

**THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY POLICING
ON THE
CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM**

JEFFERSON INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE STUDIES

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THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY POLICING ON THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report presents the results of an initial assessment of the effects of community policing on the criminal justice system and local government agencies. It attempts to fill a gap in our knowledge about community policing by examining its dynamics from a different perspective; namely, how it relates to the other parts of criminal justice agencies, particularly prosecution. If community policing, operating in a variety of forms and with many different approaches, does not create any special relationships or affect other agencies, then it can be viewed as a separate phenomenon occurring between the police and the community. On the other hand, if community policing activities produce special or different effects on others in the criminal justice system, then it is important that these effects be identified, weighed for their importance to the agency or court likely to be affected, and presented as information for those involved with this new form of policing. Until this study was undertaken, the relationships and effects of community policing on a criminal justice environment have not been systematically examined and reviewed in a single report.

We hope that the synthesis presented here will be of value to municipal officials in addition to police executives, prosecutors, judges and other criminal justice practitioners. Not only are there effects created by community policing, but they often occur at the edges of the formal criminal justice system, in areas not generally given much attention by traditional law enforcement agencies. As a result, it is all the more important that this initial assessment be extended by more detailed assessments. A comprehensive exploration of the full range of impacts should be undertaken, not just on criminal justice resources and outcomes but also on state and local agencies that may become natural partners in seeking to prevent crime and improve the quality of life.

The substance of this report reflects the efforts and expertise of a wide range of disciplines brought together to ensure that the findings were comprehensive and unbiased. Four jurisdictions were the subject of in-depth, on-site assessments by a team of experts. The initial findings from the sites were refined, modified, and extended through a survey of over 150 jurisdictions. This final report reflects this wide-ranging endeavor.

The jurisdictions and principal participants in the on-site assessments included:

El Paso County and Colorado Springs, CO. Chief *Lorne Kramer*, Colorado Springs Police Department; District Attorney *John Suthers*, El Paso County, CO;

Montgomery County, MD. Chief *Clarence Edwards*, Montgomery County Police Department, State's Attorney *Andrew Sonner*, Montgomery County, MD;

Multnomah County and Portland, OR. Chief *Charles Moose*, Portland Police Bureau; District Attorney *Michael Schrunk*, Multnomah County, OR;

Pima County and Tucson, AZ. Chief *Elaine Hedtke*, Tucson Police Department; and County Attorney *Steven Neely*, Pima County, AZ.

The participants not only opened their departments and offices to us, but also took considerable time to participate in workshops and consult our research team on issues special to their jurisdictions.

The study was conducted by experts in criminal justice programs and evaluations and representatives from the International Association of Law Enforcement Planners (IALEP) who were experienced in community policing programs and activities. They include:

Lt. Dave Bodie, Montgomery County Police Department, and IALEP

Jay Cohen, Counsel to the District Attorney, Kings County, Brooklyn, NY.

Heike Gramckow, Deputy Director, Jefferson Institute, Washington, DC;

Joan Jacoby, Executive Director, Jefferson Institute, Washington, DC

Allan Prettyman, Montgomery County Police Department (retired) and President, IALEP

Edward Ratledge, Director, Center for Demographic and Applied Survey Research, University of Delaware, Newark, DE.

Hon. Ronald Taylor, Chief Administrative Judge, Berrien County District Court, St. Joseph, MI.

Al Toczydlowski, Assistant District Attorney, District Attorney's Office Philadelphia, PA.

Jay Zumbrun, Howard County (MD) Police Department, and IALEP

Contributing to the successful assessment were: our program manager at the National Institute of Justice, *Dr. David Hayeslip*; the Acting Director for Evaluation, *Winifred Reed*; and, the Director of Research, *Dr. Craig Uchida*. Not only did they provide support, advice and assistance to our project but, they also facilitated our access to other NIJ visiting fellows with expertise in this and related areas, most importantly *Dr. Stephen Mastrofski*.

Finally, acknowledgment and gratitude is extended to the countless prosecutors and police officers who took the time and effort to respond to our interviews and help us in our search for knowledge. We recognize and acknowledge with deep appreciation their contributions to this report and to the advances in community policing.

PART I. BACKGROUND AND EVALUATION DESIGN

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In the early 1980's, the outlines of a new direction for policing, known as "community policing", began to emerge and take root in the United States. Many of its features were widely supported by the public and the media. Police officers were expected to engage in proactive crime prevention. Police operations became more visible, increasing police accountability to the public. Operations were decentralized to respond to the needs of various neighborhoods and constituencies. Citizens were encouraged to take more initiative in preventing crimes and become partners with police, improving relations between them (Skolnick and Bayley 1988; Kelling 1988).

Evidence from National Institute of Justice (NIJ) field experiments in Houston (Brown 1988), Newark (Kelling et al. 1981; Pate et al. 1986) and Baltimore (Pate and Annan 1989) tested the theory that closer ties between the police and the citizens of the community, especially in the form of door-to-door contact and foot patrols, raised levels of citizen satisfaction with police services, improved the quality of community life, and lowered the levels of fear of crime. Other "problem oriented" policing programs concentrated on controlling drug trafficking through intensive interaction with the community (Spelman and Eck 1987; Uchida et al 1990).

Although the goals of this new model of policing are shared by many jurisdictions, its implementation varies widely. As a result, no single model for community policing exists that delineates policies and goals, identifies procedures to be followed, and assigns staff and resources to implement them. Rather, there are a variety of ideological, programmatic, or pragmatic interpretations of community policing. For example, in Baltimore County, MD, a Citizen Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE) program was initiated in 1982 to fight fear of crime by using a specially trained police unit to survey and interact with citizens (Taft 1986). In Newport News, VA, a problem-oriented policing program (POP) shifted the style of policing to emphasize problem-solving over traditional reactive models (Eck and Spelman 1987).

In spite of the limited knowledge about its effectiveness, the popularity of community policing is still growing. The incentive to adopt this approach was boosted by the announcement of the Department of Justice's "Weed and Seed" initiative and by President Clinton's promise to provide the money for 100,000 more police officers dedicated to community policing. Research and evaluations tend to focus on internal law enforcement activities and the relationship between the community and the police. To a lesser extent, attention is also given to relationships with

local government agencies. Still, little attention has been directed beyond community policing operations to their interfaces with other criminal justice agencies. A systematic examination of how the various forms of community policing have affected the rest of the criminal justice system, especially prosecutors and the courts, has not been completed. The same is also true for the effect these programs have on public service providers outside the criminal justice environment.

OBSERVING THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING ON OTHER CRIMINAL JUSTICE AGENCIES

Although the various approaches to community policing have generated a considerable body of descriptive research and general theory, few studies attempt to validate the assumptions and propositions that underlie community policing models with empirical findings or program outcomes (Murphy 1988; Mastrofski 1988; Manning 1984). Little is known so far about how these different approaches actually compare to traditional policing, or what approach seems to work best under what conditions. Research and evaluation efforts currently funded by NIJ, such as the National Assessment and Analysis of Community Policing Strategies undertaken by the Police Foundation, the case studies of five major police departments which are being developed by the Police Executive Research Forum, and the extensive observation study of police officers in Richmond, undertaken by Mastrofski, should shed new light on these issues and produce a more complete body of knowledge about the internal program aspects of community policing. These and other efforts should also provide insight into the dynamics of police-community relationships and techniques for improving the interactions between them.

When one looks at the dynamics of the police-criminal justice system relationships, its effects should be observed in changes. Identifying changes, however, is complicated by two major problems. The first is to be able to identify if and where changes occur; and the second is to be able to link those changes to community policing. Changes in the types and numbers of cases can help isolate the parts of the system most influenced by community policing. Changes in procedures may be indicators of whether community policing is a causal factor.

Changes in Caseload

The use of statistics for such items as reported crimes and arrests are probably not suited for identifying changes in small geographic areas. They are probably too volatile. Changes for small areas may not be discernible in statistics for prosecutions, public defender caseloads or the court docket. For example, a high priority given to eliminating prostitution and drinking in public in a neighborhood park may result in success, but would not be observable in measures of crime or caseload. Equally difficult is the measurement of these effects on the prosecutor, public

defender, lower courts or jails. Despite these measurement problems, some traditional indicators can be used to identify changes as long as they are interpreted within the appropriate context. Without context, the statistics could appear to be sending mixed signals. For example:

1. We would expect *increases* in calls by the public to report crimes and information about crimes as they become more convinced of the law enforcement agency's willingness and ability to respond. On the other hand, we would expect *decreases* in calls for specific services relating to problems that can be successfully resolved by targeting or developing different response strategies. For example, false burglar alarm calls may decrease if the cause is identified and the appropriate response is applied.

2. We may find changes in arrest patterns. Arrests for "lesser" offenses involving citations, misdemeanors and ordinance violations may increase as a result of the community's concern with quality of life cases. At the same time, felony arrests may be unchanged.

3. Prosecutors may change charging priorities in response to complaints initiated by the community and businesses. Cases previously not prosecuted such as drinking in public, solicitation, or trespassing may now receive special prosecutorial attention and this will change both dispositions and sentences.

4. The workload of the felony courts may remain unchanged while municipal courts struggle with a change in the characteristics of its caseload increased by public sensitivity, and public demands.

5. Sentencing patterns and detention decisions, about lesser offenses may change, creating more demands on the resources of the community as they relate to counseling, treatment and community service even though the processing of serious felonies is unchanged.

If there are effects from community policing activities on other agencies or courts within the criminal justice system of the kind noted here, they should be observable in properly interpreted statistics. Whether those effects are important to other agencies or the courts is still to be determined.

Changes in Procedures

It is far more likely that the real effects of community policing will be observed in changes in procedures rather than changes in statistics. For example, changes may occur in the priorities

assigned to various types of calls for service in an attempt to free-up more time for police to interact with the community. Police decentralization may require changes in filing procedures with the prosecutor. Improved police-community relationships may produce better quality police reports, improved witness participation, speedier victim/witness identification and notification. The emphasis on crime prevention and problem solving may also generate a need for procedures that extend beyond internal police operations to other criminal justice agencies and the courts. The nature and extent of responses by the system is an important issue addressed in this study.

This study identified many of those changes. However, it does not claim to present a complete picture of the impact of community policing on other criminal justice agencies. In part, this is due to wide variations in community policing. In part, it is due to the difficulty of attributing changes in relationships or procedures solely to community policing. For example, when beat or patrol officers are empowered to solve problems, they no longer operate within the strict guidelines of traditional policing. But how do they identify and establish relationships with prosecutors, inspectors, social service providers and other city officials? As changes in their activity occur, they may produce different responses. Attributing change to community policing is tenuous especially when community policing evolves incrementally over time and other agencies or units also slowly make changes.

Nevertheless, whether criminal justice system responses have resulted from community policing or whether they have developed independent of it is of secondary concern. Primary to this study is the identification of responses that support the goals and objectives of community policing. Initial findings indicate that the support of other criminal justice agencies and the courts can dramatically enhance the community-oriented efforts undertaken by the police. In this study, we identify some of the effects on criminal justice agencies and draw some initial conclusions about strategies and tactics that should be considered or adopted by the prosecutor's office, the courts and criminal justice agencies to enhance the mission of community policing.

OBSERVING THE EFFECTS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM RESPONSES ON COMMUNITY POLICING

The counterpart of this assessment of the impact of community policing on criminal justice agencies is the impact of the criminal justice system on community policing goals and objectives. That part of the assessment focuses on strategies that the criminal justice system can use to support community policing efforts. If prosecutors and the courts decentralize operations, for example, the effect on community policing operations should be to make police even more responsive to small area crime problems. For prosecutors, however, decentralizing services

requires increasing flexibility in both policy and guidelines. The changing face of policing may also give rise to changes in the role of prosecution. However, the extent to which prosecutors will adopt other goals, most notably crime prevention, has yet to be determined.

The concept of community policing generally has broad support in the community, but this does not necessarily spill over to all law enforcement and criminal justice agencies. Some police chiefs express skepticism about a strategy that decreases centralized power and exposes the individual officer to the influence of community groups who, sometimes, have contradictory interests (Weisburg and Hardyman 1987). Similarly, as our assessment indicated, many prosecutors or judges are unaware of, or opposed to these new police activities. These activities require more services and resources to solve problems and thus compete for already scarce resources. On the other hand, some prosecutors, public defenders, and judges are intrigued by the goals of prevention and the tactics of problem-solving implicit in community-based law enforcement. Community policing gives them an opportunity to strengthen public relations; to educate the public about areas of criminal justice largely unknown to them; and, to foster a closer working relationship between their agency, the police, local business communities, schools, and civic organizations. All of this, however, may be accomplished at a cost, namely, changes in goals, policies, and procedures.

Some of the more proactive responses to this challenge are already documented. From the court's perspective, Judge George Nicola's approach to Expedited Drug Case Management (EDCM) in Middlesex County, NJ, is a good example (Cooper et al. 1990; Jacoby et al. 1992; Wice 1994). He created a volunteer network in New Brunswick which supported the goals of EDCM by supervising court-ordered conditions, monitoring court-ordered activities, developing alternative responses to incarceration, and providing education and job opportunities for convicted offenders. In Manhattan, the Criminal Court for the City of New York, under the leadership of Administrative Judge Robert Keating, has established a community court in Times Square which services the unique characteristics of that section of the city. This venture has been so successful that similar efforts are under way in conjunction with the Kings County District Attorney, Charles Hynes, to establish a community court and justice center in a public housing area in Brooklyn, NY.

Some prosecutors have substantially expanded the role of prosecution and established their own community-oriented ventures. The prosecutors in Montgomery County, MD, Multnomah County (Portland), OR and Kings County (Brooklyn), NY have embraced community or neighborhood prosecution program. In Montgomery County, the State's Attorney, Andrew Sonner,

decentralized the office to conform to police districts. In Multnomah County, the District Attorney, Michael Schrunck, established a Neighborhood District Attorney program that assigned specific prosecutors to work proactively with specific, small areas in the county. In Kings County, Brooklyn, the District Attorney Charles Hynes, reorganized his office of 600 attorneys and assigned staff to five geographic areas, each mirroring the population characteristics of the County. Additionally, he initiated a community prosecution program in Red Hook, a public housing area that will also receive a community court. In Middlesex County (Cambridge) MA, the District Attorney Tom Reilly has pioneered a community-based justice program designed to target violent youthful offenders for prosecution and stabilize the remaining population. He accomplishes this with a coordinated program involving the mayor, chief of police, school superintendents, probation, juvenile court, state agencies, prosecutors and others that prevents kids from slipping through the cracks. The benefits accruing from these major changes in roles and direction include claims that decentralization provides more flexible case management, improved training opportunities for new attorneys and support staff, and a different sense of case "ownership" arising from belonging to and being a part of the community where they work. Adopting a decentralized, neighborhood-sensitive, organization gives attorneys a better understanding of their own work and its impact on the environment in which they are working. (McLanus, 1991:15)

Community policing has been noticed by city mayors, county executives, councilmen, and managers. They support and adopt the concept of community policing as a means for providing better and more effective police services, gaining timely information about the needs for services, and allocating resources more efficiently. Some, like the County Administrator in Santa Clara, CA have extended the concept to "community government". By actively supporting partnerships, they are better able to communicate with the community, improve working relationships and supplement their resources through voluntary services. To support this involvement, the International City and County Management Association (ICMA) has developed and produced training workshops and newsletters.

CONCLUSION

The focus of this assessment is community policing and its impact on the criminal justice system. Its complexity is due to a number of factors including: the variety of forms and philosophy that community policing take; the lack of a conceptual framework within which changes can be interpreted; the small-area focus of police activity which makes effectiveness more difficult to measure; and the fact that community policing effects may be confounded with other criminal justice activities thereby reducing our ability to link action and result. Nevertheless,

the importance of this assessment lies in its description of those effects and the identification of some important issues that should be considered by local officials.

CHAPTER 2. EVALUATION DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

PURPOSE

This study of the relationship between law enforcement agencies operating with a community policing strategy and the other parts of the criminal justice system was undertaken for three specific purposes, namely:

1. Identify the nature and type of the effects community policing places on prosecution and the rest of the criminal justice system;
2. Describe responses by prosecutors and other criminal justice agencies that may support or enhance the goals and mission of community policing; and,
3. Assess the implications of the findings with respect to changing roles and functions of criminal justice agencies and the courts, the need for additional research, and future directions in criminal justice.

The study was undertaken to help local governments, criminal justice agencies, and the courts understand the differences in the demands for service that are produced by community policing activities. It was also intended to help the criminal justice community discuss, develop and coordinate strategies that enhance community policing efforts.

SCOPE

One essential feature of the study was to include as many aspects and perspectives as could be found so as to increase the comprehensiveness of the findings. The study's scope included on-site evaluations of four jurisdictions and a verification of the initial findings by a survey of 158 police agencies that employed various types of community policing strategies. The four jurisdictions were selected to represent different combinations of community policing and prosecutorial involvement. In two jurisdictions, the prosecutors were proactive partners with the police; in another the prosecutor adopted a responsive, but supportive stance for community policing; and in the fourth site, the prosecutor's position was neutral with respect to community policing. The focus was on identifying agencies most likely to be affected, highlighting the critical factors and issues that need consideration to assure that these agencies can continue to support community policing, and providing insight into the future directions of these efforts.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purposes of our study were threefold. First, we wanted to identify the areas within the criminal justice system most likely to be affected by community policing activities. Second, we wished to describe the types of effects that were occurring in those areas. Finally, we wanted to determine if there were ways in which other parts of the criminal justice system and the government could enhance community policing efforts. Site assessments were used to gain knowledge about the dynamics of community policing employing widely differing implementations of the strategy. The key factors found in this investigation were used to design a survey instrument that would allow us gain some insight about the validity of our observations and the prevalence of the activities and effects observed at the four sites.

The study relied on information obtained from a review of the literature; the expertise of researchers and practitioners; on-site assessments and surveys. The project utilized experts in criminal justice programs and evaluations and representatives from the International Association of Law Enforcement Planners (IALEP) who were experienced in community policing programs and activities.

The jurisdictions and principal participants in the on-site assessments included:

El Paso County and Colorado Springs, CO. Chief *Lorne Kramer*, Colorado Springs Police Department; District Attorney *John Suthers*, El Paso County, CO;

Montgomery County, MD. Chief *Clarence Edwards*, Montgomery County Police Department, State's Attorney *Andrew Sonner*, Montgomery County, MD;

Multnomah County and Portland, OR. Chief *Charles Moose*, Portland Police Bureau; District Attorney *Michael Schrunk*, Multnomah County, OR;

Pima County and Tucson, AZ. Chief *Elaine Hedtke*, Tucson Police Department; and County Attorney *Steven Neely*, Pima County, AZ.

Multnomah County, OR has a pro-active partnership between the police and the prosecutor. The Portland Police Department was among the first in the U.S. to involve all employees in the implementation of community policing. It encountered traditional problems of police resistance and the need for training; but it is committed to a department-wide community policing effort. The District Attorney formed not only a partnership with the police department but developed his own community prosecution effort by assigning Deputy District Attorneys to neighborhoods.

The community policing program in *El Paso County, CO* operates in a supportive criminal justice environment. The Colorado Springs Police Department has embraced a department-wide

community policing philosophy, and provides flexible response capability to communities through the use of mobile vans in addition to decentralized policing. The prosecutor supports the police by responding to law enforcement needs especially those newly created by community policing efforts. The criminal justice system in Colorado Springs has a strong tradition of teamwork and mutual support.

Pima County, AZ operates more traditionally in a neutral criminal justice environment. The Tucson Police Department adopted community policing over 10 years ago. At the time of the assessment, it was in the process of conducting an internal review of the program to ensure its effectiveness. The County Attorney's Office is neutral in its response. The County Attorney does not believe that community policing has had an impact on prosecution. Therefore, he does not feel pressured to make changes in his operations or policy. Still the County Attorney is supportive of the philosophy and has expressed a willingness to change if needed.

Montgomery County, MD is an example of the ability of the prosecutor to create change within the criminal justice system. The Montgomery County State's Attorney decentralized his office and personalized service to encourage the police to follow his lead. In 1991, Community-Oriented Prosecution replaced a case specialization assignment system with a decentralized organization where prosecutors became generalists. The office further divided its attorneys into five teams coincident with the five police districts. The teams are working with their respective police districts to coordinate closer communication and contact with community groups.

Literature Review

A comprehensive literature review was undertaken to examine the findings and conclusions from other studies and research related to community policing. The results of the review were summarized in a working paper that was used to identify issues and areas for further exploration or explanation. An edited version of the background paper titled "Community Policing: A Model for Local Governments" was published in Dölling and Feltes (eds.) *Community Policing: Comparative Aspects of Community Oriented Police Work* (Gramckow and Jacoby 1993).

Workshop

Early in the project, a workshop brought together all the consultants with representatives from the police and prosecutors offices in the four sites selected for study. The purpose of the workshop was to gain an understanding of the community policing activities of the police and the policy of the prosecutor in each study site. More importantly, the workshop specified the issues that community policing activities present to the prosecutor and other criminal justice agencies.

The results of the workshop were used to produce a conceptual framework that identified the important areas where information was needed. Some of the topics discussed included: the anticipated impact of community policing on probation; whether increases in quality of life crimes would overwhelm the lower courts; and, alternative procedures for handling juvenile offenses, domestic violence and child sexual abuse. The questions and discussions were background for the on-site assessment and set the scope of the investigation.

Site Visits

The techniques of policy analysis, systems analysis and organizational analysis were applied to the appraisals. In-depth assessments were conducted at each of the four sites by a team of Jefferson Institute staff and consultants. Interviews were held with key decisionmakers in the local government, law enforcement agencies, prosecution, courts, public defender, pretrial release agencies, probation and the sheriff. In addition, meetings were held with representatives of the business community and citizen groups.

King County (Seattle) WA was added to the on-site visit schedule because it was close to Portland and had a progressive, proactive prosecutor (Norman Maleng) and court (Judge Harl Haas). Although this visit was brief, the information gathered enriched our formulation of the issues.

Survey of Community Policing Agencies

To test whether some of the initial findings from the comprehensive site visits were common to other jurisdictions, we conducted a telephone survey of law enforcement agencies (See Appendix A for the survey instrument). Finding an appropriate sampling frame was difficult. The purpose of the survey required that our universe be composed of law enforcement agencies active in community policing. Accordingly, the universe sampled was not that of all police departments.

Furthermore, there is no universally accepted definition of community policing, and no list that identifies all the jurisdictions claiming to be engaged in community policing. Unfortunately the most promising source, the forthcoming national assessment undertaken by the Police Foundation was not ready by the time this study was undertaken. Likewise, another survey studying community policing in over 600 police departments undertaken by Michigan State University was not available. Therefore, we created a sampling frame from three sources: jurisdictions that were (1) participants in the Third Annual East Coast Conference on Community Policing; (2) attendees at the National Institute of Justice's National Conference on Community

Policing; and, (3) jurisdictions known to be active in community policing through other published works and professional contacts.

The list included 177 police departments who were contacted during the fall of 1993 to determine whether they were actively involved in community policing and the status of its implementation. Of those, 89 percent or 158 agencies responded. The responding departments were located in 35 states and the District of Columbia. Police departments from MD, NC, PA and VA were over represented because of the east coast location of the conferences. Local police departments were the majority of the respondents (143 police departments and 15 sheriff's offices).

Even though we were looking for agencies that had longevity in community policing, the vast majority (117 or 82%) indicated that their department had been involved in community policing less than a year and 121 stated that they were either implementing community policing or currently modifying their activities. Based on our assumption that longevity increased the likelihood of observable outcomes or changes, the characteristics of these 121 departments were analyzed. An index reflecting the degree to which community policing was integrated throughout the department was created. This allowed us to classify departments for follow-up examination.

Integration index

The integration index was developed to identify those agencies with the most mature community policing programs. The index is based on the following assumptions. We assumed that the complexity and comprehensiveness of community policing could be represented on a continuum. The most complex forms existed when the philosophy, policy, management and operations were integrated throughout the entire department and linked to other criminal justice and local government agencies and the community. Less complex forms would be represented by departments that had established separate programs for community policing matters. Even less complex forms existed when departments designated special individuals as community policing officers.

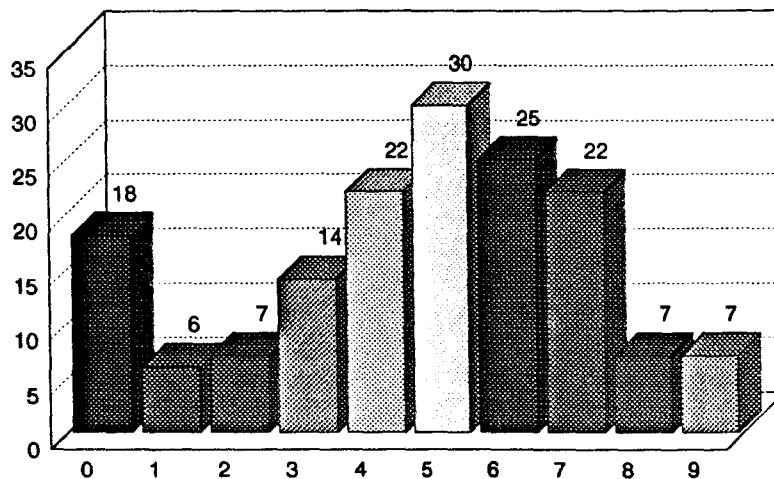
We also assumed that there were three types of changes that would broadly indicate the level of complexity or integration of community policing activity.

1. *Operational changes* exemplified by changes in the response priorities assigned to 911 calls, and changes in the methods of handling crime reports. If changes occurred in these areas, we assumed that the department was serious about changing operations in order to free up manpower and resources to increase the amount of time available for community policing.

2. *Management and organizational changes* indicated by the delegation of important decisions to lower level officers; decentralization of specialized detective bureaus; the assignment of crime analysis to work directly with patrol; changes in budgeting to support community policing needs. If these changes occurred, we assumed that community policing was being integrated throughout the department, and had a high probability of receiving adequate support.

3. *Personnel changes* demonstrated by changes in officer recruitment, training, performance evaluation and promotion criteria. If these changes occurred, we assumed that community policing had a high probability of institutionalization, i.e. surviving long after its present proponent (chief of police) had retired or resigned.

Figure 2.1
Distribution of Law Enforcement Agencies by Integration Index
based on 143 Respondents



The integration index was composed of 9 indicators that were assigned weights of 1 or 0 for being present or absent. The sum of the weights produced an unweighted index of integration of community policing for each department. We validated some of the indices based on our knowledge of the community policing activities in the sites we either had visited as part of our study, or had direct knowledge of through serious studies. They appear to accurately reflect the status of departments relative to other departments. For example, Colorado Springs, CO and

Portland, OR are at the top of the list, a ranking we would have expected based on our on-site assessment.

The indexes for the 143 police departments participating in the survey ranked from the highest level (9) to the lowest (0). Figure 2.1. shows the distribution of the departments by integration level. The distribution looks very good and appears to discriminate well among the jurisdictions. Therefore, it was used as the basis for the follow-up survey.

Follow up Survey for Community Policing Coordinating Procedures

Using the integration index, we selected the highest ranked 50 departments for a follow up survey. We hypothesized that these departments should have the most comprehensive and complex community policing programs. Therefore, the effects of community policing on other agencies should be most observable.

At this stage we were interested in obtaining more detailed descriptive and anecdotal information about the coordinating mechanisms established between police and other agencies and the responses, if any, by the other agencies. Each police agency was asked to supply the names and telephone numbers of persons in the agencies and the courts that the respondent had indicated as being supportive of community policing efforts. A copy of this survey instrument is in Appendix A.

The results of the follow-up agency contacts were compiled by agency and program area. For example, all descriptions of procedures and changes in juvenile justice were compiled under that heading. Similarly, activities undertaken by the city attorney were collected and compiled. For this report, the different sets of information were synthesized into more general descriptions of programs and procedures.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

Because of the complexity of this assessment and its varying levels of detail, the report has been organized into four parts.

Part I, just concluded, **presents the background to the study**, identifies the scope and areas of interest, and describes the methodology and the assumptions used. Its purpose is to provide the reader with sufficient background information to understand the goals and objectives of this study.

Part II defines community policing and describes in detail its operations in each of the four jurisdictions studied by the Jefferson Institute and the consultants. The purpose of this section is to show the dynamics of the interplay between police, the criminal justice system, and the community. This in-depth look illustrates the variation that can be found in the field, and sets the foundation for future explorations about the nature and type of changes that community policing creates.

Part III synthesizes the knowledge gained from the study and presents provisional findings and conclusions. It indicates the areas most affected by community policing, and those that deserve further study.

Appendix A contains a copy of the survey instrument.

Appendix B reports the ranking of the jurisdictions by their integration index.

PART II. COMMUNITY POLICING IN FOUR JURISDICTIONS

CHAPTER 3. COMMUNITY POLICING STYLES

Community policing has been described as a concept, an organizational structure, a strategy, a program or tactic, and a set of values and philosophy. Reiss (1992) identified two directions of contemporary police reform that have been defined as community policing. One, generally referred to as community or neighborhood-oriented policing assumes that closer police-community relationships are desirable and instrumental in providing a safer, more viable environment. This has translated into various forms of decentralized services, such as storefront operations and permanent beat assignments; into different police tactics, such as foot patrols; and into new structures, including crime watch and prevention programs that require the cooperation of the community.

The other direction is referred to as problem-oriented policing. This approach concentrates on identifying, analyzing and responding to community problems in a systematic and substantive way. These two approaches differ in their goals, but they are not mutually exclusive and may be used in combination by some departments. Community-oriented policing aims at increasing community involvement and satisfaction with police services while problem-oriented policing seeks to reduce targeted problems in the neighborhoods.

Both of these approaches are in sharp contrast to traditional policing. As Table 3.1 indicates there is a vast difference between an incident-driven police force that spends most of its time in a patrol car waiting to respond to calls for service and a patrol officer who is expected to leave the patrol car, become familiar with the citizens on his or her beat and identify and help solve their problems. The differences are not limited to the beat officer however, they permeate the department and the training academy. They are illustrated most notably by changes in measures of police officer performance. Instead of using the numbers of tickets issued, arrests made and reports written as criteria, performance is evaluated on the officer's ability to think critically, engage in problem-solving, and making the community feel secure. The more that power and authority is decentralized and delegated to middle management and the street officers, the less the department looks like it did in the "good old days". Perhaps the largest difference lies in the flexibility of operations and procedures mandated by an emphasis on tailoring services to small areas. No longer can there be one police response for the entire city; there has to be the flexibility and capacity to respond in a different ways.

Table 3.1
A CONTRAST BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND COMMUNITY POLICING STYLES*

Traditional Approach	Community-based Approach
1. Incident-driven, (Conservatively, 40% of officer's time is directed)	1. Effective use of non-directed patrol time
2. Random assignment to beats	2. Permanent assignment to beats
3. Officers closely supervised	3. Empower officers to make decisions in solving problems.
4. Performance evaluation based on state, tickets written, reports, arrests made, etc.	4. Performance evaluation based on problem-solving skills, reduction of fear in beat, etc.
5. Crime prevention initiatives	5. Beat officer required to perform crime prevention programs
6. Fear reduction, victim assistance: special unit - executive officers	6. Beat officer required to meet with citizens, provide information to reduce fear of crime.
7. Training: spend 90% of time teaching to do what they spend 25% of time doing during robbery, burglary, rape, homicide investig., terrorists, hot pursuits, negotiations, etc.	7. Increase Academy training in problem analysis, strategies to solve problems, conflict resolution, leadership skills, organizational skills, crime prevention techniques.
8. Community meeting attended by Chief Executive Officer or Crime Prevention Officer,	8. Officers assigned to beats attend community meetings to provide information, identify concerns of community.
9. Uniform policing approach city-wide.	9. Policing based on desire and concerns expressed by individual neighborhoods
10. Most time spent in (armored personnel carrier) police cruiser.	10. Non-directed time spent outside of police cruiser on foot patrol, introducing himself to citizens
11. Responds to recurring problems	11. Identifies recurring problems and seeks solutions

**Developed by A. Tony Fisher, Associate Director, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, 1994*

The definition of community policing adopted for our study focuses on the attributes of community policing that provide a basis for measurement and evaluation.

Community policing is a law enforcement concept and strategy that decentralizes the delivery of police services to small areas; provides stable patrol assignments to increase communication and cooperation between police and the community, assists in assessing problems and strengthening community defenses against crime; and, utilizes the resources of other agencies and programs in both the public and private sector to reduce and/or prevent crime.

This inclusive definition allows for a variety of approaches. Some departments will select all the aspects of the definition such as Colorado Springs and Portland; others will choose to adopt only the concept and philosophy without making significant changes to traditional operations. Since the purpose of this study is to identify the effects of the various forms of community policing on the criminal justice system, the jurisdictions described in the following four chapters were deliberately selected to reflect variations in styles.

The following chapters are not evaluations of community policing efforts. Rather they are descriptions of the dynamics and effects of community policing on the prosecutor, courts and other criminal justice agencies. Only a brief description of the type of community policing effort is provided; just enough to provide a background to effects on other agencies and the courts. Attention is given only to those aspects that have demonstrated some capacity to affect others.

CHAPTER 4. COMMUNITY POLICING AND ITS IMPACT IN COLORADO SPRINGS, CO.

BACKGROUND

Colorado Springs is located in the center of Colorado, in El Paso County. The city spans an area of 103 square miles and is home to 310,000 people. While the overall trend is toward an aging population, the juvenile population, age 10-17 years is expected to increase by 70 percent between 1991 and 1998. This is in contrast to a total population increase of 17 percent.

The metropolitan area is home to three universities and seven colleges including the Air Force Academy. It is served by a municipal airport and two railroads. Because the military and defense industries compose about 50-60 percent of its economic base, El Paso County is sensitive to Federal government actions. Military base closures and/or reductions in their activities would adversely affect associated industries, tax revenues and employment. The result would not only limit the budget of the police department, but also diminish the quality of life in Colorado Springs. Presently, Colorado Springs is experiencing a modest economic recovery due largely to an increase in a number of transplanted corporate headquarters. An economic growth rate of 1-2 percent is expected during the next two years.

Colorado Springs typically has lower crime rates than other cities its size. During the past ten years, the index (serious) crime rate has remained fairly constant. In 1992, the rate was 69 index crimes per 1,000 people; in 1991 it was 74. It is predicted that serious crime will increase at a moderate rate, about 2.5 percent per year for the next five years. The considerable growth of the juvenile population has increased the number and proportion of juveniles arrested for violent crime. The high concentration of military personnel provides the criminal justice system with some positive aspects in terms of enforcement support, but also accounts for some special problems due to the frequent relocation of military personnel and all of the problems that are associated with a large population of young males and young families.

El Paso County is generally conservative, but supportive of its criminal justice system. The community is especially concerned about the increasing number of juvenile offenders. In 1991, the proportion of juvenile arrests for violent crimes increased from 15 percent to 25 percent of total violent crime arrests. Meanwhile, the total number of juveniles arrested for violent crimes increased by 17 percent.

THE COLORADO SPRINGS POLICE DEPARTMENT

The Colorado Springs Police Department (CSPD) and the El Paso County Sheriff's Office are the largest law enforcement agencies in the Fourth Judicial District. The El Paso County Sheriff's Office serves the unincorporated area of the county, that is 2,169 square miles with a population of 90,000-110,000. Although the office does not actively provide service to Colorado Springs, the deputies are empowered to enforce the laws anywhere in the county. The Colorado Springs Police Department patrols 185 square miles which are divided into three districts: Gold Hill, Sand Creek, and Falcon. Of the three divisions, two have substations. The divisions are partitioned into zones, which are subdivided into sectors.

CSPD employs 670 persons (476 sworn, 194 civilian). The ratio of sworn personnel to citizens in 1993 remains unchanged from the ratio in 1950: about 1.5 sworn officers for every one thousand people. Volunteers are used extensively to assist in the various functions of the department. There are sixty unpaid reserve officers who handle traffic control, take cold reports, cover calls, and perform other miscellaneous duties. The presence of these volunteers helps increase the availability of patrol officers for responding to calls.

In 1991, the Department received approximately 750,000 calls for service and dispatched an officer to approximately 160,000-170,000. The Department's emphasis on community policing has reduced calls for service by two percent. The 911 system is being retooled in order to increase the Department's efficiency. In 1991, CSPD made 5,289 arrests; 3,105 were adults, and 2,184 were juveniles.

COMMUNITY POLICING IN COLORADO SPRINGS POLICE DEPARTMENT

"As both a philosophy and an organizational strategy, problem-oriented policing gets right to the heart of our jobs: effective public service. It allows the police and residents to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, fear of crime, social disorder, and neighborhood decay."

Chief Lorne Kramer, Colorado Springs Police Department

Five years ago, former *Chief James D. Munger* introduced the philosophy of community policing to the Department. Briefings on this new way to combat crime began in the fall of 1987. Initially, community policing involved mobile command posts which had five officers serving as foot patrol. In 1990, *Chief Lorne C. Kramer* redefined the concept from being beat-oriented into a

department-wide endeavor. CSPD also decided to implement a problem-oriented policing theory developed by Herman Goldstein in his book, *Problem-Oriented Policing* (1990). The focus of this technique is problem identification by officers working in the neighborhood. In the fall of 1991, members of the Colorado Springs Police Department attended conferences on Problem Oriented Policing.

On July 14, 1992, Mazatlan Circle, a low-income residential area in the Sand Creek Division, became the test site for problem-oriented, community policing. The high number of calls for service, the fear of crime among citizens, and the high level of criminal activity made Mazatlan Circle a prime location to test this new approach. In the Mazatlan Circle pilot project, several strategies contributed to the effective reduction of crime. Trees and shrubs were planted by Mazatlan Circle residents and city officials to improve the environment. The Sand Creek Crime Prevention Officer provided training and assistance to the Mazatlan Circle Owners/Property Managers Association in screening tenants, evicting problem tenants, identifying criminal activity, and problem-solving. *Directed Activity*, an approach in which police target specific crimes such as drug dealing, loitering, or gang activity, was also used. A newly-designed micro-computer database provided analysis capability and identified problem locations.

This experiment yielded remarkable results. Calls for service were charted from January through May for 1992 and 1993. A comparison showed a 17 percent reduction in calls for service. After a careful review of the successes achieved in Sand Creek, management moved towards implementation of a department-wide problem-oriented policing strategy.

In May 1993, a series of sixteen hour training sessions for all employees were completed. The CP/POP training was redesigned and integrated into all classes taught at the academy. Further, CSPD required trainees to gain hands-on experience with community policing by working on small problems in the field.

Community policing is the overall policing philosophy that guides the whole department. Problem-oriented policing translates this approach into practice. To achieve a standard community policing/problem-oriented policing approach, all officers are trained in the SARA model (*Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment*). SARA is a four step decisionmaking model which helps officers identify problems and select solutions.

Scanning is the process of identifying areas vulnerable to crime. This may be accomplished by observing the environment or local activity, or by talking with residents and

other officers. For example, a crime watch group may alert an officer to a potential problem by identifying a new crack house.

Analysis is the process of examining problems to learn about the actors, incidents, and any previously unsuccessful approaches. To accurately formulate effective responses, analysis needs to be thorough, creative, and innovative. Traditional policing typically omits the analysis step by moving directly from scanning to response.

The *response* phase follows careful analysis. Officers develop goals that can be achieved by the individualized responses. The chosen response may not necessarily eliminate the problem; it may be designed for mitigation. In other instances, the action may be simply to refer the problem to another agency more suited to deal with it.

Assessment is the process of determining program or response effectiveness. Officers must consider both the negative and positive outcomes of their work. If the response was a failure, more analysis may be necessary to find a more appropriate action. An evaluation may also reveal a solution that will eliminate or reduce the problem. These effects can be observed in reduced calls for service, satisfied residents, and/or a difference in the number of complaints. Officers are given recognition for their accomplishments. Other officers are encouraged to apply similar responses to problems identified in their area.

As a supplement to the SARA model, CSPD encourages officers to "Park, Walk, and Talk". They are encouraged to abandon the isolation of their vehicles and interact with the public. According to the Patrol Bureau's Standard Operating Procedures, it is important that officers regularly park their cars during uncommitted time, get out, and make a conscious effort to become acquainted with members of their community. The implementation of this practice obviously varies according to the particular shift and area involved.

Although problem-oriented community policing is the guiding philosophy, CSPD recognizes that its primary mission is to respond to emergency calls. In October 1993, CSPD took over the management of an enhanced 911 communications system from the county government. A call screening program was designed to redirect those calls not needing a police response. CSPD also installed a voice mail system for all officers, so that the public could directly access officers without contacting 911. A program to educate the public to call 911 only for emergencies is also underway. CSPD believes that decreasing the public's dependence on 911 will increase the time

police officers have for patrol, problem-solving, and handling the calls that consume police resources.

CSPD has targeted four areas that consume resources: domestic violence, illegal gun use, false alarms, and trouble-prone businesses. Specific responses have been developed to attack each of these problems. For domestic violence, protocols mandate arrest. Illegal gun use may result in mandatory jail for a misdemeanor gun charge and the court increased bond for these cases. Routine background checks are used to increase the level of the charges. Rewards are paid for anonymous tips.

False alarms were particularly troublesome. CSPD was receiving about 18,000 burglary alarms annually of which 97.6 percent were false. Wasted response time translated into 280 man days per year. The most frequent twenty-five false alarm addresses were identified, analyzed, and responses were developed. CSPD was able to reduce seventeen of them by meeting with the property owners. An analysis of geo-based information indicated that high schools had the highest incidence of calls. After meeting with school officials, a committee was formed, and the false alarms were reduced 44 percent. Problem businesses were also identified by address; e.g. one bar generated ninety calls in three months. Various strategies were developed to control the problems. An effective one for the bars was the threat of losing a liquor license.

The experience of Colorado Springs has shown that changing policing style and culture takes time. After nearly five years of community policing and three years of problem-oriented policing, Chief Kramer anticipates another two years are needed to align the rest of the department. A five year strategic plan was published by CSPD which outlines the long-range goals and the resources that will be used to achieve them in terms of staffing, organization, and technology.

Organization of the Department

The implementation of a problem oriented community policing effort had a direct impact on the organization of CSPD and its administrative, planning, and operational functions. The supervisors of community policing operations are the Master Patrol Officers (MPO). The rank of MPO was introduced several years ago and has been redefined to support community policing. MPOs are now selected for their community policing skills. Approximately three MPOs are assigned to each shift. They work as facilitators and role models, taking on projects that are generally larger and require more long term attention than can be given by patrol. Additionally, MPOs identify smaller projects for trainees to work on and are responsible for developing quarterly reports on targeted problems, specifying outcomes, and linking them with other

performance data, such as calls for services. Although MPOs respond to calls for service, about forty percent of their time is available for problem solving.

Patrol officers are encouraged to target problems and create solutions in cooperation with the citizens and other agencies. To avoid loss of information and contacts when officers are rotated out of an area, new officers work for some weeks along with their predecessors to become familiar with their new neighborhoods.

Investigators are partially decentralized. The Sand Creek Patrol Investigations Unit handles burglaries, robberies and other property crime occurring in their division. The unit has five detectives that formed a Problem Solving Committee. They use the geo-coded database for crime locations and targeting. Other detectives work out of headquarters, but they are expected to support the patrol function.

In August 1993, the Neighborhood Policing Unit (NPU) was decentralized and located in each of the three divisions. NPUs work out of trailers and are used to stabilize neighborhoods and make them ready for community policing efforts. Each division has seven officers and one sergeant, including one DARE officer. Officers are generally selected for their motivation and interactive skills. They focus on all dead end reports, and contact citizens for further information. Experience has shown that this approach serves as a means of introducing police work to the citizens.

CSPD has created a special Citizens Complaint Unit to handle traffic and other less serious violations such as abandoned cars. Another specially designated unit is the Community Crime Prevention Unit. It works closely with the over five hundred neighborhood watches in Colorado Springs. The Unit supports community policing mainly by educating the public in security issues, e.g. preventing gun thefts. Additionally, each division has a Community Advisory Group that identifies larger issues of concern.

The Department has integrated its administrative and management functions into the community policing effort. Planning, research and development along with crime analysis have all been changed to focus on community policing and its implementation. An annual planning cycle defines the vision for the next five years and identifies current and future issues. Citizens, council members, and CSPD employees are interviewed as part of the planning process. A planning committee consisting of the Deputy Chief, three bureau heads, a budget person, a

strategic planner, and a futurist was created. The department is currently working to alter its mission statement, making it more reflective of problem-oriented policing.

The Research and Development Department, consisting of two police officers and a senior analyst, is presently studying the degree to which the Department can decrease reliance on 911. R&D also evaluates reductions in crime and tracks citizen satisfaction.

Perhaps one of the most important management tools is the automated, geo-based crime information system which has the ability to identify calls for service by type and address. Microsoft Access software analyzes offenses, arrests, and calls for service information and profiles them by site, behavior, or person. Based on this information, chronic calls for service can be identified and their causes examined. A system of documentation and accountability has been developed that facilitates tracking problem-oriented policing projects from initial assignment through termination. The automated database derived from existing CAD files aids officers in the scanning and analysis phases of SARA. Each division has a crime analyst to assist with problem identification.

Coordination with other Criminal Justice Agencies and the Public

CSPD held a Problem Oriented Policing (POP) workshop for all criminal justice and city agency department heads to introduce them to community policing and to explain the need for cooperation. It is still difficult to gain full cooperation because many problems are still seen as *police problems*. However, other agencies are receptive to community policing efforts and are willing to become part of the solution. In order to conserve resources, activities that are time-consuming or generate additional work load for the department and/or other agencies are identified and *ad-hoc* groups are created to address the specific issues.

An integral aspect of community policing is the formation of a partnership between the CSPD and the community. To encourage community participation, CSPD appoints a Citizens Advisory Committee for each district. Citizens are generally chosen from other organizations such as block watches. The committee members attend seminars conducted at the training academy one night a week for two months. The Sand Creek Committee consists of twenty-five members that meet four times a year. The citizens appear to have a high regard for CSPD and appear to trust the police administration. The committee has direct access to the District Commander.

Many individual officers have worked with citizens in their sectors to clean up graffiti on fences and buildings. Donated materials from building supply stores have made the job easier. On their

personal time, officers have enlisted the aid of local residents, and have organized group efforts at increasing neighborhood pride. Other partnerships include those with Operation Senior Beat, Adopt-A-Cop, Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), and Drug-Free School Zones Program.

CSPD has also developed a Neighborhood Survey Form to be distributed during the officer's Park, Walk, and Talk time. The survey collects information from the community about their fears, their knowledge of criminal activity, and their input on solutions. In the third annual Citizen Satisfaction Survey, 87 percent of the residents reported overall satisfaction with the way officers handled their calls for service, and approximately 80 percent indicated satisfaction with the Department in general.

The Mazatlan Project exemplifies the team spirit of community policing. Both public and private agencies participated in reducing crime activity. The list of the organizations that contributed to the improvement of the area's environment includes: The Police Department, the Utilities Department, the Parks and Recreation Department, the Fire Department, the Mazatlan Circle Owners Association, the Partnership for Community Design, Green Springs Project, the *Gazette Telegraph* newspaper, and the television station KOAA. All of them aided in the landscaping efforts, the reduction of crime, and media exposure of the pilot plan.

COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

The effect of community policing on the criminal justice system varies. The underlying government philosophy in Colorado Springs is public service and team work. Each part of the criminal justice system, in one way or another, commits to this tradition. As a result, community policing exists within an environment that is generally supportive and cooperative. The city has more funds than the county so county agencies have historically relied on the city for help. Both the city and state receive funds from gambling; the county only has revenues from property taxes.

Interviews with the various agencies and courts in Colorado Springs confirmed that cooperation and coordination are very high. This was especially true for the District Attorney's office and the office of the City Attorney. Both law offices helped each other and the police as needed. The following sections describe in more detail areas how community policing affected other parts of the criminal justice system in Colorado Springs.

The 4th Judicial District consists of El Paso and Teller Counties and serves 420,000 residents or 13 percent of the state's population. The District Attorney's office has jurisdiction over felonies and misdemeanors, and child support enforcement. When the city and state have concurrent jurisdiction, the police decide where to refer the case -- either to the District Attorney or the City Attorney.

The office, headed by District Attorney *John W. Suthers*, is staffed by 145 employees of which 42 are attorneys. The criminal division consists of 29 lawyers with a support staff of 38. Three attorneys handle child support enforcement, and one handles asset forfeiture. The office files approximately 3,500 felony and 6,000 misdemeanor cases per year. The District Attorney maintains a branch office in Teller County that is staffed with one Deputy District Attorney (DDA) and one secretary.

There has been little change in the total number of cases filed by the Colorado Springs Police Department as they implemented community policing. The major changes occurred in strengthening communication between the DDAs and the officers in the charging process. The District Attorney's office emphasizes case screening. Unless a case is to be assigned for vertical prosecution (where they are filed directly by the attorney's responsible for them), they are reviewed by two filing attorneys who travel to the CSPD divisions and other law enforcement agencies. This procedure was introduced in response to the decentralization of police activities created by the introduction of community policing. Its purpose was to assure that the 10 day deadline for filing was met. To keep to this deadline, officers bring discovery information with them.

The office uses both team and vertical prosecution as its assignment mode. Ten court rooms in County Court are covered by three attorney teams, which consist of four attorneys and one team leader. Most felonies are charged by a bill of information. (The grand jury is seldom used). Preliminary hearings are usually waived or are very brief. After filing, motion and trial dates are set. There is little court delay. The average time to trial for a felony is four months. In 1992, ninety-two jury trials were conducted. This is a low figure; historically, the annual average is about 110 to 120 trials.

The District Attorney's office has a long history of implementing progressive programs and offers a comprehensive range of programs and services. The major units within the office are the juvenile prosecution section, economic crime division, victim-witness division, neighborhood justice center, child support division, juvenile diversion program, adult diversion programs, and

community service. In 1989, the District Attorney instituted a Crimes Against Children Unit. The purpose of the unit was to develop expertise in the prosecution of crimes against children and to achieve greater consistency in the handling of these cases through vertical prosecution. The policies and procedures in the office provide a fertile environment for extending community policing goals into other parts of the adjudication process.

Impact of community policing.

The District Attorney is a strong supporter of the community policing effort. The office works closely with the police and other government agencies to develop strategies for solving problems. For example, when drug use and trafficking began to develop around the high school, the prosecutor and the police worked out alternative responses with school officials, such as making undercover arrests and using drug free school zone statutes for prosecution. When problems occurred with evicted persons trying to return to the same apartment complexes, the prosecutor and police met with apartment managers to develop procedures that would identify and prevent individuals from renting an apartment. The Deputy District Attorney (DDA) advises the apartment managers about legal issues, and provides police officers with advice about search and seizure. Additionally, the District Attorney's office has education programs for school children that explain the narcotics laws and the consequences of violating them. Using the Victims Rights Act, the DA notifies victims of all court dates where the victim has a right to be heard so that they can help, e.g. by opposing continuances. The District Attorney also uses his elected position to bring about change through coordinated community and criminal justice system efforts. A recent example of the results of this proactive posture was the creation of a child advocacy center.

The supportive role adopted by the office has affected prosecutorial policy and procedures. In order for the prosecutor to respond to problems identified by community policing activities they need to be flexible and innovative. However, budget restrictions have cut deeply into the prosecutor's ability to be proactive and to justify full-time intervention activities. As a less costly alternative, the office responds to problems identified by the CSPD and allocates its resources in a coordinated fashion.

The Juvenile Prosecution Section is most directly affected by the community policing effort. This section is manned by four lawyers and a support staff of four. In 1992, area police agencies referred almost 3,000 juvenile matters to the section. Of those, 1,282 resulted in formal petitions filed in Juvenile Court, 752 were referred to the juvenile diversion program, and 164 were referred to the neighborhood justice center for mediation. Sixteen juveniles were filed on or

transferred to adult court in 1992. (Status offenses are not handled by the prosecutor.) Most juvenile offenses involved property crimes. Less than five percent of the caseload consists of violent crimes, such as sexual assaults and attempted murder although prosecutors must give priority to these more serious cases.

The typical sentence for juveniles is probation, lasting six months to two years. Probation Department presentence investigations typically take about eight weeks to complete. They may be fined up to \$300 or placed in the Department of Institutions (DOI) for a maximum of two years. Aggravated juvenile offenders can receive up to five years. However, those sentenced to two years in detention usually serve no longer than three or four months. The District Attorney may ask for a mandatory sentence which may result in the defendant being placed in a community center instead of on parole.

About 950 or three quarters of the cases are first time offenders. Most are referred to the DA's *Juvenile Diversion Program* which is a one year program providing individual and family counseling to juveniles and parents. Juveniles also participate in various types of educational groups, employment services, and prison programs. Community service and restitution is also part of the program. A large proportion of the juveniles (85 to 90 percent) are never seen again by the juvenile justice system.

The implementation of community policing has also uncovered some of the deficiencies in the juvenile justice system and sparked changes. In the past, first appearances sometimes occurred as much as six months after the incident due to delays in receiving police reports. With the District Attorney's support, report-writing procedures were revised. Now, first appearances are set thirty days from the incident. The system was also fragmented. In the past, there was no mechanism to integrate systemwide activities and procedures. Now, a Juvenile Task Force has been created to study and deal with these issues. The task force includes representatives from the District Attorney's office, the police and the schools.

Mediation is provided through the Neighborhood Justice Center (NJC) located in the District Attorney's office. Partially funded by the city and the county, it provides an alternative to formal court proceedings through mediation. NJC is staffed by two full-time personnel and eighteen volunteer mediators. Mediators receive basic training and then act as interns to gain hands-on experience.

NJC accepts both juvenile and adult referrals from the prosecutor, the city and the county courts, the housing authority and, less frequently, the police. Rarely do citizens come to the Center directly. For domestic cases, mediation is mandatory. Referrals may be either pre-arrest or post-arrest cases. For pre-arrest interventions, typical NJC cases involve the housing authority, landlord-tenant matters, and complaints such as noise or barking dogs. Post-arrest cases are reviewed by the DDA. The parties are asked if they want to try mediation. Only a small percent refuse the offer to mediate. If the case is weak and cannot be resolved satisfactorily (it is not a provable offense, or the defendant is a transient, or a plea has been negotiated), the DDA will usually dismiss the charges.

About 90 percent of NJC cases are misdemeanors; although some minor felonies are heard especially if it appears that the victim would obtain better results from mediation than from criminal court. For example, an elderly man regularly bought fruit from a woman's farm stand. On several occasions, he was drunk and grabbed the woman's breasts. Mediation resulted in a compensation payment to the woman, and alcohol treatment for the offender.

Community policing brings more attention to domestic violence. Within this highly discretionary area, it was important to develop techniques that provided guidance for arrests and prosecution. In Colorado Springs, protocols were developed cooperatively by the police and prosecutor with the knowledge of the courts. The protocols set out the procedures to be followed which included arrests, the use of telephonic restraining orders, and the establishment of a diversion program. The diversion program is for adult, first time misdemeanor offenders in domestic violence cases. All summons or complaints filed by the police are screened by the DDA. Those meeting the criteria, receive a letter describing the program.

The targeting of domestic violence offenses and the implementation of the domestic violence protocols increased the workload of the prosecutors. By June, 1993 the same number of domestic violence trials had occurred in County Court as had taken place during the entire previous year. The increase in subpoena activity alone required hiring an additional staff person and legal interns.

The *Sexual Assault on Children Unit* consists of one DDA who works with six detectives from the CSPD child abuse unit and prosecutes cases accepted. Referrals to the unit are initiated by schools, friends, parents, and a child abuse hot-line. Paramedics are often the source of cases involving serious bodily injury. The DDA trains rookie police officers about the signs of sexual

assault and methods of dealing with the problem. CSPD uses its Youth Service Officers to teach school children about the characteristics of sexual assault and what to do if it occurs.

One strategy adopted by CSPD targets special areas where there are extensive open air drug markets and concentrates police, prosecutor and the metropolitan narcotics task force resources on them. In the Matzalan Circle area, police and prosecutors worked with apartment managers to identify drug dealers. The DDA provided legal advice to apartment managers to support evictions. All parties worked together to strengthen case evidence. Narcotics officers moved into apartments to sell drugs undercover while patrol saturated the area for maximum visibility. The operation began in the summer and ended in the fall. Coupled with the implementation of drug free school zone statutes, one operation was sufficient.

The District Attorney's *Economic Crime Unit* was formed twenty years ago to investigate embezzlement, white collar crime, welfare fraud, and check fraud. The unit consists of three attorneys, two Colorado Springs police officers, four D.A. investigators, two clerk typists, and one administrative assistant. Approximately one hundred written complaints are received each month and approximately eighty to one hundred cases are filed per year. Theft from the elderly is the most prevalent type of case, along with gambling cases from Cripple Creek. Most cases are investigated and resolved by restitution. Only one or two cases go to trial each year. The unit has a close relationship with the Neighborhood Justice Center because it refers a large number of cases, mostly landlord-tenant, to them for mediation. The unit also has extensive community outreach activities, such as radio, television, school talks, and free literature. However, these activities tend to be conducted independent of community policing and other prosecutorial activities.

Office of the City Attorney

The City Attorney's Office has jurisdiction over municipal prosecutions, litigation, corporate matters, and utilities. The City Attorney has six full-time attorneys and one part-time attorney. The office works in partnership with the District Attorney's Office and enjoys a good relationship with the rest of the criminal justice system. The City Attorney views his office as part of the team working to provide for a safe community. This team approach is especially visible when the City Attorney's office responds to community pressures by accepting some of the cases that the District Attorney is unable to handle. As community policing has expanded, the importance and the workload of this office has increased especially in the areas of juveniles, weapons, drug-free zones and fights.

Courts

The court system consists of the Court of Appeals, the District Court which is the court of general jurisdiction for the counties of Teller and El Paso, the County Court which is a court of limited jurisdiction, and City Court for the City of Colorado Springs. The courts have been affected by large increases in filings for restraining orders and misdemeanors (up 13.5%). Especially notable are cases involving domestic violence, traffic violations, and teenage drinking. Because these are areas to which police give priority, it is very likely that the increases are the direct result of their work.

Generally, the courts are unaffected by community policing efforts. With one exception, it does not appear that they are routinely notified in advance about changes in police strategy; nor are they actively involved in community policing activities. The exception was the development of the domestic violence protocols that required duty judges to approve telephonic emergency protection orders at night. It appears that the impact of community policing on the courts varies by their distance from jurisdiction over quality of life crimes and misdemeanors. The city and county courts are more directly affected than the felony district court.

The City Court handles about 45,000 cases annually, a number that is increasing about two percent a year. About 15,000 are criminal cases and 4,500 are traffic cases. Juvenile cases comprise about twenty-five percent of the criminal caseload. The Municipal Court believes in speedy justice. Cases typically take twenty one days from arrest to arraignment and another twenty one to trial. The most frequent sentences imposed are fines and/or community service.

The court works closely with the Neighborhood Justice Center referring many cases (including juveniles) to mediation. The alternative provided by NJC is supported by the judges who claim that it is a credible way to solve a problem and is more advantageous to both sides than a lengthy and costly court process.

The court administrator of the Municipal Court has not observed any change in the volume of cases that can be directly attributed to community policing. However, the new domestic violence protocol has moved many cases into County Court, thereby decreasing the Municipal Court's caseload. Both judges and the court administrator perceived a change in the quality of testimony. Because of community policing, the officers are more familiar with cases and the situations that precipitated the event.

One reason why the courts have been supportive of the community policing effort is that judges are part-time. They have law practices and families in the area and, as a result, are familiar with issues currently of interest to the community. The judges meet twice a month and have open communication with the police. For example, CSPD targeted the problem of too many people carrying guns in the city. Traditionally, only summons were issued for carrying a concealed weapon. The city attorney, the city court, and the sheriff agreed that summons would no longer be issued. Instead, offenders would be arrested, booked, and the court would increase the bond to a maximum of \$350. While the channels of communication between police and the City Court judges and administrator have generally been open, this does not consistently extend to directed activities.

The County Court is a court of record. It has jurisdiction over misdemeanors and civil cases up to \$10,000. The Court encompasses two counties (El Paso and Teller). There are eleven felony judges in the County Court headed by a chief judge with no administrative power. Seven and a half magistrates handle juvenile and domestic matters. The caseload is the highest in the state, and the court has experienced substantial increases in its juvenile, misdemeanor and traffic caseload. County Court is understaffed and as a result, it takes five months for misdemeanor and traffic trials which is just under the six month speedy trial limit. Much of this increase is attributed by the courts to the implementation of community policing.

To solve some of the problems associated with domestic matters and juveniles and to provide for an earlier intervention in family situations, a *Family Court* was newly created within the County Court by shifting resources from the civil division. One magistrate and 3 judges handle domestic matters; 2 magistrates and 2 judges handle juvenile matters. This unified court handles all juvenile, juvenile probation, domestic violence and neglect cases. It is expected to handle approximately 9,000 cases per year. The City Court has an important relationship with the Family Court because so much of the Family Court's work surfaces in City Court. Complaints about barking dogs and loud noises, which often indicate the existence of other problems, may ultimately make their way to County Court.

The courts are "planning for change". They would like to become more accessible to the public and use kiosks to decentralize services. They envision a kiosk system where people could pay fines and perform other paperwork functions. In the long run, they would like to take some of the court functions out into the community, e.g. probation, possibly traffic, and small claims. They are finishing the development of an automated accounts receivable system and envisions using ATM machines similar to the system operating in Scottsdale, AZ.

The District Court has jurisdiction over felony cases, civil matters, and appeals. Twelve judges staff the District Court which is funded by the state with the localities providing the buildings, power, and other overhead expenses. The judges are selected on merit and then are voted on a yes/no type ballot by the citizens. Turnover among the judges is fairly rapid due to the stressful work at relatively low pay. Generally speaking, this is a "high filer" jurisdiction. The same number of criminal cases are filed in the Colorado Springs District Court as in Denver.

Community policing has had little impact on the District Court except possibly by producing better prepared cases. Since the District Court handles the more serious felonies, and not the quality of life crimes found in the lower court, the traditional ways of processing cases is unchanged from the days before community policing.

Office of the Public Defender

The Office of the Public Defender is a state agency. The State's Public Defender (PD) is appointed by the governor. The Chief Public Defender appoints those in charge of individual jurisdictional districts. The Public Defender's office works within an open file environment. At filing, the arresting police officer (APO) brings a discovery copy for the public defender. Discovery contains a list of defendants, police reports, and a witness list. When discovery is completed, the PD is called and notified of its availability. The witness endorsement list turns into good faith list for trial.

If community policing has had any impact on the public defender's office it is indirect and small. There may be more comprehensive and complete discovery since the officers tend to have a better knowledge of the event. However, since those cases are primarily misdemeanors and ordinance violations, they do not constitute a large portion of the public defender's caseload.

Probation

The Probation Department operates within the court system. The department is under staffed with the case load between 150 to 300 for each probation officer. The department is not involved in the community policing effort and has not observed any changes in its operations that could be attributed to community policing.

CHAPTER 5. COMMUNITY POLICING AND ITS IMPACT IN PORTLAND, OREGON

BACKGROUND

Located in the pacific northwest, Portland, Oregon is the county seat of Multnomah County. The city has a population of about 450,000, covering an area of 103 square miles. Multnomah County has a population of about 700,000. The unemployment rate in Portland was 5.1 percent in 1990 with a per capita income of \$16,837.

The number of Part I crimes has increased by 3 percent since 1987 to a total of 51,262 in 1991. Drug crimes are a major crime problem in Portland and the surrounding areas of Multnomah County. According to recent surveys, ten percent of Oregon's eighth graders have used cocaine and amphetamines and 23 percent of eleventh graders have used cocaine. Only marginally lower than at its peak in 1989, the number of adult arrests for drug offenses was 4,333 in 1992. The number of juveniles arrested for drugs (255) was its highest since 1986. It is estimated that about 1,000 drug houses exist within the metropolitan area. Of the incarcerated offenders, 73 percent are drug users. Drug-related prosecutions increased by more than 100 percent in 1986. However, the percentage of arrestees who tested positive for drugs is down from 76 percent in 1987 to 64 percent in 1992 for adults and from 27 percent to 12 percent for juveniles.

The Portland Police Bureau (PPB) has jurisdiction over all criminal offenses within the city limits. The total number of calls for services declined between 1987 to 1991 from 281,460 to 277,339 while the Priority I calls¹ were reduced from 6,540 to 4,877. The total number of arrests in 1991 was 34,055, including 6,822 juveniles.

PPB has a total staff of 1,100 including 957 sworn officers. The department is divided into five organizational units: Operations Branch, Investigative Branch, Family Services Branch, the Management Services Division and the Community Policing Division. For policing purposes the city is divided into 3 precincts: North, East, and Central.

COMMUNITY POLICING IN PORTLAND

In 1993, the Portland Police Bureau began its fourth year of a five-year transition to community policing and was in the process of developing a new five year plan. The transition plan sets forth the goals and objectives for this endeavor. As with most efforts to change an organization's culture, the initiative was initially top-down. Chief *Tom Potter* was a long time champion of

¹Priority 1 is assigned to an incident when a life is, or may be, in danger

community policing. After his retirement, the transition of the community policing was continued by the new chief, *Charles Moose*. He supported the concept that all members of the department will ultimately become community police officers. The Bureau believes that the foundation of community policing is working in partnership with the community to resolve quality of life issues and has given that the highest priority.

Community policing in Portland is outcome-focused. It measures its success by the ultimate outcome of its various programs and projects. PPB is trying to expand the vision of officers on the street. What are the problems of the community that lead to criminality and loss of quality of life? What solutions might work and how can the law enforcement apparatus help facilitate these solutions? These are not questions traditionally asked of police officers. Community policing in Portland is structured so that those above the rank of patrol officer have as their principle responsibility support for these front line officers. The result is to make the community police officer the most important person in the hierarchy of the bureau. This requires more flexibility in procedure and decision-making to be able to respond to different problems in the various neighborhoods. Officers are encouraged to use problem-solving strategies. At the end of the first five years of the implementation, a problem-solving guide will be available for use by the community. Crime prevention will be integrated throughout all levels including all city bureaus and neighborhoods.

Portland has some 98 historically, identifiable neighborhoods, each of which varies in demography, ethnic diversity, and severity of criminal activity. For police, these differences raise the questions of how to prioritize the needs of the various communities, and how to allocate limited resources to respond to them. Part of the solution is to reduce neighborhood reliance on a 911-driven system and to increase the authority of the beat officer to direct resources. Since neighborhoods need to play a role in deciding how resources are allocated, PPB is redefining its patrol districts to conform to neighborhoods, and has currently assigned some 200 officers to neighborhood duty. It has also developed a new radio system to improve communication with the patrol officers.

Planning and Management

The initial planning phase identified three strategic components that guide the five year implementation period called the three "R's". They include Rebuilding, Refining, and Retooling the organization. During the first year, 90 percent (54) of the 60 new police officer positions provided by Operation Jumpstart were assigned to the precincts (this increased patrol resources by 20 percent). To maximize operational efficiency during the first year, PPB conducted several

evaluations, including performance audits of various Bureau operations and functions. A productivity/workload analysis resulted in recommendations for five major policy areas -- calls-for-service referral, false alarms, organizational changes, efficiency, and budget. While rebuilding and refining the organization, PPB began to lay the foundation for a department-wide approach to community policing. Their vision encompasses a total transformation of the organizations culture to one focused on customer service.

The goals of community policing in Portland are to:

- ❖ Develop a working partnership with the community, the city council, other service agencies, the criminal justice system, and private/business organizations.

- ❖ Develop an organizational structure and environment that reflects community values and facilitates joint citizen and employee empowerment by enhancing PPB's image, developing recruiting and hiring practices consistent with community characteristics and needs, increasing community involvement in PPB operations, decentralizing PPB's functions and decision making processes.

- ❖ Enhance community livability through use of proactive, problem-solving approaches to reduce the incidence and fear of crime, establish a permanent planning function within PPB, and establish a neighborhood, problem analysis function.

- ❖ Foster mutual accountability for public safety resources and strategies employed by PPB's management and employees, the community, other public and private agencies, and the city council.

- ❖ Develop a customer orientation for service to citizens and police agency members.

The Bureau recognized that the motivation to sustain a long range transition to community policing would decrease if there were no immediate tangible results. Therefore, it created a series of "demonstration projects" which provided small, instant successes. These demonstration projects, strategically scattered about the city, resulted in overwhelming citizen acceptance. The public is impressed by the Bureau's responsiveness to the communities, its sensitivity to culturally diverse communities, and its willingness to work in partnership with the communities.

Major shifts in policy, organization and procedures occurred as a result of the transition to community policing. The mission statement was revised to emphasize changes from law enforcement to forming problem-solving partnerships with the community. General orders became value-guided, not rule-driven. The personnel evaluation system measures the effectiveness of an officer in solving community problems, and the degree to which the officer empowers the citizens to solve their own problems. The process becomes as important as the end product. Differential police response de-emphasizes 911. More than 15 percent of calls are now handled by a Telephone Report Unit (TRU). Furthermore, training priorities were shifted from an internal to an external orientation, emphasizing crime prevention and problem solving in conjunction with the community. Efforts are under way to change recruiting and promotion criteria to select officers who would be effective in community policing activities. Police personnel act as middlemen between citizens and public and private resources. Neighborhood problem analysis focused on both criminal and order-maintenance problems.

While making community policing a bureau-wide concept, it became apparent that additional time should be allocated to work with the neighborhoods. Whether this time will be carved out of existing workload at the expense of call response, whether it will come at the expense of other police activities, or whether additional personnel will be needed remains to be seen. The leadership of PPB believe that, given proper organization, the officers should be able to maintain adequate call response and do community policing work. The planning team (composed of a division commander, lieutenant, sergeant, sworn officer and two civilian analysts) oversees and administers the strategic planning process for community policing and develops its budget. Another lieutenant coordinates and oversees linkages between community policing and the neighborhood revitalization projects. Community needs are identified through interviews and focus groups of citizens and police officers.

Organization and Staffing

The organization of PPB is influenced by the existence and activism of Portland's neighborhood associations which are organized into District Councils. Each District Council has crime prevention coordinators who work with the police precinct, neighborhood associations, and neighborhood groups. Each precinct has a Precinct Advisory Committee (PAC) composed of representatives from neighborhood associations, district councils, and other organizations who meet monthly. Precinct commanders also meet with both ad-hoc and permanent groups of citizens. Newly created public-private partnerships have also developed very specific planning and program initiatives focusing on crime issues. Citizens are also represented on police Bureau Advisory Committees (BACs). There are 24 BACs throughout the City of Portland. The

organizational model adopted by the Portland Police Bureau is characterized by its decentralization. Thus a variety of units and programs were created to enhance community policing activities some of which are specialized. Patrol and some detective services are distributed according to neighborhoods. At least one neighborhood officer is located in each of the neighborhoods and some twenty-eight contact officers work out of storefronts.

Each precinct, in conjunction with the Office of Neighborhood Associations has a neighborhood liaison officer (NLO). The mission of the NLO is to work with all citizens, Bureau members and other service providers on a long term basis to prevent and solve neighborhood problems through the use of both traditional and creative problem-solving techniques.

It is expected that all NLOs will be familiar with the SARA method of problem solving. This four part method (Seeking, Analysis, Response, and Assessment) looks for solutions that minimize Bureau involvement and enhance community partnerships. Community members are expected to be involved in both the planning and resolution aspects of problem-solving.

Neighborhood crime prevention staff (NAC) personnel serve as overall liaisons between the precinct officers and the various neighborhoods. They work with officers and members of the community to identify and solve problems, coordinate crime updates and alerts, and provide information about public safety issues.

The first neighborhood response team (NRT) was created in 1989. These officers are assigned to the District Commander and their mission is to support the NLOs in their problem-solving efforts. The NRT was originally designed to organize the people in the North precinct to deal with various problems in that area. Initially, officers were assigned to attend local meetings and broker information between the police and the community groups. Later, the services were expanded to include a wider range of services for the entire city. For example, a "Business Liaison officer" position was created to assist individual businesses and business associations. As a result, the business community was willing to provide leadership for projects developed by police/community interaction and to help raise funds to support them.

Precinct officers, not designated as NLOs, are expected to assist with directed patrol activities, and problems identified by the NLO. They are encouraged to initiate and assist in all neighborhood problem-solving activities. *Sergeants* are the key to community policing successes. They balance the NLO's dispatched workload with their own problem-solving work. When circumstances dictate, they are responsible for leading and coordinating NLO activities

that involve other city bureaus. The *Lieutenants'* responsibilities are to ensure that neighborhood problems are identified and addressed; to coordinate resource allocations to new and on-going projects; to meet with neighborhood crime prevention staff and representatives, to create annual work plans; and attend annual coalition and/or public safety community planning meetings.

Precinct Commanders provide long term guidance for solving neighborhood problems. Precinct commanders review community policing activities, publicly acknowledge the significant achievement of goals by staff, community volunteers and NAC staff. They report to the Chief about activities occurring in their neighborhoods and coordinate information sharing with other bureau units.

Deputy chiefs, assistant chief, and the chief of police provide program direction and set goals. They assist precinct commanders in developing NLO implementation strategies and provide overall guidance for reporting and accountability. In addition, Chiefs hold regular meetings with both precinct commanders and NAC staffs. They periodically review projects and follow-up evaluations to monitor and understand current issues facing precincts

The *Investigations Branch* operates today in a significantly different manner from a few years ago. The principle change is its decentralization. A variety of cases have been transferred to precinct detectives who work directly with assigned patrol. Most of the precinct cases involve property offenses; most of the violent crimes are still handled *downtown*. Investigations have benefited from the closer relationship with the community. Detectives believe that the improved flow of information from the citizens results in better quality arrests. They also believe that citizen cooperation allows for earlier intervention, e.g., targeting drug houses, and the broader acceptance of crime-avoidance techniques.

Gangs are a major problem in Portland. Community policing strategies target specific problems and focus on outcomes. For example, PPB's goal is no longer to just develop good cases, but rather to target specific offenders or areas and concentrate on taking back a neighborhood. The *Gang enforcement team* has a total of 104 officers. Three attorneys work directly with the gang unit. Additionally, parole and probation officers are assigned to the unit to share information on associations and violations. Since this enhanced community orientation began, the overall number of gang arrests has not increased, and more problem areas have been cleaned up. The unit is also part of a drug task force that includes police, service providers and neighborhood organizations.

The gang unit has two goals: (1) Reduce gang related violence through federal and local cooperation by identifying violent gang members and targeting offenders; and (2) Increase community livability by educating schools, community, and other agencies to recognize gang membership and to select appropriate responses such as diversion, athletic programs, jobs, and training.

The *family services division* is staffed with 6 officers, a sergeant, lieutenant, and one Deputy District Attorney. It coordinates police, prosecutor, counseling agencies and shelter efforts that focus on domestic violence. The DA's office prosecutes misdemeanor, domestic violence cases. The officers educate teachers and students at local schools about the dangers and prevention of domestic abuse.

The *crime prevention unit* was started in 1977. It is staffed by a lieutenant, two sergeants and 14 civilians. A graphics designer and illustrator assists in the development of crime prevention publications, graphics, educational brochures. A sworn officer acts as a media advisor to community policing planning activities and as a back-up, public information officer for the Bureau. The unit has three programs: (1) *Sexual assault prevention program*, which provides training and support to a network of volunteers who conduct training programs and provide presentations about sexual assault prevention strategies and tactics; (2) *Senior-citizen call back program* which monitors the status of some senior citizens through phone contact as part of a reassurance and safety program; and, (3) *Home security program* which provides free installation of locks and other security advice to residents.

Working with the Community

One major strength of community policing in Portland is the degree to which the community is involved. Community involvement and participation are incorporated into many Bureau activities and into all policy issues that will affect the community. As a result, a number of activities are jointly undertaken.

Landlord-Tenant Training was initiated in 1989 in response to citizen demands for help with the drug problems in their neighborhoods. Realizing that many problems existed because the citizens were not proactive, a training course was designed to help landlords and property managers remove drug activity from rental properties.

Trespassing ordinances play a significant role. PPB uses city ordinances called the *motel operators trespass exclusion* to prevent prostitution and other offenses in motels. This ordinance

is based on an agreement between the police and motel operators. It requires everyone who visits a room overnight to register at the front desk and show a photo ID. Those not registered can be arrested for trespassing. Motel operators who fail to comply with the regulations can be fined. The trespassing ordinance is also used to establish drug free zones. Drug dealers can be ordered to stay out of a certain area for 90 days. Pictures of those ordered to stay out of the area are distributed to businesses so they can inform police if violations occur.

An *asset forfeiture unit* operates as part of a police-prosecution task force. This unit is staffed by one and a half Deputy District Attorneys and two staff. PPB assigns a sergeant, an officer and two clerks to this unit. Financial investigative support is provided by the drugs and vice unit. In addition, patrol has one officer dedicated to narcotics and gambling seizures. Most seizures and forfeitures are cash and cars although there is some real property. Because the Bureau concentrates on community livability, the assets seized are rarely big dollar items. A specified crime (drug house) ordinance can be used to seize and forfeit drug houses. The city forfeiture ordinance was developed as a direct result of citizen requests (by MADD and a group concerned with prostitution) to the city commissioner to develop legislation that would assist enforcement efforts. Police receive information from the neighborhood about illegal activities and real property that is being used for drug deals or prostitution. Citizens are also involved in an oversight committee that has some control over the forfeiture fund.

A *multi-disciplinary child abuse team* was formed consisting of two prosecutors and the police family violence unit. This team holds weekly meetings with the police family violence units in the different geographic areas to identify cases that would be prime targets for a range of diversion programs. A *victims' assistance program* also exists to provide legal information and emotional support for those who have been victimized in a criminal act.

COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Multnomah County Sheriff's Department

The Sheriff's Department actively engages in crime prevention activities using about 90 enforcement officers who have jurisdiction over cases arising from the unincorporated areas of Multnomah County. The Sheriff is part of the Safety Action Team (SAT), which operates in three designated areas. The deputies are on-site seven days a week, from 5:00 p.m. to early morning. Community service officers work the day shift and complement the deputies' work by providing prevention activities for youth, assisting residents with problems, and engaging in community-building activities. Moreover, two deputies are available to respond to calls. Citizens who call the

SAT will reach a recording that instructs them to either call the emergency number or to leave a message that will be answered by an officer later that day or the next day. This procedure has reduced the cold call load by 70 percent.

An intense effort was initiated in Columbia Village by *Don Clark*, formerly a County Commissioner and Sheriff. Columbia Village has a population of 1,600 people living in 531 duplexes. Fifty-five percent are white, 35 percent are black and 10 percent are of other racial backgrounds. Before the program went into effect, an average of 70 calls for services were received for each 8 hour shift. During the first 6 months, 500 arrests were processed. Most of the calls were about alcohol and drug related offenses and most involved non-residents. In 1993 after the program was fully implemented, the number of calls was down to 4 or 5 per shift. As a result, officers have more time for referrals and office duties.

The deputies concentrate their efforts on the night shift with a special focus on domestic violence cases. The daytime officer primarily handles the paper work, referrals to other agencies, and follow-ups. The Sheriff places strong emphasis on prevention. Deputies are required to spent 50 percent of their time on prevention activities.

The Multnomah County District Attorney's Office

The office of the Multnomah County District Attorney has jurisdiction over all felony and misdemeanor cases as well as some civil (asset forfeiture) cases and the prosecution of city ordinances. The largest portion of its workload is from Portland. The office is organized into three divisions: Family Justice Division, Circuit Court Division, and District Court Division. The office is staffed by 75 attorneys, of which eight and a half are assigned to the juvenile division.

In 1992, 7,672 felony cases were opened and 5,438 were concluded; 8,539 misdemeanors were opened of which 3,433 were DUI cases. There were 4,996 reported cases of child abuse or neglect involving 7,181 children. 2,089 felony delinquency cases were opened. 1,591 children required protective services. Additionally some 3,774 cases of domestic violence were handled.

The Neighborhood District Attorney Program

"Community oriented prosecution means integrating the fundamental prosecutorial functions with servicing the citizen client".

***Michael Schrunk*, Multnomah County District Attorney.**

In 1990 the District Attorney for Multnomah County, *Michael D. Schrunk*, instituted what was then called the *District-based Prosecution Project* and is now referred to as the *Neighborhood DA Program*. The goal of the Neighborhood DA Program is to improve the *quality of life* within a neighborhood or business district. The program accomplishes this by assigning a Deputy District Attorney (DDA) to a specific geographic area with the charge to identify the major public safety problems in the area, the key individuals, groups and organizations who want to improve the area, and the resources that can be used to resolve problems.

Once problem areas are identified, *problem-oriented* responses are developed. The responses are designed to permanently reduce or eliminate the problem by attacking its source. This approach is an adaptation of PPB's *problem oriented policing*. It has been successful in reducing maintenance and order crimes such as theft, vandalism, larcenies from vehicles, aberrant public behavior, and illegal camping by transients.

The initial source of funding for the first Neighborhood DA came from the Lloyd District Community which funded the salary and operational expenses of one prosecutor. As part of a partnership agreement between the Lloyd District and the District Attorney's office, Mr. Schrunk agreed, if the Neighborhood DA was successful, to fund a second neighborhood DA out of existing resources. This non-traditional approach to funding criminal justice services was opposed by the media and the initial response was to label the neighborhood DA as a *hired gun*. The District Attorney recognized that gaining community and business support through success was the best way to overcome this criticism.

The legal and leadership skills of the first neighborhood DA, *Wayne Pearson*, were crucial to the success of this project. Mr. Pearson was able to mobilize the Lloyd/Holladay District Community to help it identify and confront the major causes for the decline of the business center. The breakthrough came when all parties successfully cleaned up the *gulch*. This area was home for the homeless and transients, and was a breeding place crime. It was not just an eye sore. Individuals coming up from the gulch wandered around the business area, scaring customers away. A hotel located directly adjacent to the gulch was particularly affected. Transients broke into parked cars and rooms. They would use the pool and jacuzzi for bathing and as a toilet. Police paid little attention to the gulch and the problems it generated for businesses in the area. Arrests were infrequent and numbered less than 70 per year. About \$40,000 was expended on annual clean-ups but the long term problems were not resolved.

The DDA, now located in the business district, marshaled community support for a different type of clean-up. On the scheduled day, he went down into the gulch, pulled coveralls over his suit, and worked with the citizen volunteers to tear down the multi-level cardboard shacks and cleaned out the trash. To prevent the problem from recurring, the effected businesses and the community were organized to patrol the gulch, pick-up garbage, instruct transients that gulch was posted for trespassing, and report those who refused to leave. Signs were posted to inform the public that camping in the gulch was illegal, and that violations would be strictly enforced. The gulch was patrolled daily by designated citizens who, together with the DDA, would also replace torn-down signs. Any property found was treated as lost property, was removed, and then stored at a public warehouse inconveniently located to the gulch. At the time of the team's site visit, nothing indicated that the gulch was anything other than a clean stretch of parkland next to a highway.

The objectives of the Neighborhood DA program are:

- **Broker information.** The DDA cultivated communication links with groups and organizations located in and around the target area. This includes an effort to gather information about the community's needs without the necessity of it coming through the follow-up call to 911. This, of course, involves the sharing of information. One of the first things the DDA in the Lloyd District did was to establish a communication network on a shared radio frequency that allowed the police and private security agencies to communicate.

- **Maximize existing resources.** The DDA undertook an inventory of available agencies and human resources in preparation for an all-out effort to clean up the area. Much of this involved simply getting out and meeting people and establishing credibility both personally and on behalf of the DA's office. Whenever possible, existing resources, both governmental and private, are used to resolve the issue

- **Promote community thinking.** Public safety goes beyond a property line. All individuals must realize that they are only as safe as their neighbors. This includes passing information along to others than just those involved in a particular situation, and improving "neighborhood" involvement.

- **Engage in partnerships.** Encourage proactive cooperation between police, community and the DA's office. Assure participation among the private sector, to the benefit of all. Since public safety is a community problem, its solution is also a community problem. The success of a

Neighborhood DA is directly proportional to his/her ability to promote partnerships between the police, governmental agencies, private sector service providers, and the citizenry.

- Commitment to the long-term. Once the immediate problem is solved, efforts usually flag. This lack of continued attention can permit problems to build up again. Long-term commitment avoids this cycle.

- Problem-Solving Orientation. Use a problem-solving methodology which addresses the cause of recurring quality of life issues and not just the symptom.

- Prosecution. The Neighborhood DA must work to facilitate case processing and monitor the progress of cases which are of concern to the community. In many instances, these cases reflect the very quality of life issues that, in the past, have received little attention from the criminal justice system.

The success of the first DDA located in the Lloyd District gave impetus to expanding DA resources into two residential neighborhoods. One Neighborhood DA is funded from existing resources and the other is funded by the community. A fourth Neighborhood DA program is in the planning stages. Since the Neighborhood DAs work closely with the precinct police and the community, they are absent from the main office. One side effect of this is that the other prosecutors in the office have little understanding or appreciation of the activities of the Neighborhood DA's and believe that the Neighborhood DA's are not pulling their fair share of the case load. This reaction is not unexpected; it is similar to the reaction typically seen in police departments that have designated specialized units for community policing. The DA, acknowledging this problem, is assessing strategies that will better integrate this new proactive strategy of crime prevention with traditional prosecution goals.

Community prosecution in the Old Town district. The Old Town district includes businesses, Chinatown, and some residential neighborhoods. It has a relatively high percentage of different minority populations. Part of Old Town contains skid row where many shelters, soup kitchens and missions are located.

High volumes of drug trafficking have created what amounts to an *open air drug market* with all its associated law enforcement problems. This formerly profitable commercial and tourist area of Portland has suffered serious decline and an accompanying loss of business over the past several years. Five years ago, the drug market became especially visible. Initially the dealing

was done on a smaller scale, confined to a small area, and led by a group of migrant workers who got stuck there due to changes of INS regulations and a bad crop. Drug trafficking was concentrated more or less around one notorious building. One day, the building blew up. After that, trafficking was dispersed throughout the district, and migrant workers were replaced by other dealers.

To turn Old Town around, a substantial police presence was planned so that more effective law enforcement responses could be provided. The police and the DDA established a partnership with the business community which, while relatively new, is already showing positive results. The DDA was the catalyst in an agreement whereby the stakeholders in the Old Town area became participants in the law enforcement effort.

The DDA emphasizes crime deterrence. She met with citizens, businesses, and police to identify crime and public safety issues within the area. When she first arrived, the neighborhood together with the police had developed an action plan, but not much had changed. The DDA pulled all partners together to decide what each of them could actually do to change the situation. After three months, a community partnership agreement was developed that outlined the responsibilities and activities each would take. The signing of the agreement was a media event. Its purpose was to inform the citizens about this effort, and to increase the accountability of the participants. One of the goals of the partnership was to change the perception that the entire district was crime-ridden. While it was true that serious crime problems existed in some sections, they were definitely overstated. The signers of the agreement meet once a month to monitor current developments and follow up on previously committed tasks.

Educational brochures and a variety of crime watch programs were also developed. For example, the lunch crowd took part in patrolling by receiving cellular phones to call the police when they see suspicious activities occurring. Citizens were recruited as crime watch patrols. Portland Guides were put into cars to cruise the area and report drug deals in progress. A *Downtown Security Network* was established to review problems and look for solutions. The network was also established to share problems and concerns between merchants in the area. Citizens were educated about how to respond to panhandlers. Coupons were issued that could be given instead of money. Police target aggressive panhandlers for prosecution. The DA changed his policy about accepting these cases, and private security guards are often used as witnesses instead of citizens or shoppers.

Lighting in the area was increased and private security was added. Private security already had a communications network among each other but not with the police. The DDA and police now co-chair a security committee that works to increase pro-active cooperation between police and private security. The meetings are used to identify problems, coordinate the work, and share information. A fax network was also established to facilitate information sharing.

The result of all this effort was to produce a significant reduction in the drug activity in the area, and a reclamation of a good business climate. The DDA shares a great deal of the credit for both the planning and the execution of this turnaround.

Office of the City Attorney

The City Attorney has also been a solid supporter of the community policing effort. Although he has limited jurisdiction, his office is the prime receiver of many quality of life cases that concern the community. For example, while the more serious prostitution and drug cases are handled by the District Attorney's office, solicitation is handled by the City Attorney's office.

The City Attorney is best able to assist the community policing effort through creative ordinance writing. The office developed a *Nine Point Plan* to deal with various community problems. Also, the City Attorney developed the "Specified Property Crime Ordinance" mentioned earlier which targets properties involved in various kinds of criminal activity for closure. These have proven to be valuable tools for making the community policing strategy work in Portland. If the number of complaints coming in on the hot line or from other sources increases substantially, warrants are requested from the civil court. Drug seizures can be handled by the City Attorney, although the state forfeiture law, enacted in 1989, resulted in most cases processed by the District Attorney.

Courts

Three courts share the responsibility for handling cases arising in Portland. The District Court, which is a misdemeanor court, the Circuit Court with jurisdiction over felonies, and the Juvenile Court, that soon will be reorganized into a Family Justice Court.

The judges and administrators of the courts of Portland have not seen any major impact in their operations as a result of the community policing/prosecution programs. They do, however, view the effort as a positive step for the city and are likely to be supportive of those aspects that may affect the courts in the future. They see this effort as a *getting back to basics*, a return of the criminal justice process to its roots. They believe that this is an effort by police to get back in touch with the community and by the prosecutor to get back to what being a *chief law*

enforcement official is all about. They believe that the role of the prosecutor is crucial to the success of the program and applaud and encourage Mr. Schrunk in his efforts on behalf of the program. While it does not appear that the police agency and District Attorney's office have moved far enough into *community justice* to affect the court system, that impact may not be far away.

The Juvenile Court with its adjacent detention center is located in the Northeast section of Portland about seven miles from downtown. The court handles all juvenile cases (status offenses and crimes) and child abuse cases. As in many parts of the U.S., the court is lacking resources and is ill equipped to deal with the rising numbers of extremely violent juvenile offenders. Furthermore, the number of beds in secure detention has decreased over the last few years. This has led to ever increasing numbers of early releases including very violent juvenile offenders.

To overcome some of these problems the District Attorney is supporting new legislation to reduce the minimum age for remands (waivers to adult court). The chief judge in Juvenile Court is working on the development of a new Family Court which is scheduled to open early in 1994. The Family Court will combine cases of domestic violence, cases involving other family problems, and child abuse and juvenile justice cases. The judge hopes that this consolidation will improve the delivery of services and provide for a better follow up on those cases and conditions that foster juvenile delinquency and crime.

A growing number of alternative programs for delinquent youth are available, especially in the area of gang prevention. The county received \$1.5 million from the state for gang intervention programs. The Private Industrial Council, a group of private business people, sponsors the STEP program, which is a combination of summer school and job training for at-risk kids. Despite the availability of several alternatives, the results are not very satisfying especially when it comes to dealing with older violent youth. There is a clear need for interaction between the different programs in the schools to streamline services and not duplicate efforts. Moreover, there is a need for a system to track juveniles, the programs they entered, and their outcomes. The handling of domestic violence cases is another area of concern. Presently, almost all such cases are handled as misdemeanor assaults and result in misdemeanor diversion sentences. The proposed one-stop-shopping court, Family Court, will attempt to overcome many of these problems.

Multnomah County Department of Community Corrections

The Multnomah County Department of Community Corrections has recently started to assign parole and probation officers to multi-jurisdictional *Safety Action Teams* (see Sheriff's Department for more details). The Department realized that persons under parole or probation supervision were often the source of neighborhood problems encountered by SATs and in January 1993, the first two parole and probation officers were assigned. Their mission was *to enhance the quality of life in the community, preserve the peace, reduce fear, set an example for youth and provide a safe environment*. The benefit to this coordinated effort can be seen in the information being shared between police and parole and probation officers.

COMMUNITY POLICING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

City Government

Portland has a commission form of government. All council members (four plus one mayor) are elected at large. The Mayor assigns city bureaus to each of the commissioners who then have oversight over their budgets. The Portland City Commissioners are elected on a non-partisan basis, they are predominately liberal. As a result, they have been largely supportive of the community policing strategy for the city. On the surface, this form of government might appear to be unusual since the legislative functions and those of the executive are intertwined. However, the mix provides a high degree of visibility to the council and department heads and makes them more responsive to their constituents.

The commissioners have set up a special telephone service for reporting drug activity. They have established a central crime prevention office which regularly meets and shares information with the police. They have cooperated in police operations by closing streets or providing limited access upon the request of citizens or police to facilitate investigations. The city now regularly engages with the citizens in clean-up projects in former high-crime areas to create and foster a sense of pride in neighborhoods.

One of the projects which the city is currently planning is the *Self Enhancement Center*. This is a city-wide, non-profit enterprise established with city encouragement to target and assist *at-risk* youngsters. It is designed to get at the root causes of the crime in the area and to provide a more livable atmosphere for youth.

Department of Buildings

The Department of Buildings is engaged in a serious effort to identify and clean-up of nuisance properties. The department focuses on various properties through *Project Target*, which singles out problem areas and works with the owners to help them recognize problems and take action. The police and the Department of Buildings work together with the owners to solve problems. The Deputy District Attorneys (DDAs) advise owners about the legal ramifications of their actions or lack thereof. This is a true community partnership that works to clean up areas that the community has deemed offensive.

The Buildings Department has also compiled a list of common violations for police and citizens to use in identifying potential problem properties. It has conducted classes in tenant/landlord rights to assist the landlords in drafting adequate leases and conducting effective eviction proceedings. The local DDA lectures on the legal rights and responsibilities of the landlords. The department has intervened with the judiciary to enlist their support with the clean-up effort. While community policing has increased referrals for code violations, it has also reduced the number of reoccurrences.

The Department of Buildings uses the housing safety codes and public nuisance ordinances to close drug houses, fine non-responsive owners, or evict tenants who engage in illegal activities. While similar issues are also addressed by other agencies, e.g. zoning, these activities were never coordinated. Now a coordinated effort targets non-responsive owners. Referrals from citizens identify houses or tenants who cause specific problems. Housing inspectors developed a short list of the 10 most common violations to help police identify when the Housing Safety Code might be employed. If a house is owner-occupied, the owner will be fined. If it is not paid, a lien will be placed on the property.

The Department of Buildings had high praise for the role of the District Attorney and his advice about legal and practical matters as well as his political support and direct contacts with the community. It was noted that the DA personally meets with citizen groups regularly and has participated, personally, in various clean-up projects. This kind of personal commitment is rare and is one of the reasons for the success and credibility of the efforts of the police and other city agencies in this program.

Office of Transportation

The Office of Transportation receives complaints about gang and drug dealing problems. Together with other bureaus, such as buildings and housing, they concentrate efforts on

responding to drug case activities. They also apply the principles of defensive space to traffic and street patterns. For example, an intersection of three streets was frequented by approximately 15,000 cars per day, not only to circumvent traffic jams on the main street, but also to buy drugs. Both ends of one street were closed so that access was possible only from two streets to the main street. The result was not only decreased traffic but also decreased drug dealing.

COMMUNITY POLICING AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Office of Neighborhood Associations (ONA)

The ONA is funded by the city and is staffed with twenty full time employees plus volunteers. It helps citizens access other agencies. Its focus is on crime prevention activities and increasing community activism. Special priority is given to at-risk neighborhoods. The staff identify hot spots, develop educational materials, and channel information about problems to the appropriate agencies. They function as advocates for treatment, provide research and resource allocation support, and develop special youth programs.

The Crime Prevention Program (CPP) operates within the Office of Neighborhood Associations. ONA is a disbursing agency for city funds and grant funds for use in crime prevention in public properties. Properties that were havens for cocaine distribution, drug houses, gangs, etc. often operated unchecked. The CPP organized a *Rescue Plan* which utilized private police, as well as PPB resources, and citizens from more affluent neighborhoods to train citizens on how to take action. The built-in *credibility* which resulted was an important feature of the program and went a long way in motivating the citizens in public housing to take action. The ONA and the CPP also have been significant advocates for new programs and have lobbied on their behalf with the City Commissioners. Their efforts are best illustrated in the neighborhoods.

Piedmont Neighborhood. The North East neighborhood of Piedmont is comprised of predominantly single family detached houses, home to 27,000 households of a mostly older white population, (60 percent white, 40 percent black), mixed income levels but predominantly working class. The neighborhood has some rental property for the lower income population, some gang activities and one chronic drug house. When drug problems became an increasing threat, most people reacted by staying in their houses. They became disillusioned with the police and their inability to solve the problem.

In 1988 a group of citizens decided to organize foot patrol groups to take back their neighborhoods. Although police were supportive, they were also surprised by this initiative. As a result of the foot patrol, a core of citizen activists arose who expanded their activity into the existing neighborhood association. They developed a three part strategy:

1. Confront crime, by focusing on eliminating prostitution and drugs through the use of foot patrols and landlord-tenant training.
2. Market the neighborhood's assets of schools, parks, and natural resources using volunteers and neighborhood association activities;
3. Stabilize the community by bringing in services, and learning how to respond to crime by these concerted efforts.

When PPB implemented community policing in this area, it was a bumpy start. Now, the police are seen as a vital resource. They enlist support from and with other agencies. The neighborhood association, developed cooperative agreements that are especially valuable for working systematically on hot spots.

Kenton Neighborhood. One of the problems faced in this Northeast area were street people and drunks loitering around shopping strips, scaring away customers, and in general, hastening the decline of the neighborhood. The neighborhood association held meetings with the Bureau of Licensing, PPB, and businesses with the hope of revitalizing the neighborhood. Initially, there was little response from businesses even though liquor sales were a major problem. Seeking a revocation of a liquor store's license required producing documentation to identify the seriousness of the problem. The association did this. They found that 12 percent of all the drunks accounted for 44 percent of the sales. Based on this information, the association demanded that stores not sell liquor to those identified. Photos of the individuals were distributed to businesses so they could not claim ignorance about the problem.

At about the same time, a large liquor store wanted to open despite citizen opposition. The neighborhood association requested a denial of the license and prevailed under local and state law. In the end, to obtain a limited license, the businesses agreed to 14 conditions including no sales of small containers or single cans, no fortified wines or spirits with over 10 percent alcohol and restricted hours.

Old Town. When the PPB implemented community policing in Old Town, only one business association existed, and it had not been active in public safety matters. The two sergeants that were assigned to Old Town wanted to clean up the area. After the some initiatives and some

successes, businesses were persuaded to get involved. They started to cooperate with police by trying to get loiterers off their street, and informing the police about order and maintenance incidents and as well as drug trafficking. The business owners lobbied City Hall for more community police officers. All of this led to the creation of a demonstration project where the police department staffed a storefront in Old Town. A steering committee that included PPB, the business people, and the District Attorney's office developed this project. The partnership that resulted was based on the realization by businesses that making community-oriented efforts work requires good communication and give and take.

CHAPTER 6. COMMUNITY POLICING IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD

BACKGROUND

Montgomery County (MC), Maryland is an affluent county that borders Washington, D. C. and Virginia. It is governed by a County Executive and 9 County Council members who are elected every four years. The county's population of 757,027 is fourth among Maryland jurisdictions. The majority of the population is white. However, the county has experienced an increase in its minority population. African-Americans comprise 12 percent (92,267) of the population; Asians 8 percent (61,981); and Hispanics 7 percent (55,684).

Montgomery County's main industry is high technology, especially telecommunications and biotechnology. In 1989 the median household income was \$54,089. Its proximity to Washington, DC not only shapes its research and development industries, but also influences its crime rate. In 1992, there were 76,014 total crimes reported to the Montgomery County Police Department. This represented a 3 percent increase since 1988, including 32,376 reported index crimes (up 8 percent since 1988) and 43,638 other crimes (down 1 percent since 1988). In fiscal year 1993, there were 33,208 Part I crimes reported to Montgomery County Police Department.

A total of 10 law enforcement agencies serve the county, the largest of which is the Montgomery County Police Department (MCPD). Eight of these agencies actually have stations or substations located within the county.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT

In 1992, MCPD employed 811 officers and 246 civilians. The Department has remained about the same size as it was 15 years ago, even though the county's population has almost doubled during that period. During 1992, MCPD received 263,282 calls for service. This was a 4 percent increase since 1988. MCPD reported 11,913 arrests during 1992, an eight percent decrease since 1988. This included 2,498 juvenile arrests (down 18 percent since 1988) and 9,415 adult arrests (down five percent since 1988). Of those arrests, 2,204 were drug arrests (down 37 percent since 1988).

MCPD has jurisdiction over the entire county with the exception of Federal lands. The Department has negotiated response and patrol agreements with the other law enforcement agencies in the county. For example, it does not respond to calls for service from Takoma Park, and conducts investigations or search warrants only when needed as additional support. In Rockville, MCPD has patrol beats and responds to calls for service along with the Rockville

Police Department. In the Gaithersburg and Chevy Chase districts, calls for service are first given to the city departments. If no city units are available, the dispatcher refers them to MCPD. All patrol officers are assigned to permanent beats. The Department is currently undergoing a redistricting effort that will establish a Mid-County Central District, largely replacing the Rockville District. The redistricting was undertaken to assist community policing implementation by recognizing community integrity, its demographic characteristics, and by giving consideration to local crime trends.

The Department is divided into five police districts (Silver Spring, Bethesda, Wheaton, Rockville, and Germantown) and 37 beats. Substations exist in all districts with the only storefront operation located in Silver Spring. This district was used as the pilot site for community policing. Adjacent to Washington, DC, with a deteriorating urban business district that is undergoing rehabilitation, Silver Spring has the highest crime rate in the county.

The Department is organized into three major bureaus: Field Services Bureau, Investigative Services Bureau, and Administrative Support. A special Telephone Reporting Unit (TRU) handles those calls for service that do not require patrol response. In 1992 this comprised 17.1 percent of all calls for service. Currently a plan is being implemented to increase the number of calls handled by TRU, thereby increasing the time patrol officers can devote to community policing efforts. Specialized crime units, particularly homicide, rape, robbery, and narcotics, remain centralized. It is believed that these crimes do not lend themselves to decentralization, but require a broad-based strategy if only to improve communication and coordination. For narcotics investigations, centralization provides a more effective means for maintaining personnel integrity and controlling confidential funds.

COMMUNITY POLICING IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY

In 1989/90, at the urging of the State's Attorney, *Andrew Sonner*, community policing was brought to Montgomery County. A 10-person team composed of officers from the County, several towns, the State's Attorney, and County Council members visited Houston, Texas to look at community policing in practice. As a result, the first community policing effort was based on the Houston model. However, despite a verbal commitment to community policing, MCPD did not develop an implementation plan due to police officer skepticism and resistance. It became clear that if community policing was to come to the County, it would have to be at the instigation of forces other than the police. Mr. Sonner convinced the County Executive to adopt community oriented policing. In 1991 the new Police Chief, *Clarence Edwards*, was hired with a mandate from County Executive *Neil Potter* to make community policing a reality in Montgomery County.

Planning and Implementation

At the time of this evaluation, MCPD was in the planning and early implementation stage of a comprehensive community policing function within the Department. To ensure that the community policing plan would be viable and workable, a Community Policing Steering Committee was formed in January 1992 to oversee the entire developmental process. Chief Edwards believes in a holistic approach to policing, viewing retrained, sworn police personnel in combination with non-sworn employees, and community leaders as resources to the community. The Steering Committee reflected this policy. It included sworn officers, civilian employees, representatives from other county departments, and private citizens. It was tasked with the responsibility of coordinating the development of a well-structured strategic plan for policing. To craft such a plan, eight working committees and three advisory committees were formed to work on the goals and objectives identified by the Steering Committee. Once community policing is introduced into the entire police department, the Office of Community Policing will be eliminated.

MCPD's target is to have enough officers so that each officer can spend about one third of their time on community policing activities. At the time of the research team's site visit, the county was in the middle of an effort to increase the number of police. The department had delineated organizational values that provide guidance and direction, and set standards for appropriate behavior from its employees. Clearly reflecting community policing values, they include:

- ❖ *Working in Partnership* with the community to identify and resolve issues which impact public safety;
- ❖ *Respect* of individual rights, human dignity, and the value of all members of the community and the department;
- ❖ *Empowering* police and the community to resolve problems by creating an environment that encourages solutions that address the needs of the community; and
- ❖ An emphasis on *Integrity* and *Dedication*.

To increase communication within the department, the Chief meets monthly with agency personnel. He answers any specific questions or concerns that officers and civilian personnel have regarding agency activities. They may focus on the status and direction of the Department's community policing efforts or they may be individual problems. All participants have an equal voice and the Chief responds to each. District commanders have their own meetings to discuss problems and exchange information and experiences. Then problems are

reported to the Chief through weekly meetings. Recommendations are then forwarded to the Office of Community Policing for review and/or implementation.

Organization and Structure

Upper level management, front-line supervisors, field officers and all new recruits have been trained in community policing. Community policing efforts here are concentrated on patrol. The Special Action Team operating within the district is not part of community policing. Each of the five districts have different approaches to community policing. For example, the Silver Springs district uses problem oriented policing project request forms for activity reporting. The Bethesda District conducts beat meeting in an effort to bring together all beat officers who work a particular beat. They focus on coordinated efforts to deal with serious criminality and quality of life issues within each beat. This approach reinforces a big-picture approach to policing rather than an incident-driven one.

The Rockville district is mainly suburban with the exception of the City of Rockville. The police department of Rockville has its own community policing strategy, and cooperation between the departments is sought. The district is generally policed by cars containing one patrol officer. The captain is very enthusiastic about community policing, and even the detectives see the benefits for their job. A corporal is assigned to each beat and all officers, including the SAT-team, are included in a team approach to community policing. Community problems are identified for the team to solve. These teams use problem-oriented methods and traditional responses in their enforcement efforts. The lieutenants have their own POP projects. These are usually projects that take more time and effort to solve than what patrol teams alone can accomplish.

The captain uses small scale rewards for community policing efforts, otherwise only the improved job satisfaction drives officers to pursue these activities. To evaluate performance, beat books are kept in the station, and the supervisors discuss all current problem solving efforts at roll call. They recognize that all problem oriented policing projects might not succeed and that the emphasis has to be on the officer's effort and not just success or failure.

COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS

Sheriff's Office

The Sheriff, *Ray Knight*, supports the police department's move to community policing. His office is responsible for transporting prisoners, serving Circuit Court warrants, apprehending fugitives, court security, serving civil process documents, facilitating evictions and some minor traffic law

enforcement activities. The Sheriff believes that community policing will increase the volume of matters handled outside the criminal justice system. He anticipates an increase in the amount of civil process work, including domestic violence restraining orders.

Montgomery County State's Attorney's Office.

The Montgomery County State's Attorney's office has jurisdiction over every crime committed in Montgomery County. The office does not handle civil cases. At the time of the site visit the office had 38 full-time attorneys, 2 temporary attorneys, and 42 support staff.

Adult criminal cases come to the attention of the prosecutor in two ways. They either begin as the result of a police arrest or by a citizen filing a complaint with the District Court requesting that a summons or warrant be issued. If the case begins with a police arrest, it is typically filed with the District Court. Misdemeanor cases remain in District Court. Felony cases are filed in the Circuit Court either after a preliminary hearing or a grand jury investigation. Juvenile cases are usually initiated by police arrests. The paperwork for juvenile cases is forwarded to the Juvenile Service Administration where decisions are made to handle them informally, or to file charges in the Juvenile Court.

Community Prosecution in Montgomery County

As a result of the police department's initial failure to implement community policing, and to give support to the next attempt, Andrew Sonner began a transition to community based prosecution by reorganizing his office in January 1991. He justified this reorganization in part by the shrinkage of drug crimes in the County. (Narcotics cases no longer represented 50% of the workload). His objectives were to have a dedicated team of prosecutors familiar not only with the problems peculiar to the various communities to which they were assigned, but also better able to communicate with police officials, from the district commander to the patrol officer on the beat. He divided the Assistant State's Attorneys (ASAs) into five teams to parallel the five districts of the police department. The narcotics and major offenders units were dissolved, and the senior attorneys directing them were assigned to one of the teams. Special functions requiring more attention, such as child sex offenses, the juvenile unit and arson cases, were assigned to the geographic team which had the least crime.

The special units in the Montgomery County prosecutor's office are: a *papering team* that handles the paper work to be presented to grand juries; a *child abuse/child sex crimes unit*, one ASA who handles *arson cases*; a *District Court team* that focuses on all cases presented to that court; a *juvenile justice unit*; and, a *white collar investigative unit*.

Each team has five to seven prosecutors, with varying levels of experience and a designated drug prosecutor. They handle the full range of cases that come from their district. By assigning staff to geographical areas instead of types of crime, ASAs were able to handle a greater variety of cases. *Richard Crane*, the prosecutor administrator, was assigned to direct and coordinate this effort. The primary responsibility for making the organization work rests on the team leaders. They are the primary contact with the police and the community, and they advise Mr. Sonner and the screening unit about individual cases or groups of cases that require special handling.

In addition to the five teams, a sixth unit was created to review felony cases and make charging decisions. It was established to reduce the caseload for other ASAs. This unit is also subdivided by districts. Staffed by three attorneys, it reviews each felony case, generally no later than two weeks after arrest, decides what the prosecution charges will be, and consults frequently with team leaders and staff who use central screening. Manned by experienced prosecutors, this unit also makes plea offers for simple cases. Attorneys hold a conference with the investigating officers from the district two weeks after arrest. The charging unit keeps cases until negotiations are rejected. After that, cases go directly to the team for vertical prosecution. Since establishing this unit, the number of trials decreased and cases are disposed of earlier even though the plea policy is unchanged, i.e. the first deal is the best deal.

An executive committee meets every two weeks to set policy for the handling of cases based on community priorities. However, this applies only to felony cases, not to pleas in District Court. The reason for this is because in Maryland, misdemeanor cases can be filed by private citizens in addition to police. Therefore, the initial screening of citizen complaints is not done by prosecutors, but by court commissioners. Cases are placed on the calendar by citizens who go directly to commissioners located at police district buildings. Commissioners are most often lay persons. They generally base their decisions on probable cause. If the accused is not in custody, the cases often are not filed for up to 30 days. Misdemeanor cases could also be handled by teams, but this would require more court coordination than is presently available.

The decentralization of the prosecutorial staff facilitates communication between officers, investigators, and the ASAs. It also promotes understanding of the special needs and problems of the communities in a specific district. Citizens and police officers alike get to know their prosecutors, and all develop a personal stake in the quality of life in the district. Because of the proximity of prosecutors to the police, information about cases is more readily exchanged, and

the police benefit from the prosecutor's legal guidance. This has led to higher quality investigations and better training of officers.

Many of the teams have forged close working relationships with their respective police colleagues. Police district commanders routinely pick up the phone to talk to State's Attorney team leaders about problems. Prosecutors attend roll calls (although not as a team function), and advise police on various issues. Police have been given prosecutors' home numbers for consultation on search warrants, crime scenes, protection and other evidentiary matters. The prosecutors on the teams know their district.

Despite the decentralization of workload, Assistant State's Attorneys are still physically located at the main office. It was hoped that team members would prosecute cases occurring in their districts but, because of the small size of the legal staff (39 attorneys) and different levels of experience and ability, that has proven difficult. Since the District Court is not decentralized, it is not possible to assign attorneys to these courts by geographic area. Less experienced members of each team are assigned to the District Courts. The most difficult or important cases are often assigned to prosecutors according to ability instead of geography. As a result, most misdemeanors and no more than 50 percent of felonies are prosecuted by the teams assigned to the district in which the crime occurred.

The purpose, according to Mr. Sonner, is to apply problem-oriented techniques to prosecution. Team members are expected to work with police managers, line officers and community organizations in their districts to solve crime-related problems. Whenever a crime is committed in a particular district and an arrest is made, the district team leader from the State's Attorney's Office coordinates the assignment of the case for adjudication. Team members are often present at crime scenes to assist the police in gathering and protecting evidence. Mr. Sonner wanted his staff also to begin to take problem solving approach to incoming cases, rather than just litigating them. He stressed that to be successful, however, the county government must also provide adequate support.

Furthermore, he sees alternatives to criminal prosecution as a viable option for many cases, particularly misdemeanors and non-violent felonies. Among these options are alternative sanctions, such as community service, and substance abuse treatment. Diversion, referral and conflict mediation are also given serious consideration if the circumstances dictate that remedies outside the criminal justice system would offer a longer term resolution to the problem. Court commissioners are encouraged to offer mediation services, organized by the State's Attorney's

Office, as a viable option in minor disputes and other situations which are best handled outside the criminal justice system.

The policy of the State's Attorney was also affected by the special needs of the smaller neighborhoods. In Silver Spring, for example, the police worked through the assigned prosecutor team leader to effect a change in prosecutorial policy. The office had a clear policy against prosecuting prostitution cases. However, in one Hispanic neighborhood, a number of nightclubs were attracting prostitutes. By changing prosecution policy for this neighborhood, a persistent problem was halted. Similarly, in a county park where complaints about open, gay sex became frequent, the initial police response of making undercover arrests produced cases that the State's Attorney's Office would not prosecute. Working together, the district commander and the team leader agreed on a new strategy which relied on a significant, visible, uniformed police presence to prevent the acts from occurring. Moreover, the park was cleared of underbrush and homosexuals roaming the area were warned by police. Only those who were confronted repeatedly were arrested. The police agreed to this strategy because those who were arrested were now prosecuted. Again, in Silver Spring, a special anti-graffiti task force was established with the help of the team leader. The objective was not only to prosecute these cases, but also to have defendants sentenced through the State's Attorney's alternative sentencing project to remove the graffiti.

A potentially explosive situation involving Hispanic laborers was resolved with few arrests, because the police and the State's Attorney, working together, encouraged county social service agencies, private employers and the community to settle the matter with the help of Mr. Sonner's volunteer mediators. In this case a bowling alley parking lot had served as a daily pick-up site for Hispanic laborers. However, as time passed the crowd became very large. The business owner wanted them to relocate because he was upset about the litter left each day and the loss of many of his regular customers. However, he met resistance from the Hispanics who charged him and the police with racism. The situation escalated to the edge of a riot. MCPD was geared up to use traditional police responses and even brought in riot teams. The crisis was diffused by the ASA who, with a different kind of credibility, brought all parties involved together to discuss the problem and to find a new site for the pick-ups.

Public Defender

The Public Defender views his function as that of representing felony clients. This does not necessarily require extensive interaction with the community. Therefore, he believes that it is unlikely that community policing will significantly affect the indigent defender function.

District Court

The Montgomery County District Court is a court of limited jurisdiction for some felonies (child abuse, theft, worthless checks, forgeries, and malicious destruction of property valued over three hundred dollars), misdemeanors and DWI/DUI cases. The court has eight judges. In 1992, there were 15,410 criminal cases filed in the District Court of Montgomery County (a 45 percent increase since 1988) along with 5,012 juvenile cases filed (a 90 percent increase since 1988).

Cases are assigned on a master calendar which has limited the ability of the State's Attorney to fully decentralize his office and assign assistants geographically to District Court cases. Attempts to strike a balance between geographic assignments and master calendar have been made, but the results are not always satisfactory. If bail has to be set for felony offenders after arrest, a hearing in District Court is scheduled for the next day. District Court judges may take a plea to a felony if the felony is within the District Court's jurisdiction at this hearing; however, this rarely happens. Although both grand jury or preliminary hearings are available, the accusatory route followed most frequently is the filing of a bill of information. When the case goes to Circuit Court for arraignment, the defendant may plead guilty, but again this happens infrequently.

Circuit Court

The Circuit Court, with 13 judges, is a court of general jurisdiction. Because the District Court does not routinely serve as an intake court for Circuit Court cases, i.e. determining probable cause, the court also performs some intake activities. In 1992, a total of 27,318 civil and 6,352 criminal cases were filed in Circuit Court. This represented an 11 percent decrease for criminal cases since 1988, but a 90 percent increase for civil cases over the same time period.

It is anticipated that the effects of community policing and vigorous prosecution of quality of life crimes such as vandalism, drug usage and other crimes usually considered minor will be felt by the courts, but more likely by the District Court. Other anticipated effects on the courts include: increased use of diversion to keep cases out of the system, or as alternatives to misdemeanor prosecutions; and, more credibility to the public if the courts consider different community alternatives at sentencing. The State Attorney's office presently uses community impact statements to inform the court about the offenders or the effects of their criminal activities on the community. Although the court is often reluctant to hear these statements, they, in combination with active court watch groups, exert a powerful pressure on the court to consider community interests.

Juvenile Justice

Minor juvenile cases are referred by the police or the State's Attorney to the Juvenile Services Administration for informal intervention. More serious juvenile cases are filed in Juvenile Court which is part of the District Court. In 1992, a total of 5,012 cases were filed in Juvenile Court, of which 3,911 were filed as delinquent. Six juveniles were prosecuted as adults. The number of juvenile cases filed has increased by 90 percent since 1988.

The MCPD Youth Division has used a community policing strategy for years, especially with regard to sex offenses by or against, children. At the present time, the services provided by the Youth Division are not decentralized but operate countywide out of one police district. Whether the services will be integrated into community-oriented activities in the future is unknown.

During the site visit, little reference was made by either the police or prosecutors about juveniles and the juvenile justice system. This suggests that the integration of juvenile matters into the community oriented efforts of the police and prosecutor has been given little attention to date.

Probation and Parole

Probation and parole are state functions. The Silver Spring branch of the Montgomery County Office of the Maryland Division of Probation and Parole has not been involved in community policing nor did it see a need to coordinate its activities with MCPD. In the future, depending on the direction of community policing initiatives, this agency's workload might be affected, especially if targeting parole or probation violators becomes a part of a localized community policing effort. It might also affect the level of case supervision.

Department of Correction and Rehabilitation

The Department of Correction and Rehabilitation operates the Pretrial Services Unit, Alternative Community Services (ACS) and an Intervention Program for Substance Abuse. The Pretrial Services Unit (PTSU) was established in 1990 to manage the pretrial release of defendants and to ensure their appearance in court. This office is primarily responsible for pretrial assessments, classification and supervision of alleged offenders during the period between arrest and trial. Pretrial assessment information is available through the Criminal Justice Information System database. All defendants under this unit's supervision are required to attend a court orientation seminar. Reports regarding the defendants' behavior while under supervision are submitted to the court on the day of trial.

A Pretrial Services Advisory Board establishes general criteria and guidelines for release. The Board consists of three Circuit Judges, three District Court Judges, the State's Attorney, Public Defender, Director of Correction and Rehabilitation, Police Chief and the Executive Director of the Criminal Justice Coordinating Commission. A separate Coordinating Committee has been established to work on day-to-day, operational issues. Due to its daily interaction with all entities of the criminal justice system, the quarterly meetings of the Advisory Board with the Criminal Justice Coordinating Committee focus on policy direction, refinements of goals and objectives and changes in criteria based on performance data.

The overwhelming majority of offenders coming under the authority and supervision of PTSU are charged with felony offenses. The office usually does not handle first offenders. Unless Montgomery County's community policing and prosecution programs increase felony arrests, pretrial services will probably not be affected. However, the intensified focus on the prosecution of quality of life offenses may also force changes in the scope of both bail and diversion programs. One effect could be to increase the information gathering capability of the department. This would be helpful for both pretrial release recommendations and supervisory services. The interchange of information between the two programs might ultimately enhance the success of community policing.

The Alternative Community Services (ACS) Program has operated since 1977. The program is staffed by one supervisor, one administrative aide, and three correctional specialists. The offender population served are adults and juveniles. Adults are referred from the Office of the State's Attorney, Public Defender, Parole and Probation, Drinking Driver Monitor Program, Intervention Program for Substance Abusers, or are transferred from other jurisdictions.

The ACS correctional specialists assess all referrals for their suitability to perform community service. Generally, the offenses are misdemeanors. Once an offender is accepted, a program contract is executed and placement is made. ASC has recruited 166 non-profit public placement sites. Offenders are monitored by telephone calls to the agency and their performance is tracked through reports provided by the agency. In 1992, 132 juveniles and 1,205 adults were placed in community services.

The Intervention Program for Substance Abusers (IPSA) started with a pilot program in 1990. The program provides diversion from prosecution and intervention in the substance abuse pattern for adult offenders charged with minor possession offenses and no history of serious drug abuse or distribution. The State's Attorney's Office reviews the arrests of drug purchasers, and

refers appropriate candidates to the program. Participation is voluntary. Because these programs target the same population that is often the focus of community policing efforts, it is reasonable to assume that these agencies will be affected. However, to date, there is no a systematic evidence to confirm this.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY CRIMINAL JUSTICE COORDINATION COMMISSION

The existing Montgomery County Criminal Justice Coordinating Commission consists of 23 members from most parts of the criminal justice system, representatives of the county, state and city government, and the public. The Commission provides a framework for coordinating programs and activities of the local criminal justice system, within Montgomery County and the state and neighboring counties. It also reviews program proposals and makes recommendations for comprehensive strategic planning. One example of these activities is the Coordinating Council on Substance Abuse. It is comprised of 28 members representing the Executive Branch, County Council, the State's Attorney, District Court, Housing Opportunities Commission, County Police, and National Park Police. The combined efforts have created a wide range of education, prevention, treatment and enforcement programs. A core element of these activities is neighborhood empowerment, defined as developing strategies to mobilize citizens to take control of their neighborhoods and to eliminate existing drug problems, and to prevent the development of new ones.

Emory Grove Against Drugs (EGAD) is one example of neighborhood empowerment. It was formed in 1989 as an organization of citizens from neighborhoods located along the route 124 corridor east of Gaithersburg. The group's activities promoted summer activities for local children and youth, increased police surveillance, and improved street lighting. Similarly, in Gaithersburg, community efforts resulted in the addition of a DARE officer to their force, the creation of a hotline to inform residents of drug and alcohol treatment resources, and support for treatment of homeless who are addicted.

Another cooperative effort that involved a number of criminal justice and county agencies as well as private organizations is the *Rehabilitation and Education for the Drunk Driver Offender* (REDDO) program. It was proposed by the Criminal Justice Coordinating Commission and was started in 1991. The agencies involved are the District Court, the State's Attorney's Office, the Office of the Public Defender, the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, the Department of Addiction, Victim, and Mental Health Services, MCPD, Maryland National Park Police, Drinking and Driving Monitoring Program, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the Alcohol Advisory Council, and the Coordinating Council on Substance Abuse. After individuals are arrested for a

drunk driving offense, the arresting officer provides them with an envelope that contains information to prepare the defendant for court and increase the efficiency of the first trial date. Outlined are judicial and administrative procedures for defendants arrested for impaired driving and highlighted options, such as participation in the County's assessment and trial diversion program. This information is available in English and Spanish. In 1992, 1,029 offenders or 22% of all those arrested for DWI offenses participated in the REDDO program.

Receiving input from other governmental and criminal justice agencies is a key component of community policing. The County Executive prefers to use the term *community government* in his analysis of the integration of these various agencies in tackling community concerns and the quality of life issues. MCPD acknowledges that working with some governmental agencies has been slow and arduous since there is a perception by these agencies that their workload will increase while their staff size remains the same.

A department liaison committee has been created whose members include employees of other agencies whose assistance may be required to solve community problems. District commanders and community activists work with the prosecution team leader in their areas. To ensure responsiveness to community concerns and problems, each county agency has a police liaison to whom matters needing police attention are routed. This process reduces the typical bureaucratic problems that affect timely governmental responses to community concerns. Additionally, MCPD is in the process of developing an extensive resource guide to familiarize its officers with the various services provided by both public and private organization. When completed, this resource will improve problem solving and reduce bureaucratic shuffling.

CHAPTER 7. COMMUNITY POLICING IN TUCSON, AZ.

BACKGROUND

Tucson is the second largest city in Arizona covering approximately 500 square miles with a metropolitan area population of 610,000. The city of Tucson itself has 330,537 inhabitants living in an area of 99 square miles. It is located in the southern end of the state, near the Mexican border. Tucson experienced a 25.7 percent population growth over the last decade. It has a racially diverse population made up of 274,750 whites, 11,587 blacks, 4,578 American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleutians, and 3,427 Asian and Pacific Islanders. Approximately 28 percent of Tucson's population is Hispanic, some of which have been living in the area for generations. This Tucson-Mexican population has been traditionally stable. Recently it has been negatively affected by new immigrants and drugs. In 1991 Tucson had an unemployment rate of 3.7 percent. The per capita income of Tucson residents is \$14,362.

The city of Tucson suffers from large-scale, drug smuggling operations. The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) estimates that approximately one third of all cocaine entering the United States is coming through the Mexican/United States border. Tucson's crime rate is one of the highest in the nation because of narcotics trafficking. Approximately 35 percent of all homicides occurring in Tucson are drug-related.

TUCSON POLICE DEPARTMENT

Several local law enforcement agencies serve the Pima County area. Among them are the city police departments of Tucson, Oro Valley, Maran, and South Tucson, the Pima County Sheriff's Office, the police agencies of the Pima Community College, the University of Arizona, the Tucson Airport Authority, and the Arizona Department of Public Safety. The proximity to the Mexican border and the drug smuggling activities in the area account for the fact that several federal law enforcement agencies, such as the DEA, IRS, INS and Customs are also active in the area.

The Tucson Police Department (TPD) and the Pima County Sheriff's Office are the largest local law enforcement agencies. TPD has a staff of 1,029 with 676 sworn officers. Additional help is available through volunteers and the Police Assistant Group. Volunteers are used for clerical work and parking enforcement. Since 1976, police reserve officers organized in the Police Assistant Group have received special training and support many police functions. Since 1989, their number has risen from twenty to one hundred. The department receives approximately 300,000 calls for service per year, dispatching officers to about 270,000. At the time of the

research team's site visit, a study was under way to identify possible reclassification of calls for services in order to reduce the number of dispatched responses. TPD also has a community services division, a major offender division, and a volunteer services division. It also has several specialized units such as MANTIS, which is a regional drug task force, and a gang unit.

TPD's jurisdiction is divided into four precincts: northwest, midtown, southern, and eastern. The northwest precinct, which is the frequent scene of drug violations and drive by shootings, is also home for a largely black and Hispanic population. This precinct is also the location of TPD's only storefront operation, Adam I. The storefront is located in a shopping area, and is staffed with bilingual officers who are better able to communicate with the substantial Hispanic population. The population in the eastern precinct is mostly affluent. A large university campus is also located there. The southern precinct is home to a diverse and largely lower income population.

COMMUNITY POLICING IN TUCSON

"With a twenty year history of developing into a truly community oriented police department, I still see us learning and modifying for at least another ten years".

Elaine Hedke, Chief, Tucson Police Department.

The community policing concept in Tucson has a long history that is still evolving. In 1975, a task force studied various aspects of the relationship between the police and the community. The study recommended a concept called team policing as a way to improve community relations and to become more responsive. This early experiment in better community contact was limited in scope and had only marginal success.

In 1980, a new study attempted to refine and improve the goal for closer community interaction. The study suggested new programs and additional staffing. However, serious budget cutbacks soon followed and the study was shelved. The department concluded that community policing could not be a department-wide effort because there would never be sufficient resources to staff a program capable of fulfilling the needs of the community. As a consequence, the department decided that community-based policing would have to be a philosophy and not a program.

In 1981, *Peter Ronstadt* became the Chief of Police. Ronstadt transformed the department into a broader-based organization, better adapted to the community policing strategy. He wanted to flatten the organization and develop crime prevention and park-walk programs. Problem solving

was stressed. By 1987, the TPD mission statement emphasized community policing: to work in partnership with the community to protect lives and property, prevent crime, and solve problems.

In 1993, under the direction of Chief *Elaine Hedke*, the philosophy of community policing is still very much alive. However, a lot remains to be done before the philosophy is fully operationalized. Chief Hedke continues to work on the evolution of the department toward a true community-based model that stresses police acting as public servants in partnership with the community.

Policy and Approach

Initially, community policing focused on problem solving. Community-based, problem-oriented policing (CBPOP) addressed specific problems identified by the officers in different neighborhoods. Senior officers usually made the initial contact with citizens or citizen groups and then referred these contacts to the field. Commanders and field supervisors were responsible for ensuring communication among the beat officers. During this process, TPD realized that this approach did not involve the community on a larger scale, and it certainly did not provide for the systematic development of long term strategies.

Expanding the strategy of community policing meant having beat officers and not senior officers communicate with neighborhood groups. This approach, however, presents a number of difficulties, one of which is the availability of time for community policing activities. Historically, about twenty-five percent of an officer's time is unobligated and typically used for random patrol. Now, it is expected that this time be used working with the community to solve problems. Despite this reality, some officers continue to believe that the time required for traditional enforcement leaves little opportunity for non-traditional, problem-solving. TPD is hardly able to keep up with traditional demands without increasing the officers' obligation to other community problems. Still, community policing is as much a state of mind as it is a matter of time. Those officers who believe in the concept find the time to participate within their schedules.

Management and Organization

In the early eighties, the Department moved away from the traditional pyramid command structure to a cabinet type structure where bureau heads reported directly to the chief. At the same time, a participatory management style was introduced. This technique was rejected because it was perceived as a weak form of management that provided too little guidance.

Community policing efforts vary among the four precincts. Foot patrols are used only in the downtown area. Elsewhere bike patrols are the tactic of choice. In the northwest, two beat officers serve as liaison to about 50 neighborhood associations. If they cannot attend neighborhood association meetings, the commander will. In the southern precinct, one sergeant is assigned to each beat to ensure coordination and exchange information. The beat sergeants meet once a month. The precinct also has a crime prevention officer who is available for presentations and to provide security counseling. The crime prevention officer identifies prevention opportunities. For example, the officer will contact the burglary unit about a cluster of burglaries which may not be known to them because of inadequacies in crime analysis.

All special units and detective units are centralized. However, the Chief expects them to integrate the community policing philosophy in their operations by assisting the patrol division and the community in their problem solving activities. TPD had previously experimented with decentralization in its burglary division and found it to be ineffective. Still, there is a need to systematize cooperation between the detective units and crime prevention; otherwise, a major supportive component for community policing is missing.

Training and Performance Measurement

TPD believes the best barometer of the success is a reduction in the level of violence in the community. If it decreases, community policing will be perceived as a success. If it remains the same or increases, the public will likely demand a return to traditional law enforcement. Chief Elaine Hedke recommended estimating citizen satisfaction by conducting follow-up inquiries on at least five percent of the calls for service. The community-police relationship can also be judged by citizen reactions in serious police-community disputes. Other indicators of the success of community policing may be seen in changes for calls for service and community participation.

Although TPD agrees that training is one of the most important ways to sustain community policing, no training manual for community policing currently exists. Also the current procedures manual does not reflect a community policing philosophy. To be promoted to sergeant, officers must take a special training course to become a "certified public manager". This training stresses negotiating with subordinates over performance objectives and treating subordinates as adults capable of independent decision-making. Although these techniques support a participatory leadership style, they may not address the basic skills needed for community policing, i.e., problem-solving, flexibility, creativity and accessibility.

TPD has tried to build a force that uses the community policing philosophy. Generally, the department encourages all officers of all ranks to be innovative and self-reliant and to develop solutions. However, it did not appear that these skills were built into recruitment strategies; similarly, with officer evaluations. Community policing performance is tracked mainly by memos. The criteria, however, are unclear and largely dependent on the views of the supervising officer.

Relationships with Other Agencies

Chief Hedke emphasized the need for a coordinated response to community needs by all relevant government agencies. Community problems are not only a police matter. Communication with and the support of other local government agencies is essential. In many cases, a solution is not possible without the resources and expertise of these agencies. Community policing has the blessing and support of the city administration. The city manager has taken the lead by involving other departments such as public Works, housing, the schools, and parks and recreation. The Mayor has responded by creating an *ad-hoc* community committee that is actively involved in planning and implementing community-police initiatives, e.g. the Family Friendly-Child Safe concept.

However, economic realities have eroded the capability of many agencies to participate effectively. For example, juvenile justice agencies have been unable to deal successfully with recent teen gang problems despite the enthusiastic support of the police and the community. From the police perspective, a number of external factors have restricted programs and undermined the community's willingness to participate. Among these are the increasing decriminalization of various types of offenses, the unwillingness of the County Attorney's office to deal with certain types of cases, and the court's reluctance to involve itself with victims, witnesses and police.

Over the years TPD has cooperated with many different criminal justice and city agencies in a variety of projects and programs to solve problems, prevent crime, and create environments that promote lawful citizen activities and quality of life. The Department of Housing provided a grant to pay for two officers. Similarly, the school liaison officers are being paid with grant funds. Housed within police headquarters, the Crime Prevention League, a private, non-profit organization, coordinates a range of crime prevention efforts in the Tucson area, including the activities of over 400 community groups. Its purpose is to create a crime-free community. It coordinates programs for groups with special problems, provides diversion opportunities, and distributes information. One example of their work is the development of a graffiti clean-up

project that is free to those affected and is used as diversion program for youth. The League also provides some drug resistance education, primarily to those who live in high crime areas.

TPD has developed a guidebook of all services, public and private, available county-wide. In other instances, TPD worked with the Community Development Agency to close and demolish crack houses. The department cooperated with the social service agency to find a place to keep juvenile runaways until their parents were found. City and county parks agencies were tapped to support Teen Nights during the summer months. In many instances, the police department acts as a catalyst and a coordinator.

Still many of the efforts to identify, solve and prevent problems in the community are one-time projects or short-term programs that more than often are only undertaken when additional federal funding is available. There still must be a more systematic effort to develop long-term relationships and programs using existing resources. In some cases, the police encountered resistance from other agencies when they requested services such as better lightning, improved park design, and street repairs. Resistance may occur if the community is not mobilized first and other agencies are not partners in the planning and problem-solving processes. It may also suggest that the structure for cooperation is not fully developed. Even though line officers may be able to develop informal working relationships with staff in other agencies, they rarely have the time or power to effectively engage the heads of other agencies and other decisionmakers in a systematic, long term effort. The attention of all levels within the police department is necessary.

Working with the Community

Community policing requires significant citizen involvement and a concept of partnership that has not characterized past relationships between the police and the community. Tucson has re-energized neighborhood watch programs and established citizen advisory groups, but the level of cooperation and participation varies widely. Some community groups meet regularly with *their* officers; others meet regularly with police leadership. The department stresses the importance of community participation in identifying problems and sharing responsibility for developing responses. Initially, problems tended to be identified by the police. In the past two years, as the community has become more active, the police have asked them to assume more responsibility for problem solving. For example, TPD is working with the Pasque village where there is a concentration of native Americans. The community wanted more patrol to deal with rising crime, a request the department could not fulfill. Another approach was adopted, and the combined

efforts of the police, parks and recreation, and community development helped resolve many problems.

Special Issues relating to Community Policing in Tucson

Although the concept of community policing has existed in Tucson longer than in most parts of the country, its implementation has been limited. Chief Hedke's commitment to this philosophy is unquestioned. Still, there is serious doubt on how deep the commitment penetrates into the department itself. The Chief is the first to admit that the traditional police attitude still prevails and is stronger among the older officers. An effective training program for new officers should mitigate some of the resistance but not all. Some attitudes learned at the training academy may not last after on-the-job training is provided by the senior officers on the street.

The special unit commanders exhibit mixed reaction to the philosophy. These experienced and highly motivated officers readily admit the value of achieving a better relationship with the community, especially in major investigations, but they question the practicality of the approach. They point out that earlier attempts to decentralize some investigative functions were largely unsuccessful and were now reversed.

Nevertheless, they see the department today as being much more focused on problem-solving as opposed to simply reacting to crime as it occurs. They believe that this is a positive step forward. The implementation of community policing has resulted in a better communications, not only between the community and the department, but also within the department itself. Since the ability of the department to conduct effective investigations depends on such communication, this approach has had a beneficial impact. One of the positive aspects of community policing, in the view of these commanders, is that the decisionmaking responsibility has been pushed down to the precinct level which tends to make line officers more involved. They believe that this has a beneficial effect on officers' morale but does not exactly generate strong support from middle management.

The special unit commanders believe that the majority of the officers now on board have bought into the community policing philosophy and are constantly reinforced through briefings by the leadership staff. They also view it as politically unlikely that the Mayor and Council will abandon the idea. They feel that the idea will survive because it will become even more necessary in the future as budget cuts continue to take their toll. Improved community support will become a necessity.

The commanders, however, question whether some actors in the system will ever accept the philosophy and therefore, have doubts as to whether it can be successfully implemented. They expressed particular concern about the attitude of the courts who have yet to accept the necessity of their participation. They felt that the participation of Superior Court Judges, who are largely unaware of the program, is not really a problem. The City Court is a different problem, since this is the court where the impact is most likely felt and the judges are perceived to be disinterested in community policing. The officers also felt that the city prosecutor's office, another agency critical to success, has been less than helpful. However, both the public defender and the sheriff are perceived as supporters. The sheriff, in particular, is active in community groups, many of whose activities overlap with those of TPD.

EFFECTS ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Office of the City Prosecutor

The City Prosecutor's office, not surprisingly, has had substantially more contact with, and is more supportive of, community policing. Since this office does not screen cases beyond insuring legal sufficiency, the quality of police work on cases prior to filing is very important. Additionally, many offenses have been decriminalized and are now handled civilly. The City Prosecutor feels that community policing has already effected the mix of cases coming into the office. Since part of community policing is likely to include a zero tolerance approach to certain community crimes, the type of cases prosecuted is expected to change.

The criminal justice system has recently taken new approaches against domestic violence and vice. The City Prosecutor's office has played a large role in those efforts, and has developed its own policies and procedures. The City Prosecutor feels that with the continued development of community policing, his office will become more and more involved. The office presently communicates directly with the police through routine meetings with both the leadership and the rank and file of TPD. Although the City Prosecutor supports community policing and he recognizes that it requires a proactive approach, in his words, "The office is too swamped to be proactive."

From the perspective of the City Prosecutor's office, community policing has been largely a public relations effort. In order to truly make the process effective, he believes, the police will need to substantially increase their resources, up to 500 more officers. Since this increase is unlikely, the City Prosecutor does not anticipate that community policing will succeed in any truly meaningful way.

County Attorney's Office

The Pima County Attorney, *Stephen Neely*, has been in office for 22 years. He is a law and order activist who believes his role is to protect the community. The Office of the Pima County Attorney has jurisdiction over some misdemeanors and all felonies emanating from the City of Tucson and all criminal cases that occur in the unincorporated areas of Pima County. The office has forty-one attorneys. Four attorneys are part of an intake unit and twenty are trial attorneys. In 1992, 7,634 cases were presented to the office, of which 4,124 were issued as felonies, 312 were filed as misdemeanors, and 659 were referred to the City Attorney. The dismissal rate is less than 20 percent and the trial rate about 10 percent.

The intake unit screens all incoming cases using a trial sufficiency guideline. Cases that do not present sufficient evidence for conviction are either dismissed or sent back to police for further investigations. About 48 percent of the incoming cases are screened out. The intake unit refers some lower class felonies (class 6) to the city attorney or to the justice court for processing as a class one misdemeanor. Cases filed by the intake unit go first to the Grand Jury, and then after indictment either to the Case Evaluation System (CES) for plea bargaining offers or to a trial team. The office has three specialized trial teams for narcotics, violent crimes, and property crimes. Because of a severe backlog the Court used a "rocket docket" which resulted in the County Attorney's office trying 500 cases last year, as compared to an average of 350 before. To expedite case processing the office agreed to provide complete discovery at arraignment which occurs 18 to 20 days after arrest.

The County Attorney's Office has a diversion program for first time non-violent offenders. The office also has community outreach activities through its victim/witness unit. It has undertaken special efforts to counter youth gang activities with the help of the police and in cooperation with participating schools. These efforts have shifted the responsibility for the education and prevention of youth gang violence from the police to the schools. In working with the community, Assistant CAs are required to go to community meetings and work with the schools. The County Attorney's office has also been active in the creation of neighborhood organizations, neighborhood watch groups, and the development of the Crime Prevention League.

The Pima County prosecutor takes a neutral position towards community policing. Although he has trained police officers, by request, who are focusing on crack houses, and has a victim witness program to assist in the field, his active involvement with the community is independent of the police department's community-related activities.

Mr. Neely sees little impact from community policing on his office. He sees some positive benefits to the improvement of relations between the police and the citizenry, but does not see this process as something in which his office has a role. He views the present emphasis on community service as counter-productive to effective traditional law enforcement. He questions the decentralization of the department and the loss of detective specialization because they have been an important feature of the department, particularly in more serious cases. He also views the movement toward ethnic diversification as a retreat from what for many years has been a generic Tucson/Hispanic culture with its own unique characteristics and benefits to the region. He believes that dividing the area into separate ethnic regions will result in the loss of a community attitude and will bring more law enforcement problems, not less.

Mr. Neely's primary interest is in the improvement of children's rights. He is in the process of developing a Child Advocacy Division in his office. This, he believes, is by far the most important thing he can do to improve the interests of justice in Tucson. The Child Advocacy Division would cover all aspects from abuse and neglect to delinquency and crime. To make it effective, the office will increase coordination with other agencies. To the extent that community policing can aid in that effort, Mr. Neely will welcome the help. Beyond that, he simply does not see a role for his office in community policing.

The Assistant CAs cited an improvement in the information exchange process as a result of better contact between the police and the community. They believe that they have better contact with witnesses and victims because of a more caring attitude on the part of the police toward the citizens which results in an improvement in attitudes about the criminal justice system generally.

Public Defender's Office

Indigent defense services in Tucson are provided by the Public Defenders Office, the Legal Defender Office (LDO), and some private and contract attorneys appointed by the Court. The Public Defender's Office has 53 attorneys and a support staff of 57. They represent all felonies in Pima County, county misdemeanors (outside Tucson), and all juveniles. In Superior Court, they handle 90 percent of the cases up to preliminary hearing. After that, they represent about 55 to 60 percent; LDO has 12 to 24 percent; contract defenders, 10 percent, and, retained counsel about 10 percent. The Legal Defender Office, created by the Board of Supervisors, handles all conflicts for adult felonies (about 12 to 24 percent of the caseload) and appeals. Contract attorneys represent misdemeanors and juveniles, and multi-defendant cases. LDO has

withdrawn from several types of cases and given them to contract attorneys, a practice that has been accepted by the Superior Court judges. (Most misdemeanors are DUI's so not many contract attorneys request them.) There is an increasing use of contract attorneys because they are not classified as employees and are, therefore, less costly to the county than LDO's.

The PD and LDO do not have formal interaction with community policing and little involvement with community activities. Community policing has had little impact on them.

Pretrial Services

The Pretrial Services Agency in Tucson is 20 years old. It is a court agency funded by the judiciary. The office is located at the jail and the agency has a staff of 50. Five are available for the daily court program, seven days a week. Sixteen perform supervision and investigations, four are used in case tracking and automation, two are support, and three are administrative staff. The agency reviews all city and county adult arrests, i.e. about 7,000 felonies (half of which are dismissed within 10 days) and 18,000 misdemeanors. Felony offenders are interviewed and recommendations are made to the court. The agency is willing to experiment and they are currently starting a new pretrial release, fast track program using intensive supervision

Although the Agency has no special contacts with the community policing efforts, they are aware of them. They would also like to become more proactive in cooperative, community-based programs.

Justice Court

The Justice Court has jurisdiction over ordinance violations and misdemeanors, and it conducts preliminary hearings which number about one or two per month. There are nine criminal courts. Initial appearances are held before magistrates for bond setting and defense counsel appointment. The court uses a master calendar assignment system, except for DUI's which are individually docketed. The court also has jurisdiction over civil matters, landlord-tenant cases, and credit collection. The judges are elected on a partisan basis and magistrates are appointed by mayor and council. This court believes that the effect of community policing will be felt by the city courts and not necessarily by the county courts. However, they have not noticed any changes to date.

City Court

The presiding judge of Superior Court is also the administrative head of the City Court. This designation came through an attempt to bring order to the court which was reeling from internal

disagreements. Two of the more senior judges interviewed, were not familiar with community policing. It was only about two weeks earlier when a story about the bike patrol was shown on television that they even knew Tucson had community policing. They also believed that if the program had any effect on the courts, it would be at the City Court level.

The judges believed that community policing could have important results in areas such as domestic violence, which have become an increasing problem for the court. The court has a domestic violence monitoring team which it uses for cases involving substance abuse, anger counseling, and sex abuse. This is a pre-conviction diversion program that dismisses charges after the successful completion of a probationary period and completion of educational courses. It was hoped that community policing would provide some additional options for the court in processing these cases; especially if some of the community resources presently available through community policing could be coordinated with the domestic violence diversion program.

Some potential changes in the judicial system in Pima County and in Arizona were discussed because they may affect community policing activities. There is a move toward court consolidation which could expose the Superior Court to cases developed by community-based police programs. Furthermore, within the City Court itself, there is a movement to decentralize the process and take the courts to the people. If this happens, the courts would likely benefit because community policing could provide better access to, and knowledge about, the community. Finally, there is substantial political pressure by the City Council to improve certain areas of enforcement such as vice. These pressures also may force a look at a community-based approach by the courts.

Superior Court

The Superior Court has felony jurisdiction over non-juvenile cases and civil traffic cases for the County. Its 11 judge bench is directed by an acting presiding judge (who is also the administrative presiding judge for City Court). Although the City Court and Superior Court are moving toward consolidation, the Superior Court planning sessions do not include regular meetings with city judges or the city prosecutor.

The Superior Court has not experienced any significant impact from community policing. While the judges generally favor the idea, they question the propriety of the court's participation since they must maintain the appearance, as well as the reality, of impartiality. They point out that the State Judicial grievance authorities in the past have privately reprimanded some judges who have been involved in various kinds of community activism. The judges fear that any significant

increase in court-community contact, particularly in connection with police activities, would be perceived as a potential conflict of interest.

Like the others interviewed, the judges generally felt that most of the impact of the kinds of cases generated by community policing would be felt by the City Courts. They believe that part of this perception is based on their belief that the county attorney is not likely to favor community policing since its goals are not consistent with his prosecutorial policies. Indeed, the judges pointed out that the *no deal* attitude of the incumbent prosecutor has resulted in the Superior Court of Pima County trying three to four times the number of cases filed in the larger Maricopa County.

The judges view the possible use of so-called *community impact statements* as an additional and unnecessary complication in the sentencing process. They are already concerned about the elapsed time between disposition and sentence and see such tools as adding to delay. They again expressed concern as to the perception of loss of judicial independence through the use of such a device. They said that the degree of perceived improper impact on the judicial process would depend on who controls the content of the statements and what special interests, if any, they represent. In spite of this, the judges believe that it is the obligation of the prosecutor to present the relevant concerns of victims and others to the court in the sentencing process.

Ultimately, the Superior Court judges feel that community policing has potential and merit in particular areas such as domestic violence and juvenile crime, but will probably have limited effect elsewhere. They believe that any effort to promote better relations between the police and the public is a good thing, but that as a general rule, the courts must remain apart from such efforts in order to maintain impartiality.

Juvenile Justice

The Pima County Juvenile Court has jurisdiction over individuals under age 18 in proceedings relating to delinquency, dependency, or incorrigibility. The Juvenile Court also has jurisdiction over proceedings to obtain judicial consent to marriage, employment or enlistment in armed services of a child, adoption and severance, as well as juvenile traffic matters. The court has declined to exercise its jurisdiction for juvenile traffic matters for the past several years. Although the preponderance of the Juvenile Court's activities are targeted to combat juvenile crime and, to a lesser degree, incorrigibility, resources are also devoted to matters of dependency.

In 1991, there were 11,512 referrals to the Juvenile Court committed by 7,504 individuals, which was an 11 percent increase from the year before. This is dramatic, when one considers that the juvenile population in the county grew at a rate of 2.4 percent during that year. In reviewing the Court's activities one can distinguish between misdemeanor and felony proceedings, even though these terms do not have direct counterparts in the Juvenile Court. Misdemeanor referrals (complaints) can generally be treated without recourse to the formal court adjudication process. Since about 65 percent of the time they are the child's first and only referral, they can be dealt with by a probation officer in one of the specialized early intervention programs

Most felonies are generally prosecuted and placed under close court scrutiny. The decision to prosecute felonies and third time misdemeanors lies wholly with the County Attorney as does the decision not to prosecute for any felony or for a youth who has two prior misdemeanor referrals. Prior to submission to the prosecutor these cases are evaluated by the Case Review and Evaluation (CRE) unit. If this evaluation, which includes interviews with the minor and his parents, provides substantial reason for treating the referral without the issuance of a petition, then after a conference with the County Attorney, the minor may be offered this alternative. Only the County Attorney may defer the issuance of a petition.

If the County attorney agrees to an alternative to prosecution, then the CRE probation officer may forward the case to one of the specialized diversion programs or develop a plan for its resolution in CRE. The youth must comply with and complete the plan approved by the County Attorney which may include one or more of the following conditions: community service; counseling; education program; rehabilitation; restitution; payment of a monetary assessment. The Pima County Juvenile Court has developed a wide range of alternatives to its formal process that enables them to refer minors to programs to fulfill this requirements. A variety of community services are available and if restitution is ordered, probation officers will assist juveniles in finding jobs so they can make restitution.

The Pima County Juvenile Court has a Family Services Unit to oversee the processing of status offenders. This unit screens incoming cases for abusive situations and refers minors and their families in need to shelter or counseling. Violent children are referred to the Stop Abusive Children unit (SAC) for counseling and, sometimes, community service.

There is a special unit for misdemeanors who are unlikely to commit further offenses. Those juveniles receive eight hours of special training and, sometimes, are required to do community service or pay restitution. A special drug unit is available to educate and treat youth who are

arrested for minor drug offenses. The office of the County Attorney agreed to withhold the issuance of a petition pending the outcome of the supervision/treatment. Referrals for juvenile sex crime offenders have been consolidated in a special unit, the Special Services Team. This unit evaluates the youth and ensures continued treatment and supervision services for sex offenders.

In 1991, the separate functions of court evaluation and probation supervision were combined into four integrated teams. Probation officers were, thereafter, responsible for both the investigation of a petitioned case and its supervision if placed on probation. The court operates a juvenile intensive probation program (JIPS). JIPS provides supervision beyond the traditional court hours, particularly at night, on weekends, and holidays through six two-person teams consisting of a probation officer and a surveillance officer. Caseloads are limited to 25 juveniles. The Serious Habitual Offender Comprehensive Action Program (SHOCAP) involves the prosecutor, schools, police and probation. As a special alternative to incarceration for chronic youthful offenders, a Special Supervision Project (S.S.P) was started. It is an intensive day program providing a full day schedule with all the components of a residential or correctional placement; however, the youth returns to his home each evening.

A number of private and non-profit services, that are known as street programs or day support, were developed through the collaboration of the Juvenile Court and the community. The programs provide alternative, community-based, intervention and support. Probation officers provide official court supervision of services while the street/day support counselors provide the daily intervention and education.

Since July 1991, all Juvenile Court staff have ready access to a Juvenile Court On-Line Tracking System (JOLTS). Many of the tasks which had previously been done manually are now accomplished through the system. Now, every authorized court user can easily review the information stored in the system. The Juvenile Court is responsible for its own detention facility. Juvenile detention is housed in the same physical structure as the courtrooms, probation department and support services. The facility including its recreational and educational activities was designed only for short term custodial care. The mandate for long term treatment and rehabilitation in a secure institution belongs to the Arizona Department of Youth Treatment and Rehabilitation.

If community policing is effective anywhere in Tucson, it is probably working best in the juvenile area. Both the police and the juvenile court are geared to increasing the use of community-based

solutions to the problem of juvenile crime. Police officers participate in several prevention programs for juveniles. About 60 officers are now involved in the juvenile area in non-traditional roles. For example, two officers are currently assigned to run a summer camp for youngsters. Many of the officers have taken kids on trips to Disneyland and elsewhere. These excursions are paid from city funds through the parks and recreation program. Both the court and the juvenile prosecutor are available to receive information from the police and the community about juvenile crime problems and prevention activities.

Further, the police have special School Liaison Officers (SLO) whose role is to prevent and divert youth from juvenile delinquency. Good communication with police accounts for cases moving faster through the juvenile system with better information, better communication and better follow-up. It has particularly affected the work of JIPS by providing improved background information for filing and recommendations.

Probation

Probation has noted changes in their interactions with the police as a result of community policing. *Robert Stiles*, Chief Probation Officer, and his Deputy Chief, *James Meyer* remarked that the principal advantage of community policing was higher police visibility in the community. They also were impressed with the gang unit's ability to improve the quality of life in communities. They specifically cited a recent example of a local park which had been taken over by drug dealers, gang members and other undesirables, who prevented access by ordinary citizens. One very vocal resident of the area with police support mobilized the community and successfully took back the park. An outgrowth of this success was the VISTAS program which has expanded this concept to other areas of the city. One problem with these programs, however, is that cleaning up one area may simply displace these activities elsewhere. Therefore, while commendable, they must be recognized for their short-term value not as a long-term solution to the problem.

As a result of better police-community interaction, the Office of Adult Probation receives better information from the police for their presentence investigation reports. Although some information provided may be rejected by the court, most is helpful and results in more appropriate sentence recommendations and decisions about violations and revocations. Traditionally in Tucson, a major emphasis has been placed on community service as a sentencing alternative. Indeed, in the State of Arizona some offenses call for community service by statute. All of the community service programs in Tucson are administered by the Probation Department as in-office programs. The office coordinates with other city departments, such as

parks and recreation, housing, etc. to place people in various clean-up and beautification projects. There are also a variety of work projects which are coordinated through the private sector. The Probation staff feels that these programs have been visibly enhanced by the improvement in community relations generated by community policing.

The Probation Office is examining a program in Madison, WI where teams of police and probation staff work together in high-risk areas such as public housing projects. These teams not only engage in traditional enforcement activities, but also in crime prevention and avoidance efforts. The Probation Department would like to establish a system, of satellite offices in neighborhoods that would provide easier access to the office by the people who are required to report periodically.

One of the more important benefits for Probation as a result of community policing has been improved contact with victims. Although victim rights laws and procedures have, for some time, provided for notification of victims of various events and for input from victims in such matters as sentencing, bail, restitution, etc., the actual use of these rights has been disappointing. Community policing has increased communication between the citizens, police and other elements of the system. The effect has been to make victims and citizens more aware of their role in the system. Court-watch groups are now a regular part of the system and more recently, Victim Advocacy groups have been created.

PART III. THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING ON THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

CHAPTER 8. PROVISIONAL FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purposes of our study were threefold. First, we wanted to identify the areas within the criminal justice system most likely to be affected by community policing activities. Second, we wished to describe the types of effects that were occurring in those areas. Finally, we wanted to determine if there were ways in which other parts of the criminal justice system and the government could enhance community policing efforts. It is often difficult to attribute changes that occur in the criminal justice system to any one activity such as community policing. The system is dynamic and agencies are interdependent. There might well be a near simultaneous occurrence of two independent events that are confounded with one another. For example, the establishment of protocols for domestic violence arrests may have its roots in events that were not sparked by community policing even though the procedures are adopted for community policing activities and affect the same criminal justice agencies as the protocols themselves.

The site assessments were used to better understand the dynamics of community policing across widely differing implementations of the strategy. The key factors found in this investigation were used to design a survey that would help validate our observations and the prevalence of the activities and effects observed at the four sites. 143 police departments who reported having some version of community policing were surveyed. The synthesis of findings from the sites and the survey are presented in this chapter. They are called provisional findings and conclusions because of the exploratory nature of this study and the clear need for more comprehensive assessments in some of the areas discussed here.

COMMUNITY POLICING REQUIRES NEW RELATIONSHIPS.

Each of the departments in the survey were asked to characterize the role of various agencies and the courts as either supportive, neutral or resistant. It was assumed that a supportive classification reflected good relations and communication between the two agencies. A neutral response was interpreted as reflecting ordinary relationships between the two agencies which could be due to a number of reasons. First, the agency may not be significantly affected by community policing. Second, it would not notice changes in workload because they were easily absorbed. Third, it may want to keep its independence from law enforcement for a variety of

reasons. If the agency was labeled as resistant, then we assumed that the police would not be able to depend on that external support in implementing community policing.

Table 8.1.
**Percent Distribution of Support for Community Policing
by Criminal Justice System Agencies and the Courts**

<u>Agency/Court</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	<u>Supportive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Resistant</u>
City Attorney/Corp. Counsel	76	20	4
Prosecutor	69	25	2
City Court	65	32	3
Juvenile Court	61	34	5
County Lower Court	52	45	3
Felony Court	47	52	1
AVERAGE INDEX	62	35	3

As Table 8.1 indicates, community policing shifts the emphasis to quality of life crimes and their resolution. Thus the high level of support provided by the city attorney or corporation counsel who typically process ordinance and municipal violations suggests that there are significant benefits in improved coordination and cooperation with the police. conversely, if a strong relationships is not present, it also may suggest that community policing really hasn't taken hold in the municipality.

The supportive relationships established with the prosecutor, city courts and juvenile courts also suggests that there is broad agreement with law enforcement's shift in focus from crime control to crime prevention. An interesting question is, why is there less support provided by the county lower court (typically a misdemeanor court with felony intake). One answer may be that once arrests are designated as misdemeanors or felonies, the traditional case processing relationships take over and other options become less important or viable.

Our examination suggests that community policing builds a different set of relationships than what traditionally would be present. A follow-up study should include a look at a sample of departments that didn't have community policing to determine what ratings those departments would have given the same agencies. It is also interesting to see that at least a third of the responses classify the relationships as neutral. Is neutrality sufficient for success? How much does this neutrality affect what can be achieved in the long run?

COMMUNITY POLICING FOCUSES ON SMALL AREAS.

The implementation of community policing usually tends to go hand-in-hand with decentralization and flattening of the organization. These two factors tend to change the idea of one size fits all in law enforcement to tailoring of the response to the smaller geographic area. This may fit well with other agencies that deliver services geographically like parks and recreation. It will work well with a prosecutor if they also reorganize on the same spatial framework. It will more difficult for the courts, in particular those with primary felony jurisdiction. While you will still be able to measure performance for the entire area, this new spatial orientation will require the development of better spatially based information systems.

COMMUNITY POLICING TENDS TO AFFECT THOSE AGENCIES THAT HANDLE QUALITY OF LIFE CASES MOST

Traditional policing has relegated those maintenance and order crimes, those that affect daily living, to the back burner in order to concentrate more resources on serious crime. One result of this behavior was to allow these problems to fester and eventually generate more serious crimes that would have to be dealt with. Remember the gulch in Portland. Community policing brings a new emphasis to maintenance and order crimes and produces workload for those agencies that deal with quality of live issues and minor crime. It also tends to bring new attention to juvenile crime and domestic violence.

Community policing has had an impact on city attorneys, the city courts, and other lower level courts. For example, in Colorado Springs, when the police put a special emphasis on juvenile and domestic violence problems, the judges complained that they could no longer handle all the requests for restraining orders. At the same time, city court realized a surge in citations for loitering, especially in cases involving juveniles. An increasing use of local ordinances and abatements was recognized, developed and supported by city attorney's and prosecutors as an effective strategy for community policing.

COMMUNITY POLICING GOALS ARE ENHANCED BY PROSECUTORIAL SUPPORT

There are many different roles that prosecutors can assume. They can be proactive partners with police as typified by the District Attorneys in Multnomah County, OR, King County (Seattle) WA, Kings County (Brooklyn) NY, and Montgomery County, MD. They can also be reactive partners, taking a less public stance, but nevertheless providing the police with the tools and techniques they need. The District Attorney in Colorado Springs assumed such a posture. Either style of support is beneficial, it is merely a question of personal style, prosecutorial policy, and the resources of the prosecutor.

Other seemingly less effective prosecutorial stances are those of neutrality and independence. If the police insist on pursuing quality of life crimes and the prosecutor will not follow through, the community will either become discouraged with the entire strategy or perhaps may make their desires known to the prosecutor. As Table 8.1 indicated, most of the prosecutors were supportive.

COMMUNITY POLICING DOES NOT APPEAR TO AFFECT MISDEMEANOR AND FELONY COURT CASE PROCESSING

Once felony or misdemeanor cases enter the system, it appears to be business as usual. The courts may experience some increase in the volume of certain types of cases in the short-run, but it probably will not change the way cases are processed. In the longer term, one would hope that we are trading early misdemeanors for later felonies and ordinance violations for misdemeanors. In the best possible outcome, community policing might hope to produce law abiding citizens in livable neighborhoods for criminality in dangerous areas. Until then, however, the typical misdemeanant or felon will be handled in the traditional manner by the courts.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN COMMUNITY POLICING ACTIVITIES AND PROBATION ARE LARGELY POLICY DRIVEN.

We observed many possible ways that the typical probation department and the police department could work together. Probation may be able to help the police in cases where a probationer is the source of trouble in the community. Probation or parole revocation is a powerful weapon, at least if the prosecutor and judge cooperate. At the same time, the probation/parole department has an interest in seeing its clients return to quiet livable neighborhoods that offer few opportunities to benefit from criminality. Exchange of information between the police and probation can be very helpful in accomplishing this. However, the existence of partnerships appears to be largely based on whether the police or the probation

department embraces rehabilitation as a legitimate role or whether the department's policy restricts probation to the enforcement and supervision of court-ordered conditions and sanctions.

COMMUNITY POLICING CREATES STRONG TIES WITH MANY LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND AGENCIES THAT HAVE AUTHORITY, RESOURCES, AND/OR CONTROL OVER THE DELIVERY OF SERVICES.

Community policing would have a hard time existing without the support of local governmental authorities. Few police chiefs would attempt a major shift in philosophy, strategy, and policy without the acquiescence of the mayor, city council or city administrator. This was eminently clear from the survey and the site visits. The strongest supportive relationships were between the mayor and/or city administrators and the police department.

In Plainfield NJ and Charleston, SC, the mayor is perhaps the greatest supporter of community policing. This has manifested itself in both budgetary and policy support. The mayor has made it known throughout the city government that he expects everyone to cooperate with the police in their community policing efforts. In Alexandria VA, the police department receives exceptional support from the city manager who, at the monthly meetings with department directors, reinforces the importance of the community policing efforts. Through his efforts, the bureaucratic resistance to police access to city services have been decreased.

In Austin TX, the city manager believes that community policing is leading the way into community government. Consistent with this belief is that of the city manager in Richmond, VA who supports a concept called *Community Related Government* which is manifested in satellite mini-city halls. Citizens can conduct the same business as they would at the main city hall. In addition, Austin has instituted a program called *Self Reliant Neighborhoods*. This is a partnership-based program that involves city governmental agencies assisting local neighborhoods in resolving quality of life issues. A similar change has occurred in Miami, FL where Neighborhood Enhancement Team (NET) centers offer city and law enforcement services in eleven areas throughout the city.

In Greenville, NC the mayor, through the city manager's office has developed a *Neighborhood Improvement Team* which is comprised of representatives from every department in the city government. The team was given the task of identifying neighborhoods within the city that are in a state of disrepair and badly need special assistance. All costs for cleanup and labor are borne by the city.

In St. Louis, MO, city hall now has in place offices that work directly with beat officers and neighborhood leaders in certain sections of the city. If a district officer is working with a neighborhood problem that requires the help of city services, e.g. street lighting, graffiti removal, building inspections, etc., the officer contacts one person from *Operation Con-Serv* who gets the services for the officer. Because the Con-Serv officer works out of the mayor's office, they cut through a lot of the red tape normally present when trying to secure some of these services.

Table 8.2
Percent Distribution of Support for Community Policing
by Local Government Agencies

<u>Agency/Office</u>	<u>Index</u>		
	<u>Supportive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Resistant</u>
Mayor	91	6	3
City Administrator	88	12	0
School Board	84	15	1
Building Inspectors	84	14	2
Housing	83	16	1
Child welfare	73	26	1
Health Department	72	26	2
Fire Department	69	31	0
AVERAGE INDEX	81	18	1

It is interesting that there are more supportive relationships established with local government agencies by community policing departments than established with other agencies within the criminal justice system. On average, 81 percent of the law enforcement agencies described their relations with local government agencies as supportive, but only 62 percent of the criminal justice agencies were considered this favorable. A comparison of the results in Tables 8.1 and 8.2 strongly suggests that community policing, properly implemented, is viewed by law enforcement agencies as having a wider beneficial effect outside of the criminal justice system than within it.

Natural partnerships are formed with schools, building inspectors, housing departments, child welfare agencies, health departments and the fire department. In Baltimore County, MD the school board works with the police in several ways including: providing facilities and other resources to hold youth retreats on weekends which allow for an exchange between police officers and at-risk children; providing class time for precinct officers to conduct mentoring programs; and generally, supporting all aspects of the DARE program.

The Plainfield, NJ Board of Education has established a partnership with the police department. It allows the department to use one of its schools after hours as a *safe haven* for at-risk youth. Not only does the school board fund the use of the school, but it also provides a meal for youths who participate in safe haven. The Board of Education provides for two safe haven sites.

The Board of Education in Greensboro, NC has supported the department's *adopt a school program*. It provides these officers with a desk and a small office to use when writing reports. This puts a police presence in the schools when there are no programs and that presence has resulted in improved student and police relationships. In Inglewood, CA, the police department operates four neighborhood centers out of elementary schools. The Unified School District is a strong supporter of these neighborhood-oriented mini-stations and provides space and utilities.

There are a wide array of relationships that are established with regulatory and enforcement agencies in the local jurisdiction. Each agency with an inspection and licensing function is a prime candidate to help in the community policing effort. How these relationships are established is critical to their institutionalization. In some cases, it is left to patrol officers to establish on a case by case basis. In other departments the relationships are formalized through task forces and/or partnership agreements.

In many cities, the police work closely with the housing code enforcement departments to solve housing and code enforcement problems. Usually this is done through direct coordination with housing officials. Housing rules, regulations are enforced stringently by inspectors in targeted areas or projects. They condemn or otherwise shutdown drug and crime centers located in vacant or abandoned buildings. Non-residents who are the source of problems are targeted by probation and the police. Many nuisance locations have been closed through drug abatement procedures and ordinances developed cooperatively by the housing department, police, and the city attorney or local prosecutor.

These specific examples point out that community policing is and should be far more than officers walking the beat or riding bicycles. It can be a catalyst for mobilizing resources efficiently and effectively for the common good of the city residents. There will undoubtedly be many cases where there will be disagreements on priorities, disputes between the city department and the police. However, in the long run, the parties have little choice but to work together. The problems are complex and solutions have many dimensions and require many forms of expertise. Even with full criminal justice system support, the police need the support of other agencies if quality of life is to improve.

LENGTH OF TIME THAT COMMUNITY POLICING EXISTS IS NO INDICATOR OF CHANGES IN EFFECTS

After interviewing key decisionmakers from all parts of the criminal justice system, it became obvious that the length of time community policing was in existence was not correlated with success or impact. The effort that was under way the longest, Tucson, appeared to have the least noticeable impact on other agencies.

COMMUNITY POLICING HAS MANY SHAPES AND SIZES AND THOSE DIFFERENCES WILL AFFECT THE OBSERVABLE IMPACTS ON THE SYSTEM

The degree to which community policing is integrated into a department seems to affect the potential for recognizable impact. Colorado Springs and Portland were fairly close to fully integrating community policing into the whole department. Both had established an all encompassing support structure for community policing. They both had come to the conclusion that traditional methods could not work in the long run since adequate resources would never be available. They both concluded that organizational change was required, that the front line officers had to be empowered, and that training, recruitment, and promotion criteria had to change. These are major shifts not only in policing structure, but also in culture.

When one observes different results from jurisdictions that "have community policing", the first objective should be to find out if they really do. In the index displayed earlier in this report, the index was clearly normally distributed for those that had any of the characteristics that we identified in the research. On the other hand, there were a significant number of departments who say they have community policing but indicate none of the required attributes.

This study would have to conclude that community policing, if properly implemented, can have very positive effects. Those effects will be diminished substantially if the other city departments do not cooperate and coordinate priorities. With the exception of the city attorney and the

juvenile justice agencies and courts, the other actors in the criminal justice system are perhaps less important, although their cooperation can enhance the program. If these actors choose not to accommodate the strategies being followed by the police and other city departments, the citizens will probably eventually have their say at the ballot box. Fortunately, the key player, namely the city attorney, seems to align himself much closer to overall city policy.

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Weisburg, David and P.L. Hardyman (1987). Choosing Between Innovation and Control. Some Supervisory Dilemmas in Community Policing. Draft Manuscript. Rutgers University, School of Criminal Justice.

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A. ID #: _____

B. State: _____

Community policing (CP) and its impact on criminal justice and public agencies

TELEPHONE SURVEY (CP)

Interviewer: _____

Date of interview: _____

IDENTIFICATION INFORMATION

Respondent information

1. Name:

2. Title:

3. Agency:

4. Address:

5. Phone: ()

Fax: ()

Office information

1. Type of Agency

- 1. Police
- 2. Sheriff

2. Jurisdiction of Department

- 1. City
- 2. County
- 3. City and parts of county

3. Size of Department

- 1. No. of total personnel: _____
- 2. No. of sworn officers: _____

DETAILS ON COMMUNITY POLICING

CP Characteristics

4. Do you have CP?

yes no

If no, stop here

5. What stage is CP in, or closest to?

- 1. planning
- 2. developing
- 3. implementing
- 4. modifying

6. How long has the department had CP?

Years: _____
or months: _____

7. Where do CP activities primarily occur?

- 1. all precincts
- 2. only targeted areas
- 3. other _____

8. Is CP performed by

- 1. specially designated officers within the department
- 2. special units or initiatives
- 3. all patrol
- 4. [] some patrol
- 5. [] other _____

9. As a result of CP, has the department changed the response priorities assigned to 911 calls?

Yes No

10. As a result of CP, are more crime REPORTS taken by telephone rather than by police being dispatched to the scene.

Yes No

11. Since implementing CP, are more of the important decisions being made by lower level officers than before?

yes no

Management and administration

12. Do detectives or investigators assigned to the following bureaus or divisions routinely work out of headquarters or at decentralized commands?

	Hqtrs	Dec.Cds	Divided	N/A
a) homicide	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) robbery	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) narcotics	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) arson	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) youth div.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) crime only.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) others _____				

13) Do crime analysts work directly with patrol officers?

yes no [] n/a

14 Are the department's planning personnel actively involved in developing CP programs or activities?

yes no [] n/a

15. Has CP resulted in changes in the budgeting process?

- yes
- no
- n/a

Operations

16. Does the department have a mission statement for CP?

- yes
- no

17. Did the department change their organizational values after adopting CP?

- yes
- no

18. Does the Chief Executive have a vision statement?

- yes
- no

Coordination

19. What is the role of the prosecutor with respect to CP?

- 1. proactive partner
- 2. reactive partner
- 3. generally supportive
- 4. independent/neutral
- 5. resistant _____
- 6. other _____

20. With respect to providing support to CP, are the following agencies

- 1 = supportive
- 2 = neutral
- 3 = resistant?

4 = not/applicable

scale

- 1. city attorney or corporation counsel
- 2. city or municipal court
- 3. county lower (misd.) court
- 4. felony court
- 5. juvenile court
- 6. fire department
- 7. child welfare
- 8. housing authorities
- 9. building and inspections
- 10. health department
- 11. elected mayor or elected county board of commissioners
- 12. city or county administrator
- 13. school board
- 14. others (especially resistant or supportive)

Personnel

21. Has CP changed the factors that are used in recruiting or selecting new officers?

yes no [] Under consideration

22. Is CP part of the training academy curriculum?

yes
 no
 in planning stage

23. Are CP activities considered in performance evaluation. ?

yes
 no
 in planning stage

24. Does the department have a training manual for CP?

yes
 no
 in planning stage

25. Does the department have a policy and procedures manual for CP operations?

yes
 no
 in planning stage

26. Do you geo-code calls for service to census geography ?

[] yes [] no

If yes, how many police reporting zones do you have?

Thank you very much for your time.

This was very informative.

We might call you back to get more details on your community policing effort, if you don't mind.

APPENDIX B

POLICE DEPARTMENTS RANKED BY INTEGRATION INDEX

COMMUNITY POLICING INTEGRATION INDEX

BACKGROUND

As part of our evaluation of the impact of community policing on the criminal justice system (Grant No: 92-IJ-CX-K033) we conducted a telephone survey of all the participants in the BJA/NIJ Community Policing Conference held in August, 23-25, 1993 at Crystal City. The purpose of this survey was to identify law enforcement agencies that were well along in the implementation and modification stages of community policing. We assumed that the effects of community policing on the rest of the criminal justice system would be more visible as the community policing effort matured and aged. We also assumed that there were three indicators of maturity that could be collected without much difficulty. They were:

1. Operational changes: including

- a. changes in the response priorities assigned to 911 calls.
- b. increases in the number of crime reports taken by telephone rather than by police being dispatched to the scene.

If these changes had occurred as a result of community policing, then we assumed that the department was serious about changing operations and freeing up manpower to increase community policing efforts.

2. Management and organizational changes including:

- a. increases in the delegation of important decisions to lower level officers
- b. decentralization of specialized detective bureaus or divisions that routinely worked out of headquarters
- c. the assignment of crime analysts to work directly with patrol officers
- d. changes in the budgeting process since the implementation of community policing.

If these changes occurred, then we assumed that community policing was being integrated into the department and had a high probability of institutionalization.

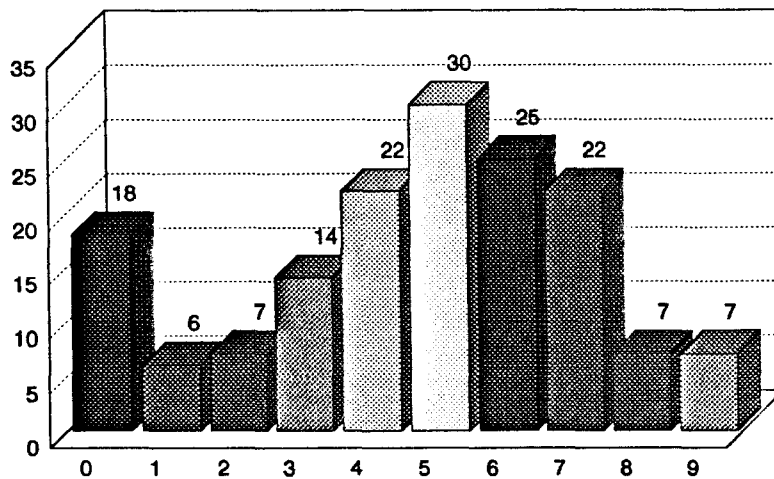
3. Personnel changes including:

- a. changes in the recruitment or selection of new officers'
- b. the addition of community policing to training academy curriculum
- c. consideration of community policing activities in performance evaluation.

If these changes occurred, then we assumed that community policing had a high probability of surviving long after its present proponents had retired or resigned.

We took these 9 indicators and assigned a weight of one to each if they had occurred within the police department. The sum of these weights represented an unweighted index of integration of community policing within a department. We validated some of the indices based on our knowledge of the community policing activities in sites that we either had visited as part of our grant, or had direct knowledge of through other contacts. They appear to accurately reflect the status of departments relative to other departments. For example, Colorado Springs, CO and Portland OR are in the order we would have assigned based on our on-site assessments.

Attachment A contains the index for each of the 158 police departments that we surveyed, ranked from the highest integration level (9) to the lowest (0). The following is the distribution of the index:



The distribution looks very good and appears to discriminate well among the 158 jurisdictions. The index is unweighted (1's assigned for the presence of each indicator) but it could be weighted to reflect other user's policies and priorities.

The information is relatively easy to collect and, although the questions asked in the survey may be subject to some interpretation, they seem to produce essentially objective responses. Although our validation has been limited, a follow-up validation could be made if the survey is extended to additional sites and if additional on-site validations were conducted.

We have not fully explored the utility of this index, but, on the surface, it seems to hold promise for:

1. Classifying departments by the level of integration that community policing has achieved;
2. Allowing for comparative or relative assessments;
3. Identifying groups of departments by integration level which thereby permits the development of special materials to move them higher up the integration ladder;
4. Organizing technical assistance and training programs around the maturation levels;
5. Giving the Department and BJA a sense of what is needed so they can allocate funding resources using this as one of their criteria;
6. Providing a basis for the evaluation of the effectiveness of various initiatives with respect to their movement along the community policing development- implementation continuum.

	A	B	C
1	Name of Jurisdiction	ID	INDEX
2	Phoenix PD AZ	4	9
3	Colorado Springs PD CO	13	9
4	Ft. Meyers PD FL	22	9
5	Joplin PD MD	54	9
6	Boston PD MA	61	9
7	Duluth PD MN	70	9
8	Odessa PD TX	134	9
9	San Diego PD CA	11	8
10	Wilmington PD DE	18	8
11	Aurora PD IL	30	8
12	Baton Rouge PD LA	40	8
13	Baltimore Co. PD MD	46	8
14	Greenville PD NC	96	8
15	Austin PD TX	131	8
16	Birmingham PD AL	1	7
17	Tempe PD AZ	5	7
18	City of Modesto PD CA	9	7
19	Bridgeport PD CT	14	7
20	Waterloo PD IA	39	7
21	Crofton PD MD	49	7
22	Montgomery Co. PD MD	59	7
23	Plainsfield PD NJ	82	7
24	New York City PD NY	86	7
25	Cary PD NC	91	7
26	Greensboro PD NC	95	7
27	Gresham PD OR	110	7
28	Portland Police Bureau OR	112	7
29	State College Mun. PD PA	122	7
30	York City PD PA	124	7
31	Greenville PD SC	128	7
32	McAllen PD TX	133	7
33	Richmond PD VA	147	7
34	Virginia Beach PD VA	149	7
35	Redmond PD WA	152	7
36	Seattle PD WA	153	7
37	Washington DC PD	155	7
38	City of Hartford PD CT	15	6
39	Boynton Beach PD FL	19	6
40	LaGrange PD IL	33	6
41	Annapolis PD MD	43	6
42	Hagerstown PD MD	52	6
43	Landover Hills PD MD	56	6
44	Calvert Co SO MD	57	6
45	University Park PD MD	60	6
46	Lansing PD MI	68	6
47	Grandview PD MO	72	6
48	St. Louis Metro. PD MO	74	6

	A	B	C
1	Name of Jurisdiction	ID	INDEX
49	Exeter PD NH	77	6
50	Asheville PD NC	90	6
51	Mount Olive PD NC	98	6
52	Southern Pines PD NC	99	6
53	Winston PD NC	100	6
54	Norman PD OK	108	6
55	Marion Co. SO OR	113	6
56	Bensalem Township PD PA	116	6
57	Knoxville PD TN	130	6
58	Tyler PD TX	135	6
59	Alexandria PD VA	136	6
60	Waynesboro PD VA	151	6
61	Milwaukee PD WI	157	6
62	Tucson PD AZ	6	5
63	City of Salinas PD CA	10	5
64	Middletown PD CT	16	5
65	Athens-Clarke Co. PD GA	26	5
66	Carol Stream PD IL	31	5
67	Newton Co. SD IN	35	5
68	Sioux City PD IA	38	5
69	Baltimore PD MD	45	5
70	Harford Co. SO MD	47	5
71	Denton PD MD	50	5
72	Frederick Co. SO MD	51	5
73	Prince George's Co. PD MD	55	5
74	Chelsea PD MA	63	5
75	Troy PD MI	69	5
76	Warrensburg PD MO	75	5
77	City of Beacon PD NY	83	5
78	Rochester PD NY	87	5
79	Village of Walden PD NY	88	5
80	City of Yonkers PD NY	89	5
81	Xenia PD OH	107	5
82	Oregon State PD OR	111	5
83	Abington Township PD PA	114	5
84	Allentown PD PA	115	5
85	Beaufort Co. SD SC	127	5
86	Dallas PD TX	132	5
87	Fredericksburg PD VA	141	5
88	Hampton PD VA	142	5
89	Newport News PD VA	144	5
90	Norfolk PD VA	145	5
91	Petersburg PD VA	146	5
92	Fresno PD CA	7	4
93	Los Angeles PD CA	8	4
94	Ft. Lauderdale PD FL	21	4
95	Joliet PD IL	32	4

	A	B	C
1	Name of Jurisdiction	ID	INDEX
96	Capitol Heights PD MD	48	4
97	Barnstable PD MA	64	4
98	Elizabeth PD NJ	79	4
99	Jersey City PD NJ	80	4
100	Durham PD NC	92	4
101	Gastonia PD NC	94	4
102	Jackson Township PD OH	102	4
103	Cleveland PD OH	104	4
104	Youngstown PD OH	106	4
105	Pawtucket PD RI	125	4
106	City of Jackson PD TN	129	4
107	Chesterfield Co. PD VA	138	4
108	Fairfax Co. PD VA	139	4
109	Falls Church PD VA	140	4
110	Hemdon PD VA	143	4
111	Fauguier Co. SO VA	150	4
112	Madison PD WI	156	4
113	Racine PD WI	158	4
114	Morgan Co. SD AL	2	3
115	San Jose PD CA	12	3
116	Jacksonville Beach PD FL	23	3
117	Valdosta PD GA	28	3
118	Honolulu PD HI	29	3
119	Mason City PD IA	37	3
120	Lawrence PD MA	65	3
121	Town of Provincetown PD MA	66	3
122	Las Vegas Metro PD NV	76	3
123	Fayetteville PD NC	93	3
124	Bethlehem PD PA	117	3
125	Arlington Co. PD VA	137	3
126	Smithfield PD VA	148	3
127	Pierce Co. SD WA	154	3
128	City of Miami PD FL	24	2
129	Braintree PD MA	62	2
130	Minneapolis PD MN	71	2
131	Lakewood PD NJ	81	2
132	Ithaca PD NY	84	2
133	Columbus PD OH	105	2
134	Lancaster PD PA	119	2
135	Mesa PD AZ	3	1
136	Broward Co. SO FL	20	1
137	City of Bangor PD ME	42	1
138	Dunellen PD NJ	78	1
139	Cincinnati PD OH	103	1
140	Valley Township PD PA	118	1
141	Indian River Co. SO FL	25	0
142	Gwinden PD GA	27	0

	A	B	C
1	Name of Jurisdiction	ID	INDEX
143	Urbana PD IL	34	0
144	Hamilton Co. SD IN	36	0
145	Orleans Parish SO LA	41	0
146	Anne Arundel Co. SO MD	44	0
147	Washington Co. SO MD	53	0
148	Riverdale PD MD	58	0
149	Detroit PD MI	67	0
150	Kansas City PD MO	73	0
151	Town of Manlius PD NY	85	0
152	Maiden PD NC	97	0
153	Akron PD OH	101	0
154	Beaverton PD OR	109	0
155	Bristol Township PD PA	120	0
156	Montgomery Township PD PA	121	0
157	Washington PD PA	123	0
158	Providence PD RI	126	0