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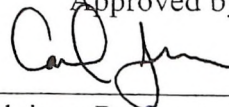
A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLICING METHODS WITH REGARD TO  
CHINESE CRIME GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

by  
Jessica Paige Moeller

A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

Oxford  
May 2010

Approved by



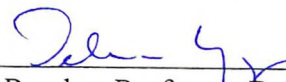
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## ABSTRACT

JESSICA PAIGE MOELLER: A Qualitative Analysis of Policing Methods with Regard to  
Chinese Crime Groups in the United States  
(Under the direction of Carl Jensen)

This paper describes a qualitative analysis performed to determine which policing method (Political Policing, Professional Policing, Community Policing, Intelligence-Led Policing) would be best suited to combat the various Chinese crime groups (triads, tongs, gangs, and new groups) in the United States. Open source information was used to compile matrices of attribute sets for each of the crime groups as well as matrices describing each of the policing methods' ability to deal with these attributes. These matrices were then compared to analyze the suitability of the policing methods to dealing with the unique attribute sets of each of the Chinese crime groups. This analysis found that Community Policing and Intelligence-Led Policing were both relatively equally suited to dealing with tong and gang activity. The international scope of Intelligence-Led Policing made it best suited to dealing with triads and new Chinese crime groups.

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## INTRODUCTION

Chinese crime groups are a problem facing police departments in several large United States cities - particularly New York City and San Francisco. Additionally, these groups have begun branching out into smaller areas with less developed Chinese populations. Many of the crimes committed by these groups often only effect local Chinese populations and not the larger communities. Gambling halls, street violence, and extortion are common activities for groups which operate almost solely inside Chinese communities in the United States. For this reason, their activities have often gone unnoticed by people not directly involved in the situation. For individuals and businesses in these communities, however, these groups pose a serious threat both physically and economically, a threat which largely goes unreported often out of belief that police involvement would not be of any help.

Over the past decade or so new Chinese crime groups have evolved and begun to branch out into different activities which do have larger implications and are cause for more concern, namely human smuggling and drug trafficking. Illegal immigration presents the United States with both serious social and economic issues. Heroin trafficking is also a major drug issue with social and economic impact.

Though Chinese crime groups may not garner as much media attention as other crime groups in the United States, their activities do pose a serious threat that should not

go unaddressed. While most of Chinese crime groups' efforts seem to be purely profit-driven and not ideological and there is no firm evidence of involvement with terrorist groups (Finckenauer & Chin, 2004, p. 19), the possibility that this could change in the future should not be disregarded. In either case, working to stop them will benefit the communities in which they operate and make those cities safer. It will also prevent them from having the chance to evolve and possibly expand their operations to victimize even more individuals.

This paper will address the issue of Chinese crime groups in the United States and analyze what policing method might be best suited to combat this problem. It will look at the unique characteristics and challenges that different Chinese crime groups pose and compare these to the strengths and weaknesses of the policing methods available.

The first section of this paper will look at the history of Chinese crime groups and their activity in the United States. It will detail the different types of groups and the criminal activities in which they are involved. Unique characteristics and challenges that these groups pose will also be described.

The second section will examine what methods of policing are available to be used to combat these groups. The different characteristics as well as the strengths and weaknesses of each group will be presented.

In the third section, the methodology of the research will be explained. This paper presents a qualitative analysis of the topic using matrices of attribute sets to describe the crime groups and the application of the policing methods to these attributes sets.



The fourth section details the analysis of which policing method might be best suited for dealing with the unique characteristics of Chinese organized crime. It then presents the results of this study.

A discussion of these results and their implications for what policing methods should be applied in the future is given in the fifth section.

Finally, a conclusion is drawn and suggestions for future research on the topic are presented.

## SECTION I

### CHINESE CRIME GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

#### HISTORY OF CHINESE CRIME GROUPS

Chinese crime groups in the United States come in three traditional forms: secret societies (most often referred to as triads), tongs, and gangs. Finckenauer and Chin (2004) characterize these groups as having a name, hierarchical structure, turf, continuity, and restricted membership; they “use violence to monopolize their illegal markets” (p. 22), though the three types of groups each has their own unique structure. These groups’ appearance and development in the United States can be traced back to the immigration of triad members from China and Hong Kong to the United States. In addition to these groups, new crime groups have also begun to appear over the past 20 years or so. These new groups’ structure is much more fluid and dynamic, which works well with the types of crimes they are involved with - human smuggling and heroin trafficking. Finckenauer and Chin (2004) describe these groups as networks of people “who are involved in transnational crime on an ad hoc basis that do not have a group name, a territory, or a structure. They act like, and view themselves as, opportunistic businesspeople rather than violent gangsters” (p. 22). While some members of these new groups are part of other traditional groups, they do not seem to be collaborating together as groups, but rather as individuals.

## TRADITIONAL CHINESE CRIME GROUPS

Chinese crime groups can be divided into two different types. The first type, which will be referred to in this paper as traditional Chinese crime groups, are those based off of the original triad secret societies in China. There are three groups of this type - triads, tongs, and gangs.

### TRIADS

Triads were the first Chinese crime group to develop. Triads are just one of the many secret societies that have existed throughout Chinese history. Secret societies first formed in China during the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.) among the “*Xia*” or knight class. These groups served as social organizations that provided protection and security to young men in China, particularly as they traveled away from home and familial support (Chin, 1990, p. 13).

Technically there are two types of Chinese secret societies - Hongs, which are often known as triads, and Qings (Chin, 1990, p. 14). Hong and Qing members are willing to help each other and dual membership in the two groups is allowed. The only restriction is that a Qing member can become a Hong as well, but a Hong member cannot become a Qing (Chin, 1990, p. 21). While Hongs and Qings are two separate types of secret societies, they are often both referred to simply as triads. This nomenclatural convention will be followed in this paper.

Triads first began in China in the late seventeenth century as a secret society attempting to overthrow the Qing government that had been formed by the invading

Manchus (Kontos & Brotherton, 2008, p. 27). Chinese society was experiencing turmoil as its political leadership changed drastically. Secret societies were a way for migrant Chinese to organize themselves and band together. By aligning themselves with others of similar political persuasion, these individuals were able to create a support system that could help them through difficult times. These societies provided not just moral support, but also financial help to their members in need.

Chin (1990) suggests that there are five core values of these secret societies: loyalty, righteousness, nationalism, secrecy, and “brotherhood”. Members consider themselves closely bonded to each other and emphasize duty to each other as most important, without regard to the impact on the larger society (p. 18-19). This, in turn, gave way for these groups to develop into criminal organizations. Chin (1990) explains that:

While the society’s ideas about family and brotherhood brought and held tens of thousands of alienated poor together by offering them status, fellowship, excitement, and security, the revolutionary nature of the society caused it to develop secretive, anti-establishment, and predatory norms to protect and support themselves. (p. 16)

An estimated 160,000 triad members exist worldwide in 50 different factions (Zhang & Chin, 2003, 471). There is some argument as to whether the structure of these groups is well-organized and hierarchical or more like a loose cartel, though most seem to think there is a strict structure. The actual structure, however, is very hard to chart as these are highly secretive groups who organize themselves in a complicated number-based structure (p. 29-30).

## MOVING TO THE UNITED STATES

Most Chinese who came to the United States came for the increased job opportunities; they encountered difficulties as they faced both linguistic and cultural barriers when trying to assimilate into this country. To deal with these pressures, they formed Chinatowns and created social groups to band together. Groups based on common surname and hometown district were the first types of groups to appear. Individuals that did not fit into one of these groups in turn formed their own social groups called “tongs” (Chin, 1990, p. 48).

## TONGS

Individuals who did not have common surnames or were not from common districts were not able to join social groups and had no means of protection. They instead banded together and formed their own groups called “tongs”, meaning “hall” or “gathering place” (Chin, 1990, p. 53), which could be joined by Chinese regardless of their “surname or district affiliation” (p. 48). The tongs were first formed in San Francisco in 1845 by some of the earliest Chinese immigrants (Chin, 1990, p.53).

Because tongs could be joined by anyone, they quickly increased in size. Street battles called “tong wars” occurred for decades. The large size and close-knit structure of tongs, made them rather powerful, which “enabled them to overpower the family and district associations” (Chin, 1990, p. 53).

Tongs have a hierarchical structure similar to that of the triads. The groups tend to be somewhat fragmented, though. The topmost leadership tends to be anonymous and

obscure for their protection. At lower levels there are cliques and groups which form within the group and limit its cohesion to an extent (Chin, 1990, p. 59).

Exact numbers of tong membership are unavailable, but research in 1994 found that On Leong had 30-40,000 members and Hip Sing had tens of thousands (Chin, et al., 1994, p. 221). Kontos & Brotherton (2008) note that the group membership is composed of elected officers, who are the only ones involved in actual operations, and soldier workers. There are no membership restrictions on new recruits (p. 30). The top leadership of tongs is composed of Pres, VP, Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, and several elders and public relations administrators Each tong branch has ruling body - press, sec, trees, aud, several staff (Chin, 1990, p. 58). The top leadership is very secretive and their identities are largely unknown to regular members (Kontos & Brotherton, 2008, p. 30).

## GANGS

The third and final type of traditional Chinese criminal group is the gang. Chinatowns in the United States are very dynamic and disorganized places. They are composed of individuals from all over China in a rather condensed area. There is a high mobility rate as those who improve their situation in life quickly move away. New individuals are often entering as others leave. Because of the diverse backgrounds represented, social cohesion is rather difficult as values and politics tend to be fragmented. This situation easily lends itself to a semi-autonomous delinquent sub-culture where gangs can flourish (Chin, 1990, p. 50).

Gangs were first seen in San Francisco and New York City. They were originally formed of either exclusively American-born Chinese or exclusively of foreign-born Chinese and often took the shape of kung-fu clubs. Many Chinese faced discrimination and formed these groups as a means of protection. Gangs would ensure that Chinese individuals and businesses were treated fairly.

Gang members soon began to target not only outsiders, but also those in their own community. They would press Chinese for money in return for their "protection". Some tong members were confronted by gang members and quickly realized that they needed to work together with the gangs in order to have some means of control over them. Tongs therefore began to hire gangs to work for them as an enforcement arm, similar to the tong "hatchet-men" of the past (Chin, 1990, p. 67). Gang members would provide security for tongs and their gambling halls, make money runs for them, and provide other assistance that they might need.

As had been the case when tongs were first formed, as gangs joined with tongs they faced turf wars with opposing groups. Gang involvement led to increased violence in these confrontations, with violence peaking in 1976 (Chin, Kelly, & Fagan, 1994, p. 219). Slowly, though, agreement seemed to be reached on boundaries and violence started to decrease.

Chin (1990) provides information about the structure of gangs. The exact number of Chinese gang members in the United States is unknown, though in 1990 an estimated 200-400 members were active in New York City. Gangs generally have an average of 20-40 hardcore members, a few inactive members, and some peripheral members. Only

males are in the gangs, though some females do hang out with them and occasional carry weapons for them, but that is the extent of their involvement. The members range in age from 13 to 37 years old and generally the higher the level in the gang, the older the member. Gang members often wear black, though there is no set uniform. The gangs often own apartments which are used as headquarters for the groups, ammunition storage, and living quarters for lowest level members.

Gang leadership is broken down into three levels: "big brothers", "lieutenants", and "little horses." "Big brothers" are the four to five top leaders who direct and monitor the activities of the whole gang, one of which is the treasurer. Only these members have direct contact with the tong elders that they work with. "Lieutenants" are associate leaders who control the ordinary members. Finally, "little Horses" are the street soldiers who carry out the actual guarding, collecting, and other activities. Street leaders recruit members and monitor their activities. A few of the toughest street soldiers are referred to as "shooters" and carry out assaults for the gang.

Gang members generally only have contact with the leadership directly over them, so there is a hierarchy in the group. The groups often have multiple factions of 15 members each which are often at odds with each other. The gangs also generally operate in more than one location of a city (Chin, et al., 1994, p. 222).

In addition to struggles between groups, there were also struggles within groups. Gang structure is rather loose and it is not uncommon for subgroups within them to vie for control and more power. There is a low level of group cohesion. Additionally, gang members can leave the groups, especially if a member gets married or loses someone to



violence. It is uncommon for members to change gangs, but even this sometimes occurs if two gangs agree on member trades (Chin, 1990, p.125).

## TRADITIONAL CRIME GROUPS' ACTIVITIES

Chinese crime groups in the United States have been involved in various types of illegal activities including street violence, gambling, prostitution, extortion, robbery, burglary, human smuggling, and heroin trafficking. All three types of groups are usually not specialized in one criminal activity, but rather are involved in multiple legitimate and illegitimate businesses (Finckenauer & Chin, 2004, p. 25).

### STREET VIOLENCE

Street violence was one of the first crimes to characterize these groups. Tong wars and gang wars were common as groups first developed and tried to establish themselves. Turf wars were common between gangs as they vied for power and control. While street violence is not nearly as much of an issue as it was in the 1970s and 1980s, it has not disappeared completely.

### GAMBLING

Gambling practices in Chinatowns can generally be divided into two different types: low-stakes gambling and high-stakes gambling. Low-stakes gambling clubs are generally run by family or district associations as a means of socialization for their

members. High-stakes gambling clubs, on the other hand, are guarded by gangs and often the sites of other crimes such as robbery, extortion, and murder (Chin et al, 1994, p. 223).

The disjointed communities in which tongs emerged in the United States provided them with little material support. These community groups' members were largely blue-collar workers with little disposable income. They were unable to financially support the groups of which they were a part. In addition, the communities that they existed in were also unable and unwilling to help. In order to keep themselves running and pay for expenses such as rent, many groups opened gambling halls to earn some sort of income.

Many tongs rented out their basements, often to tong members as gambling halls. Once Chinese gangs and tongs began aligning themselves, gangs often were hired to provide security for these establishments. They would guard the entrances in order to try to prevent intrusion by police, other individuals, or other gangs. Gambling halls were often the targets of robbery by other gangs as large amounts of cash were stored there. In addition, disputes sometime arose among players and could become violent (Chin et al., 1994, p. 223).

After the establishment of legal gambling facilities in nearby Atlantic City in the late 1970s, gambling in New York City's Chinatown decreased. In California, however, gambling has expanded outside of Chinatowns and high-stakes clubs are also getting involved in other crimes such as money laundering (Chin et al., 1994, p. 223-224).

## PROSTITUTION

Prostitution is another activity in which Chinese crime groups are involved. Some gang leaders are known to own massage parlors that participate in such activities; tong involvement is unknown. Women from Korea, Taiwan, China, and Malaysia have worked for these groups. Gangs have been known to provide protection to these premises (Chin et al., 1994, p. 227).

## EXTORTION

While gangs were originally formed to protect themselves from other ethnic groups and rowdy tourists in Chinatown, it wasn't long until they turned on their own and began to prey on other Chinese. Extortion became a common crime. Chin, Kelly, and Fagan (1994) researched the different forms of extortion that occurred in Chinatown and the community response to such activities. They found that extortion came in four major forms: "protection" money, traditional extortion of sporadic payments, forced buying of goods, and forced discounts or free goods; and affected an estimated 80-90% of businesses in New York City (p. 224).

"Protection" money is paid by businesses to gangs on a regular basis in exchange for their "protection" from other gangs or from themselves. The amount is negotiable. Traditional extortion comes in the form of sporadic payments demanded by gangs. While the amount is somewhat negotiable, it can vary greatly and comes with no promise of any service in return. The third form of extortion occurs when gangs force businesses to buy cultural goods at very exorbitant prices. This generally occurs around holidays when

these goods are culturally important and businesses would be looked down upon for not buying and displaying them. The final form of extortion that they describe is gang members asking for deep discounts or free goods from businesses (Chin et al., 1994, p. 224).

Chin, Kelly, and Fagan's research (1994) found that many businesses did not report these extortion activities to authorities. Many of the law enforcement personnel they talked with suggested that it may be because individuals in the community had a distrust of authorities based on experience with dishonest police in China. They did not find this to be the case, though (p. 233). Instead they suggested that some of the businesses felt that the cost to them to comply with gangs' demands was "a more practical way to deal with the problem" (p. 232). If businesses paid protection money, they were getting a service in return and therefore it was something of a business transaction. In other instances businesses felt that they would cause too much disruption by not complying and therefore causing gang members to "lose face". They were afraid of the repercussions of their actions and did not feel that law enforcement would provide them enough support if they were to refuse to pay (p. 232-233).

Chin, Kelly, and Fagan (1994) found that the largest reason that these crimes were reported was if violence was threatened. If businesses were threatened, they often refused to pay and reported the gang's extortion attempt to authorities. Other factors that increased the likelihood of reporting the crime were if the business owners spoke fluent English and if their businesses were located outside of the Chinese neighborhoods (p. 232-233).

Their research also found that many business owners changed their behavior to help protect themselves. They might maintain a lower profile by not dressing as formally or expensively. They also would be more vigilant around closing time and leave their businesses in groups (p. 233-234).

## ROBBERY

Robbery and burglary are also common. These generally occur at three different locations: illegal establishments, legal businesses, and residences. Generally these crimes are not sanctioned by groups, but instead are carried out by individual gang members. Gambling halls are targeted because of the large amounts of cash kept onsite. Massage parlors, restaurants, and jewelry stores are also prime targets for similar reasons. Criminals sometimes pose as potential customers in order to gain entrance to both gambling halls and jewelry stores (Chin et al., 1994, p. 226).

## HUMAN SMUGGLING & HEROIN TRAFFICKING

The final two forms of illegal activity are human smuggling and heroin trafficking. While some gang and triad members in the United States have been found who have participated in these activities in the past, recently Chin (2001) has found no evidence of systematic participation by these groups; instead these activities seem to be mainly the work of new Chinese crime groups. While some gang and tong leadership appear to be involved in these activities, they are hiring individuals not involved in their respective groups to work for them in these operations (Chin, 1990, p. 113). Zhang and

Chin (2003) propose a “structural deficiency perspective” to explain this lack of traditional crime groups’ participation. This issue will be discussed further when looking at new Chinese crime groups’ activities.

### UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS & CHALLENGES

Chinese organized crime groups do share some similarities with other ethnic organized crime groups. Triads and tongs have a hierarchy similar to that of the Italian mafia. Their secretive nature and strict bonds of silence are also in common. Some of the criminal activities they are involved in are also the same. There are many difference that should be noted, however. While some have argued that Chinese organized crime might surpass Italian organized crime as the largest organized crime threat in the United States, others have suggested that the unique characteristics of Chinese groups will prevent this from occurring.

Like Italian crime groups in the United States, Chinese crime groups were originally built on the foundation of crime groups already existing in China. Family and district connections provided social networks that could help immigrants adapt to their new circumstances. They offered the protection of larger numbers and services such as help finding housing. They also provided a basis on which criminal groups could develop.

The vast majority of their crimes have been perpetrated on their own communities. Language and cultural barriers are the two largest hindrances to the expansion of Chinese crime groups. These factors make it difficult for Chinese criminal

elements to corrupt United States law enforcement and government officials, which would be necessary for them to operate effectively outside of Chinatowns. Inside of their ethnic communities, Chinese criminals are more insulated from authorities and protected to some extent by cultural values.

#### “FACE”

The idea of “face” is one of these cultural values that tends to aid Chinese criminals. Keeping “face” encompasses the idea of maintaining one’s reputation and dignity. Chinese culture is often referred to as a “shame culture” - as opposed to a “guilt culture” like the United States - where “losing face” is the ultimate shame and disgrace. As such, Chinese generally try to make every effort to keep the peace by maintaining both their own and other’s “face”.

In terms of Chinese criminal activities, extortion is one which plays to this cultural convention. The forced purchasing of cultural goods at exorbitant prices by Chinese businesses is a prime example. If business owners did not display these items, they would “lose face” by not following the cultural tradition. Additionally, if they argue with the gang members selling the items, they could also cause the members and themselves to “lose face” by causing a conflict during a holiday time when harmony is very much desired. Business owners therefore very often comply with the high price demands of gang members in order to “save face” by following tradition and maintaining harmony.

## “GUANXI”

Relationships in Chinese culture are almost solely formed on the basis of “guanxi”. “Guanxi” characterizes the mutual obligation between two individuals based on the type and closeness of their relationship. A foundation of trust and mutual knowledge must be formed for two individuals to have “guanxi”. Once there is a level of “guanxi”, mutual obligations flow. Maintaining one’s side of these obligations is vital to maintaining “face” in Chinese culture.

“Guanxi” networks tend to be the veins through which Chinese life flows. If someone is looking for a job, the “guanxi” they or their parents might have can play a major role in getting them placed. In the business realm, deals cannot be made between two companies unless some level of “guanxi” is established first, often by going out to dinner together in a non-business setting. In traditional Chinese culture, nothing is “just business”, some aspect of it being “personal” is always there.

These “guanxi” relations can play a role in Chinese crime groups as well. “Guanxi” and trust between members is essential for group cohesion. The mutual obligation inherent therein helps strengthen these bonds. “Guanxi” networks can also help in providing criminal activity opportunities. If someone knows someone who has the skills or resources a group needs, the mutual obligations along the chain can help get to those.



## COMMUNITY RESPONSE

One of the main difficulties authorities face in tackling the crime problems in Chinatowns is the lack of reporting of crimes. Individuals in the communities are often unwilling to go to law enforcement officials for help.

Chin (1990) researched this issue in depth. One reason he found that individuals did not look for help is that they didn't think that it would do any good. If they do not believe that police involvement will be effective to solving the problem, they have no reason to approach them for help (p. 134-137).

Another reason has to do with the concept of "face". Many Chinese individuals think that their community will lose "face" by acknowledging its problems and having to rely upon authorities to solve them. Many would prefer to try to deal with the issues as a community, and likely suffer some harm personally for a little while as the problem is addressed, in order to protect the community as a whole. Community groups, including tongs, are often looked to for help in dealing with these issues (p. 134-137).

Some individuals do want help from authorities, though. They are looking for proactive efforts, though, rather than reactive ones. They want police to crack down on individuals thought to be involved in criminal activities before they have a chance to engage in more (p. 134-137).

## DECLINE OF TRADITIONAL GROUPS

There have been many changes to the face of Chinese crime groups since they first began in the United States. Groups' relative power has fluctuated and some have disappeared completely.

During the 1980s, when Chinese crime groups in the United States were at their height and deemed the second greatest organized crime threat in the country, some speculated that they would eventually surpass Italian organized crime groups. It was suggested that Chinese crime groups would continue to grow and expand their sphere of influence and branch into new criminal activities. Their entrance into human smuggling and heroin trafficking were believed by some to be the first evidences of this trend.

But traditional Chinese crime groups have not surpassed La Costa Nostra in the United States. In fact, it might be argued that they have even lost their place as the second greatest organized crime threat. This does not mean that Chinese crime groups are not still a serious problem, but rather that *traditional* organized Chinese crime groups have lost their foothold.

Much of this decline of Chinese organized crime groups is due to the prosecution of these groups by the United States government. In the 1980s and 1990s, the law enforcement community took many measures to crack down on Chinese crime groups. Many groups had their members and leaders arrested and tried in court.

While many tongs are still active in the United States, it should be noted that these groups are composed of both legal and illicit elements. Many of their members are law-abiding citizens with no links to other group members' crimes. These organizations also

play an important role in social dispute deliberation and political matters. They will likely continue to exist for a while; the question is whether their criminal elements will survive and grow or die out.

Triad groups will also likely continue to exist, though perhaps to a lesser extent in the future. The secretive nature and close networks that the groups provide will probably continue to appeal to some. However, it does seem that these groups may be moving away from the United States and Hong Kong and instead are appearing in other areas of Southeast Asia with Chinese populations.

Chinese gangs are unique from other gangs in that they are not based exclusively on illegal activities but rather, as Chin (1990) explains, are “closely related to their communities’ social and economic life” and are “deeply enmeshed in the legitimate and illegitimate enterprises in their communities” (p. 130). They also exist in communities that are prosperous, not just the those that are struggling economically like many gangs. And finally, they draw upon the Triad sub-culture for their legitimacy, making them a part of something bigger and historical (p. 130-131). In Chinese culture Triad members are seen as belonging to a separate and unique subculture that offers another way of life to its members. They have their own value system, and are often viewed as simply following a different path than the norm. This provides them with legitimacy (Chin, 1990, p. 142-143).

Chin (1990) argues that, “As long as law enforcement authorities and community residents misunderstand each other and do not work together, however, no mechanisms will be effective in the Chinese communities, and gangs will persist” (p. 137). New gangs

have also begun sprouting up in Chinatowns. These gangs do not align themselves with the Triad subculture, and therefore do not share the same values as these groups. They seem to be involved in more petty crimes, such as mugging, that other gangs see as inappropriate (Chin, 1990, p. 131).

## NEW CHINESE CRIME GROUPS

In the 1990s, Chinese crime groups were found to have a new focus on specific criminal activities, namely human smuggling and heroin trafficking. While many in law enforcement have claimed that tongs and gangs are behind these activities, research by conducted by Chin (2001) has found no evidence to support a systematic involvement by these groups; he has noticed what seems to be a new trend in crime group formation. Instead of Chinese crime groups becoming more organized and more like the Italian mafia in the United States in order to perpetrate these crimes, the new groups seemed to be much more fluid and dynamic in their composition. Gang and tong members have been found to be involved in these activities, but their involvement appears to be on an individual basis, not as a collective group. In other words, individual gang and tong members are getting involved with these crimes on their own, separate from the traditional crime groups to which they belong. These groups are specialized in either human smuggling or heroin trafficking, with little overlap except in transportation elements (Finckenauer & Chin, 2004, p. 25-26).

## STRUCTURE

Zhang and Chin (2003) propose that a “structural deficiency perspective” can explain the seeming lack of traditional crime groups’ involvement in human smuggling and heroin trafficking and that the shift in activities has necessitated a shift in group structure:

The lack of clearly defined markets and the absence of stable clientele make it hard for old-fashioned neighborhood based crime organizations to participate effectively in human smuggling or drug trafficking because there is no turf to protect and no suitable targets to shakedown. Therefore, market democratization in traditional alien smuggling and heroin trafficking diminishes the importance of traditional tongs and triads. (p. 482)

As Chin and Zhang (2003) explain, both human smuggling and heroin trafficking must be carried out clandestinely in order to avoid getting caught. The dynamic structure of these new crime groups better equips them to carry out these new areas of criminal activity. By not having a formal permanent structure and membership, the groups are able to keep a lower profile and more easily avoid detection. Having fewer people involved also simplifies the operation. These groups do not have a well-developed hierarchy like traditional Chinese crime groups, but do have a very clear division of labor with little overlap. Everyone involved must do his part for the operation to work. While this poses some risk - if one person fails the entire group fails - it also makes detection less likely - there are fewer people who might get caught and lead back to the others. Additionally, by having fewer people involved, the payoff percentages for everyone are higher.

Chin (2001) found that illegal immigrants often characterize human smugglers into two categories: big snakeheads, who live in countries other than China and provide money for and oversee the operations, and little snakeheads, who live in China and act

mainly as middlemen and recruit individuals to be smuggled. Additionally, transporters, corrupt Chinese government officials, guides, support personnel, enforcers, and debt-collectors can play roles in these operations (p. 218-219).

## HUMAN SMUGGLING

The 1993 running aground of the *Golden Venture*, a ship full of 286 undocumented Chinese being smuggled into the country, outside of New York brought the issue of human smuggling to the forefront (Liang & Ye, 2001, p. 187). Historically one of the major driving factors for Chinese immigration to the United States is political unrest. For example, after the Tiananmen Incident in China in 1989, many Chinese sought to come to the United States to escape political persecution. Because legal means of entrance were limited during these times, the demand for smuggling services increased drastically.

Previously, Guangdong province in southern China was the main source of immigrants to the United States. Fujian province later became the main source of individuals who are smuggled here. Most recently the provinces of Zhejiang, Laoling, Jiling, and Heilongjiang have also begun to be sources of immigrants (Finckenauer & Chin, 2004, p. 21). Liang and Ye (2001) believe that the recent emigration from Fujian to the United States, mostly to New York, is caused not by political reasons, but rather for more economic and social ones. They argue that a "sense of relative deprivation" is perhaps the greatest impetus to this migration (p. 197). Fujian is not the poorest province in China, but there is a difference in wages between the richest and poorest within the

province. Because Fujian has historically been a source of many immigrants from China, there is a strong tradition of leaving there. Emigration to the United States in the past has developed a fairly large overseas Chinese community. The majority of these individuals have been able to get richer than most in Fujian. They often send home remittances and when they return to the province, they bring with them capital that plays a large part in the local economy. Traveling to the United States is seen by many Fukienese as an alternate way of getting rich.

Human smuggling is an opportunistic crime because of irregularity with which it is possible. A large percentage of those individuals who might wish to come to the United States do not have the means of paying their way to be smuggled here; finding an individual who can pay is therefore difficult. An individual may know of someone in China, likely a relative or family friend, who wishes to come to the United States. They can then help this individual find passage into the country. The screening process for possible individual to be smuggled often narrows the pool of possibilities. It is therefore hard for a systematic smuggling operation to be established by a more organized crime group. This is why the more dynamic nature of these new crimes groups works so well. They may know of or hear of a chance to bring a few individuals to the country and they decide to take advantage of the opportunity it presents them (Finckenauer & Chin, 2004, p. 26-27). Many of the individuals involved in such activities do so only sporadically and are otherwise law-abiding citizens with other businesses which are their primary source of income. They may get involved on a one time basis to make some extra money and

then never be involved in such operations again. Sometimes, though, individuals are drawn by the money that it does provide and continue their involvement.

Liang and Ye (2001) detail the various ways currently used to smuggle individuals into the United States. The first is by getting fake documents that allow them to fly directly into United States airports. The second route takes individuals through transit countries before crossing into the United States. Mexico and Canada have recently become popular countries for smugglers to come through. Sea routes have also been used to bring individuals across the border. New York City's Chinatown has been a major hub for smuggling operations because of the job opportunities and large Chinese population already there.

Fukienese gang members have been found to be involved in smuggling operations into the United States. Individuals who have been smuggled into the country and are unable to pay their snakeheads have been kidnapped and tortured in debt collection efforts by gang members (Chin et al., 1994, p. 229). But as was explained above, traditional Chinese crime groups do not appear to have a systematic involvement in these activities. Instead, as Chin (2001) explains, the data he collected suggests:

that the Chinese trade in human smuggling is not a form of organized crime but rather a "business" controlled by many otherwise legitimate groups, both small and large, working independently, each with its own organization, connections, methods, and routes. (p. 224-225)

## HEROIN TRAFFICKING

Heroin trafficking is another criminal activity which new Chinese crime groups have undertaken. Heroin trafficking started to become a large problem in the United



States in the 1980s. Gang and tong leaders were believed to be involved in these activities, though not necessarily their respective crime groups. Recent data seems to show that new groups of criminals are now leading in this area. They may be working some with tong and gang members, but on an individual basis (Chin et al., 1994, p. 227-228). Zhang and Chin's research (2003) suggests that heroin trafficking groups come from diverse backgrounds seeking personal gains and that "not only are these drug entrepreneurs mostly not members of triads, tongs, or street gangs, but they are also likely to be engaged with members of various ethnic groups in their dealings" (p. 476).

## CHALLENGES

One of the difficulties that authorities face is that many of the individuals involved in these activities do not consider them to be crimes, or at the very least consider them to be victimless crimes. They often instead see them as merely business opportunities. They are either helping to arrange travel to a paying customer or, in the case of heroin trafficking, are involved in trade of just another commodity.

Chin (1990) argues that authorities must recognize that traditional Chinese crime groups are not the only threat currently facing the United States:

It will have far-reaching, unfortunate consequences if the law enforcement authorities focus only on the Triads, tongs, and Chinese gangs, and view them as the only crime groups responsible for the heroin trade and other racketeering activities in the Chinese communities or mistakenly label those non-Triad criminals as part of the Triad subculture and attempt to fight them as such. (p. 153)

Zhang and Chin (2003) argue that the differences between these two groups must be recognized and they must be addressed as distinct threats:

If US law enforcement authorities continue to search for the linkage between these enterprising individuals and the triads, tongs and Chinese gangs, or mistakenly label these non-Triad criminals as part of the triad subculture and attempt to fight them as such, their efforts and resource will undoubtedly lead to few successes. (p. 486)

Chin (1990) sums up his advice on the situation by suggesting that, "What we need to do is focus our attention on the development of both the Triad subculture and the Chinese drug trafficking subculture simultaneously and to prevent the coalition of these two equally destructive forces." (p. 153)

## CHAPTER II

### POLICING METHODS

In order to determine which policing method would be best suited for dealing with Chinese crime groups in the United States, it is necessary to first look at each method and determine how it could be applied to the specific attributes of these groups and the criminal activities they are involved in. Only then can these methods be compared to each other.

#### HISTORY

To best understand the different policing methods available, it seems logical to give some background as to how and why they came about. In the history of modern policing, many different approaches have been used to combat crime problems in the United States. These approaches have reflected the types and levels of crimes that they have been used to deal with, the technology available to police at the time, and the social and political situation then.

#### POLITICAL

The first effort to begin policing in the United States began in New York City in 1844. A decade and a half earlier, Robert Peel worked to establish policing in London

through the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. He emphasized the need for police to have community support and trust and his model focused on foot patrol “beat” policing. The New York City model followed this “beat” setup.

Policing in New York City was not exactly like that in London, however. Most notably, in New York City police were “deliberately placed under the control of the city government and city politicians” instead of being a more autonomous organization (Peak & Glensor, 1999, p. 5). The mayor chose from a list of suggested recruits, who were then approved by the city council. Often individuals were not chosen because of their unique qualifications for the job, but rather because of their political connections.

In 1852, New Orleans and Cincinnati followed in New York City’s footsteps in establishing a police force; in 1854 they were followed by Boston and Philadelphia; in 1855, Chicago; and in 1857, Baltimore and Newark. Almost every major city in the United States had a police force based on this model by 1880.

The close relationship between police and politicians characterized the situation in the United States through the 1800s. Police officers were chosen by local politicians and in turn often took efforts to support and encourage voters to choose those politicians in elections. “Police were essentially a political institution and perceived as such by the citizenry” (Peak & Glensor, 1999, p. 7).

The organizational structure of police departments at this time was very decentralized. Officers worked “beats” that were often the neighborhoods or areas in which they themselves lived. A lack of communication technologies meant that officers on a beat operated very individually and much of enforcement decision-making was up to

their discretion. The close relationship between officers and their beats meant that they played an integral part in their communities.

The close political relations and decentralization of police forces during this period opened the door for much corruption. Additionally, because of the close connection between officers and their beats, strangers and minorities sometimes faced discrimination. The use of force was also seen during this time. Studies in the early 1900s brought these issues to the forefront and ushered in the “Reform” era of Professional Policing in the United States.

#### REFORM / PROFESSIONAL POLICING

In order to avoid the pitfalls, namely corruption, that came from having police officers closely linked with politicians and their beats, many argued that policing methods needed to be reformed. These changes have also been referred to as “Professional Policing”. “Professionalism came to mean a combination of managerial efficiency, technological sophistication, and an emphasis on crime fighting” (Peak & Glensor, 1999, p. 10).

These reforms were meant to change the image citizens had of police so that they would be seen more as professional and impartial officers who were doing their job of protecting the community. The idea of the “Thin Blue Line” was also in vogue during this time. Police were seen as the often faceless line of protection between citizens and criminals.

One of the biggest changes that occurred was distancing police from politics. This was seen as one of the roots causes of problems in policing. Hiring methods were changed for officers and policies were put in place to try to avoid this, though corruption can obviously never be completely eliminated.

Another major change that occurred was distancing police officers from their beats. Many departments would not allow officers to police the neighborhoods or areas which they lived in and would force them to rotate their beats periodically. This was another effort to try to avoid allowing ties to be made that could open officers up to corruption. New technologies such as radios and squad cars allowed for larger beats to be covered and for there to be more command and control by centralized authority as opposed to individual officer discretion. Many departments promoted "rapid response" by police to citizen calls, which was now possible because of these new technologies. Citizens were encouraged to take advantage of this new service. Foot patrols were also largely abandoned in favor of these new techniques.

A change in emphasis as to the goal and purpose of policing also occurred during the reform era. The importance of following the letter of the law and using it as a basis for police action, as opposed to brute force or public support, was placed in the forefront. Policing became known as "law enforcement" and officers were trained to follow correct rules and procedures in carrying out their duties.

Yet another idea promoted during this period was that of "crime fighting". By using the latest scientific methods available, police could work on improving crime detection and investigation. Fredrick Taylor emphasized a division of labor and

specialization in order to maximize time productivity. A strict hierarchy to control this system was also promoted (Peak & Glensor, 1999, p. 9). Police efficiency was believed to be closely related to the decrease of the "crime rate" and increase of the arrest rate, which sometimes led to quantity of work being valued above quality of work.

Another effect that the reform toward professionalism had was distancing citizens from police activity. Citizens were directed to call police as soon as possible to alert them of a crime and then to leave the job of crime fighting to the officers. Appropriate citizen involvement in police work was believed by many at the time to be limited to reporting crime and giving accurate testimony when asked.

Questions arose, however, as to the actual effectiveness of Professional Policing. Many shortcomings were found as statistics came in showing nominal or even negative change in some areas of police work. Crime rates were going up; the reforms that had been made were not making a significant difference in actually combating crime. Fear among citizens also increased, despite an increased police presence. Funding for police departments decreased as many lost confidence in them. Police also began to face competition from private security groups.

In addition to these issues, many in the police community began realizing that the distance from the community that had arisen was decreasing citizen trust and public support and hurting policing efforts. The social welfare aspects of police work were largely forgotten or de-emphasized during this time as Professional Policing tried to separate police from their communities and the politics within them (Peak & Glensor, 1999, p. 8-9). August Vollmer, a pioneer of the professionalization movement, recognized

the need for and encouraged police involvement in social welfare issues of their communities. He thought that police should work to identify and deal with individuals before they become criminals in order to try to stop their activities before they happen. Mark Moore and George Kelling observed that “what the benefits of professionalization (e.g. reduced corruption, due process, serious police training), the reforms...ignored, even attacked, some features that once made the police powerful institutions in maintaining a sense of community security” (Peak & Glensor, 1999, p. 10). In order to try to deal with these issues, many pushed for a change in policing that brought officers and communities closer. These efforts led to what is often referred to as Community Policing, which has taken the place of Professional Policing methods in some police departments in the United States.

## COMMUNITY POLICING

Community Policing aimed to bring police closer to the communities they worked in by decreasing the amount of distance through decentralizing organization and using foot patrols, getting police involved in social welfare work, and getting community groups involved with aiding police efforts.

Community Policing is closely related to, and often viewed in conjunction with, Problem-Oriented Policing. As Capowich and Roehl (1994) explain:

In a community-oriented approach, a geographically based *community* with particular problems is first and foremost the policing target. In a problem-oriented approach, a specific *problem* is targeted, with the community of interest involved in problem analysis and resolution. In addition, community-oriented policing is probably best viewed as a guiding philosophy for police, whereas problem solving



is one means of enacting a community based philosophy at the street level. (Capowich & Roehl, 1994, p. 127)

Some authors look at two separately, while others do so together. Because of the similarities between the two, they will be considered together here.

The riots in the 1960s were a major impetus to improving police relations with minorities in particular and communities in general (Friedman, 1992, p. 177). Robert Friedman (1992) notes this cause when he defines community policing:

Community policing is a policy and a strategy aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of life, improved police services and police legitimacy, through a proactive reliance on community resources that seeks to change crime-causing conditions. It assumes a need for greater accountability of police, greater public share in decision-making and greater concern for civil rights and liberties. (Friedman, 1992, p. 4)

Police officers felt that improving relations with the public and getting their help and support would aid police in doing their job and benefit both sides. Mary Ann Wycoff (1988) lists many of the characteristics of community policing. This goal is obvious when she states that most departments make efforts to:

1. Listen to citizens, including those who are neither victims nor perpetrators of crimes;
2. Take seriously citizens' definitions of their problems, even when the problems they define might differ from one the police would identify for them;
3. Solve the problems that have been identified.
4. Police and citizens should work together to solve problems. (p. 105)

Wycoff (1988) goes on to list some police beliefs that shape their view of the situation:

1. Citizens may legitimately have ideas about what they want and need from the police that may be different from what the police believe they need;
2. Citizens have the information about the problems and people in their areas that police need in order to operate effectively; and

3. Police and citizens each hold stereotypes about the other that, unless broken down by nonthreatening contacts, prevent either group from effective use of the other. (p. 105-106)

Finally, Wycoff (1988) lists some of the goals of these community policing efforts:

1. A better attitude on the part of citizens toward the police;
2. A better attitude on the part of police toward citizens;
3. More effective police service, with "service" and "effectiveness" being defined by the police; and
4. More effective police service, with citizens working together to define "service" and "effectiveness." These definitions might include: (a) the provision of more or different types of service by police, (b) an increase in order, (c) a reduction of levels of fear among citizens, and (d) a reduction in crime. (p. 106)

One of the major lessons learned from the Reform Era was that public perception and fear were not always linked to actual crime rates in their communities. So while crime rates were dropping in some areas during that time, public fear was increasing. Studies conducted to look at the issue found that public fear was more closely related to disorder in their communities (Peak & Glensor, 1999, p. 14). One of the goals, therefore, of community policing was to try to increase public perception of order in their communities and to thereby help decrease fear levels.

The actual strategies used by each police department tend to vary. The strategy that is most often linked with community policing is foot patrol. By taking officers out of patrol cars and onto streets, they are able to more easily have contact with individuals in their communities. It should be noted that some departments have not adopted foot patrol tactics when implementing community policing strategy, while others have adopted foot patrol tactics without having adopted the community policing strategy. As Corder (1994)

notes, "foot patrol might be employed strictly for public relations purposes, for example, or merely to increase police visibility, or as part of an enforcement-oriented crackdown" (p. 182).

The somewhat vague definition of what Community Policing really entails is one of the main arguments against it. How can one implement and study the effectiveness of something that can't be well-defined? Another concern with the strategy is that it gives police too much latitude when it comes to their duties. In allowing and encouraging police to get involved in social welfare issues, some fear that they may get involved in things that should be outside of their jurisdiction (Bayley, 1988, p.230-231).

The decentralized nature of Community Policing is the main concern for others. By relying more on individual discretion instead of command control, some argue that there is a chance that rules and procedures could be disregarded. This could threaten the rule of law that the Reform Era tried so hard to emphasize. These changes could also open the door to vigilantism (Bayley, 1988, p. 231-36).

The emphasis on improving public relations and working more closely with individuals in communities has its own pitfalls as well. While police departments are trying to depend more on public support, there is always the chance that the public may not be willing to give it to them. Police may not be able to get the help from their communities that they want and need, which is at the core of what makes Community Policing strategies work. By focusing on improving public opinion of community safety as well as police efforts, there is also the issue that public relations goals may be emphasized over and at the cost of crime fighting goals (Bayley, 1988, p. 227).

Perhaps one of the largest shortcomings of Community Policing is that police efforts are limited to their jurisdiction. Information is generally not shared horizontally with other police departments, nor is it shared on a national level. National issues are generally taken over by the FBI and then are not considered much further by the local department. While two different areas may be dealing with similar problems, they often are not sharing the knowledge and experienced that they have gained in any systematic way.

### INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

The newest method of policing to come into use in the United States is that of Intelligence-Led Policing. Carter (2004) defines Intelligence-Led Policing as “an underlying philosophy of how intelligence fits into the operations of a law enforcement organization” which “provides strategic integration of intelligence into the overall mission of the organization” as opposed to “being simply an information clearing house that has been appended to the organization” (p. 41). The National Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan (NCISP), which was developed in order to guide law enforcement nationwide in institutionalizing their intelligence sharing, defines Intelligence-Led Policing as “the collection and analysis of information to produce an intelligence end product designed to inform law enforcement decision making at both the tactical and strategic levels” (Department of Justice, 2005, p. 3-4).

Intelligence-Led Policing was first seen in the United Kingdom, where it was developed by the Kent Constabulary. “The Kent Policing Model, as it was originally

called, de-emphasized responses to service calls by prioritizing calls and referring less serious calls for general non-police services to other agencies” (Peterson, 2005, p. 9). Police focused on the largest threats and worked to deal with those. They believed that many crimes were perpetrated by the same individuals and that by going after the few worst criminals, crime rates could be significantly lowered, and that is in fact what happened.

The United States implemented Intelligence-Led Policing largely in response to the new awareness of the threat of terrorism after the attacks of 9/11. Police departments realized that the threat of terrorism was not limited to individual jurisdictions, but was rather a national threat that would require a coordinated effort to combat. While the FBI would play a large role in the national anti-terrorism effort, state and local police departments would be essential to gathering intelligence at their levels and helping to thwart attacks in their jurisdictions. This is especially true for large cities, such as New York City, where the threat of future terrorist attacks was very high and police departments therefore made anti-terrorism efforts a top priority. Intelligence-Led Policing, some agencies quickly realized, would be key to fighting terrorism as well as other crimes that were not limited to a local level.

Carter (2004) argues that “in many ways, ILP [Intelligence-Led Policing] is a new dimension of community policing, building on tactics and methodologies developed during years of community policing experimentation” (p. 41). The advantage of Intelligence-Led Policing over Community Policing when it came to terrorism was the collection and analysis of intelligence on a broader scale and at a deeper level. “Both

community-oriented policing (COP) and problem-oriented policing have been used for crime analysis, which is statistical and incident-based, rather than strategic intelligence analysis, which looks at large-scope problems or models” (Peterson, 2005, p. 11). Carter (2004) compares Intelligence-Led Policing to CompStat - a statistical analysis program used in Community Policing - to show the similarities and differences between the two.

FIGURE 1

<b>Figure 4-1: Comparison of CompStat and Intelligence-Led Policing</b>		
<b>CompStat</b>	<b>Commonalities</b>	<b>Intelligence-Led Policing</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Single jurisdiction</li> <li>• Incident driven</li> <li>• Street crime and burglary</li> <li>• Crime mapping</li> <li>• Time sensitive (24-hour feedback and response)</li> <li>• Disrupt crime series (e.g., burglary ring)</li> <li>• Drives operations:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Patrol</li> <li>– Tactical Unit</li> <li>– Investigators</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Analysis of offender MOs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Each have a goal of prevention</li> <li>• Each require...               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Organizational flexibility</li> <li>– Consistent information input</li> <li>– A significant analytic component</li> </ul> </li> <li>• “Bottom-up” driven with respect to operational needs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multijurisdiction</li> <li>• Threat driven</li> <li>• Criminal enterprises and terrorism</li> <li>• Commodity flow; trafficking and transiting logistics</li> <li>• Strategic</li> <li>• Disrupt enterprises</li> <li>• Drives Operations               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– JTTF</li> <li>– Organized Crime Investigations</li> <li>– Task Forces</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Analysis of enterprise MOs</li> </ul>
<b>Correlated goals and methodologies make both concepts complement each other</b>		

Source: Carter, D. L. (2004). Intelligence-Led Policing: The Integration of Community Policing and Law Enforcement Intelligence. p. 43

The NCISP notes the benefit that Community Policing can have for Intelligence-Led Policing. As Community Policing officers have developed relationships with individuals in their communities, they have opened lines of communication and

information flow. Community Policing officers are able to get intelligence at a level that may otherwise be hard to reach (Department of Justice, 2005, p. 4).

FIGURE 2



Source: Department of Justice. (2003 revised June 2005). National Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan. p. 3. Retrieved 4/1/2010, from [http://it.ojp.gov/documents/ncisp/National\\_Criminal\\_Intelligence\\_Sharing\\_Plan.pdf](http://it.ojp.gov/documents/ncisp/National_Criminal_Intelligence_Sharing_Plan.pdf)

Intelligence-Led Policing follows the steps of the intelligence process or cycle. The first step is Planning and Direction - determining what the threat is and what information is needed or wanted. The second step is Collection - the actual gathering of raw information by various means and methods. The third step is Processing/Collation - sorting and organizing the information and determining its reliability. Analysis is the fourth step - it is at this point in the process that information becomes intelligence as judgments are made from analyzing the information available. In the fifth step,

department's jurisdiction and using the formal intelligence process to analyze the information that is collected.

The NCISP notes that for Intelligence-Led Policing to be successful, it must be implemented widely and deeply. "For intelligence-led policing to be effective, the process must be an integral part of an agency's philosophy, policies, and strategies and must also be integral in the organization's mission and goals" (Department of Justice, 2005, p. 4).

Some individuals fear that Intelligence-Led Policing efforts will infringe upon the rights of United States citizens. The NCISP recognizes this concern and notes in its Recommendation 6, which states that "All parties involved with implementing and promoting the National Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan should take steps to ensure that the law enforcement community protects individuals' privacy and constitutional rights within the intelligence process" (Department of Justice, 2005, p. v). Peterson (2005) also acknowledges this concern and lists five principles for police departments on how to correctly avoid this issue:

- Information entering the intelligence system should meet a criminal predicate or reasonable suspicion and should be evaluated to check the reliability of the source and the validity of the data.
- Information entering the intelligence system should not violate the privacy or civil liberties of its subjects.
- Information maintained in the intelligence system should be updated or purged every 5 years.
- Agencies should keep a dissemination trail of who received the information.
- Information from the intelligence system should be disseminated only to those personnel who have a right and a need to know in order to perform a law enforcement function. (p. 20)



### SECTION III: METHODOLOGY

This paper presents a qualitative analysis of the policing methods available to combat Chinese crime groups in the United States based on open source information.

A qualitative analysis was chosen in part because data on crime statistics for Chinese crime groups in the United States are lacking or are not readily available. Additionally, a qualitative approach was better suited to dealing with the unique characteristics and challenges that these groups pose, which cannot be accurately addressed by quantitative data. Comparing the qualitative differences of the groups with the qualitative differences of the policing methods is at the heart of this analysis and determining the best match.

As the author did not have access to classified sources, she had to rely on open source information in her research.

The information found through this research was used to compile a list of qualitative attributes of the Chinese crime groups. The nature of each attribute for each group was determined and used to form a matrix comparing the groups and their individual characteristics to each other. Another matrix was then formed which analyzed the different policing approaches to determine their effectiveness in dealing with each of

these attributes. Finally, the two matrices were compared to determine which policing method would be best suited to dealing with these Chinese crime groups.

Six sets of attributes were chosen to characterize the crime groups. The attribute sets were partially inspired by the characteristics of crime groups analyzed by Project Sleipnir, an analytic methodology utilized by the the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Strang, 2005). The six sets are 1) Structure, 2) Scope, 3) Specialty, 4) Sophistication, 5) Secretiveness, and 6) Societal Perception and Response. What each of these attribute sets entail is explained below.

1) Structure - Does the group have a stable hierarchy characterized by group cohesiveness and continuity of members or does it have a more fluid and dynamic network structure that allows it to be mobile?

2) Scope - Is the group's activity limited to a local area or does it stretch out nationally or even trans-nationally?

3) Specialty - What criminal activities does the group participate in - violence, gambling, drugs, etc?

4) Sophistication - What level of sophistication does the group operate with? Do they have well-planned and/or intricate strategies? What is their level of expertise? What level of discipline does the group have?

5) Secretiveness - Do members of the group insulate themselves to guard against getting caught? Does the group level any kind of paper trail? Are they connected with any authorities by way of corruption?

6) Societal Perception and Response - Does the community that the group operates within perceive it as a threat? Are their activities viewed as victim-less crimes instead? Are the group's activities reported?

When each of the policing methods was analyzed for its effectiveness at dealing with the attribute characteristics of each of the crime groups, a "+/-" scale was used to reflect suitability. That scale is explained below:

" - - ": used to mark a comparatively very low suitability level.

" - ": used to mark a comparatively low suitability level.

" / ": used to mark a neutral suitability level.

" + ": used to mark a comparatively fairly high suitability level.

" + + ": used to mark a comparatively very high suitability level.

## SECTION IV

### RESULTS

This section will consider the specific characteristics of Chinese crime groups in the United States and which policing method would be best suited to dealing with them. The attributes of each Chinese crime group in the United States will be detailed first. Then each policing method's ability to deal with these elements will be analyzed. Afterwards, a conclusion will be drawn as to which strategy would be best suited to deal with the each of the unique Chinese crime groups in the United States.

#### THE CRIME GROUPS

The specific attributes of Chinese crime groups in the United States are detailed below. Each type of crime group and their unique attributes are listed so that the nature and extent of the issue can be clearly seen.

#### TRIADS

Triad groups have a strict hierarchy that is supported by strict rules of secrecy. This contributes to the groups having high group cohesion and continuity. Triads have never had much presence in the United States; instead, tongs based off of the triad tradition have had a presence here. There have not been indications that they will become

a greater problem in the country in the future. However, knowledge of their activities abroad would be helpful in case the situation should change. They are largely political groups that have been involved in various criminal activities in Asia, including violence, extortion, prostitution, and money laundering. Triads are viewed by many Chinese as an alternate lifestyle choice that is acceptable for those who have chosen it.

TABLE 1.1  
CRIME GROUPS - TRIADS

<b>Triads</b>	
<b>Attribute Set</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>1) Structure</b>	strict hierarchy; very high group cohesion; high continuity
<b>2) Scope</b>	transnational, mostly Asia
<b>3) Specialty</b>	violence, extortion, politics, prostitution, money laundering, drugs
<b>4) Sophistication</b>	rather sophisticated
<b>5) Secretiveness</b>	very strict secrecy rules
<b>6) Societal Perception/Response</b>	viewed as an acceptable alternate life-style

## TONGS

Tongs have a strict hierarchy of leadership. They sometimes deal with internal power structures, but their membership generally has a high rate of continuity. Tongs are likely to be a part of Chinese communities at some level for a while. The extent to which they or their members might participate in criminal activities in the future is unknown.

Activities that they are known to have involvement in include prostitution, gambling, and money laundering. Tongs are often connected to Chinese gangs which support their criminal activities. They show fairly sophisticated methods by hiring gangs for help and organizing and running operations such as money laundering. Tong leadership often tries to insulate themselves by maintaining anonymity and fairly high levels of secrecy within the groups through various rites and rituals. Because tongs are composed of both law-abiding citizens as well as criminal elements, as well as the fact that the criminal activities they are involved with are usually “victim-less” or not seen as crimes by their communities, tongs are often viewed as legitimate community groups and have a decent societal image.

TABLE 1.2  
CRIME GROUPS - TONGS

<b>Tongs</b>	
<b>Attribute Set</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>1) Structure</b>	strict hierarchy; moderate group cohesion; high continuity
<b>2) Scope</b>	local; ties to gangs
<b>3) Specialty</b>	gambling, prostitution, money laundering, drugs
<b>4) Sophistication</b>	rather sophisticated
<b>5) Secretiveness</b>	groups leaders insulate themselves
<b>6) Societal Perception/ Response</b>	viewed largely as legitimate community groups

## GANGS

Gangs are usually connected to tongs in the same geographical area and sometimes provide support for their criminal activities. They have a fairly strict hierarchy but low group cohesion and continuity as members can come and go and often cause internal power struggles. Gangs and their members are known to have involvement in street violence, extortion, and robbery. Some new gangs are also involved in smaller petty crimes. They show a moderate level of sophistication in their activities. Leaders tend to insulate themselves by allowing lower level members to conduct the actual crimes while they do the planning. Additionally, there is a high level of secrecy through various rites and rituals. The communities within which they operate usually see them as a threat, though crime report rates remain low because of perceived police ineffectiveness to deal with the problem and a desire to keep the peace and "save face" in the community.

TABLE 1.3  
CRIME GROUPS - GANGS

Gangs	
Attribute Set	Description
1) Structure	strict hierarchy; low group cohesion; low continuity
2) Scope	local; ties to tongs
3) Specialty	street violence, extortion, tong protection, drugs
4) Sophistication	moderate sophistication
5) Secretiveness	leaders insulate themselves somewhat
6) Societal Perception/ Response	perceived to be a threat; low report rates

#### NEW GROUPS

The new crime groups that have emerged are smaller in size and more dynamic in structure. While some tong and gang leaders and members are known to be part of these groups, this has been on an individual basis, rather than a group one. The organizational structure of these groups are based on the “guanxi” networks of their members. Though they do not have a strict hierarchy, they do have a strict internal division of labor. This shows some level of sophistication in order to deal with issues regarding transportation and international scope; however it should be noted that many individuals involved do so as a side “business activity” and are not “professional criminals.” They seem to mainly be involved in heroin trafficking and human smuggling operations on a transnational level.



Many in their communities perceive these activities to be “victim-less” crimes or even acceptable business opportunities.

TABLE 1.4  
CRIME GROUPS - NEW GROUPS

<b>New Groups</b>	
<b>Attribute Set</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>1) Structure</b>	dynamic membership; low cohesion; mobile
<b>2) Scope</b>	transnational
<b>3) Specialty</b>	human smuggling, heroin trafficking
<b>4) Sophistication</b>	strict division of labor; side business activity
<b>5) Secretiveness</b>	some corruption to procure transportation
<b>6) Societal Perception/Response</b>	perceived as victim-less crimes or business opportunities

## THE POLICING METHODS

This section will look at each of the policing methods available and analyze how they could each address aspects of the problem of Chinese crime groups in the United States.

## POLITICAL POLICING

At this point in time, the Political Era of policing has been almost entirely abandoned. The corruption that it lent itself to is now avoided. New technologies have increased communication capabilities and allow for more centralized police departments and command control. While Political Policing cannot return in its original form, it can be argued that Community Policing carries over some of the positive characteristics and tactics of this era such as foot patrols, more decentralized police departments, and closer police-community relations. Political Policing will therefore not be considered as a possible method for dealing with Chinese crime groups in the United States.

## REFORM / PROFESSIONAL POLICING

Professional Policing of the Reform Era is currently being used by police departments in the United States that have not implemented Community Policing or Intelligence-Led Policing efforts. It can therefore be considered the status quo for many communities.

Professional Policing is limited in its scope to activities within its own jurisdiction; therefore it cannot address national and transnational issues. It works best to deal with criminal groups with clear strict hierarchies and high continuity, not much secrecy or sophistication, and more easily investigable crimes. Crime reporting is also vital to Professional Policing's effectiveness, though community support is not particularly.

TABLE 2.1  
POLICING METHODS - REFORM / POLITICAL POLICING

<b>Reform / Professional Policing</b>	
<b>Attribute Set</b>	<b>How Addressed</b>
<b>1) Structure</b>	does well with strict hierarchies and high continuity
<b>2) Scope</b>	local; cannot address national or transnational
<b>3) Specialty</b>	deals best with violent crimes
<b>4) Sophistication</b>	deals best with lower sophistication
<b>5) Secretiveness</b>	deals best with lower secrecy
<b>6) Societal Perception/ Response</b>	does best when crimes are reported

### COMMUNITY POLICING

Community Policing is currently being used in some police departments in the United States. For other departments, though, it would be a new method.

Community Policing is also limited in its scope to crimes within its jurisdiction, and cannot deal with national and transnational issues. Like Professional Policing, it works best to deal with criminal groups with clear strict hierarchies and high continuity, not much secrecy or sophistication, and more easily investigable crimes. Community Policing's effectiveness is largely dependent on community support and aid and aims to improve community-police relations and hopefully encourage individuals to support police efforts by reporting crimes and providing information to police.

TABLE 2.2  
POLICING METHODS - COMMUNITY POLICING

<b>Community Policing</b>	
<b>Attribute Set</b>	<b>How Addressed</b>
<b>1) Structure</b>	does well with strict hierarchies and high continuity
<b>2) Scope</b>	local; cannot address national or transnational
<b>3) Specialty</b>	can deal with most types of crimes
<b>4) Sophistication</b>	deals best with moderate sophistication
<b>5) Secretiveness</b>	can deal with some levels of secrecy
<b>6) Societal Perception/Response</b>	is dependent on community support and aid

### INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

Intelligence-Led Policing is the newest policing method to be implemented in the United States. It has largely been used in anti-terrorism efforts, but it could certainly also have application to problems with crime groups, as it was originally used for crime problems in the United Kingdom.

Many of the same characteristics that make Intelligence-Led Policing well-suited to combating terrorism also are beneficial to combating Chinese crime groups. Terrorist groups and Chinese crime groups are both international threats whose activities are spread across multiple states. Their organizational structures are both hierarchical in

some instances and are also composed of small groups or cells. Obviously the threat that terrorists pose is very different than that of Chinese crime groups, but their organization and means of operation are similar and therefore Intelligence-Led Policing could be useful for dealing with both.

Intelligence-Led Policing can address crimes at both the local level as well as the national and transnational level. It is better suited to analyzing the organization and patterns of criminal activities and can therefore deal with groups with strict hierarchies as well as more dynamic groups with a range of levels of sophistication and secrecy. While it has the potential to provide the proactive efforts that individuals in communities have expressed a desire for, it may have difficulties developing sources of information.

TABLE 2.3  
POLICING METHODS - INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

<b>Intelligence-Led Policing</b>	
<b>Attribute Set</b>	<b>How Addressed</b>
<b>1) Structure</b>	can deal with strict groups and dynamic networks
<b>2) Scope</b>	local, national, and/or transnational
<b>3) Specialty</b>	can deal with all types of crime
<b>4) Sophistication</b>	can deal with high levels of sophistication
<b>5) Secretiveness</b>	can deal with high levels of secrecy
<b>6) Societal Perception/Response</b>	is not as dependent on community support

## THE RESULTS

In this section, each policing method's suitability for dealing with each crime group and its unique attributes will be examined.

### REFORM / PROFESSIONAL POLICING

Triads - Professional Policing would not concern itself with Triad activity unless they became involved in criminal activities in their jurisdictions. It is neither particularly well-suited or ill-suited to most aspects of triad activity, except for their secretiveness, which would make investigation difficult.

Tongs - Professional Policing is well suited to dealing with groups that have similar scope, structure, specialty, and sophistication as tongs. It would be limited in its ability to investigate tong activity, though, because of the distance between the police and Chinese community which would make gathering information about their activities difficult, especially given their secretiveness.

Gangs - Professional Policing is well suited to dealing with the structure, scope, and sophistication of gangs. It would do a good job of dealing with some gang crimes such as street violence and robbery, but would have difficulty investigating extortion, as victims are often not willing to report crimes, and would be hindered some by the secretiveness of gangs.

New Groups - Professional Policing would not be able to investigate the full scope of these transnational new crime groups. The dynamic structure, high secrecy, and

lack of community concern would also make investigations difficult. The types of crimes and level of sophistication of these groups would not pose major issues, however.

TABLE 3.1  
RESULTS - REFORM / PROFESSIONAL POLICING

Reform/Professional Policing				
Attribute Set	Triads	Tongs	Gangs	New Groups
1) Structure	/	+	+	-
2) Scope	--	+	+	--
3) Specialty	/	/	/	/
4) Sophistication	/	+	+	/
5) Secretiveness	-	/	/	-
6) Societal Perception/ Response	/	-	-	-

(Suitability: “- -” very low; “-” low; “/” neutral; “+” high; “+ +” very high)

#### COMMUNITY POLICING

Triads - Community Policing would also not really concern itself with Triad activity unless it occurred in their jurisdiction. It is neither particularly well-suited or ill-suited to most aspects of triad activity, except for their secretiveness, which would make investigation difficult.

Tongs - Community Policing is well suited to dealing with groups that have similar scope, structure, specialty, and sophistication as tongs. The emphasis on improving community-police relations would give Community Policing the advantage of

getting to know the members of the community and therefore likely having better knowledge of tong membership as well as forming relationships with possible sources, though the secrecy of tongs would still pose some difficulty.

Gangs - Community Policing is well suited to dealing with the structure, scope, and sophistication of gangs. The increased police presence that usually comes with Community Policing might also help limit gang activity in the communities. The improved community-police relations could lead to higher crime reporting percentages and provide possible police sources. Additionally, cultural barriers would likely be addressed by Community Policing. Secretiveness would continue to pose some difficulty, though.

New Groups - Community Policing would not be able to investigate the full scope of these transnational new crime groups. The dynamic structure, high secrecy, and lack of community concern would also make investigations difficult. The types of crimes and level of sophistication of these groups would not pose major issues, however. The possible sources that Community Policing provides and the increased police presence in communities could help with investigating new groups.



TABLE 3.2  
RESULTS - COMMUNITY POLICING

Community Policing				
Attribute Set	Triads	Tongs	Gangs	New Groups
1) Structure	/	+	+	-
2) Scope	--	+	+	--
3) Specialty	/	/	+	/
4) Sophistication	/	+	+	/
5) Secretiveness	-	/	/	-
6) Societal Perception/ Response	/	+	+	/

(Suitability: "--" very low; "-" low; "/" neutral; "+" high; "+ +" very high)

#### INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

**Triads** - The international reach and view of Intelligence-Led Policing would allow it to keep an eye on Triad activity abroad and be at least somewhat prepared should it become an issue in the United States.

**Tongs** - Intelligence-Led Policing could gather information and produce intelligence about the organization of tongs and their activities and crime patterns.

**Gangs** - Intelligence-Led Policing would be able to analyze information and intelligence about gang activity; however it might be limited in its ability to collect information because of cultural barriers and may not cause crime reporting to increase.

New Groups - The analysis of information that Intelligence-Led Policing provides would be beneficial to police efforts to combat these new groups. The international scope of Intelligence-Led Policing would also aid police efforts in this area.

TABLE 3.3  
RESULTS - INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

Intelligence-Led Policing				
Attribute Set	Triads	Tongs	Gangs	New Groups
1) Structure	+	+	+	++
2) Scope	+	+	+	+
3) Specialty	+	+	+	+
4) Sophistication	+	+	+	+
5) Secretiveness	+	+	+	+
6) Societal Perception/Response	/	/	/	/

(Suitability: “- -” very low; “-” low; “/” neutral; “+” high; “+ +” very high)

## DISCUSSION

Having outlined the problems that Chinese crime groups pose in the United States and analyzed how each policing method could address these issues, a determination of which policing method would be best suited to dealing with these groups can now be made.

### POLITICAL POLICING

As was explained above, the Political Policing method is no longer being used and is therefore not a viable option to deal with the problem of Chinese crime groups in the United States.

### PROFESSIONAL POLICING

The Professional Policing method of the Reform Era is the status quo in some areas of the United States. By using this method, there is not much probability of large change and the problems with Chinese crime groups in the United States will not be able to be completely resolved. Professional Policing would be good for dealing with some tong and gang activity, but may not be effective at dealing with gang extortion. Additionally the transnational nature of most triads and new groups would hinder

Professional Policing from being able to fully investigate them. It can therefore be concluded that it would not be the best policing method to deal with these problems.

## COMMUNITY POLICING

The Community Policing method would help in improving community-police relations and therefore likely increase crime reporting percentages and provide more potential police sources. This would be very beneficial to dealing with tongs and gangs and makes it better suited to dealing with these two groups than Professional Policing. Like Professional Policing, however, it would be rather limited in its ability to deal with triads and new groups that extend outside of their jurisdictions.

## INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

Intelligence-Led Policing would provide an international scope and long-term strategic focus to policing efforts that neither Professional Policing or Community Policing can. The analysis of intelligence would provide a better understanding of the nature of these criminal groups and provide clues as to how to best combat them. Intelligence-Led Policing is lacking in its ability to work with individuals in the communities to gather the information needed, though, and may face cultural barriers. So while it would be useful for dealing with triads, should they increase their presence in the United States, and new groups, it may not be much better suited to dealing with tongs and gangs than Community Policing.

## SUMMARY

Chinese crime groups in the United States have not surpassed the Italian Mafia in their scope and threat. It can be argued that traditional Chinese crime groups have actually decreased in presence in this country. They still are a problem, however, and additional new crime groups are now also a threat as they branch out into human smuggling and heroin trafficking. In order to prevent these groups from growing and expanding into even more criminal activities, police must take active efforts to dismantle the organizations that currently exist. As Zhang and Chin (2003) noted, it must be remembered that the United States is dealing with problems from multiple types of crime groups with unique organizational structures and characteristics. In order for any policing method to be successful, this distinction must be recognized.

It seems that aspects of both Community Policing and Intelligence-Led Policing would be well-suited to combating Chinese crime groups in the United States. Neither, however, seems completely sufficient.

Community Policing strategies would be helpful in dealing with the local side of Chinese crime groups tactically and Intelligence-Led Policing with the national and trans-national aspects more strategically. A combination of these strategies could hopefully successfully deal with all types of crime groups and work toward eliminating the threat from Chinese crime in the United States. Peterson (2005) suggests that a mixed strategy like this could be beneficial as the approaches are “collaborative and complementary” (p. 11-12).

In order to effectively deal with these groups, police must understand Chinese culture so that they can gain community help and support. They should learn how to not inadvertently cause individuals to “lose face” and hinder future support from them. Police must gain community trust so that crimes will be reported and individuals will aid their efforts. Additionally, they need to understand the nature of “guanxi” networks and how they can be the basis of crime networks. It is therefore recommended that efforts be made to improve community-police relations in communities with Chinese crime groups problems so that crime will be reported and individuals will be willing to talk to police and provide them with information. The Community Policing method would be well-suited to facilitating these efforts.

The information gained from police investigations would be best utilized by applying the analytic process that Intelligence-Led Policing provides and the broader scope that comes from integration with other departments and internationally. The long-term focus of Intelligence-Led Policing would also be helpful to dealing with these groups. Analysts would have time to become experts in these issues and their trends and influence, which would help them to more effectively predict and combat their activities in the future.

## CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This paper has examined the history of Chinese crime groups in the United States and looked at the various policing methods currently available to be used to combat these groups. The different attribute sets of each type of group have been detailed in order to better understand the unique characteristics of each. In this way, a more effective qualitative analysis of how to deal with each type of group can be made. Each of the policing methods was then examined in order to determine how suited it was to dealing with the various attributes of these crime groups. Finally, the application and suitability of each of these methods to dealing with all of the attributes of each of the Chinese crime groups was analyzed in order to determine which was best suited to dealing with the various groups.

This analysis led to the conclusion that Community Policing would help to better work at overcoming cultural barriers and therefore increasing community support and crime reporting, which would be particularly helpful with dealing with tongs and gangs.

It also found that the international scope that both Professional Policing and Community Policing lacked and which prevented them from fully dealing with triads and new groups could be found in Intelligence-Led Policing.

With analysts predicting an increase in the Asian-American population in the coming years, it is unlikely that Chinese crime groups will be disappearing anytime soon.

A continued shift in the structure and activities of these groups as been happening recently is more likely. As police efforts work to crack down on certain groups and their activities, criminals will probably shift their efforts.

The recent trend towards more decentralized, dynamic groups with very efficient strict divisions of labor will likely grow in prominence. The ability for such groups to react and adjust their efforts and their smaller size give them the flexibility and lower profile that help them to better avoid detection and adapt to the ever-changing globalized world in which we live.

Follow-up research into the recent activities of tongs and gangs in the United States would be able to give a better idea if they will continue to decrease in prominence or reemerge as a threat. Additional research into the new Chinese crime groups, both to their origins and activities, would provide more information to help predict what they may look like in the future. Finckenauer & Chin (2004) identified potential research partners in their study (p. 39-45) and suggested bi-lateral and multi-lateral collaborations through conferences and workshops to gain the support of Asian nations (p. 45-48).

As Chin and Zhang (2003) noted, police must remember that the United States is facing multiple distinct groups, with their own unique structure and characteristics, and must be investigated as such. Chin (1990) argues that only by approaching the issue in this way can all of the groups be combatted effectively and further expansion of their criminal activities be stopped.



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