



**A QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF COMMUNITY POLICING ON THE EASTSIDE**

November 1993



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COMMUNITY POLICING IN WILMINGTON, DELAWARE THE EASTSIDE SUBSTANCE ABUSE AWARENESS PROGRAM

PREFACE

The Eastside was the worst place in the city...pairs of shoes hung over the telephone lines. That means "this is the place to buy drugs"...even kids asked them [dealers], "why don't you hang them up on my street. My street is dead". We had to call the power and light company to come out and cut the shoes down...the community said enough is enough. We are going to get you out of here one by one. From 50 sneakers up on the wires, and now you can't see any or maybe a pair if that.

Often, in history, as the progressive reform becomes the routinized and taken-for-granted means to an end, problems surface and we look back in an attempt to reclaim the kernel of wisdom thrown out with the debris of reform. This is certainly the case with community policing. Kelling and Moore (1988: 3) write that:

The primary tactic of police during the political era was foot patrol. Most police officers walked beats and dealt with crime, disorder, and other problems as they arose, or as they were guided by citizens and precinct superiors.

Why then, did the foot patrol, as a basic tactic in the organization of police work, fade away? The history of policing strategy, as presented by Kelling and Moore, indicates that the foot patrol, as an element of a model of policing that had become politicized and corrupt, came to be seen as an "outmoded, expensive, frill" even though it never fell out of favor with community members (1988: 7).

This report on community policing is a companion to the Delaware Statistical Analysis Center reports titled "Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program Evaluation" (1992 and 1993). These earlier reports focused to a great extent on the "hard data" that document the positive changes in illicit drug problems in the targeted areas. In these reports, the rise and fall of complaints made to the police regarding illicit drug activities and subsequent arrest are documented for the Eastside neighborhood and compared to 60 other areas of the city over a five year period.

This study captures many of the ESAAP program activities that have accompanied change in how life is lived in this inner city Black community. Without the ESAAP program, and its community policing component, there would have been nothing to stop the illicit drug situation from reaching the levels observed in the Westside and Hilltop neighborhoods. To date, ESAAP has not solved the illicit drug problem, but it has been contained, and the neighborhood's social order, police methods, and community self-awareness are slowly changing as intended.

The approach to evaluation represented in this study recognizes that reported crimes and arrests are only two of the outcomes important to an assessment of community policing. Other important outcomes observed in the Eastside include collaboration between community members and the police, a problem-oriented approach by both police and community members, and a sense of confidence and pride among community members who have seen that their efforts have real effects in the community environment, community member's feelings of safety, and methods of allocating police resources to the community. As you will see, there are no longer "ten pairs of shoes" hanging from the power lines on the Eastside.

The following report on the Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program (ESAAP) provides a qualitative assessment of the community policing component of the project. It is based on interviews with the key police personnel and community members who initiated, designed, and implemented community policing in Wilmington, review of relevant documents, and observation of the Eastside neighborhood as well as a comparison neighborhood. The report will begin with a short description of the project, then review the critical components of the new strategy reported in the literature on community policing. Third, a brief description of the research design and discussion of the contribution that qualitative research makes to evaluation is given; fourth, the findings and conclusions are presented; and the report concludes with a narrative and interpretation of the interview results.

THE EASTSIDE SUBSTANCE ABUSE AWARENESS PROGRAM

The Eastside Substance Awareness Program (ESAAP), . . . is a comprehensive, community based effort to reduce illicit drug activity in Wilmington's Eastside neighborhood. A goal of the program is to improve the quality of life for residents of an area that is experiencing problems related to open drug activity and related crime. The program is comprehensive in that it attempts to address community development and neighborhood empowerment issues in addition to focusing on law enforcement. By combining resources of criminal justice agencies, existing community service providers, the education system, churches and area businesses, the Eastside program aims to reduce drug related activity in the neighborhood by improving the relationship between residents and police, encouraging residents to become more involved in community-based efforts at reducing drug related activity in the area and increasing the availability of educational, social and rehabilitative services. The evaluation focuses on assessing the impact of three of the program's components on neighborhood drug activity. These components are:

- a. Enhanced law enforcement efforts with emphasis on the use of community policing.
- b. Improved community organization, including the establishment of a neighborhood advisory board, a block captain network, and neighborhood watch groups.
- c. An increase in the number and types of social, educational and rehabilitative services available to residents of the neighborhood. This includes the establishment of additional tutoring programs for neighborhood youth, parent training programs, substance abuse education, counseling and treatment services. Emphasis is also placed on increasing community awareness of existing programs (Delaware Statistical Analysis Center, 1991).

AREA DESCRIPTION

The Eastside is a clearly-bounded neighborhood of about 6,000 located on the eastern edge of the central business district. Although primarily residential, the neighborhood includes a few industrial areas. Three elementary school, a middle school, a vocational high school, an adult education facility, a community center, and a cultural arts facility are within the neighborhood boundaries.

Urban renewal projects are clearly visible in Eastside in the three high-rise apartment buildings which, until recently, were used only for senior citizens. Approximately 30 percent of Eastside

residents are homeowners. Eastside is a characteristic inner-city neighborhood with a disproportionate number of low-income households: 1990 census data show that per capita income for Eastside residents is approximately 54 percent of the per capita income figures for the city as a whole - \$7,675 vs. \$14,256 (DSAC, 1991: 3). The area is more fully described in the 1993 program evaluation report.

PROGRAM COMPONENTS

The project was funded for two and three years beginning in February of 1989. Major program components include:

A "Walking Drug Patrol" consisting of four senior patrol officers

- Assigned to patrol the Eastside
- Locate and identify drug "hot spots"
- Target identified drug dealers for undercover investigation
- Community mobilization (second year)
- Attend Eastside Advisory Council and other community groups
- Participate in youth activities

1993 EVALUATION UPDATE

According to one of the most recent Delaware Statistical Analysis Center reports, evaluation results are mixed:

This ESAAP evaluation...provides complex news. In 1991 calls reported to the Wilmington Police Department increased significantly from approximately 2,800 in 1990 to 4,300. Likewise, illicit drug arrests have increased; from 1,364 to 1,633. Some of the gains on the Eastside were lost. On the whole, reported illicit drug behavior has become more severe and spread into more areas of the city. Stable areas in the city have decreased by five. Four areas that were "Hot Spots" (increasing reports and arrests) have become "Saturated Areas" where illicit drug activity has escalated to the point where the police are unable to curb the problem using existing resources.

The report also concludes that community policing can change the direction of the illicit drug problem - - not only has the Eastside shown areas where crime and arrest have decreased because of the presence of the community policing, but two separate neighborhoods have shown positive trends when community policing and a police mini station were implemented (Delaware SAC, 1993: 1).

BACK TO THE FUTURE: THE RETURN TO COMMUNITY POLICING

The purpose of this section is to identify the major differences between traditional and community policing. Kelling and Moore traced the development of the para-military police organization that is now seen as the "traditional" model. Kelling and Moore's interpretation of police history identifies a trend towards an autonomous police department based on a para-military organizational structure that emphasizes chain of command accountability to immediate supervisors, strict internal control, and minimal contact with citizens and/or community members. This model of police work appears to be less and less effective for "crime fighting" (1988: 1):

We think that this trend is shrinking rather than enlarging police capacity to help create civil communities. Our judgment is that this trend can be reversed only by re-focusing police attention from the pursuit of professional autonomy to the establishment of effective problem-solving partnerships with the communities they police.

In another paper, Kelling talks about "the quiet revolution" (1988: 1):

Police in dozens of communities are returning to foot patrol. In many communities, police are surveying citizens to learn what they believe to be their most serious neighborhood problems. Many police departments are finding alternatives to rapidly responding to the majority of calls for service. Many departments are targeting resources on citizen fear of crime by concentrating on disorder. Organizing citizens' groups has become a priority in many departments. Increasingly, police departments are looking for means to evaluate themselves on the contribution to the quality of neighborhood life, not just crime statistics. Are such activities the business of policing? In a crescendo, police are answering yes.

The rediscovery of community policing, the "quiet revolution", began as it became evident that the police strategies introduced in the 1930's and taken for granted in the 70's needed to be modified to be more effective for the conditions of the 80's and 90's. The riots and protests of the 60's and 70's led police strategists to reconsider their methods for maintaining public order. Lee Brown identified the elements of traditional policing, and recalling his experience as chief of police in Houston, Texas, talked about the evolution of police thought as community needs change (1989: 2):

That police leaders are challenging the assumptions they have held for several decades should not be construed as an attempt to debunk all that has worked well for many years. Rather the rethinking should be seen as a sign of police leaders' commitment to ensuring that the strategies they adopt will be viable not only now but in the future as well. Only by refining what works well and scrapping or reshaping what no longer

meets the community's needs can police departments face up to the problems and deliver the services that citizens deserve and should expect.

BROWN'S ELEMENTS OF TRADITIONAL POLICING

- The police are reactive to incidents. The organization is driven by calls for police service.
- Information from and about the community is limited. Planning efforts focus on internally generated police data.
- Planning is narrow in its focus and centers on internal operations such as policies, procedures, rules and regulations.
- Recruitment focuses on the spirit of adventure rather than the spirit of service.
- Patrol officers are restrained in their role. They are not encouraged to be creative in addressing problem are not rewarded for undertaking innovative approaches.
- Training is geared toward the law enforcement role of the police even though officers spend only 15 to 20 percent of their time on such activities.
- Management uses an authoritative style and adheres to the military model of command and control.
- Supervision is control-oriented as it reflects and reinforces the organization's management style.
- Rewards are associated with participating in daring events rather than conducting service activities.
- Performance evaluations are based not on outcomes but on activities. The number of arrests made and the number of citations issued are of paramount importance.
- Agency effectiveness is based on data -- particularly crime and clearance rates -- from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports.

An NIJ Journal on Community Policing lists changes that occur in implementing the approach (August 1992: 3). Evidence of these changes will be the focus of the analysis.

PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY POLICING

- **Moving the police officer from a position of anonymity in the patrol car to direct engagement with the community gives the officer more immediate information about problems unique to a neighborhood and insights into their solutions.**
- **Freeing the officer from the emergency response system permits him or her to engage more directly in proactive crime prevention.**
- **Making operations more visible to the public increases police accountability to the public.**
- **Decentralizing operations allows officers to develop a greater familiarity with the specific workings and needs of various neighborhoods and constituencies in the community and adapt procedures to accommodate those needs.**
- **Encouraging officers to view citizens as partners improves relations between police and the public.**
- **Moving decision making and discretion downward to the patrol officer places more authority in the hands of the person who best knows the community's problems and expectations.**
- **Developing a relationship between police and the public encourages citizens to take more initiative in preventing and solving crimes.**

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The Delaware Statistical Analysis Center has conducted an evaluation based on pre and post crime statistics from Wilmington precincts. Some of the results of this evaluation are reported here on Page 3. Quantitative analysis is necessary to test the effectiveness of interventions, but, often, it is not sufficient. A statistical analysis does not explain how and to what extent the program design was implemented.

A text on evaluation (Patton, 1978) gives an example of an evaluation of a parenting and household management program funded by a state legislature for pilot testing in a major city. An independent, research group with an excellent reputation was awarded the evaluation contract. The research design included pretest data collection on participants' parenting, household man-

agement, and budgetary practices. After 18 months, the participants were interviewed again, and the evaluators found no change in behavior. The evaluation results of no program effect were reported, and the legislature discontinued funding for the project. The evaluators could not explain why the program did not work. However, it later became evident that the program was never implemented due to the "politics of urban welfare". There were implementation delays, educational materials were never produced, workshops were not held, and case workers were never trained (Patton: 150).

In short, *the program was never implemented - - but it was evaluated!*

It was found to be ineffective and was killed.

It is also important that evaluation research ask the right questions. Is community policing an intervention designed to produce certain outcomes, for example, a reduction in calls for service, or drug-related arrests? If these outcomes are not achieved, does it necessarily mean that community policing is ineffective? As discussed by Dilulio¹, other measures, often overlooked, may provide a fuller explanation of program impact. Dilulio gave the following example:

In public housing communities, for example, a variety of crime prevention activities are being implemented such as Operation Clean Sweep during which entire buildings are swept clean of unauthorized persons who are not reported on the lease. Measures of improved quality of life in the wake of these Clean Sweep activities include increased library usage, and increased school attendance as children are less fearful to venture out into the community.

Qualitative research is a research approach more appropriate for these types of questions. Technically, a qualitative observation identifies the presence or absence of something, as opposed to quantitative research which measures the degree to which something exists (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 9). It is based on field activities such as participant observation, interviews, focus groups, content analysis, and analytic induction.

This report is based on interviews with key participants in the design, implementation, and operation of the Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program. The questions were drawn from the literature and from the evaluation design (Appendix A). The questions focus on the stages of planned change:

- What led to the conception and development of the community policing project?
- How was the project implemented?

¹John J. Dilulio, Jr., Presentation at the Justice Research and Statistics Association Conference, New Orleans, LA, September 1992.

- How is the project operating, and what, if any, implementation problems have you had?
- What changes have occurred as a result of the project?
- What, if any, recruitment problems have you had?
- What are the disadvantages of the project?
- What are the benefits? Could these benefits have been accomplished with the traditional policing approach?
- Do you plan to continue the project after federal funding ends? Why or why not? If you plan to continue, how will the program be funded?

The people interviewed included the Wilmington police chiefs who designed and implemented the program, and who currently supervise the project, walking patrol officers, and community members including the coordinator for the Eastside program, the chairperson of the Eastside Advisory Council, the Eastside Youth coordinator, the Family Services Coordinator, and the former program director (now a member of city council). Most participants were interviewed in groups to provide some of the group dynamic and interaction benefits of focus group discussions.

In addition to the interviews, we conducted several tours of the Eastside neighborhood as well as a comparison neighborhoods (the Westside), to observe neighborhood activities and signs of community rebuilding or deterioration.

EASTSIDE SUBSTANCE ABUSE AWARENESS PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program's (ESAAP) objectives were based on implementing three important components. The SAC Evaluation (January 1993) fully describes these components and the outcome evaluation. For this report, the focus is on describing the relationship between changing police practices and community activities, and neighborhood residents feelings of safety and ability to solve community problems.

The first component of ESAAP is:

Enhanced law enforcement efforts with emphasis on community policing.

Both interviews and documents verify that law enforcement efforts on the Eastside have changed significantly through the implementation of a community policing unit.² It is evident that the project has accomplished the first two changes listed on page 8 as principles of community policing: the walking patrol officers are "directly engaging" the community, and they are functioning as street patrol officers rather than 911 response officers. The objective, however, specifies "enhanced" law enforcement. Law enforcement enhancements, in this analysis, are examined from different perspectives. Webster's New World Dictionary (1970) defines enhance as follows:

...to make greater, as in cost, value, attractiveness, etc.; heighten, improve, augment, etc....

Enhancement as Expansion of Police Resources

One implication of enhancement of law enforcement services is that the walking patrol will be emphasized in community law enforcement, but response to calls for service (911) will be continued. The "greater cost" issue is important. With increasingly tight budgets available to public service agencies, new projects must build in some sort of quid pro quo. In the long term, the new approach should provide better service at the same cost, or perhaps, to even provide a cost savings. Enhancing law enforcement efforts with community policing theoretically should reduce calls for service and arrests through a proactive approach to community problems, and make it possible to shift personnel costs from an emphasis on patrol to community policing.

²The cited comments from key participants may not be included in the overall description of project implementation and effect drawn from the interviews.

The timing of the shift may be an implementation problem, however. In the short term, the opposite may occur. The data presented in the SAC evaluation, shows that both calls for service and arrests decreased initially, then increased. The interviews suggest that as Eastside residents became more involved, learned how to get better response from the police department, and began to feel safer, the calls for service and arrests increased, in the short term, rather than decreased.

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY:

ESAAP gave us many ideas of the things we could do, just little things that we never thought about, like the telephone tree and neighborhood watch....It really has worked well because I remember a time when people really feared calling the police, and now we have a 'tree' thing. When we call people it is to get people in the neighborhood to watch out and see what is going on. We also call to get a better response from the radio room. That does make a difference if more people call.

Arrests also may vary as the police and the community struggle to adopt a new approach to crime control and crime prevention. The following discussion shows how officers are "engaging" community members in a new problem solving approach to law enforcement, as well as recognizing that problem solving in an ongoing process, and a long-range approach is needed to maintain gains in community safety.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS

The biggest drug problem is in front of the high school. There are a lot of complaints that adults are selling from a bar near the school after school hours. We went to businesses in the area to see if we could use their business as a lookout place. We finally found one. We talked to the manager and got one of their offices, one block down looking over a two block area. Using binoculars, we made over 75 arrests in probably a three month period and it was totally clean in the area. The people walk out of their houses now. It is starting to build up again now, though. That's a big problem - - to clean it up and keep it clean. Now we have to go back and clean it up again.

Thus the immediate effects of police work with community members were contrary to program objectives to reduce 911 calls and arrests by problem solving to prevent drug crimes. Police management responded by placing more emphasis on walking patrol problem solving.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS

When we started, we could make as many lockups a day as we wanted - - possession and possession with intent. We did a lot of surveillance from businesses and vacant houses. We shut lots of corners and businesses down. We stopped open air markets

on corners - - but drug problems come back. We do what we have to do to solve the problem. We go with the flow. It can change from month to month.

It works if you lock them up. It doesn't solve the problem; it contains the problem. In 1989 it went down, and in 1991 it was bad again. We went from major arrests to no arrest. We follow orders. I would personally like to be out there doing it every day. If you give a drug dealer an inch, they will take a mile, and will bring more people in.

Thus, in the transition from a system based on calls for service and arrests, the implementation process is not likely to result in an immediate and stable effect on these variables. Variation is to be expected as community members and police try new methods and gain experience in new approaches to problem solving. As a result, an increase in calls for service or arrests does not necessarily signal program failure. The comparative data included in the 1993 Evaluation Report (Table F, Page 24) reflect a greater rate of increase in calls for service and arrests in nearby communities without a community policing approach than in the Eastside. The citywide data, not including Eastside data, show a 943 percent increase in calls for service between 1987 and 1991 compared with a 698 percent increase in the Eastside, and a 134 percent increase in citywide arrests compared with a 130 percent increase in the Eastside. If we compare the data for the Eastside with the Westside neighborhood, which did not have a community policing component, the data are even more significant: on the Westside, calls for service increased 1495 percent, and arrests, 164 percent.

Enhancement of Services with No Increase in Resources

Another aspect of the implementation process involves management of police resources. How are the pressures on the police department created by calls for service to be managed in order to change to a different, and hopefully more efficient and effective, strategy of community policing? The police chief and the division chief we interviewed are both intensely aware of the pressures created by calls for service and the threat to the effective implementation of community policing. The creation of the Community Services Division was one means of separating the two approaches to law enforcement; however, the pressures of calls for service continue to impact the work of the community police. According to the Chiefs, more people would like to be doing it if they had time; but because of the demands of 911, the transition to community policing is difficult.

Although the walking patrol officers are not expected to respond to complaints in the old reactive style, they are expected to fill in when needed, according to their comments.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS

They [the patrol] think we should help answer complaints, and we try. Our main job is to help stop complaints from coming in. But we will drop what we are doing for all emergency calls. We are always the first ones brought in for emergencies and to look for evidence. We are the extra bodies. They want us to be the relay station between the community and the police department. They tell us this is our job - - you have to hear their problems. And, in the summer time, they want us to answer complaints, which keeps it at the computer level [rather than one-on-one]. We have to do this, and I accept it, but they are saying one thing and making you do another. There is a gap.

These discussions reflect some of the difficulties of implementing a new approach while still operating under the old approach. It is a dilemma found in all significant institutional change efforts: keeping the existing situation under control while resources are redirected and a new approach begins to take effect.

In terms of the freeing the officers from the 911 response demands, the walking patrol is significantly more proactive than the motorized patrol officer, but pressures still exist to help with emergency responses. While it is evident that the new approach has been implemented, the question is whether it will survive the demands of calls for service long enough to become fully institutionalized.

Enhancement of Law Enforcement Value

The interview results suggest the project's attractiveness and value (using an imaginary scale from "very valuable and attractive" to "not at all valuable and attractive") is "very valuable and attractive" to community members and walking patrol officers, and perhaps "valuable and attractive" to the police department.

A community with nothing to lose except the destructive elements of the drug trade would be expected to highly value a change to a more community oriented and personal police presence. However, the demand on the community to take more responsibility, to become co-creators of a safe community, may make the change less attractive. Not everyone wants to participate: the interviews reveal the difficulty of recruiting community members. For people everywhere, especially those with few resources, it may seem easier to conclude: it's the police officers' job to take care of crime, not mine. But when community members become aware that the police cannot do the job alone, they may be more attracted to participation in the community activities.

The police officers, who to some extent self-select into the role, benefit in personal satisfaction as the community attitude toward police changes from "bricks and bottles" to "hi," and the po-

lice officers know and recognize individuals and families that have been helped by the change. There is also the status of being on the cutting edge of police innovation. Further, being involved in new programs may also provide increased recognition from department leaders. The need to be responsive to the demands of the old system as well as the new creates some job stress that has the potential to limit their effectiveness.

The Department, however, must balance the competing demands for allocation of resources, as well as manage the competing philosophies, of the old and the new. They must be responsive to political pressure, particularly during the transition period, for continuation of the full level of service provided before the change as well as managing requests for increasing levels of the innovative services. Being on the cutting edge of change brings national and local recognition from leaders in the field, as well as renewed interest and commitment in police work. But such change usually brings with it a negative reaction by those who feel threatened with some kind of loss. The push and tug on the walking patrol to both respond to and prevent complaints, as well as the demands from many communities for walking patrol officers in addition to continued fast response to calls for service, reflect these competing demands.

The second component of ESAAP is:

Improved community organization, including the establishment of a neighborhood advisory board, a block captain network, and neighborhood watch groups.

This project component is related to several components of change in community policing. Two major components are “encouraging citizens to take more initiative in preventing and solving crimes,” and “encouraging officers to view citizens as partners.”

Although the organization of the Eastside neighborhood was launched on several fronts with some major successes, after the first year, the project lost the original director who, according to the community members interviewed, had provided strong and energetic leadership, knowledge of the community and its people, unflagging commitment, and organizational and grant-writing skills. The position was vacant for six months, and it appears that many of the early gains were lost (SAC, 1993: 31).

However, the discussions with all key participants show that without the community, the “community police” concept is an empty phrase. The organization of the community takes many forms: neighborhood watch, the Eastside Advisory Council, and the networks of residents developed by the walking patrol.

The walking patrol officers depend on community members for support, information, and partnership. Examples of the changes in police work from the traditional command and control response model to the community policing model are documented in the interviews.

THE WALKING PATROL: Examples of the Principles of Community Policing in Action

The people in the community will tell you [who drug dealers are]. The people in the community know us well now. They will get word to us through kids. Older senior citizens who are scared of these people around their houses. When we call them back, they will tell us who they are and if they live in that area. They will give us their names.

As we walk more and more in the area, we get to know the drug dealers, trouble makers, the alcoholics, the whole gamut of people.

He was working for New York people. He ran into a laundry mat, then ran back outside and stood by a fence that we walk. We stopped in and an older lady who works at the laundry mat said, 'he just ran to the back and ran back out.' She was willing to come through and say he put something there and ran back out of the building. She's 70 years old.

...more and more people are now less scared of the streets and are putting more confidence in the police. I have people now come up to me and right in front of drug dealers, 'there they are right there.' They know that we will be right there.

We try to get to know the drug dealers on a cultural basis. A basketball game, for example. We try to talk to them and get them to talk to us. If we get one out of 20 to listen to us, we are doing very well.

[The Citizens Advisory Council members are] a close knit group. They contact us by telephone and our pager numbers. It's very common that when I am at home, my pager will go off. It is one of the citizens saying there is a major problem in the neighborhood.

The [Advisory Group] meetings are informal. They follow the previous meeting notes, then new business, then community policing - - that's when everybody nails us. Members talk about housing, housing, used in our area for drug dealing. There are other small groups in our area, and now they are trying to channel into one group, so they have more people for a stronger voice.

If I got into trouble on the street, there are community people who would come to my assistance. I feel safer now than I ever did on patrol. I would go on patrol and simply

not know the area at all. Here I know my area, my people. I know I won't get hurt unless it is by somebody out of town.

We have extreme cooperation from businesses. [They] let us use their places at night for surveillance. Everybody knows us. That is where the trust begins, when they know your name and call you and wave to you.

When walking, you can say get off the corner. They get off because you know everyone. That's the difference. People in patrol don't know people individually as we do.

The community members talked about their efforts to organize and some of the difficulties of recruiting residents to participate in efforts to regain control of the streets. These excerpts reflect ESAAP efforts to rebuild the community from within. Some of the problems characteristic of the community are also reflected in these discussions, such as absentee landlords and renters who feel no responsibility to the community, youth who have limited options for a productive life, and the apathy, hopelessness, and powerlessness felt by many residents. Interviews with community members further document changes in the components of law enforcement toward the community policing model.

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY

I think ESAAP has made an impact on the Eastside. I have lived on this side for over 50 years, and this is one of the first times the community and law enforcement have really come together for a common goal. We need and support one another - - giving information to the community police, and they in turn work with us, telling us what we need to do through Neighborhood Watch and block captain's meetings. I think one of the hardest things to do is to get more of the community involved. For so long, they thought that what they said didn't make a difference. Now they know they must be involved to change their neighborhood. But it is very difficult for people to volunteer because it is time consuming to really get the job done.

Our block captains meet once a month to discuss the problems, even if it is not a drug problem, someone who has been trashing. Community involvement has been very good - - they come out and do our drug marches or drug vigil. We had a drug vigil a month ago. The blocks were clear for hours. That was a victory. Folks came out or looked out their doors. That was good.

Before ESAAP started, it was something everybody was looking for because they needed direction on how to deal with the whole situation. There is a difference when a neighborhood tries to do it on their own without a group like ESAAP there to guide. It gave us many ideas of the things we could do, just little things that we never

about, like the telephone tree and neighborhood watch. It brought the community closer together in blocks. Now we talk about blocks. Every block is different. It is real important to have block captains.

We are working with the schools closely, too. Teachers and principals understand what is happening. We have pulled together a group. We meet with the principal once a month. We tell them our problems, and they tell us theirs. We don't want to wait until there is a crisis. We want to get involved now. That has come out of ESAAP. More people are getting involved, because they see something can happen if they are involved. If they stay out of the circle, then they won't get the help they need. We tell them; you are a part of the problem too. Get in here and help these kids do better.

...The community said enough is enough. We are going to get you out of here one by one. From 50 sneakers up on the wires, and now you can't see any or maybe a pair if that.

Thus, it is evident that both walking police and community members see community policing as a partnership, with both partners responsible for the community environment.

The third component of ESAAP is:

An increase in the number and types of social, educational and rehabilitative services available to the residents of the neighborhood. This includes the establishment of additional tutoring programs for neighborhood youth, parent training programs, substance abuse education, counseling and treatment services. Emphasis is also placed on increasing community awareness of existing programs.

All the changes necessary for the transition from traditional to community police work are evident throughout discussion of community development. A problem solving approach is a critical aspect of community policing. If solutions are to be found other than the "band-aid" response to complaints and arrests, there must be viable options to these solutions. What can be done when many people move into a rental unit and cause problems. The department and division Chiefs talked about a small apartment building that had up to 38 families living there in deplorable conditions. Many complaints came from the building, but the community did not want the renters arrested. They wanted the problem solved. The option for this problem was to work with the landlord to monitor and maintain the building, to seek low cost housing for some of the occupants who were living with acquaintances and family members because they had no place else

to go, and to refer occupants who needed drug and alcohol treatment, or other services to the appropriate agencies.

WALKING PATROL

To solve and prevent crime, options must also be available to the community members. The community police recognize the seriousness of community problems and contribute to community development:

They have no life. Usually the parents are subsidized. They dropped out of school. It's a shame. The drug business is one of the last resorts to have a nice car, nice clothes, and be wanted by women. To be looked up to.

If we have to lock up people every day for the rest of their life, they are not going to get anything out of being locked up.

[The drug dealers] use some little kids from the neighborhood, which is a shame. That's our next society. But in the summer time, my partner and I every Friday get all the little kids in the area, even the drug dealers, and go the park and play basketball all day long. We come down without our guns and in shorts. We may have locked up these people the week before, but once we get to the basketball court, we are not police officers, and they are not drug dealers. Let's play some basketball. It has brought us so much closer to the community, especially to the young 16 year old teenagers to the 27 year olds. We had to fight a lot of them down there, tooth and nail, fist to fist a couple of times. Now they wave and come talk to us. We have one guy who helps us coach a basketball team who we had to fight one day for drugs. They come around.

We have our own 9 to 12 year old basketball team. I want to teach them respect through play. We have a 12 year old boy who is on drugs. His mom is an alcoholic and this dad just got out of jail. We hope to get him turned around.

There is no fast solution. You take what you have in this division and ingenuity. We work with other divisions, contact vice, and they will come down and assist. Drug trafficking is a problem, but there is only so much we can address. We really are the liaison between the community and the police. That is our main function, to go out and talk to these people, find out their problems, and a problem solving puzzle to fix it. We just do what needs to be done, but we get so many complaints from the neighbors about drug dealers. We can't give it all to vice. They would be overwhelmed. There are so many other problems in the city.

We go to all the meetings in our area. It is mostly the residents in our community who are facing long-term problems that need to be resolved.

We can refer people to the drug treatment program center or the program director. We have walked drug dealers to the program. We go to court and recommend this instead of sending them off to jail. We ask the prosecutor to send them to a rehab for six months out of state to get the counseling they need rather than have them sit in jail.

One of the walking patrol officers sees many needs that are not met, such as day-care assistance to single mothers to make it possible for them to attend training and educational programs, as well as to work and have enough money left to cover minimum living costs. The day-care program could also provide developmental activities and a more positive environment for the children of single mothers. This officer also talked about the need for a stronger economic base in the community so that decent jobs would be available for people who participated in educational and vocational programs: what good does it do them to get a diploma or learn a skill if there are no jobs?

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY

The Eastside Advisory Council is also intensely aware of the need for opportunities in the community that do not involve the drug trade. Efforts to expand opportunities for neighborhood residents were discussed.

The most innovative step that ESAAP has taken is identifying the youth, and trying to be more active in this war against drugs through education on substance abuse, and concentrating on education. Go to college and see that there is another world out there besides selling and using drugs....A child is a product of their environment. For a long time, the Eastside has been a negative place to a lot of our youth. Some have been caught up in the drug world with parents or relatives using, or in having to step out their door and facing drug deals.

We have Friday night matinees. We show kids movies, then teenager's movies. We need to attract both populations. It's a fun activity that serves a dual purpose - - keeps them off the streets at night.

Eastside Advisory Council members talked about community problems and needs including lack of information about community problems, such as how many people in the community need housing? Who cannot afford decent housing?

One of the things I really like about ESAAP is the holistic approach. It is not just trying to lock people up. We have tutoring; we have drug and alcohol treatment on demand; we have a housing committee.

We have out-patient treatment, and also have a variety of residential treatment services that we refer people to. We deal with families, and whatever is necessary to get the family working and cohesive again.

ESAAP teaches the residents that resources are available for them through the city. This is one way to empower the community.

HOW IS ESAAP WORKING? SOME CONCLUSIONS

The key participants in the Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Project have put into motion a plan for a change in the way the community and the police work together to reduce and prevent crime, particularly drug-related crime. They have also put in place efforts to build strengths in the community to enable the residents to resist the forces that promote crime.

The police and the community have created a partnership. The partnership, however, has not been fully institutionalized. The pressures on both the police department and the community are powerful. The demands on the police department to respond to the urgencies of the day still impinge on the time and attention of the walking patrol officers. The overwhelming problems in the community leave many residents unable to participate as full partners in rebuilding the community and making it strong. The transiency of many residents, the demand for an escape from the realities of a decaying community, the lack of opportunity that comes not only from economic realities but also from lack of perception of opportunity, and ready access to the community by big city drug dealers will continue to challenge and demand commitment from community members and the police department.

The evaluation conducted by the Delaware SAC (1993) is very good, especially given the limitations of traditional evaluation methods. However, an outcome evaluation based on six years of data on complaints and arrests comparing the Eastside to the remainder of the City does not adequately explain how the changes occurred nor does the quasi-experimental design explain the many successes of ESAAP. A qualitative approach provides more insight in terms of the hows and why of implementation as well as failures and successes.

For example, this qualitative analysis identifies and describes the community and police activities that "keep things under control on the Eastside." This part of the analysis identifies effects not anticipated in the program design. For instance, both police and community members have gained "respect." Respect is defined by Webster's as "to feel or show honor or esteem for; to hold in high regard; to show consideration for." Respect is taken for granted by many people, but for those who have not had it, to get it is a very significant and successful outcome.

Many community residents have been mobilized to take responsibility for the activities and opportunities in their community. "The blocks were clear for hours." "We cleaned off that corner for days." They are felt as major successes: this reflects a time line that is very different from that assumed in trend analysis based on arrests and complaints, an analytical method which may obscure the daily successes, while only showing the overall outcome. For communities more oriented to the survival demands of the day, who take life "a day at a time," events such as:

- One meeting attended by 85 people,
- The attendance of five landlords to talk about responsibilities to the community,
- A basketball game,
- People isolated by fear feeling safe enough to walk on the street,
- Support and information to the police by residents,
- A friendly greeting, "hi,"

Are all great successes.

The daily successes become building blocks for future accomplishments, as long as they occur often enough to overcome the failures. The ESAAP project has produced a reservoir of such successes creating both human and material capital that promises continued positive change. It will be up to the community and the police department to build on these resources and to continue the partnership.

The successes have already resulted in new programs in the wider community. The police, recognizing that the problem is citywide, are expanding the community policing concept into other communities, and a "Weed and Seed" grant was recently awarded to intensify the approach in other neighborhood "hot spots."

The police department has gained experience with a new approach to police work which provides more job satisfaction for the police officers and a greater feeling of safety and control for the community. The police department leaders that planned and implemented the program, as well as the walking patrol officers, hope the strategies of community policing and understanding of its benefits will be disseminated throughout the department to the point that "911" becomes a true emergency response service rather than the police department equivalent to the county hospital emergency room.

THE STORY OF COMMUNITY POLICING: START-UP, OPERATION, AND RESULTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING

The interviews produced very rich information on community policing as seen by both law enforcement and community members. Although structured by a list of questions, the discussions were open ended and often touched on several issues simultaneously. Generally, the interviews began with development and implementation issues, then went on to perceptions of program effectiveness, and the future of community policing. The story of community policing is told below by the participants themselves, but sometimes their words are paraphrased for clarification. The narrative begins with project implementation, then goes on to current operation, effectiveness, and the future of community policing. Additional comments, not necessarily included in this section, are used to support conclusions in the findings and conclusions section.

Community Policing Project Development

The police chief and Division chief involved in initiating community policing in Wilmington had many years of experience in police work. They had both followed the development of the concept, particularly in nearby Philadelphia which was one of the earliest sites for implementation of community policing. The police and division chiefs recall early efforts to change tactics. The problems they were experiencing with the traditional model of policing echoes those reported in the literature.

Start Up

In the following paragraphs, the Chiefs, Eastside community members, and walking patrol officers recall their first efforts to design and implement the project.

THE CHIEFS

It began in 1985-86. The mayor and I - - I was Division patrol commander - - were interested in getting in touch with the public, and crime was getting worse. We first tried "park and patrol", where the patrol officer would park the vehicle then walk the street in an area. We tried this for over a year, but it didn't work. The calls for service continued to come in, and when the officer returned to his vehicle, he might have 15 calls to respond to. Also, there was little effort to engage community members. The officers seemed uneasy without the shell of the patrol car. They did not know the area, and the residents did not trust them. Honest citizens hid behind doors, and they were afraid to say anything - - legitimately so. And I think we found that throughout the city if someone wanted to get involved and called the police, the drug dealers would threaten to burn them out or beat them up, and so they were afraid to call, and they had every right to be. We could not guarantee them any protection. I remember

working down there in uniform when there were street shootings right in front of the police. The dealers would shoot it out just like in the old West.

Then we tried a walking unit. I was in traffic by now. We turned a G-squad of six or seven people into a walking unit and sent them out across the city to try to break down some of the barriers. This was somewhat successful. But the priority was to handle complaints, so they were the first officers pulled when people were needed for a burglary or robbery stakeout. But it worked better than park and walk.

We had been doing some research, especially with Philly, about their mini-stations and their community police effort. I was convinced based on my own experience in patrol that we would never be successful as long as we kept it in patrol. I believed that the priority would always be on responding to calls for service. When I became Chief in 1988, one of my objectives was to build a community services division that would include walking patrol officers. I eventually moved the seven walking officers from traffic to community services in 1989 or 1990. In July of 1991, I finally got the a captain for that Division, and along with that we got 10 new positions from a reorganization. So now we had 17 walking officers and a captain.

We've never been hung up in Wilmington on modeling ourselves after someone else. We try to be innovative and develop our own concepts, like the minivan (Winnebago) we started two or three years ago. We tried it on the for Westside two or three days, and it worked. It's a mini-police station on wheels. It has a desk, popcorn, an awning with chairs that we put out in the summer. We do presentations for kids. So its not just a police business atmosphere.

Do you have a mission statement that supports community policing?

Yes - - it is a partnership between the police and the community. This may be a bone of contention in the next year or two. We've broken down most if not all the walls. There is trust in almost every section of the community. Some of the activists are still a little leery of us. The new mayor and the chief will be pressured to start a citizen review board. I think in a community like Wilmington, where you handle the disciplinary problems effectively and efficiently, we are probably harder on our officers than a citizen review board would be. We are also more efficient. We move cases through the process more quickly.

We also have several groups to create networks with the community such as the Community Advisory Council and the Business Advisory Group. We have formed a new interdepartmental group, and we work with and do presentations to all the community

groups we can. We've now organized it so the officers go to smaller groups and we go to the umbrella groups.

Before the crack epidemic hit, we had done away with all of the community service programs and with our juvenile division. All of a sudden, the crack epidemic hit and we've got kids running around the street killing one another. We forget our lessons learned back in the late 60's and early 70's about how to handle civil disturbances. We've had to rebuild in a very reactive fashion. I hope that law enforcement has learned its lesson.

Is community policing a departmental priority?

When I became Chief, community policing was a priority. The hardest thing is trying to balance - - we have 17 walking districts. Middle-class neighborhoods think they are not getting their share. But why put police in a community to build from within when they are already developed. Poor neighborhoods should be assigned more officers. There is a lack of trust and communication so we need to do some more work in this area. We need more officers and more resources to provide walking patrols to all the communities that want them.

Have you had problems with accountability?

We did in the beginning. Part of it was supervisory, part administration. How do you keep track of what is going on? I think what most people don't realize is that community policing is more than a walking officer. The purpose is to organize, implement, improve the quality of life in the community, and you don't do that by walking. It requires volunteer group involvement - - boys club, girls club, all kinds of groups. We're trying to rebuild the community from the inside. It's hard to account for every minute. You have to have more faith in them that they are working for the betterment of the community. They still have to account for their eight hours, but they don't work a regular shift anymore. They work flex-time so they can be responsive to community activities. I haven't had any complaints about abuse of force. Where force was used, people call in to support the officer. I haven't had any complaints about use of time. I think some officers have had some problems adjusting to what is and is not appropriate regarding accepting gratuities: is it OK to accept a cup of coffee? We have had such a strict rule, but if it is a function attended as a community foot patrol officer, then it is OK to have dinner.

How do you control for temptations presented for easy drug money?

I guess it's just like raising kids. You try to hire people you can trust, and train them. The history of our department is solid when it comes to dealing with problems. We have strong drug policy based on random testing. We fire anyone who tests positive. When problems come to our attention, we take strong action. We have zero tolerance for drugs. We have strong policy on accepting gratuities. We don't expect them to walk the district and get free coffee, free meals. There needs to be good supervision, monitoring, need to look for telltale signs. We haven't had any increase in problems since implementation.

What about risk to the foot-patrol officer?

In some neighborhoods, we wouldn't put one officer out there. Officers on foot patrol probably have a disposition to use their heads and not their weapons. They work smarter, and don't get into situations without proper backup. Knowing people in the community is one of the best ways to stay safe.

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY

The community members also discussed the problems facing the community and their efforts to solve them. According to one of the most active members, a community resident for over 50 years: "This is one of the first times the community and law enforcement have really come together for a common goal."

I got involved because I was trying to revive my neighborhood. I thought the community policing project was a good program and that it would make an impact. By working with the police and community it could be done better. We need and support one another. We give information to the community police and they in turn work with us. They trained on what we needed to do through Neighborhood Watch and Block Captain meetings, and they continue to meet with us and work with us. I think that one of the hard things to do is to get more of the community involved. For so long they felt that what they said didn't make a difference. Now they know they must be involved to change their neighborhood.

A young homeowner talked about his involvement in the community association:

I got involved in a round-about way. I moved into the Eastside from a relatively higher standard neighborhood because this is where I could purchase a home. I had a small baby and was up with him at 2:00 a.m. and watched a 17 year old youth shot to death. I knew right then and there that in order for me to secure a future for my son and my family that I must participate and make a change. So I sought for time, assis-

tance, or individuals that could help turn the neighborhood around. I found out about ESAAP. Right away, I became involved. I knew a number of residents who were new to the area and were in the same condo association. We organized a Block Captains Network and community block meeting.

At that first meeting, we had a large number of people - - at least 35. The ESAAP director made an excellent presentation. From there we went out and started taking our corners back with vigils and telephone trees [calling network]. We started identifying drug users, crack houses, street telephones that were used for drug sales.

A woman from another part of the community recalls early organizational efforts:

My neighborhood is called the Upper East Side Neighborhood Association. ESAAP really has worked because I remember a time when people really feared calling the police, and now we do a "tree" thing in our neighborhood, too. Whenever we call someone else, then that person calls someone. That has worked very well. A lady on the corner watches a bar and liquor store. A lot of people congregate there. We know they are not interested in alcohol because if they were they would be inside. That's a good place to deal drugs. They hide in the alley and they know that they would not be seen so that is one reason why we call. Another reason is that within the last year, our young people have sort of gotten out of hand. They lack discipline. Their parents have no control over them. They destroy trees, break into homes. We had never had that until about three years ago. We sometimes have to call and we will even go out and talk to them. But they have such disrespect for older people - - we can't take it into our own hands. That's when we have to call the police. It may be late at night, so if we can contact the community police, we will. We say these kids need help. We need them to sit down and talk to them and find out what their problems really are.

RECRUITMENT

THE CHIEFS

Does community police work require a different type of person than the traditional police approach?

Perhaps, say the chiefs, but they are not positive yet what those characteristics are. According to the chiefs, they look for specific characteristics, but they are also willing to try and develop them.

Sometimes the officer that looks best doesn't work. Also, we've got some that we thought would never work out - - but they've got out there and really done a great job. They really care about the community. So, it's hard to judge. Over the past four years we've hired 100 new police officers. What that has allowed us to do is get rid of some of the dinosaurs that would not change, and bring in people that were more malleable and train them. I think departments are hiring people that are more open to change. Not ex-military, rigid, do what you're told to do. Now we're looking for the college educated person. A social services background helps, as well as any experience with human relations. And then we give them a chance to be successful. And they have been! In a couple of instances, when we've tried to more officers, the community has protested. So we know we've been successful.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS

I don't think any patrolman could do it. The police department is so regimented by arrests. To go into a community with the old concept, old values of police work and bring in a new concept, some policemen think it's wrong: I am being a social worker with a gun.

Protecting us is what a cop is. They believe in the old traditional values. My father was on the force, but he's retired now. He believes in the old traditional values: lock them up. There are a lot of cops who don't want to make the transition, especially the older police officers.

The community will probably change before the police will change. I am not saying all police but some of the old die hards that have been here 20 years. If you swing at me, you are going to the hospital. If you hurt me, I am going to hurt you worse or the cop behind me is going to hurt you worse. That is the old fundamental police procedure. But some police would try to do a better job than I do if they had the opportunity.

What about the status of the walking patrol officer? Is the walking patrol officer less respected as a police officer than a motorized patrol officer?

THE CHIEFS

The community patrol officer has more status, in many respects, than the motorized patrol officer. We haven't seen a whole lot of promotion out of that department [community services] because they don't have the seniority. I think that's what really gives status - - when people start to get promoted. We've had a lot move on to preferential assignments. I think that has helped too.

In the beginning, there was a lot of resentment from the motorized patrol officers. They didn't understand what these guys were doing out on foot. They didn't have to respond to complaints. They were always going to special community functions. The motorized patrol officers just didn't know what was going on. Now, they have drawn closer together, they call each other when there is a problem. Now, the walking officers know so much about the community, they can give them so much and provide valuable information to the motorized patrol officers. There is more communication, more trust, and no resentment now to speak of.

I can say, though, that at the beginning, it was pure hell. Even the mechanics would always have something smart to say to me in the morning. They thought we were just goofing off. People in the community didn't trust us. They wondered what we were up to. I remember one meeting we went to in a church - - I thought, they don't trust us and we don't trust them. They hate us. I thought they may as well have a chair in the middle of the room with a noose. Now they call me. We are on really good terms.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS

We are the most hated division in the department because they see us as social workers, not as police officers. Guys on patrol have to go out and kick butt. This causes animosity. But if we have a problem, we just take care of it. They [patrol officers] think we should help answer complaints, and we try. But our main job is to help stop complaints from coming in.

Old police officers will probably never accept this new role, but I look at it this way: it is not going to change back. We are going to get more and more community oriented. That is the way the government is going, regardless if they accept it or not. They will have to eventually.

Society is changing, slowly but surely. The community probably has a little more respect for us right now than the street cars (patrol). The problem in the area is that a lot of these people who I patrol do not like motorized patrol officers. They despise them. There was a problem the night before I came back on day work. The community people stopped me on the corner and told me they don't like this cop. He is wrong the way he comes down here and talks to us.

I think it helps us career wise. From the Chief on down, they see the work we do. Schools see our work, and it's relayed back to the Chief and Councilmen. We deal with the Councilmen in our area. Even the Mayor. If they like what we are doing, I

imagine they see it as the rising department in the division. I think it will help. I'm hoping it does.

Our job is politically oriented. That may give an edge over someone else. We see the Chief all the time now. It's not like the old chain of command where you have to talk to six people to see the Chief. We have a direct line to him, a one-on-one relationship.

Do the motorized patrol officers think the way the community police are handling the issues are soft, or wrong, or ineffective?

The patrol police know it's effective. I have been three blocks away and a cop asks for assistance. I run down there, and when the community people see us coming, I will tell them to just relax and I will talk to them when the other cop leaves. The patrol officers could never get that one-on-one contact. If a patrol officer steps out of the car to talk, there is going to be a confrontation, an arrest, or a fight. This is what it usually comes down to. I think every patrol officer should accompany this unit for two years because his concept would be a little different.

What about personal satisfaction? Is this job more satisfying?

Definitely! We have more personal satisfaction. We feel we do a better job than patrolling. This is our neighborhood. When we play basketball, they see us and how we are and how we act out of uniform. They respect us. We have our own 9 to 12 year old basketball team. I want to teach them respect through play. We have a 12 year old boy who is on drugs. His mom is an alcoholic, and his dad just got out of jail. We hope to get him turned around.

PROGRAM OPERATIONS: HOW DOES COMMUNITY POLICING WORK?

One of the most important processes to understand in program implementation is how changes in policies and procedures translate into changes in day-to-day behavior. What do members do that is different? What factors promote the new way of doing business, and what impedes the changes? We talked to all the key participants about these issues, beginning with the walking patrol officers who talked about their daily routine.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS: A Community Patrol Officer's Shift

Our shift may be day work or night work. The captain gives us the flexibility to work whatever shift we need to. At times, we wear plain clothes if we are working on a particular drug problem in the community.

When we leave the [police department] building, mostly, we walk to our area. We mostly initiate the conversation. We start them. We have to. We have two white officers in a black community. In the beginning we found who we wanted to talk to. As we walk more and more in the area, we get to know the drug dealers, the trouble makers, the alcoholics, and the drunks - - the whole gamut of people.

Every day they see you, if you talk to them and say "hi" to them, they are going to show you some respect. Sooner or later they are going to say "hi" back to you. Once you get your foot in the door, it's open. Now we walk down there and everyone says "hi" to us. If someone disrespects us, we tell them to leave the corner, we have a complaint. I would say 95 percent of the people would say "OK. Thanks." They will walk away. In return, we don't lock them up. End of case. That is in our hands, and so they show us respect. Police have never had that before.

We know nearly everyone. You may get five percent who don't know us, who are from New York, who are drug dealers that have infiltrated down to our city. They are from Pennsylvania, Jersey, Baltimore or wherever. Usually, they police themselves. The [community] people will say, don't disrespect these guys [the officers]: they can make it hard on us or they can make it easy on us. Our biggest problem in our area, right now, is drugs. We have been boggled down with people from New York, Pennsylvania and Jersey. They come down and try to take over our city.

When I first started I didn't know what to expect. I had been in patrol, and became a walking patrol officer with no preparation. I was wary - - how would I be accepted both as a police officer and as a woman? At first people just stared - - female and on the street! The Eastside had so many problems. I think my objective at first was to do my job without being bricked and bottled. The relationship between the police and

the community was so bad at that time. Patrol cars answering 911 calls were always at risk of being bricked and bottled. We wanted to change the community's perception of the police department. It took about two months of working with an older officer who had been there for about two years before residents began to warm up.

One of the first things I learned was how many decent community people there were. They wanted to do something, but they didn't know how. They needed some incentive. They were afraid. They had relied on the police for years to respond to problems, but disappeared from sight when the police were around. So another objective was to empower them so they be more responsible in improving their community.

How do you know who is a drug dealer?

There is no set pattern or no set way. If you walk in an area and someone is constantly standing on a corner day after day, does not have a job and always has nice clothes on - - that's a pretty good indicator. Also, the people in the community will tell you. The people in the community know us well now. They sometimes get word to us through kids. They will call our office and ask who are the two white officers that walk our area - - I don't know their names. These may be older senior citizens who are scared of these people around their houses. When we call them back, they will tell us who they are and if they live in that area - - they will give us their names.

Ninety percent of our information comes from people who we lock up. We just locked a guy up last week on trafficking cocaine - - high filter cocaine.

Did you make the arrest while on your shift?

Yes. We have this predicament. We know him as a drug dealer; we have locked him up before. We know who he is, and he is from this area. He was right at the corner. Three people slipped off in three different directions; two are from New York. He was working for New York people. He ran into a store, then ran back outside and stood by a fence that we walk. We stopped in and an older lady who works at the store said, "he just ran to the back and ran back out ." She was willing to come though and say he put something there and ran back out of the building. She's 70 years old.

So we handcuffed him. We brought him back and he admitted it was his. But again, he told us everything we wanted to know: what their names are, their street names, and what they wear everyday. We can't go down there tomorrow and lock them up - - the same people - - because then his life will be in jeopardy. We have to wait a month. They're not going to leave the area. In a month or two, we will walk down

there and stop every one else and lock them up too. Then we will know where the infiltration comes from.

The way the system works is if I catch you with five bags of cocaine and you help me get somebody with 50 bags of cocaine, the court system will be very lenient because you helped the police get somebody else higher up.

When you make an arrest, are your procedures any different than they would be in some other Division or if responding to a 911 call?

Your procedures are not really different. You take more precautions when you are a police officer on patrol. I know other cops work and talk to people differently than we do. We talk to people more respectfully. The patrol officers tend to be uncaring, show no emotion. It's repetitious: OK guys, I understand your problem; now let's go to the next complaint. When you walk, the arrest is more on a personal basis with the people who have the problem.

It affects you when you see the people. You can't escape the problems because you are in that community everyday walking. In a car patrol, you may be in my area one day and the next day you may be in a wealthy fashionable area. You learn how to talk to people. You learn to relate. It opens your eyes when you see people with these problems. When I first came to this community, I would ask everyone, 'where is the drug deal?' It was my way of talking. Now you have to stand on the corner and have a coke or a cup of coffee with them. We know everyone except the people who come into the city.

Can you spot a stranger?

In a second! He may be from the other side of town, but after working as a policeman for five years and being constantly on the Eastside for those five years, the face will look familiar to me. I may not know his name but I know he is from the city of Wilmington. Even their hair styles, I know.

Do people ever call you if there is a stranger on the street?

Not so much strangers, but we get a lot of calls about drugs mostly: drug dealings, neighborhood problems, kids breaking windows.

Do people come up and talk to you about these things while you are on patrol?

Yes, more and more people are now less scared of the streets and are putting more confidence in the police. I have people now come up to me - - and we will be right in

front of the drug dealers - - and they will just tell me, 'There they are..right there.' They know that we will be right there.

We will go up to the person [drug dealer] and tell them, 'Listen, when we have a problem call someday, we are going to get you. We will get you one of these days, mark our words, even if we have to climb up on roof tops.'

Sometimes, it feels like a game. We have to catch them with the evidence the best way we can. I dress in all black, sneak in through the alleyways, climb on somebody's roof top, look down, see where they are hiding the drugs. Really, when you think about it, is a game you played when you were kids - - good guys and bad guys. I catch you - - you are caught. But if you get away, tomorrow is the next game. You have to have that mentality with these people. They have a bundle of tricks, a bundle of tricks.

Since they know we walk from the police station into our area [Eastside], they might have scouts three blocks away on each corner whistling, and have people follow us on bicycles. Wherever we go someone will be following us on a bicycle, so we have all these different ways of getting into the area.

It really is comical. They have a better communication system than we do with our radios. It is unbelievable the extent they go to. They use some little kids from the neighborhood, which is a shame. That's our next society and they're learning the same old tricks. In the summer time, my partner and I, on every Friday, get all the little kids in the area, even the drug dealers, and go to the park and play basketball all day long. We come down without our guns and in shorts. We may have locked up these people the week before but once we get to the basketball court, we are not police officers and they are not drug dealers. Hey, let's play some basketball.

It has brought us so much closer to the community, especially to the young 16 year old teenagers, and to the 27 year olds. It has brought us a lot closer. Now we have one-on-one contact. We had to fight a lot of them down there [Eastside], tooth and nail, fist-to-fist a couple of times. Now they wave and come talk to us. We have one guy who helps us coach a basketball team who we had to fight one day for drugs.

We get to know the drug dealers on a cultural basis - - a basketball game. We try to talk to them and get them to talk to us. If we get one out of 20 to listen to us, we are doing very well. They do not have a good life. Usually the parents are subsidized. They dropped out of school - - it's a shame. Drug dealing is one of the last resorts - - to have a nice car, nice clothes, and be wanted by women, to be looked up to. For some, it's the only chance to get out.

How do you decide which shift to work, and which route to take each day?

We take every route, every day differently. When we first came on this shift, in the winter it was 8:00 in the morning to 4:00 in the afternoon or 4:00 in the afternoon to midnight. There are two shifts in our unit. After a while we worked days one week and nights the next.

The people on the street knew our route. They knew when we got off work and when we went to work. The Captain granted us a 40 hour week that we could schedule ourselves. We have worked until 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning without stopping. They [people in the community] think we are gone, but we are still there on a route watching everything that is going on. Surprisingly, they get lax. They think if we came on a 4:00, we will be out of there by 11:30 or midnight - - that's an eight hour shift. Sometimes, we sneak in somewhere and send one officer back to the police station, they will think the other policeman left early and usually we are still in the area.

There is no set route we walk. If we have a problem on a particular day, somebody calls us, and we will address that right away. There is not a set schedule, nor do we take the same way twice.

Give me an example of a problem-solving approach to your work that would be different to that used by a regular patrol officer.

OK. The biggest drug problem was in front of the High School. There are a lot of complaints that adults are selling from a bar after school hours. We went to businesses in the area to see if we could use their business as a lookout place. We finally found one. We talked to the manager and got one of their offices, one block down looking over a two block area. With two pairs of binoculars, we made over 75 arrests in probably a three month period and it was totally clean in the area. The people walk out of their houses now. Drugs are starting to build up again now, though. That's a big problem - - to clean it up and keep it clean. Now we have to go back and clean it up again!

There is no permanent solution that is within our reach. We take what we have in this division and a lot of ingenuity. We work with other divisions, contact vice, and they will come down and give us assistance. Drug trafficking is a big problem. There is only so much we can address. We really are the liaison between the community and the police. That is our main function: to go out and talk to these people, find out their problems, and try to come up with a solution to fix it. We just do what needs to be done day by day. But we get so many complaints from the neighbors about drug deal-

ers. We can't give it all to vice. They would be overwhelmed. There are so many other problems in the city.

If I got into trouble on the street, there are community people who would come to my assistance - - the kids, for example. I had an incident where I had to wrestle somebody. He was fighting me, and punching me, and I dislocated his right shoulder. He said it was racially motivated. He said he wasn't doing anything to me. When I came out of the alleyway, the whole neighborhood was there, and he was new to the area and selling drugs. He screamed 'racial.' The crowd knew I was not that kind of person. I have locked up 100 of them and have never had to fight, and all of a sudden this guy said I was racist. They had this look on their faces as though he were nuts. He was wondering why whole black community wasn't up in arms and jumping on me. I was walking to the car (10 blocks) and the whole crowd follows you to see what happens. If you chase one person, you may have 100 behind you to see what is happening. The kids saw exactly what happened. I got all their names just in case this guy tries to get a civil liabilities suit.

We have had calls on civil liabilities. It happened to my partner and the community came forward. Everybody knows us, even the guys we have had to wrestle. Today I can walk down the street, and they will say, 'how you doing?' and shake my hand. We try to get them to show respect to people, especially the kids. We try to teach them to respect older people, and the uniform. If you give us an ounce of respect, we will give it back to them 100 times over what was given to us. It works.

I feel safer now than I ever did on patrol. I would go on patrol and simply not know the area at all. Here I know my area, my people. I know I won't get hurt unless it is by somebody out of town. That's my nightmare.

The community members feel safer. The people feel safer to tell us things - - the older people and the kids. They feel safer when they see us walking the area all the time.

When we were moved to another area, the community went into an uproar. They contacted the police department here, the Mayor, and every small or large organization in our area. They got together and wrote letters and bombarded the police department - - even if they didn't know our names. People came out of their houses. They called us the two white officers. They want to keep us down here - - they feel we are changing the area. It was a good feeling. We were gone two days and the next thing you know we were back in our area.

Do you participate in Eastside Advisory Council activities and meetings?

Yes, along with other things in our area. The council is made up of residents in our community who are facing long-term problems that need to be resolved.

They find out what's going on by contacting each other - - they are a close knit group. They contact us by phone and our pager numbers. It's very common that when I am at home my pager will go off. It is one of the citizens saying there is a major problem down here, like kids are jumping all over cars. It is a group of concerned citizens trying to change their area and make it better.

At the council meetings - - they're very informal - - they talk about housing - - low income housing, used in our area for drug dealing. There are other small groups in our area and now they are trying to combine into one overall group, so they have more people together for a stronger voice.

Are you aware of any efforts by community members to have black officers assigned to the foot patrol?

In our area there was. At one time, they wanted a black role model police officer. But when we were reassigned, they wanted us back. They said these two officers did a damn good job; they are not racially motivated. They just do their job and do it well. Keep them here. When they decided to leave us here, it made a lot of people happy. I am sure the guys [drug dealers] didn't like it.

How do you get to know people in the houses who are afraid to come out on the street?

When we are not busy in the summer time, we will go from door to door to see if they have a problem, and to get to know them. We go see them if their kids have been disrespectful. We try to handle problems with the kids by talking to their families and talking to the kids. Most kids are receptive. Some mothers give you a cold shoulder, and sometimes it doesn't change due to their background. They have no control over their kids. There is no parental supervision. A cop can't change that - - it comes from the family unit. A cop would have to be a miracle worker to change that.

What other options do you have for dealing with drug abuse problems?

We can refer people to the drug treatment program through the ESAAP center. We have walked drug dealers to the clinic. Anyone can get treatment. We go to court and recommend this instead of sending them off to jail. We ask the prosecutor to send them to a rehab program with six months out of state (in Pittsburgh) to get the counseling they need rather than have them sit in jail. The Eastside Advisory Council is

Have you done any surveys to identify problem areas or citizen concerns?

We review complaint patterns to determine what corner or place in the neighborhood are most complaint infested. We look at where the complaints are coming from and generally find that most come from certain houses or corners?

As far as anything else - - no. We have statistics on arrests, drug calls. We want to find out if it is increasing but we know our drug corners. I think complaints have come down on certain corners, but they have gone somewhere else. They go from one block to another. It may be more in houses than on the corners.

We know that the Eastside now has a better quality of life. Two years ago it was the worst place in the city. It had 10 pairs of shoes hung over the telephone lines. That means: 'This is where to buy drugs.' We had to call the Power and Light Company to come out and have them cut the shoes down from the wires because that signals people that want to buy: 'This is where to go.' We call right away to have them cut down. Two years ago, it was really crazy. Even kids asked them [dealers], why don't you hang them up on my street. My street is dead. The dealers just go to other places.

People come in from all over to buy drugs. Once we set up a road block like they use for DUI, only this was for drug buyers. They got pulled over to the side and we asked for licenses, registrations, proof of insurance. You wouldn't believe how many people are wanted in the city. But there were some questions about whether we could do that, so we haven't done it since then.

Another way we work with the community is through the business people. One of the businessmen we work with walked in a neighborhood store one night and saw that they were selling pot rolling paper. He asked, 'why are you selling rolling paper and you have no tobacco products?'

We have extreme cooperation from businesses. We have keys to 70% of the businesses in our area. They let us use their place at night for surveillance for drugs. There is a bar and we met with the owner who let us use his apartment to survey the corner. We had a monitor in the bar and outlook on the corner with a video. We even have house keys. Everybody knows us. That is where the trust begins - - when they know your name and call you and wave to you.

What are the Department priorities? How much support do you get from management?

We will drop what we are doing for all emergency calls. We are always the first ones brought in for emergencies. We are the extra bodies.

They want us to be the relay station between community and the police department. They tell us, this is your job. You have to hear their problems. In the summer time, they want us to answer their complaints, which is keeping it at the computer level. We have to do this, and I accept it, but they are saying one thing and making you do another. There is a gap.

We do get support from management from the Chief on down to the Captain. We have direct access to the Chief, and we are about the only ones that do. But there are pressures on the department.

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY: Reclaiming the Streets

The community members talked about Eastside life before the community policing project began. They talked about the problems, what they are doing about them, and what their plans for the future are.

When ESAAP started, it was something everybody was looking for because they needed direction and how to deal with the whole situation. There is a difference when a neighborhood tries to do it on their own, without a group like ESAAP being there to guide. ESAAP gave us many ideas of the things we could do, just little things that we never thought about, like the telephone tree and neighborhood watch. It also brought the community closer together. It organized us into blocks; now we talk about blocks. Every block is different. It's real important to have block captains. There are different kinds of people by block. There will be children in one and none on another. It is not like a neighborhood; it is a block.

I'm the block captain for my street. It is referred to as a 'hot spot.' It is a lot different than other areas. We use different approaches. Our new neighbors are still not willing to get out and participate in a hands on effort. Our approach is that they contact me, and usually I will go outside and talk to who may be stirring up something. I try to deal with them on a one-on-one level which works most of the time. Sometimes you call the police, and they can come down and clear it, but as soon as they leave, they may come back out.

But if a resident comes up and says, 'Hey, this lady has been living here 50 years. I would appreciate it if you just give her respect, and take your activities someplace

else,' they are more receptive and say, 'Fine. I appreciate that.' They look at it as better than me calling the police, and now that I know someone is watching, I will take it someplace else.

This used to be a safe neighborhood. But, three or four years ago there were certain 'hot spots' that were just crazy. What happens is the whole area gets crazy. We need to get away from the idea that everyone here in Eastside is a drug addict and shooting people. What has happened as this program evolved are those areas are a lot calmer than it was five to seven years ago. That is what is the amazing part. The community said enough is enough. We are going to get you out of here one by one. That is the difference from six years ago to now. Between 50 sneakers up on the wires, and now you can't see any, or maybe a pair at most.. That is the reason this has been successful here. The Weed and Seed program on the Westside has come out from what has happened here on the Eastside. Now the Northeast side has a community policing program. The holistic approach we took here has made this all happen.

I have come into this great situation because a lot of this was already established when I came aboard. I left here 12 years ago to work for the Boy Scouts of America. One of the things that I really like about the ESAAP program is the holistic approach. It is not just trying to lock people up. We have tutoring, drug and alcohol rehabilitation on demand if they don't have insurance. We have a housing committee. The previous coordinator is a council person and we are hoping to work with her on the housing issue. That gives us another means to help with the boarded up houses that are on the Eastside, and work with those landlords to get the properties fixed up.

We have a youth coordinator and the community police officers. We don't want them just to make arrests but we want them to know Miss Mary who lives a couple of blocks away. She is an elderly person that may not have anyone come to visit from time to time. But just know who she is. I look at the biggest challenge as getting the folks to come in and say, 'I need some help,' or for the children to say, 'my parents are having some problems. Who can I talk to?'

We have out-patient treatment as well as a variety of residential treatment services that we can refer people to. We deal with the families and try to do whatever is necessary to get the family working and cohesive. The families are very cooperative. They are interested in getting treatment for a family member who needs it.

What is the community's relationship with the walking police officers?

The first time I saw the walking police officers, it reminded me of the old films where you have the cops swinging their night sticks. I thought it was the neatest thing in the world. When I moved to the Eastside we had four, and with four officers on, you felt a lot more secure. The areas are a lot cleaner now as far as activity on corners - - as far as people standing on corners making open-air drug sales. We have been fortunate to have six officers come and go, dedicated officers. We have resolutions dedicated to each one of them. They have been tremendous.

At first it was really tough having white officers but as people came to know them, they knew they were OK. They had a no-nonsense approach: They said we can associate with you on a respectable level as a neighbor to an officer or as a friend to a friend. But if you disrespect us, other officers or neighbors in a way that is offensive, then we will take necessary steps.

Once the neighborhood learned that, they gained the respect and they were accepted. You can ask anyone out there. Some may have a positive opinion; some may have a negative opinion. Those with the negative opinions are the one who have run into the opposite side of the officers. These two we have now are tremendous. They have done an excellent job in educating themselves with helping the community and fitting in and knowing us.

How do you decide what problems to work on and how to go about solving the problems?

It is very difficult for people to volunteer because it is so time consuming to really get the job done. You really have to be sincere. In my neighborhood, we have a neighborhood association. We have the community police come to every meeting with updated information, and we exchange ideas and knowledge.

More information is given out in that meeting than they would on the phone, because they are afraid of retaliation if they give their names - - the dealers will knock on doors and ask why are you reporting me. Some kids don't understand about trying to keep a home up. They have to learn this. We are working closely with the schools, too. Teachers and principals understand what is happening. We have pulled together a group, and we meet with the principal once a month. We tell them our problems, and they tell us theirs. We don't want to wait until there is a crisis; we want to get involved now. That has come out of ESAAP. More people are getting involved because they see something can happen if they are involved. If they stay out of the

circle, then they won't get the help they need. We tell them, you are a part of the problem too. Get in here and help these kids do better.

In my neighborhood, we have a symposium that we started six months ago, and we brought in business people and the career center. We have come up with some of the strengths and weaknesses of the neighborhood. We were able to say to these people what we want our neighborhood to look like. You have to take pride in your area, and that is what we are trying to get everybody to do. We want to see it grow, to see it do great things for everybody, and change the quality of life or enhance the quality of life. This group is pulling together and we have the help from the City, President of the City Council, License and Inspections, and the Planning Department. None of this would have come about if it hadn't been for ESAAP

What are some problems you have worked on?

ESAAP taught the residents about the resources available for them through the city. This is one way to empower the community. Also, we try to change things ourselves. Some folks need housing, but can't afford decent housing. We decided to go to some landlords. So now, with ESAAP's help, rental houses have to be inspected by the city and receive a certificate that it can be lived in by a respectable person. If not, the rent can be withheld until such repairs are made.

Another way we empower the community is through networking. My neighborhood wrote a letter - - 75 of us, to absentee landlords. We had a sessions and invited all the absentee landlords, but only five attended. The firm that helped us most was Woodlawn Trustees. They own over 108 properties in the Eastside. We pulled together information for the other absentee landlords with recommendations about who to rent to, interviewing people for decent people in their properties to avoid massive repairs when they leave. We haven't given up. We asked these five landlords to bring another landlord to the next meeting to build it up. We are really sincere about making this the best part of Wilmington.

That will be tough in some neighborhoods. In the lower Eastside - - so many people have moved or passed away, so there are a lot of renters. Home ownership really makes a difference. We hope to promote and see promoted more ownership instead of apartments. It is very difficult to get renters involved at times. A lot of people become far removed and say, 'I own property down there; I don't live there.'

Our block captains meet once a month to discuss the problems, even if it is not a drug problem. It may be someone has been trashing the neighborhood. The community involvement has been good. They come out and do our drug marches or drug vigils.

We had a drug vigil a month ago. The blocks were clear for hours. That was a victory. Folks came out or looked out their doors - - that was good. That kind of impact you can't measure, but you can see.

What about the youth?

There are many juveniles involved in drugs - - sales and trade. There is a lot of peer pressure. Peers tend to stick with peers. We could attract the younger people, but the 16 to 20 year olds were leery about getting involved. They don't want to be identified as a snitch.

We initially were on a corner with a hard hat and a bull horn asking drug dealers to leave. If they don't leave, we call the police. We usually have an officer with us. We have been hassled many times. I have had death threats. I supposedly have a contract on my life, but I stand firm.

Once the youth were familiar with me, I went out and did outreach on my own - - talking, explaining to them. If you have children, would you want your kids to be growing up where gun shots are fired, people killed, drugs are being pushed? So then I ask you to get involved with me and let us do something together to help our youth come off these corners. Let us do recreation, go somewhere. Let me talk to you about what is happening around here, how the business of drugs work, and what it leads to. Let's talk about the future. Once we do that, we have them. We attract them. We pull them into the program, and we know they will love it. The hardest part is getting them here. Once here, we can keep them here. We have reached many.

The youth we work with are between eight and 23. In my view, 23 year old youths are often still undecided what they would like to do. They may not have a high school education and may be associating with 16 to 20 year olds, so they have become a part of that peer group. It is best to acknowledge that peer group, and try to identify them and work with them to help the ones under them.

We also work with kids younger than eight years old. We have Friday night matinees. We show kids movies, then we show teenage movies. We need to attract both populations. It's a fun activity that serves a dual purpose - - keeps them off the street late at night.

A lot of our youth members are very streetwise. They have come to us and want more for the younger kids than themselves, because they lacked this when they were younger. So they are focusing on what we could do to help the little kids.

The Effect Of Esaap On The Police Department And The Community

To the extent that key participants know about and represent beliefs about the effect of the community policing project, the project is a great success. This success may not be adequately reflected in the statistics. It may be more clearly reflected in changes in police department approaches to crime control as well as in community members feeling of safety and daily habits - - for example, feeling safe enough to walk a few blocks to work, or to call the police and give their name. In the words of the key participants, changes in the ordinary way to doing business both in the police department and in the community have been significant:

THE CHIEFS

Difference? Yes. I don't think we can say we've licked the drug problem, but I would hate to think where we would be as a city if we weren't involved in these partnerships with the communities, if we hadn't received some of these grants for the programs. The mini-station has really provided some benefits. Its made it easier to deal with displacement, and put us in touch with many more people than a fixed station would allow. The problems in Eastside are deeply entrenched and will take many years to solve. We're not done by a long shot. It's going to have to continue in some form because I don't think citizens are going to accept anything less. We can't ever turn back. We now have a community services division with 40 officers.

The Eastside project has helped us tremendously in the recently funded "Weed and Seed" project on the Westside. Of course there are still problems - - there will always be problems - - but we have made a major difference in the way we work with the community, and their attitude toward us.

Has community policing changed the values in the Department?

More people would like to be doing it, if they had time, but because of the demands of 911, they don't. I think it has changed the values in thinking - - we look for a different kind of officer. We look at whether they have done volunteer work. Would they be willing to do social work in addition to law enforcement? The Department is slowly evolving. What has been going on in Wilmington has been evolutionary, not revolutionary. We have done it a little bit at a time, a piece at a time, the size we could chew and swallow. The Community Services Division has reached its peak in terms of efficiency. We can begin to shift more and more into the traditional divisions.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS

I was in patrol. A sergeant asked me one day if I would like to come over and I agreed. I love it. Interacting with the community and working with the kids. We just

started a basketball team and had our second game last night. We have all these kids in our area, ages 9 - 12, in the PAL league. We are helping people. If we have to lock up people every day for the rest of their life, they are not going to get anything out of being locked up. But if you help people on this job, this is really valuable. If you help a family, you will always remember that family. If I see a smile on a kid's face, that makes my day - - helping a kid. I tell the kids in my area, if you make the first or second honor roll, I will give you \$5.00. Four kids out of that whole area of 400 made the honor roll.

I like my job. It is a shame the whole police department is not a walking department. If everything was more one-on-one, personal relationships, it would be almost a perfect city. I guess that is unrealistic at this point.

The Eastside has a better quality of life. Two years ago it was the worst place in the city. It had 10 pairs of shoes hung over the telephone lines. This means, this is where to buy drugs. We had to call the Delaware Power and Light Company to come out and have them cut the shoes down because that signals people that want to buy: this is where to go. We call right away to have them cut down.

We are taken more seriously in the Department, and we have stopped being the villains in the community. We get better information for the undercover guys. The mobile mini-station is excellent.

In your view, what are the major benefits to the community of community policing?

- It helps the drug problems - - the main problem.
- More reliability on police - - first hand.
- More one on one basis relationship with the community.
- Peace of mind - - knowing there is an officer in the area walking. They know you personally and tell you their problems. They say "hi."
- Personal knowledge of the officers; you know him, his attitudes, likes and dislikes, and you can count on him. We will be there to help.
- It becomes personal when you see something that needs to be done and the department lets you do it your way.
- Major corners, the "hot spots," are no longer major. They move. We get respect.
- I get to meet a lot of people who are friends now - - in schools, kids.
- Some kids want to be police officers.
- Seeing kids smile.

- The old people can leave their homes now.
- The guy selling drugs is the bad guy; the community cops are the good guys and the cool guys.
- If they need a cop, they try to get hold of us.
- We are their police officers.
- We attend community meetings.
- People call, and leave their names.

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY

The people in the community feel safer. I know walking the street is a lot safer knowing the police are nearby. But even if people are afraid, at least they call me. They know I am going to do something about it. The police will call them or go to their homes, for example, elderly people who live alone. Who wants to be a prisoner in their own homes?

The community involvement has been good. They come out and do our drug marches or drug vigils. We had a drug vigil a month ago. The blocks were clear for hours. That was a victory. Folks came out or looked out their doors - - that was good. That kind of impact you can't measure, but you can see.

The elderly get out more. They leave their doors open in the summer time. We help out other areas of town and they help us. My neighbors know I am looking out for them.

People who deal in drug sales do not like to be around clean places. We have reached out to all the other city departments to get the service we need.

ESAAP taught the community to communicate with the police. The walking patrol have made the people more comfortable. People invite them into their homes, and talk to them. They use their homes for surveillance - - businesses, too.

The officers give their beeper numbers out. That gives people confidence to call the walking police. That is beautiful when you get that kind of one-to-one from an officer.

When we call people [the telephone tree], it is to get people in the neighborhood to watch out and see what is going on. We also call to get a better response from the [police] radio room. That does make a difference if more people call.

It's not just the walking officers that are a success, though. It is the overall program. The overall holistic approach has helped a tremendous amount.

CHALLENGES AND CHANGES: HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

ESAAP and its community policing component will not end with the end of the federally funded grant period. This report ends by allowing the key participants to talk about how community policing can be improved, and about their expectations for the future. The ideas and recommendations range from a specific policy change to department wide and community wide change.

THE CHIEFS

When federal money is gone, most programs will continue. They are not costly, except in terms of manpower. The implementation is most costly. Once we're accepted in the community, it is not a costly program.

Cross-training is one of our goals. We hope eventually to rotate people in and out so the community policing approach will be used in every division - - detective, vice, traffic - - because I think everybody needs to be involved and everybody can be involved. Also, you shouldn't leave anyone in a position too long, because it stifles their career development.

The problems in the Eastside are deeply entrenched and will take many years to solve. We're not done by a long shot, but it's going to have to continue in some form because I don't think citizens are going to accept anything less. We can't ever turn back.

WALKING PATROL OFFICERS

We need to rotate the walking patrol officers about every 18 months. Otherwise, they begin to lose their effectiveness because everyone knows them too well, and the community members get too dependent on them. Also, the more police officers that rotate through community policing, the more it will reflect favorably on the whole police department. It will also expose more officers to the community policing concept.

We need more training on what community officers do. A lot of the officers come from patrol. We could help train. We need to get together and exchange information. There is no formal training.

On the Eastside, I think the project needs to target single mothers. They are often in a catch 22 situation - - they want to get off welfare, but they may make less money working and paying taxes and child care than on welfare. We need to provide day care. I have this ideal: a building with two floors with day care on one and tutoring on the other.

We need to encourage the residents to take more responsibility for what goes on in their community. This has improved a lot, but more needs to be done. It can't be done only from the outside.

Some work still needs to be done in the housing area. Absentee landlords are a problem. They should be held accountable for maintaining their property and for the kind of people they rent to.

Our work should be seen as urgent and as high a priority as some of the demands that pull us off our community policing activities.

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY

This kind of effort needs very strong leadership - - a very dedicated leader who is community oriented, someone who provides lots of encouragement and incentives to keep it going.

We need more community people involved. We have to let them know they are really important. They can make a difference if they speak up.

We need to continue working on the housing problems with absentee landlords.

The community police officers need to be more visible at community functions. When more walking police officers go into church on Sundays and speak to the congregation or wherever people are. They need to be recognized, to grow and be a more important part of the community.

The economics of the community really needs to improve. More jobs are needed.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

EASTSIDE SUBSTANCE ABUSE AWARENESS PROGRAM PROCESS EVALUATION WILMINGTON, DELAWARE JANUARY 1993

MANAGEMENT QUESTIONS

1. What led to the development of the Community Policing Unit.
 - Availability of grant funds
 - Traditional interdiction approach ineffective
 - Seriousness of the drug problem
 - Participate in progressive methods of police work
2. How was the project implemented?
 - New mission statement
 - Values statement
 - Recruitment of officers with special qualifications
3. Would you please describe how the program is operating, and discuss any major implementation problems.
 - Walking foot patrols
 - Eastside Advisory Council
 - Collaboration with other agencies
 - Place in the police department structure
 - discretion
 - accountability
 - internal conflict regarding roles and methods
 - management problems related to different roles and methods:
status, upward mobility, use of discretion
4. What changes, if any, have you experienced in your department's values and beliefs about police work that you would attribute to the community policing project?
5. What, if any, problems do you encounter in recruiting officers for foot patrol?
 - Perception that assignment is not "real" policing
 - Perception that assignment is not good for career
 - Lack of applicants with appropriate qualifications
6. What would you say are the major disadvantages of the community policing approach?

7. The major benefits?
(If benefits mentioned include reduced visibility of open air markets, increased community participation, or changes in community quality of life, ask if it could have been accomplished using the traditional police approach.)
8. Finally, do you plan to continue the program after federal funding has ended?
Why or why not?

WALKING DRUG PATROL OFFICER QUESTIONS

1. Please describe a shift on foot patrol.

How do you start your shift?
How do you decide where to patrol?
What do you see?
Who do you talk with?
How do you interact with undercover people?
How do you interact with regular community people?
Who initiates the conversation?
What do you talk about?
How do you decide whether to take an action?
Do your procedures for making an arrest change?
How do you decide what action to take?
How long does it generally take to walk your route?
How many times do you walk the route each day?
What else do you do?
What do you do at the end of the day?
Does the knowledge of the community gained by the community police approach make police work more effective?

2. Take me through a Citizens Advisory Council Meeting.

Who organizes the meeting?
Who prepares the agenda?
Who is there?
What are the usual topics?
Is the meeting conducted in a formal or informal style?
Who does most of the talking?
How are decisions made?
Are problems defined at these meetings?
Are problem solutions agreed to?
Are action plans developed?

3. Do you think the Citizens Advisory Council is useful? Why or why not?
4. How often, if at all, do you work with other city departments or agencies to solve community problems?

5. How do you feel about your job as a "foot patrol" officer compared to the role of a motorized patrol officer?

- Status
- Management support
- Department priorities
- Career track
- Effectiveness

6. Do you feel you are impacting the drug problem in the Eastside community?
In what way?
7. If so, do you think this impact could have been achieved as effectively, or perhaps more effectively, by other methods? (Discuss other methods if mentioned)
8. What are the major problems with the community policing approach?
9. What are the major benefits, both for the individual police officer and for the community?

EASTSIDE COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONS

1. When and how did you first become involved in the community policing project?
2. What were your incentives for participating in the project?
3. What is your role?

- Problem definition
- Recruitment and organization of community members
- Information gathering
- Collaboration with police and other agencies
- Brokering services
- Citizen patrol

4. What is the role of the foot patrol officer?
5. How would you compare the effectiveness of the foot patrol compared to the motorized patrol or other types of police work?
6. Do you think the community feels safer as a result of the foot patrol? As a result of citizen involvement? Why or why not?
7. How has the community changed with community policing?