrol?***

Continuity implies that organizations have planned their foot patrol strategy to maximize the potential benefits. This implies that foot patrol will be maintained in areas where it is implemented rather than rotating foot patrol through different areas⁹. Likewise, this implies that officers engaged in foot patrol efforts in specific areas continue to work in those areas to give officers the opportunity to develop in-depth relationships with members of the community. Given that these priorities raise substantial administrative issues, these concerns should be addressed prior to implementation. Continuity can be assessed by answering the question, ***is there an established plan to assure continuity in foot patrol, including continuity of officers as well as continuity of patrol?***

Finally, commitment implies that there is sufficient support to maintain foot patrol over an extended period of time in areas where it is implemented. The key goals for foot patrol should be long term as temporary implementations are substantially less likely to achieve positive benefits for community-police relations. Commitment is assessed by answering the question, ***does the organization demonstrate a long-term commitment to implementing foot patrol, or is the decision reactionary or temporary in nature?***

Table 7: Key Areas for Foot Patrol Implementation Planning*

AREA	RATIONALE	ASSESSMENT
Purpose	Agencies should understand why they are adopting foot patrol.	<i>Can the organization clearly articulate the reasons that they are choosing to implement foot patrol and the goals that they hope to accomplish?</i>
Resources	Agencies should understand the resource implications of foot patrol.	<i>Has the department identified the necessary resources to adequately implement foot patrol?</i>
Continuity	Agencies should maintain ongoing foot patrol in areas utilizing the same officers.	<i>Is there an established plan to assure continuity in foot patrol, including continuity of officers as well as continuity of patrol?</i>
Commitment	Agencies should maintain foot patrol over an extended period.	<i>Does the organization demonstrate a long-term commitment to implementing foot patrol, or is the decision reactionary or temporary in nature?</i>

*This table appeared earlier in the Executive Summary as Table 3.

Limitations

While the current study provides key details about foot patrol, several limitations are noteworthy. First, perceptions of community members within this study may be biased. Since all community members involved in the focus group interviews were selected for participation by their respective law enforcement agency, sentiments expressed by the focus groups may not be representative of the community at large. This issue may be more problematic given the small sample of community members interviewed. Similarly, the limited number of field observations and short duration for observation periods may have inadequately captured many activities and experiences related to foot patrol. However, these limitations must be considered in light of the use of the data collected from community members and through observation. Given that these data were used primarily to support the data collected through interviews with police officers and administrators, the findings of this study suggest strong consistency supporting the key conclusions.

Future Research

The findings of this study raise a number of considerations for future evaluations of foot patrol deployments. Namely, researchers and practitioners should take care in determining how to measure the effectiveness of a foot patrol strategy. Echoing our finding that traditional productivity measures may be inappropriate for assessing the performance of foot patrol officers, an evaluation focused solely on crime reduction may be inappropriate. While our study did not examine foot patrol's impact on crime rates, it did find that the familiarity and relationships officers develop with community members has enabled them to be instrumental in closing criminal investigations at all five study sites, including a

murder investigation. As such, evaluators should consider how foot patrol, depending on how it is implemented, may have more of a direct impact on an agency's clearance rate than an agency's crime rate, given a large enough deployment.

Evaluators may also want to consider examining the impact of a foot patrol deployment on police legitimacy and community perceptions of procedural justice. Anecdotal evidence from the sites suggests that personal relationships between foot patrol officers and community members may be helpful in terms of how community members view the actions of the officers, particularly enforcement actions. Established relationships with the community also allow officers to explain enforcement activity to the community, which may result in greater understanding and an increased sense of fairness in the enforcement efforts of the police.

Furthermore, evaluations should consider the impact of a foot patrol deployment on the affected community. Our findings suggest that not only are citizens more satisfied with the policing they are receiving from the foot patrol officers, they are also more likely to discuss their problems and concerns with the foot patrol officers. This subsequently allows police to focus on the real concerns of a community, something officers indicated is difficult to do without a relationship with the community. Thus, the responsiveness of the police to community concerns should not be overlooked in an evaluation of a foot patrol deployment's effectiveness. Finally, any evaluation of the impact on foot patrol should include fidelity measures to assess the dosage of the foot patrol deployment and the activities undertaken by the officers involved. Without this insight, a true understanding of the effectiveness of foot patrol may continue to be elusive.

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ENDNOTES

1. Where possible, focus group interviews with community members were held at an offsite location from the police department, such as a church, restaurant, or community management office. At one site, however, it was necessary to use an available conference room at the police precinct.
2. This group includes one officer not at the rank of Assistant Chief or Deputy Chief but with similar responsibilities for Operations. For the purpose of anonymity, that officer will still be referred to as an assistant/deputy chief.
3. This group is mostly comprised of lieutenants but does include one officer at the rank of commander.
4. At one site, walk-alongs were conducted in the evening and the following morning.
5. Only 40% of officer focus groups and 37% of supervisory officers discussed the humanizing effect of foot patrol.
6. This factor was mentioned by only 21% of supervisory officers and 20% of officer focus groups.
7. Two supervisors also supported this subtheme at another site.
8. For this particular theme, assistant/deputy chiefs were not included with supervisory officers because they were not exposed to a line of questioning pertaining to performance or productivity measures.
9. Kalamazoo may be an exception to this recommendation against rotating foot patrol to other areas on a frequent basis. However, the department's citywide canvassing strategy may be successful because 1) the rotation is systematic, and 2) it ultimately brings officers back to neighborhoods previously covered by foot patrol.

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APPENDIX A: DETAILED METHODOLOGY

In fall of 2015, the Police Foundation, with support from the Charles Koch Foundation, conducted a national search for law enforcement agencies utilizing foot patrol to build stronger relationships with their communities. The search focused on agencies that are committed to foot patrol as a long-term strategy for community engagement as opposed to a short-term, intermittent tactic. With this focus, a number of criteria, largely adapted from the research literature on foot patrol, were developed to guide the selection of agencies for inclusion in the study:

1. The agency must be committed to a long-term foot patrol deployment (i.e., the foot patrol deployment is not ending within the next 12 months).
2. The foot patrol deployment must have specified goals that are communicated to the foot patrol officers.
3. The foot patrol deployment must have dedicated personnel (i.e., specific officers are assigned to foot patrol).
4. The foot patrol deployment must have a targeted deployment area or areas.
5. One of the specified goals of the foot patrol deployment must be community engagement.

Additionally, the agencies' geographical locations and the uniqueness of their foot patrol strategies were also factored into the selection process.

Out of the agencies that responded to the Police Foundation's website and social media solicitation, five were selected to participate in the study—the Cambridge (MA) Police Department, the New Haven (CT) Police Department, the Kalamazoo (MI) Department of Public Safety, the Evanston (IL) Police Department, and the Portland (OR) Police Bureau.

Data Collection

To examine how the selected agencies use foot patrol to build relationships with their communities and address crime concerns, a two-day site visit was conducted at each of the five sites. Individuals at each agency participated in semi-structured interviews. Interview participants included officers at almost every level of the foot patrol officers' chain of command, including chiefs, deputy and assistant chiefs, shift/unit commanders, and sergeants. These interviews provided information about the agency's foot patrol deployment, as well as the views, beliefs, and opinions of the supervisory officers involved. Additionally, focus group interviews were conducted with foot patrol officers and community members¹ to maximize the number of interviewees, given the limited amount of time spent at each site. At some of the study sites, all of the agency's foot patrol officers were able to participate in the officer focus group interview; at sites where this was not feasible, the agency and researchers tried to select a diverse sample of the available foot patrol officers.

Community focus groups were comprised of residents, clergy, members of local business alliances or community management teams, community leaders, business owners, and current and former members of local government. The racial composition of interviewed community members was 63% White, 32% African-American, and 5% Asian, with 63% male and 37% female. Foot patrol officer focus groups were 96% male, with a racial composition of 73% White, 19% African-American, and 8% Hispanic.

Semi-structured interviews with supervisory officers and focus group interviews with foot patrol officers focused on a number of key topic areas related to the agency's foot patrol deployment, including:

1. the goals of the agency's foot patrol strategy,
2. specific details about the foot patrol deployment, such as the number of officers assigned to foot patrol or the size of the walking beats,
3. the regular activities performed by the foot patrol officers during a shift, and
4. the interviewees' general assessments of the advantages, disadvantages, challenges, and effectiveness of foot patrol.

Interview questions were generally tailored by rank across the five sites, but some questions were asked at all ranks. For example, assistant/deputy chiefs of operations received additional questions pertaining to the deployment of foot patrol officers, whereas all officers were asked if they thought foot patrol makes a difference with regard to crime or community relations.

A different set of questions was developed and used for the community member focus groups across the five sites. These questions dealt with how the community generally views the foot patrol deployment and whether or not they believe the deployment to be effective (Please see appendix B for a complete list of interview questions for each participant group).

A team of two researchers performed each semi-structured and focus group interview. These interviews ranged in length from 25 minutes to 109 minutes, with an average interview time of approximately 47 minutes. For each interview, one researcher was designated as the primary interviewer, while the second was primarily responsible for note-taking and time management. Additionally, all interviews were audio recorded for transcription purposes.

In total, researchers conducted 31 interviews (including focus groups) involving 64 interviewees across the five sites. This included:

- Four (4) Chiefs
- Five (5) Assistant/Deputy Chiefs of Operations²
- Five (5) Shift/Unit Commanders³
- Five (5) Sergeants
- Five (5) focus groups consisting of a total of twenty-six (26) foot patrol officers
- Seven (7) focus groups consisting of a total of nineteen (19) community members

The experience of interviewed foot patrol officers ranged from 1 day on foot patrol to 15 years, with an average of 2.5 years of foot patrol experience.

In addition to interviews, researchers also conducted field observations with foot patrol officers at each site to identify the activities regularly performed by foot patrol officers and observe the nature of the interactions between officers and community members. A team of two researchers participated in "walk-alongs" with foot patrol officers, with researchers generally splitting up with two groups of officers to maximize the number of field observations. While accompanying the foot patrol officers, researchers

documented all of the activities of the officers and noted the subject-matter of all conversations between officers and community members. Walk-alongs generally ranged from 2 – 5 hours at each site and took place during the afternoon/evening hours to correspond with the officers' regular deployment schedule⁴.

Data Analysis

The Police Foundation performed a thematic analysis with a grounded theory approach to analyze the qualitative data gathered from the five sites (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012; Creswell, 2003). Initially, researchers utilized the audio recordings from the semi-structured and focus group interviews to verify and bolster the accuracy and completeness of the notes taken during the interviews. These interview notes were subsequently compiled with field observation notes and reviewed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the data, and major categories of content were identified. Codes, derived from the text data, were then assigned to each category and used to code the aggregated data. Multiple researchers were consulted to ensure the validity and accuracy of the coding process.

Based on the frequency with which the codes appeared within the data, salient themes across the five research sites, as well as across specific participant groups (e.g. chiefs, foot patrol officers, sergeants, etc.), were identified. These themes are discussed in Section IV of the report.

APPENDIX B: SEMI-STRUCTURED AND FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Chiefs

1. History

- a. Tell me about the history of foot patrol in your agency.
 - i. How long has the agency been using foot patrol?
 - ii. When did the current foot patrol deployment begin?

2. Goals, mission, philosophy

- a. What are the goals of the current foot patrol deployment?
 - i. How has this been communicated to officers?
 - ii. Have the goals changed since the foot patrol deployment began?
- b. Why was foot patrol selected as the strategy for this community and not something else?
- c. Can you tell us about how the foot patrol deployment was announced to the community?
 - i. What were they told the goal of the foot patrol deployment is?
- d. How does foot patrol fit into other policing strategies – is it part of a particular type of policing, or is it just an extension of patrol?

3. Deployment and Tactics

- a. What qualities, characteristics, and skills make a good foot patrol officer?
- b. Can you give me an example of something innovative or creative that the officers did with foot patrol to address an issue in the community?

4. Performance Metrics & Feedback

- a. If you were to give guidance to agencies on how to record or measure the quality of foot patrol, what do you think that would look like?
- b. What are the benefits or advantages of foot patrol?
- c. What are the disadvantages or challenges to doing foot patrol?
- d. Do you think foot patrol makes a difference with regard to crime or community relations, and why do you think that?
- e. Has the impact of the foot patrol been measured?
 - i. If yes, how was it measured?
 - ii. If yes, what kind of impact has it had?
- f. Have the foot patrol officers given any feedback on the foot patrol deployment?
- g. What has the community's response been to the foot patrol deployment?
 - i. How did you receive this feedback? Was it collected systematically or informally?

Deputy/Assistant Chiefs of Operations/Patrol

1. Goals, mission, philosophy

- a. What are the goals of the current foot patrol deployment?
 - i. How has this been communicated to officers?
 - ii. Have the goals changed since the foot patrol deployment began?
- b. Why was foot patrol selected as the strategy for this community and not something else?
- c. How does foot patrol fit into other policing strategies – is it part of a particular type of policing, or is it just an extension of patrol?

2. Deployment and Tactics

- a. Foot patrol personnel
 - i. Across the department, how many officers are involved in foot patrol?
 1. How many total sworn officers in the department?
 - ii. Tell me about how officers are deployed on foot. Is it part of a special unit, part of regular patrol, or something else?
 - iii. How is it determined in your agency which officers will be on foot patrol?
 - iv. What qualities, characteristics, and skills make a good foot patrol officer?
- b. Officer Training
 - i. Do foot patrol officers receive any special training to prepare them for foot patrol?
- c. Deployment
 - i. In any given shift, how many foot patrol officers are deployed in each walking beat?
 - ii. At what times are foot patrol officers deployed and why?
 - iii. Tell us about the areas where foot patrol officers are being deployed.
 1. Why were these areas chosen?
 2. Why are these good areas for foot patrol?
 3. Who chose them?
 - a. (Prompt): District commanders, 1st line supervisors, command staff, etc.
 4. What are the sizes of these areas?
 5. How did the implementation of foot patrol impact response times?
 6. How did foot patrol impact the department's ability to cover the patrol area?
 - iv. How long are officers assigned to a particular foot patrol beat or area before being rotated to another area?
 1. How is the timing of the rotation determined?
 - v. Are foot patrol officers responsible for calls for service in their assigned areas?
 - vi. Do non-foot patrol officers avoid the areas included in the foot patrol?

- d. Foot patrol tactics
 - i. Are foot patrol activities/tactics tailored to specific walking beats? Provide some examples.
 - ii. Are there certain types of crimes or problems that you believe foot patrol is more effective against than motorized patrol?

3. Performance Metrics/Feedback

- a. Do you think foot patrol makes a difference with regard to crime or community relations, and why do you think that?
- b. What are the benefits or advantages of foot patrol?
- c. What are the disadvantages or challenges to doing foot patrol?

Shift/Unit Commanders

1. Deployment and Tactics

- a. Officer Training
 - i. If I were a new officer in your department selected for foot patrol, what would I hear my sergeant say to me at the time of my selection or at my first roll call briefing?
- b. Deployment
 - i. How did the implementation of foot patrol impact the response times of your officers?
 - ii. How did it impact their ability to cover the patrol area?
 - iii. Do non-foot patrol officers avoid the areas included in the foot patrol?
 - iv. How would you define a productive patrol officer?
 - v. How does foot patrol impact officer productivity?
- c. Foot patrol tactics
 - i. Are officers instructed to do certain things while on foot, or is it left to officers' discretion?
 - ii. Does foot patrol help the department engage with certain groups of people more effectively, such as juveniles, gangs, the mentally ill, or the homeless?
 - 1. If so, how?
 - iii. Has actionable intelligence resulted from interactions between citizens and foot patrol officers? We define actionable intelligence as information that is useful in furthering a criminal investigation.
 - 1. Is it easier to collect actionable intelligence on foot patrol than it is in motorized patrol?
 - iv. Are foot patrol officers engaging in problem-solving, and if so, how?
 - 1. Is it easier to identify problems within the community with officers on foot? Why?
 - v. Are foot patrol activities/tactics tailored to specific walking beats? Provide some examples.
 - vi. Are there certain types of crimes or problems that you believe foot patrol is more effective

against than motorized patrol?

vii. Can you give me an example of something innovative or creative that the officers did with foot patrol to address an issue in the community?

2. Performance Metrics/Feedback

- a. What are your thoughts and views about foot patrol?
- b. Do you think foot patrol makes a difference with regard to crime or community relations, and why do you think that?
- c. What are the benefits or advantages of foot patrol?
- d. What are the disadvantages or challenges to doing foot patrol?

Sergeants

1. Goals, Mission, Philosophy

- a. What are the goals of the current foot patrol deployment?
- b. How does foot patrol fit into other policing strategies—is it part of a particular type of policing, or is it just an extension of patrol?

2. Deployment and Tactics

- a. Foot Patrol Personnel
 - i. What qualities, characteristics, and skills make a good foot patrol officer?
- b. Officer training
 - i. If I were a new officer in your department selected for foot patrol, what would you tell me at the time of my selection or at my first roll call briefing?
- c. Deployment
 - i. How did the implementation of foot patrol impact the response times of your officers?
 - ii. How did it impact their ability to cover the patrol area?
 - iii. How would you define a productive patrol officer?
 - iv. How does a foot patrol deployment impact officer productivity?
- d. Foot patrol tactics
 - i. Are officers instructed to do certain things while on foot, or is it left to officers' discretion?
 - ii. Do foot patrol officers target specific places within their foot patrol area?
 1. How specific are these places? (Prompt) Streets, blocks, neighborhoods, specific addresses or intersections?
 2. Are officers told to target these specific places, or is it self-directed?
 - a. Why are officers told to target these specific places?
 3. Do officers do anything specific in these places?

4. Are officers expected to be in these specific places for any length of time or with any frequency during a shift?
- iii. Does foot patrol help the department engage with certain groups of people more effectively, such as juveniles, gangs, the mentally ill, or the homeless?
 1. If so, how?
- iv. Has actionable intelligence resulted from interactions between citizens and foot patrol officers? We define actionable intelligence as information that is useful in furthering a criminal investigation.
 1. Is it easier to collect actionable intelligence on foot patrol than it is in motorized patrol?
- v. Are foot patrol officers engaging in problem-solving, and if so, how?
 1. Is it easier to identify problems within the community with officers on foot? Why?
- vi. Are foot patrol activities/tactics tailored to specific walking beats? Provide some examples.
- vii. Are there certain types of crimes or problems that you believe foot patrol is more effective against than motorized patrol?
- viii. Can you give me an example of something innovative or creative that the officers did with foot patrol to address an issue in the community?

3. Performance Metrics/Feedback

- a. Performance Metrics
 - i. Do officers have to document what they do and where they go during their foot patrol shift? How?
 1. (Prompt) This excludes normal report-writing.
 - ii. Are foot patrol officers evaluated differently than motorized patrol officers, and if so, how?
 - iii. If you were to give guidance to agencies on how to record or measure the quality of foot patrol, what do you think that would look like?
 - iv. Do you think foot patrol makes a difference with regard to crime or community relations, and why do you think that?

Foot Patrol Officer Focus Groups

1. Goals, Mission, Philosophy

- a. What are the goals of the current foot patrol deployment?
- b. How does foot patrol fit into other policing strategies—is it part of a particular type of policing, or is it just an extension of patrol?

2. Deployment and Tactics

- a. General info
 - i. How long have you been assigned to foot patrol?

- b. Officer training
 - i. Did you receive any special training or guidance to prepare you for foot patrol?
 - ii. What additional training would be helpful to you as a foot patrol officer?
- c. Deployment
 - i. While on foot, do you patrol together or separately?
 - ii. How quickly can you cover your assigned area on foot?
 - iii. Do you ever leave your assigned area, and if so, why?
- d. Tactics
 - i. Describe the regular activities an officer does while on foot patrol.
 - ii. Explain how you do your jobs without regular access to the in-car CAD or laptops.
 - iii. How are you balancing enforcement with community engagement?
 - 1. (Prompt) Do you focus more on enforcement, community engagement, or some combination of both?
 - 2. Do you conduct frequent pedestrian stops?
 - 3. How do you deal with people loitering, panhandling, or creating other disturbances?
 - iv. How are you interacting with and engaging the community?
 - 1. What types of things are you doing to get to know people in your walking beat?
 - a. Is it easier to do these things being on foot?
 - 2. Has being on foot changed how community members interact with you?
 - 3. Think about last shift—describe some of the interactions you had with the public. (Exclude calls for service)
 - a. What were the interactions about?
 - v. Can you give me an example of something innovative or creative that you did on foot patrol to address an issue in the community?

3. Performance Metrics/Feedback

- a. Officer feedback
 - i. Tell me how foot patrol is viewed by other patrol officers in the department—is it generally seen as a good assignment or a bad one?
 - ii. What are your thoughts and views about foot patrol?
 - 1. What do you like about it?
 - 2. What don't you like about it?
 - 3. What would you change?
 - iii. Do you think foot patrol makes a difference with regard to crime or community relations, and why do you think that?
 - iv. What are the benefits or advantages of foot patrol?

- v. What are the disadvantages or challenges to doing foot patrol?
- vi. Has the foot patrol assignment changed some of your views about foot patrol or police work in general? How?
- vii. How has foot patrol affected your job satisfaction, if at all?
- viii. Can you think of 1-2 highlights from your time in foot patrol?

Community Focus Groups

- 1. Can you give me a brief description of yourself?**
- 2. How have you interacted with the police?**
- 3. How does the community view the foot patrol deployment?**
- 4. What do you like about foot patrol?**
- 5. Is there anything you do not like about foot patrol?**
- 6. Do you think it is effective? Explain.**
- 7. What do you think are the benefits of the foot patrol deployment?**
 - a. Does it improve trust between police and the public? If so, how?
 - b. Does it improve cooperation between police and the public? How?
- 8. Do you think there are any disadvantages to the foot patrol deployment?**
- 9. Are the police more likely to address neighborhood problems now that they are on foot?**
- 10. If you could, what would you change anything about the foot patrol deployment?**
- 11. Are community members getting to know the officers on foot?**
 - a. Has this changed how the police are viewed by the community?
- 12. Is it easier to approach the police now that they are on foot?**

APPENDIX C: OTHER PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

The Police Foundation also recognizes the following law enforcement agencies that reached out to us regarding the foot patrol study and provided valuable insights on their foot patrol strategies and outcomes:

Menlo Park Police Department
Menlo Park, California

Seattle Police Department
Seattle, Washington

Los Angeles Police Department
(Venice Beach) Los Angeles, California

We commend them for engaging their communities in this way and for their willingness to take part in research.



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