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National Institute of Justice

Searching for Answers

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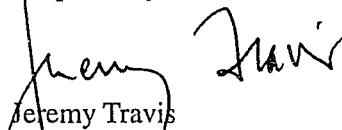
Annual Evaluation Report
Drugs and Crime
1993-1994

Letter of Transmittal

To the President, the Attorney General, and the Congress:

Pursuant to Section 520 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 (Public Law 100-690), I have the honor to transmit herewith *Searching for Answers*, the National Institute of Justice's Evaluation Report on Drugs and Crime for fiscal years 1993-1994.

Respectfully submitted,



Jeremy Travis
Director
National Institute of Justice

Washington, DC
May 1995

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SEARCHING FOR ANSWERS

NCJRS

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ACQUISITIONS

ANNUAL EVALUATION REPORT ON DRUGS AND CRIME: 1993-1994

A Report to the President,
the Attorney General,
and the Congress

155487

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

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National Institute of Justice

Jeremy Travis
Director

Report Editors

Mary G. Graham
Winifred Reed

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Message from the National Institute of Justice

Our country faces enormous challenges in controlling violence, crime, and drug abuse. One of the most compelling challenges is building hope and confidence that something can be done. What better way to do this than by sharing knowledge that can help us replicate successful anti-crime and anti-drug programs.

This fifth edition of *Searching for Answers* is one way in which the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) shares information about which programs are working and what approaches appear ineffective. This report reflects NIJ's collaboration with the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), Office of Justice Programs. BJA provides funds and technical assistance to States and localities to develop practices that promise to work better; NIJ uses the tools of research and evaluation to document the lessons learned so programs can be refined and strengthened.

Readers of this report will note certain changes from previous editions. To provide greater context for the findings of evaluations, which are the main focus of this document, an executive summary describes other relevant research projects supported by NIJ.

By virtue of the new Federal emphasis on and support for innovation in criminal justice, as provided for in the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, we anticipate that the Institute's next annual report will reflect the knowledge accumulating from a reinvigorated research and evaluation agenda for NIJ.

Jeremy Travis
Director

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Executive Summary

Crime and violence continue to be among the toughest challenges facing the Nation. Many communities are struggling to maintain safety and security in the face of rising numbers of gun-related crimes, increasing drug abuse and trafficking, and the spread of predatory gangs. These threats are especially severe for young people, among whom deaths from firearms have escalated alarmingly. Homicide is now the leading cause of death for young African-American men; the homicide rate for all African-American men is 10 times that for Caucasian men.

What new avenues lie open to criminal justice agencies and communities as they work to contain violence and crime and to rescue young people from destructive influences? In this fifth edition of *Searching for Answers*, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) reports on anti-crime activities, efforts to prevent drug abuse, and system improvements being tried throughout the country. Evaluation results are presented that can further improve innovative approaches to making communities safer.

Important as it is, evaluation is just one aspect of NIJ's larger mission. Research is an equally critical tool in searching for answers. Thus, this summary integrates findings from NIJ research that relate to the evaluations discussed in detail in this report.

Most of the evaluations reported here were developed and supported by NIJ, although some of the evaluations of State and local programs were commissioned by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA). Both NIJ and BJA are part of the Office of Justice Programs within the Department of Justice, which works in partnership with States and localities to increase public safety and strengthen the justice system.

In examining innovative projects, NIJ analyzes all aspects of these efforts and then provides feedback that can be used by policymakers, decisionmakers, program developers, criminal justice professionals, and others. The results, whether positive or negative, are equally valuable in helping determine what works and should be replicated and what should be modified and tested further. Objective, reliable evaluations such as these are invaluable to communities striving to prevent and reduce crime and violence in their neighborhoods.

As this report shows, anti-crime efforts today increasingly reflect integrated services and partnerships that involve all components of the criminal justice system (enforcement, adjudication, and corrections),

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Available evidence suggests that community policing helps reduce levels of disorder, minor crime, and incivilities that affect quality of life.

other governmental agencies at all levels (local, State, and Federal), and community groups. This integration is essential because no single part of society, including law enforcement, can bring about the changes needed to reduce the level of crime, violence, and contributing factors such as illegal drug activity. Building multilayered strategies that begin to chip away at underlying problems and to restore hope requires commitment by all.

This edition of *Searching for Answers* reports on several criminal justice system innovations that apply the broader and more integrated approach reflected in the 1994 Violent Crime Control Act, which was signed into law as this report was being prepared. Many of the projects reviewed in this report relate to key themes of the new legislation, including community policing efforts, domestic violence, specialized courts, alternative sanctions, jail-based drug abuse treatment programs, and gang prevention and intervention activities.

IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING

Community policing has evolved significantly in the past several years, but some of its elements have been assessed more fully than others. The majority of evaluations of community policing have found positive effects on citizens' attitudes toward police. The view that community policing helps reduce fear of crime also seems well founded, although some efforts have not had this effect. A majority of studies have reported decreases in crime, but these programs and evaluations have limitations that preclude definitive conclusions at this time. However, available evidence suggests that community policing helps reduce levels of disorder, minor crime, and incivilities that affect quality of life.

The changes in philosophy and service style required by community policing demand much more than traditional training and consultation with police officers. Resistance to the community policing approach may stem from some officers' belief that it erodes the traditional crime-fighting capabilities of police or that it is practiced only by a special unit that may not share the full police workload. In addition, community members may be reluctant to become involved in assisting in security efforts. Evaluators strongly recommend expanded training of and consultation with officers and community members to improve the effectiveness of community policing.

A number of NIJ research studies now under way are encouraging the refinement and testing of this promising new policing strategy. Research indicates that jurisdictions vary significantly in how they implement community policing, ranging from deploying a few specialized officers to identifying a narrowly defined target to forming small special units composed of many officers.

In six jurisdictions studied, community policing was implemented for radically different purposes, such as to control violent crime and respond to burgeoning calls for service, with the purpose dictating the form adopted. One overall form of community policing that emerged stresses changes in the mode of policing, such as method of deploy-

ment. Another general form, and perhaps the most common, was often used in response to demands for greater access to police resources and might feature mini-stations and special units that interact more directly with citizens. A third form focuses on solving substantive community problems and is more likely to involve departmentwide participation in the community policing effort. Ongoing NIJ research in other jurisdictions seeks to measure the impact of community policing on such manifestations of social disorder as street drug markets, gang activity, and public drinking.

ENFORCING ANTI-DRUG LAWS

Police are applying new technologies such as computer mapping techniques to pinpoint the nature and location of shifting street drug markets and to target enforcement strategies against them. Under NIJ's Drug Market Analysis (DMA) program, law enforcement agencies and researchers in five cities have teamed up to develop and apply automated geographic information systems for tactical and strategic planning. DMA findings include the following:

- In Pittsburgh, marked reductions in drug-trafficking activities occurred in targeted areas, and the DMA system helped law enforcement officers detect newly emerging criminal activities. Following intensified enforcement in one area, for example, gun complaints dropped 50 percent.
- In Hartford, drug enforcement activities were most effective in areas with boundaries where access could be controlled by the police, such as neighborhoods with one-way streets or bridges.
- In San Diego, police used the DMA system to identify properties where drug trafficking occurs and then targeted the property owners rather than drug offenders. Preliminary findings indicate that a high percentage of property owners want to cooperate with law enforcement to evict drug dealers.

In addition to the individual DMA programs, NIJ is evaluating the applicability of geomapping technology for supporting problem-oriented policing.

Multijurisdictional task forces have been widely adopted to pool resources and expertise in anti-drug efforts. NIJ research indicates that about 60 percent of multijurisdictional drug task forces cover largely rural areas, 20 percent cover suburban areas, and 17 percent cover urban locales. Task forces are giving higher priority now than in the past to seizing assets; promoting drug awareness in the community; and targeting upper-level dealers, traffickers, and distributors. Task forces focused primarily on cocaine (crack and powder), although some made heroin and hallucinogens top priorities while decreasing emphasis on marijuana.

Police patrol units have developed and use a wider range of anti-drug tactics than in the past, and investigators have improved the application

Multijurisdictional task forces are giving higher priority now than in the past to seizing assets; promoting drug awareness in the community; and targeting upper-level dealers, traffickers, and distributors.

Police patrol units have developed and use a wider range of anti-drug tactics than in the past, and investigators have improved the application or focus of their tactics in recent years.

or focus of their tactics in recent years, according to findings from a survey of large law enforcement agencies. The survey found that:

- Drug enforcement tactics benefit from increased sharing of knowledge and responsibility. For example, patrol officers may engage in surveillance or develop informants while investigators may enforce local ordinances, such as those pertaining to trespassing or disorderly conduct.
- Although narcotics personnel rely predominantly on what may be considered traditional drug enforcement efforts, they also use a wide variety of nontraditional tactics
- Common pairings of related tactics include aggressive enforcement followed by neighborhood stabilization efforts, which might include foot patrols or police mini-stations. Police agencies feel that using such tactics in combination increases the effectiveness of anti-drug efforts.
- The most effective anti-drug tactics reported by the surveyed agencies appear to require extensive cooperation between police agencies and others, particularly when community policing is used to address drug problems.

NIJ currently is evaluating a number of projects to enlist the involvement and cooperation of citizens who live and work in the community. In Spokane, Washington, for example, residents of public housing are working with police, neighborhood associations, and city agencies in efforts to eliminate drug activity and improve their neighborhoods.

One NIJ study notes that the principal citizen anti-drug approaches are direct intervention, such as citizen patrols and public rallies; advocacy activities, such as lobbying for more policing or political change; and support for education and drug prevention programs. Community organizations surveyed judged more than one-half of their anti-drug efforts have had some impact.

In another NIJ study, researchers found that programs with access to a wide range of resources and concerned with broad issues of improving the neighborhood's quality of life are more likely to endure and retain citizens' commitment. Community efforts formed specifically to combat drugs run the risk of being too small, too narrowly focused, and short-lived (though some merely have dormant periods and are ready to remobilize). Although police must play a critical role in citizen anti-drug initiatives, police retention of all responsibility and power is unlikely to promote sustainable citizen efforts.

In summary, the most effective anti-drug tactics appear to require extensive cooperation among citizens and police and other city agencies, such as the housing department and health department. However, the long-term effects of enforcement strategies are most influenced by what happens after arrest and are most successful when the various components of the criminal justice system, including treatment and aftercare policies, are integrated.

RESPONDING TO SPECIAL ADJUDICATION NEEDS

States and other jurisdictions face a number of challenges in sentencing drug offenders. Chief judges and lead prosecutors of felony courts were asked in an NIJ-sponsored study to indicate how they identified drug cases, to characterize their sentencing practices, and to specify what they believed is needed to improve court functioning.

The study revealed the following findings about court experiences and practices:

- Arrests for drug-related crimes and the number of drug-related court cases have increased significantly since 1989.
- Drug testing is common practice and is used almost universally for postconviction monitoring. Use of drug testing for pretrial supervision is least common in rural areas.
- Drug treatment following conviction is common practice, and in most cases it is employed as an alternative to incarceration.
- Most jurisdictions have mandatory minimum sentences for drug-related offenses.

The study indicated several areas in court performance that need improvement:

- The ability of court systems to handle drug-related crime has improved slightly in recent years but is still inadequate, particularly in urban and metropolitan areas.
- Despite some improvement in recent years, a significant percentage of judges said they need more information about substance abuse and about treatment options.
- Court systems need better computerization of records.
- Better supervision and monitoring of defendants is needed, particularly during the pretrial phase.
- Technical assistance is needed to help court systems implement better pretrial risk assessment systems and new programs, such as drug courts.

Innovative Approaches

Many jurisdictions across the country are experimenting with innovative court settings: the grouping of similar types of cases into courtrooms specially equipped to handle those types of cases, courts that combine adjudication and drug treatment approaches, and community courts set up to adjudicate crime committed in the neighborhood. The following reviews NIJ evaluation results related to drug courts, community courts, and the impact of increased processing speed on due process:

*Many jurisdictions
across the country are
experimenting with
juridical innovations,
including drug courts
and community courts.*

- Defendants in the Dade County (Miami) drug court, which combines court supervision and treatment approaches by requiring defendants to undergo treatment and remain drug-free as part of the adjudication process, reoffend less often than their counterparts in the traditional court.
- Specialized courts that adjudicate only one type of case are able to give those cases total attention while significantly speeding up processing time.

Bringing Communities into the Courts

Community courts involve residents, businesses, and social service agencies in the adjudication process. They serve as "satellite" courts dispensing justice within a neighborhood, rather than from a central location, and with input from community leaders. One of the goals of community courts is to respond more directly to local needs by locating the court in the neighborhood, in much the same way that neighborhood police stations are located in neighborhoods with high law enforcement needs.

Although community courts are still experimental, it is clear that, to work, a jurisdiction must assemble a broad coalition of support from community leaders, residents, social service providers, criminal justice officials, foundation and corporate supporters, and local politicians. Specific concerns will vary from one community to another, but the obstacles inherent in the process of assembling a coalition of divergent constituencies each with a unique agenda or special area of interest are likely to be similar in all urban settings.

NIJ has funded an evaluation of a community court located in midtown Manhattan and currently is assessing how well the court is achieving the following goals:

- Responding constructively and immediately to low-level crimes such as vandalism that contribute to the perception that the quality of life is decaying in midtown Manhattan.
- Using the moment of arrest to engage defendants in treatment, education, health, and other social services that help them turn from criminal behavior.
- Enlisting community members and local service providers to help solve neighborhood problems.
- Making justice speedier and more visible in neighborhoods where offenses occur.

In Manhattan, neighborhood businesses help develop community service activities for defendants adjudicated in the community court. Typical sentences might include preparing mailings for a nonprofit agency located in the neighborhood, repainting areas covered with graffiti, or picking up trash and debris on neighborhood streets.

Similar courts are being implemented elsewhere; for example, in Brooklyn's Red Hook neighborhood, a community-based court will

resolve landlord-tenant matters, provide needed services to victims and families, and require offenders to complete their sentences in the community by performing such tasks as cleaning the streets and performing maintenance of community facilities.

In addition, the initial results from Milwaukee's specialized court are promising: One year after the violence court opened, 152 cases were disposed and the time from initial appearance to a finding dropped from 319 to 92 days. Convictions rose from 84 to 93 percent, and the number of defendants who pled guilty to the original charge increased from 19 to 42 percent.

Adjudication of Drug Cases

Several courts that specialize in narcotics and other drug cases are in place around the Nation. An evaluation of the Dade County drug court, which focuses on treatment and engages the judge in a highly proactive role, found that:

- The approach resulted in fewer cases being dropped. "Diversion" types of outcome (diverted, nol-prossed, case sealed) were much more frequently recorded for drug court defendants than for other felony defendants.
- Drug court defendants are also less likely to commit new crimes, and when they do, the time between release and the commission of a new crime is significantly longer than for other felony defendants.

The Dade County evaluation identified several key challenges faced by the drug court that have implications for other jurisdictions:

- The court must have fast, accurate information about defendants.
- The target population must be clearly defined to help set the basis for screening criteria and to ensure that defendants are appropriately assigned to the court.
- Different treatment plans are needed for different levels and types of drug abuse.

Assessing the Overall Impact of Specialized Courts

Strong arguments in favor of establishing specialized courtrooms, especially for narcotics cases, include the following:

- Although drug cases make up as much as one-half of the felony caseloads of urban trial courts, they often must be processed quickly without adequate assessment of the defendant's needs, which may affect future behavior.
- Processing time is frequently shorter because interruptions and delays caused by other matters are avoided, and the judge may take a more proactive role than in other courtrooms.

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A study of court strategies aimed at streamlining the processing of narcotics cases reported significant reductions in case-processing time in both Chicago's and Milwaukee's drug courts.

- The staff in specialized courtrooms usually receive special training and often have ready access to services related to the offender's behavior (for example, drug treatment programs).

A study of court strategies aimed at streamlining the processing of narcotics cases reported significant reductions in case-processing time in both Chicago's and Milwaukee's drug courts. In Chicago, the time from first appearance to adjudication dropped more than 70 percent (from 245 to 69 days) following the establishment of the night narcotics courtrooms; and in Milwaukee, processing time decreased more than 50 percent (from 253 to 117 days). Another study reported a reduction in processing time from 154 to just 30 days, which was attributable to the opening of special felony waiver mechanisms in New York.

Critics of specialized courts caution that speeding up the process may have a detrimental effect on the due process rights of the defendants. NIJ currently is funding an assessment of specialized courts and the impact of this approach on the quality of justice. This evaluation will look at four specialized courts selected on the basis of documented gains in efficiency and, for each court, compare and contrast 125 cases disposed of before the creation of the specialized courtrooms and 125 cases disposed of subsequently. Three are specialized drug courts; the fourth is Milwaukee's violence court, which handles only homicide and sexual assault cases.

Ensuring that justice is served remains the primary goal of the courts, and the speediness of disposition is just one means toward achieving that goal. It is critical that the effects of speedy disposition on the quality of justice be evaluated carefully.

EXAMINING CORRECTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

The Nation's correctional system is experiencing a period of change that calls for innovative responses. A major impetus is the increased number of prisoners, many incarcerated for drug-related crimes. For example, the most serious offense for 21.3 percent of all inmates in State prisons in 1991 involved drugs, compared to 8.6 percent in 1986.¹ The most serious offense for 29.2 percent of those admitted to State prisons during 1992 was drug related; drug-related offenses also accounted for 26.4 percent of parole revocations in 1992.²

Crowded conditions in some prisons have led to court bans on further commitment of convicted offenders to prison terms as well as mandates to improve conditions of confinement. This at a time when prison construction and operating costs are high.

Responding to these challenges requires flexibility on the part of policymakers, corrections executives, and practitioners and includes using well-designed alternative sanctions for certain types of offenders. One such alternative is boot camps, many of which have been evaluated by NIJ. Findings include the following:

- The focus of correctional boot camps appears to be shifting from methods that rely strictly on discipline and physical training toward

a greater reliance on drug treatment, prerelease service delivery, and postrelease aftercare. The shift is significant in light of the large percentage of drug abusers who enter boot camp programs.

- Recidivism rates appear to be about the same for those who complete boot camps and a comparison sample of prison parolees. However, in three jurisdictions, New York, Illinois, and Louisiana, where community aftercare and intensive postrelease supervision play a significant role, recidivism rates declined for those who successfully completed boot camps.
- Carefully designed boot camps can save prison bed space and reduce prison crowding if they target prison-bound offenders. However, in contrast, selecting offenders from a pool of probation-bound offenders would result in more imprisoned offenders than otherwise would have occurred.

Evaluation findings suggest that links are often weak between boot camp activities and services offered to "graduates" during the community release portion of their sentence, particularly with regard to substance abuse treatment. These components should be closely linked because the positive changes initiated in the boot camp environment must be reinforced in the community if they are to endure.

With regard to drug treatment programs in boot camps, the evaluation found that:

- Alcohol and other drug abuse treatment in noncorrectional settings is generally premised on a clinical determination rather than a legal one. Such treatment is usually initiated in the community on the basis of an evaluation and determination that the individual is addicted to or suffers from dysfunctional use of a substance. The mandatory nature of substance abuse treatment in boot camps should not obviate the importance of assessing the offender's substance abuse problems nor of using this assessment to tailor treatment to the individual.
- Boot camp programs could enhance the appropriateness of treatment and simultaneously maximize available resources by better matching offender substance abuse needs with substance abuse programming. The duration and intensity of treatment and aftercare could be adjusted to fit more closely the offenders' treatment needs. For example, those with no drug abuse or a minimal abuse history might be targeted for an "education only" program.
- Following one evaluation, the use of the therapeutic community treatment approach was strongly recommended. Because of their size, structure, and philosophical orientation toward developing an esprit de corps and individual responsibility, boot camp environments have been found to lend themselves to a therapeutic community approach, which is acknowledged as one of the most successful drug treatment strategies.

The focus of correctional boot camps appears to be shifting from methods that rely strictly on discipline and physical training toward a greater reliance on drug treatment, prerelease service delivery, and post-release aftercare.

Some NIJ evaluations indicate that drug treatment in jails can have a positive effect on recidivism and offender behavior. The strength and endurance of the effects tend to be correlated with the offender's length of time in a program and participation in aftercare.

Another type of alternative sanction is intensive supervision. NIJ's evaluation of Minnesota's prison diversion program, which includes intensive community supervision, suggests that prison-diverted offenders complied with program conditions, including obtaining a job requiring at least 20 hours per week or participating in a training program. More than 60 percent reported spending time looking for a job or said they were actively employed during the 12 months they were tracked, and 20 percent were in an educational training program.

As a result of the prison diversion component of the Minnesota program:

- Diverted offenders spent almost 50 percent less time in prison than offenders in the control group did during the 12-month follow-up period.
- Substantial savings in overall cost per offender are expected. Program reports from the Minnesota Department of Corrections indicate a savings of 7,181 bed days, or \$466,765, during the first half of 1993.

DRUG TREATMENT IN INSTITUTIONS

The results of recent NIJ evaluations support the conclusion that substance abuse treatment for incarcerated drug-involved offenders can be effective if clients are retained in the program for at least 3 months and if the program is followed with coordinated postrelease programs in the community.

For example, some NIJ evaluations indicate that drug treatment in jails can have a positive effect on recidivism and offender behavior. The strength and endurance of the effects tend to be correlated with the offender's length of time in a program and participation in aftercare. Rates of nonserious infractions also were lower for participants, although the differences were less striking.

Other findings related to drug treatment in jails are as follows:

- Participation in drug treatment programs in jails has a very positive effect on levels of serious behavior, such as physical violence.
- Treatment programs in jails add costs per prisoner. Whether the jail-based programs are cost-effective depends in part on reduced recidivism and lower rates of in-custody incidents.
- Although programs try to screen out violent or severely problematic offenders, they do provide substance abuse services (either directly or by referral) to those with mental health problems. It would be ideal to match the level of treatment to individual needs, but resources currently are not available to accommodate a person who needs both intensive psychiatric intervention and substance abuse treatment while in jail.

Data from an evaluation of five jail-based drug treatment programs reveal that, compared to the total number of inmates in the jail systems,

the treatment programs are reaching only a small proportion of inmates—a maximum of 15 percent of the average daily jail population. Participation in all the programs is voluntary. The primary determinants of eligibility are that the inmate have a substance abuse history and a custody classification suitable to the program's living unit.

Three of the sites require that participants have some minimum time period (usually 90 days) remaining in jail, although in practice very few individuals are rejected on the basis of that criterion. Offenders who anticipate staying in jail for 90 days may be unexpectedly transferred or released.

According to the evaluation:

- The mismatch between program length and jail-stay duration suggests that program administrators and staff would benefit from redesigning the program with the goal of developing services for those who are in jail for only a few days as well as for those who are in jail for at least 3 months.
- Because offenders appear to spend a substantial amount of time in jail before being admitted to these programs (22 to 59 days on average for the sample), efforts aimed at earlier identification should be seriously considered.

PREVENTING AND INTERVENING IN GANG ACTIVITIES

As gang-related violence escalates and changes over time, the criminal justice system is developing and implementing new antigang strategies. NIJ has funded process and impact evaluations of antigang strategies that yielded the following findings:

- In 1993, 8,625 gangs with more than 378,000 members accounted for more than 437,000 gang-related incidents.
- Gang-related crime falls into two main categories: defending turf and entrepreneurial activities (such as drug trafficking).
- The criminal activities of gangs differ from one gang to another; they cannot be viewed as monolithic. Hence, intervention programs must respond to continuously updated information about gang activity in each neighborhood.
- Much of the increase in gang-motivated homicides has been associated with the use of large-caliber, automatic, or semiautomatic weapons.
- Homicides and other violent crimes account for almost one-half of all recorded gang-related incidents.
- Female involvement in gang activity is growing.

The increasing participation of young women in gang activities is of particular concern. An NIJ-funded impact evaluation will provide an

An NIJ study of male serious offenders incarcerated in juvenile facilities and of inner-city male high school students found that 55 percent of inmates before incarceration and 12 percent of the students carried a gun routinely—primarily for self-protection.

updated description of female involvement in gang activity; explore the extent to which gang members who participate in gang prevention programs differ from nonparticipants on the key variables associated with the risk of, or actual, gang involvement for all participants; and assess the effects of participation in antigang programs.

Preliminary findings from NIJ research at two Colorado sites indicate that gang members join because of a sense of hopelessness in achieving success in legitimate society, a search for pride, and other reasons. Another study found that virtually no community is immune to gangs. Gang migration often occurs in the quest for new crack-cocaine markets. NIJ research notes that in dealing with gang crime, prosecutors seldom resort to Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations statutes. Prosecutors identify their biggest obstacle as obtaining the cooperation of and protecting witnesses, and in about one-third of large counties, have formed antigang units that use vertical prosecution. NIJ research also found that the proportion of prison gangs is rising faster than the prison population; several gangs were found in more than one prison system.

REDUCING VIOLENCE AND CONTROLLING ACCESS TO HANDGUNS

Although crime rates overall have dropped slightly in the last few years, the rates of violent crime, especially crimes committed by juveniles with handguns, have increased.

An NIJ study of male serious offenders incarcerated in juvenile facilities and of inner-city male high school students found that 55 percent of inmates before incarceration and 12 percent of the students carried a gun routinely—primarily for self-protection. Other findings of the study are that a handgun of “good quality” was the most commonly owned firearm among juveniles (followed by a shotgun); 22 percent of the students owned a gun at the time of the study and 83 percent of the inmates owned one just before confinement; the juveniles rarely obtained their guns through retail outlets; and theft seems to be a major avenue by which guns enter the illegal weapons market.

An evaluation of intensive patrols implemented in Kansas City, Missouri, found a significant decline in the number of gun-related crimes in the target area: from 169 in the 29 weeks before implementation of additional patrols to 86 in a similar subsequent period. In addition, in the second half of 1992 in Kansas City, the number of guns seized in the target area by existing patrol units and the additional units assigned increased 65 percent over the previous 6-month period. A comparison area experienced no significant changes in gun-related crimes and gun seizures over the same period. The evaluation results indicate that such efforts may be applicable to other areas, although research needs to determine whether a citywide program can be as effective as the Kansas City program was in a small area.

All segments of society are affected by the increase in violence. But young African-American males are especially at risk being four times

as likely to be victims of crimes involving handguns as young Caucasian males.

NIJ currently is evaluating the impact of several violence reduction programs aimed at young people. Most of these projects take place in schools, and one contains a victimization component to help young people deal with the off-campus victimization they are all too likely to experience.

NIJ also is initiating a major demonstration program in three cities to reduce juvenile violence. The project is a joint effort of NIJ, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

NOTES

1. Snell, T.J., *Correctional Populations in the United States, 1991*, Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, August 1993: 27.
2. Perkins, C., *National Corrections Reporting Program, 1992*, Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, October 1994: 13.

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Introduction

This fifth edition of *Searching for Answers* fulfills the mandate of the Omnibus Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 (Public Law 99-570), which requires the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to prepare an annual report on its evaluation activities related to drugs and drug-related crime. This year's report expands the scope of *Searching for Answers* by discussing the bulk of NIJ's evaluation activities—both those that relate to reducing drug-related crime as well as nondrug-related programs that contribute to stronger public safety. The report retains NIJ's emphasis on drug and crime prevention activities, while looking at such innovative programs as family violence reduction programs, various types of specialized courts, services for high-risk youths, and other efforts to improve the effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

In addition to its evaluation work, NIJ also conducts basic and applied research and disseminates findings through a vast network of criminal justice professionals, policymakers, educators, and government officials. This edition of *Searching for Answers* focuses primarily on NIJ's evaluation activities.

Evaluating Programs

Evaluations are like building blocks; they help programs grow and evolve. The underlying assumptions of a program are its foundation. Building on previous research and evaluation, programs are implemented and operated. As the first clients complete a program, an evaluation of the program tells the "builders" what parts of the program work as expected, what parts work in unexpected ways, and what parts do not work. Evaluations lead to revisions, which in turn lead to improvements.

For example, during the evaluation of the Multnomah Drug Treatment and Evaluation Program in Multnomah County, Oregon, discussed in Chapter 5, the program recognized that the lack of sanctioning for clients who failed to appear for testing, or who test positive, resulted in clients ignoring the program. In response, the program implemented show-cause hearings after a client failed to appear twice. Warrants were then issued against clients who do not appear at the hearing. The evaluation further found that these warrants were not served due to staff shortages and has recommended that the resources be made available to act on these warrants.

Researchers and policymakers learn just as much from an evaluation showing that a program works as they do from an evaluation showing

IN THIS REPORT...

- *Violence focusing on youths and families*
- *Gangs*
- *Drug abuse and drug control strategies*
- *Neighborhood policing*
- *Prosecution and adjudication*
- *Corrections*

that the outcome is not what was anticipated. Even when evaluations conclude that a program's impacts are marginal at best, that information is extremely valuable not only to the evaluated program but also to jurisdictions intending to implement a similar approach. They can now do so with a full awareness of potential pitfalls. Moreover, the accumulation of research findings in specific program areas provides policymakers with realistic expectations in this complex field.

Many evaluations contain a cost-benefit analysis. In Chapter 8, evaluations of boot camps point to similar recidivism rates for offenders who complete boot camp and offenders who are incarcerated in a traditional prison setting; however, because boot camps appear to cost less per offender they are attractive alternatives to systems faced with dwindling prison space. The preliminary findings of an evaluation of an intensive community supervision program in Minnesota, discussed in Chapter 8, indicate that the prison diversion component of the program resulted in diverted offenders spending substantially less time in prison than offenders who did not participate in the program; initial reports suggest substantial savings in overall costs per offender.

RECURRING THEMES

Throughout this edition of *Searching for Answers* readers will find several themes common to many projects, including those described below.

Reducing Violence, Especially Youth-Related Violence—The increasing amount of violence by youths against other youths and the ready access youths have to firearms is a critical concern for policymakers, criminal justice professionals, and community leaders. NIJ is funding several evaluations of violence reduction and crime prevention programs in schools, among probationers, and in public housing developments that are working to teach young people alternative ways for settling disputes. Research and evaluation of programs to reduce access to firearms, especially those used by youths and available around schools, are a priority.

Violent crime causes staggering amounts of pain, suffering, and medical expenses. Emergency rooms in all inner-city hospitals are feeling the strain caused by the death and suffering that result from the violent use of guns, knives, and other means. Sometimes the fighting and gunshot wounds result from drug deals that turn sour, but too often they result from a simple romantic rivalry or misunderstanding. NIJ's work, especially in the areas of conflict resolution, victimization, and community involvement, can inform public policies to reduce violence.

Fostering Federal, State, and Local Partnerships—Sharing information and working together to achieve common goals have always been important aspects of criminal justice. With resources becoming increasingly tight, coordination and sharing are even more important, not only at the project level, but also at the Federal level in terms of funding strategy and other approaches to assist State and local agencies.

Today's typical Federal funding strategy includes a matching component—to receive funds, State and local governments and agencies must match the amount of Federal funds provided. Matching funds not only make programs more feasible but also increase communication and cooperation among agencies. When community organizations or governmental bodies have a financial stake in a program, they are more likely to join in making the program succeed by contributing their time, insight, guidance, staff, or other resources.

NIJ is working to foster Federal, State, and local partnerships by providing technical assistance from senior researchers to State agencies that request guidance in their evaluation activities. As part of NIJ's goal to disseminate research and build States' capacity to conduct evaluations, staff from NIJ are in touch with local programs, offering technical assistance and advice and sharing knowledge learned at the Federal level. Knowing what works in a New York probation program, for example, might give Arizona or Florida a boost as they begin implementing a similar program, while keeping in mind that New York's situation may be similar to Arizona's but with important differences. For example, while the ethnic composition of the target population may differ from one State to another and the local political situation may affect the implementation of a program, many jurisdictions share related concerns and can learn from one another which features of a program are likely to translate across jurisdictions.

Through its role as a vehicle for fostering evaluation efforts and sharing information, NIJ serves as a hub for ideas and insights. Through its evaluations, information about how programs are working flows into NIJ from the States and local criminal justice agencies. NIJ, in turn, transfers the knowledge back to the field in the form of findings and lessons learned. NIJ communicates findings through a wide range of publications and electronic formats, including Internet and the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS). NCJRS maintains the largest international data base and operates an electronic bulletin board that operates 24 hours a day and is free to users in criminal justice research and policy.

Encouraging Partnerships and Interagency Cooperation—Not only are Federal, State, and local agency partnerships common, but many programs described in this report are succeeding because they link various criminal justice players at the local level with other criminal justice players, community groups, or school organizations that have a stake in the outcome. As noted in Chapter 6, for example, partnerships and interagency cooperation are inherent in community policing. By participating in a network of information and resources, each partner or agency gains from the strengths and experiences of the others involved. As a result, the partnership becomes greater than the sum of its parts.

Schools, businesses, and religious organizations are ideal partners with law enforcement. When all components of a community work toward the same goal, the goal can be achieved more quickly and have greater staying power.

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Fostering Community Involvement—Related to the importance of integrating community organizations into law enforcement efforts is the need for the community to be vested in the implementation and outcome of the program. The residents of public housing, for example, must *want* the neighborhood police station to be located in their development. When residents feel police officers are working with them, asking for their input, and seeking out their advice and recommendations about what the neighborhood needs, then they are empowered to take control of their environment—and that is the first step in building a better, stronger, and safer community.



1. Reducing the Risk of Violence for Youths

Although crime overall has decreased slightly across the Nation, the incidence of violence committed by youths against other youths is increasing. This trend is particularly alarming because witnessing violence, being a victim of violence, or perpetrating violence negatively influences a young person's standards of what is normal, acceptable, and legitimate. As a result, youths become desensitized to the consequences and emotional impact of violence.

Because the amount of aggressive behavior a young person exhibits tends to remain consistent as the youth grows into adulthood,¹ teaching alternatives to violence and curbing violent behavior in the early years is likely to prevent and reduce future criminal activity. In addition, youths tend to learn nonviolent alternatives more quickly than adults, whose patterns of violence are well entrenched after years of repeated violent behavior.

This chapter discusses violence reduction and violence prevention programs designed for young people. Most of the programs discussed in the following pages are based on the premise that violence is a learned behavior and that nonviolent behaviors can be learned as well.

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) supports research and evaluation focusing on a number of promising strategies to reduce tension in the type of situations that present special risks to youths, such as misunderstandings between girlfriends and boyfriends and the presence of firearms in schools. In this chapter, NIJ's evaluations of the following types of programs are discussed: school-based programs, broad community-based programs for children at risk, and a corrections-based program that teaches juvenile offenders how to improve their reasoning skills.

EVALUATION SITES AND FINDINGS

Findings from evaluations discussed in this chapter include the following:

- An assessment of a New York City conflict resolution program, Resolving Conflict Creatively, found that:
 - Teachers and students participating in the program reported that name calling and physical violence decreased.

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER . . .

- *Teaching violence reduction in schools*
- *Providing community-based services to high-risk youths*
- *Teaching juvenile offenders problem-solving skills*

- Teachers reported that as a result of the program they had a better understanding of student needs and were more likely to allow students to resolve their own problems.
- Preliminary findings of an ongoing evaluation of the School Management and Resource Teams (SMART) program in Norfolk, Virginia, and Anaheim, California, indicate that:
 - Disciplinary problems, crime, and drug problems have decreased in participating schools.
 - Classroom management has been enhanced and cooperation has improved among schools, law enforcement, and youth services agencies.
- A process evaluation of an intensive supervision program for juveniles conducted by Colorado's Division of Juvenile Services indicates that:
 - Parents have reported improvements in their children's problem-solving abilities.
 - Students are very enthusiastic about the program and have invited their friends to group meetings.

TEACHING VIOLENCE REDUCTION IN SCHOOLS

Although the percentage of youths who commit crimes on school campuses and who are victims of violence at school is relatively low compared to the percentage of adults who commit street crimes, even a few violent acts have far-reaching detrimental effects on the school population and the surrounding community. Not only does fear of violence at school contribute to student absenteeism and eventually dropping out of school, it also can inhibit hope for the future, the ability to achieve, and youthful self-confidence.²

To reduce violence in schools, many schools have implemented programs that use conflict resolution training, peer mediation, and teacher dispute mediation in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Youths at this age are just entering the high-risk years and are mature enough to identify problems and develop solutions, negotiate with peers, and most importantly, use moral reasoning skills. In addition, these youths (aged 12 to 15 years) were more likely than their older school mates (aged 15 years and older) to be victims of more serious violent crimes.³

In response, NIJ is funding several evaluations of school-based programs to determine their effectiveness and replicability. The programs include the following:

- In Detroit, Michigan, the public schools and the Wayne County Office on Violence Prevention are implementing a conflict resolution program in 10 of the city's middle schools. A process and impact evaluation is assessing the effects of the program.

- In New York City, two different models of conflict resolution in middle schools are being evaluated to assess the various impacts of each model.
- In Charlotte, North Carolina, an evaluation of the School Safety program will determine to what extent the program empowers 11th-grade students by involving them in identifying and solving school problems. The program's premise is that students who feel vested in their school are likely to help reduce school-based disorder and disruptions.
- The SMART program helps schools identify and analyze school disturbances, such as schoolyard fights, through a computer data base and then provides support to teams of students, teachers, administrators, parents, and other staff in implementing solutions.

Teaching Conflict Resolution as a Nonviolent Alternative

Aggression as a response to problems is believed to be a learned behavior. Young children learn to use aggression by witnessing violence within their own families, on television, on the playground, or at school. When aggressive behavior is reinforced (that is, when such behavior results in what a child perceives to be a "good" outcome), it becomes a consistent response in many settings.⁴ For many young people, violence is an accepted way to resolve conflict—it provides them with a short-term benefit. The longer term negative consequences are not considered.

Conflict resolution programs are founded on the theory that nonviolent behaviors can be learned and positively reinforced in the same way that violent behavior is learned. School-based programs that use behavioral approaches to learning and create an environment that socializes young people to perceive violence as unacceptable will help these youths "unlearn" antisocial aggressive behaviors.

The following programs all seek to teach alternatives to violence through school-based programs.

Evaluating Conflict Resolution in Detroit

Sixth- through ninth-grade students in 10 of Detroit's 33 middle schools are receiving conflict resolution training as part of the school district's long-range goal to establish ongoing conflict resolution programs in all of the district's middle schools.

The Detroit program has three components: (1) conflict resolution training for students, (2) implementation of student tribunals as peer mediation, and (3) dispute mediation training for teachers.

The first component, conflict resolution training for students, consists of 10 weekly 1-hour sessions that involve role playing, writing assignments about violence, and discussions about how to reduce one's risk

Conflict resolution programs are founded on the theory that nonviolent behaviors can be learned and positively reinforced in the same way that violent behavior is learned.

of being victimized; the role of anger in conflict; the identification of alternatives to fighting; and the consequences of fighting. The sessions are led by staff from the Wayne County Office on Violence Prevention. The seventh graders are grouped into 2 classes of 25 males and 25 females. The same-sex class approach is in keeping with findings from studies that show boys and girls perceive violence-related problems differently and have varying levels of awareness about violence. (See the preliminary findings discussed later in this chapter from New York's conflict resolution program.)

In the second component, peer mediation, all students who have completed conflict resolution training are eligible to serve on the student tribunal—a panel of three students supervised by a teacher—where disputes that cannot be resolved informally are referred. Students involved in disputes present their complaints and discuss potential solutions before this tribunal of their peers. The use of tribunal allows students to have input into governing themselves.

The third component, teacher dispute mediation training, comprises classroom management techniques and interpersonal skills training to minimize and address teacher-student and student-student conflicts. The training instructs teachers on classroom management techniques and interpersonal skills. In addition, the training is designed to provide teachers with a list of warning signs of serious conflict and to show them how to resolve arguments before they become violent.

Detroit's conflict resolution program was implemented during the 1993–1994 school year. The evaluation is slated to be completed in September 1995. The 2-year evaluation contains both process and outcome assessments; the researchers are currently analyzing data collected in fall 1993 before the program started. Data have been collected from three sources: (1) official school records, (2) student and teacher interviews and surveys, and (3) observations of program and school activities. The major questions the evaluation will address include the following:

- Have students learned nonviolent methods of conflict resolution, and if so, how are these methods used?
- How have students' perceptions of safety at school changed?
- Has the school environment been altered to support the program?
- What is the impact of the program on the numbers and types of behavioral violations occurring in school?

To assess the effects of the program, data on school rule violations collected from the 10 participating schools are being compared to data from 23 other middle schools in Detroit that do not have conflict resolution programs. The analysis also will examine in more detail the intervention in two sample schools (i.e., test schools) compared to two similar schools not participating in the project (i.e., control schools). The test and control schools are matched in terms of the number of students and the number of disciplinary actions recorded.

Interviews with students and teachers involved in the program and surveys of the test and control schools will take place at three points during the evaluation: (1) prior to the initiation of the program, (2) at the conclusion of the first year, and (3) during the second semester of the second year.

A sample of students whose problems were referred to the tribunal as well as students who serve on the tribunal will be interviewed to explore the specific methods used to intercede, the types of resolutions, and how well this method of intervention resolved problems.

Conflict resolution programs with peer mediation components have been lauded both for reducing violence and for improving attendance, student behavior, and school climate. Peer mediation programs appear to have an especially positive impact on student mediators.⁵ Detroit school officials anticipate that the improved prosocial skills among students who receive the training will have a spillover effect that encourages informal, nonaggressive resolution of minor disputes.

In an evaluation of a New York City conflict resolution program called Resolving Conflict Creatively, both teachers and students participating in the program uniformly reported decreases in name calling and physical violence compared to a control group. As one teacher explained, "It's taught [my students] that there are other ways to resolve their conflicts besides fighting and being nasty. It's showed them how to cooperate, what friendship really means, and the value of working together as a group to achieve common goals."⁶

Perhaps most interesting were the effects on teachers and peer mediators. Teachers reported that their understanding of children's needs had improved dramatically and that they were now more willing to let students take responsibility for solving their own conflicts. Many teachers also said they had applied their increased knowledge of conflict resolution in their personal lives, and almost all the peer mediators felt the program had helped them in their personal lives. For some students, their involvement quite simply transformed them from the schoolyard bully to the peacemaker. An increased perception of school safety and a corresponding decrease in the number of violent incidents in the school is expected.

Assessing Broader Conflict Resolution Programs in New York Schools

Conflict resolution programs are believed to be effective in dealing with much of the low-level, school-based peer conflicts that typically lead to aggression and disorder in schools. Young people, however, are about three times more likely to be victims of assault with a weapon outside school than inside school,⁷ and many students struggle with other kinds of potentially more devastating violence—for example, family violence or acquaintance rape. Learning to deal with these types of violence through conflict resolution training can be extremely beneficial; however, the extent to which conflict resolution programs teach young

Conflict resolution programs with peer mediation components have been lauded both for reducing violence and for improving attendance, student behavior, and school climate.

In a survey of four New York City schools, students reported that they are exposed to high levels of violence in their daily lives.

people skills they can apply to other violent episodes in their lives is not completely clear. To shed light on this, NIJ is supporting an evaluation by Victim Services in New York City that goes beyond the typical conflict resolution programs found in most schools. Conflict resolution programs are common in New York's schools; all the high schools and most middle schools have conflict resolution components. The programs being evaluated range from a simple conflict resolution program to an extensive, multifaceted program.

The multifaceted program contains the following features:

- Conflict resolution training and peer mediation;
- A 23-session curriculum on preventing violence and victimization;
- An onsite full-time violence prevention specialist and counselor for victims and witnesses of violence; and
- A general schoolwide multimedia antiviolence campaign involving assemblies, poster drawing contests, special issues of the school newspaper, and support for student volunteer activities related to violence prevention or treatment.

The New York study has important implications for the design and implementation of violence prevention programs in middle schools. Although hundreds of conflict resolution and peer mediation programs are in place nationally, the findings of this study may demonstrate that a multifaceted violence prevention program can effectively address the multiplicity of violence and general life issues that students bring into the school system. The study is now in its final phase and is expected to be completed in 1995.

Evaluating the New York Programs

In four New York schools, data were collected that measure students' knowledge and attitudes, victimization experiences, alcohol and other drug availability and use, and self-reported improvement in interpersonal skills.

Baseline data from a sample of 1,211 students at the 4 schools reveal that students reported that they are exposed to high levels of violence in their daily lives. The numbers are sobering. The ease with which the students talk about death and violence can be shocking. The statistics reveal great challenges for teachers, school administrators, community policing officers, and others who work with youths:

- 20 percent of students (23 percent of the boys and 17 percent of the girls) have had their lives seriously threatened;
- 48 percent personally knew someone who has been murdered; and
- 40 percent have witnessed someone getting shot or stabbed.

Perhaps the most encouraging finding is that 76 percent of the students believe violence is a learned behavior, not innate and thus unchangeable.

Students' responses about the availability of weapons confirm findings from other surveys and data about the increased use of firearms.⁸ In New York City, as in other cities, possession of a firearm is the fastest growing category of arrest among youths.⁹ The survey data further reveal that the schools face serious threats to the general sense of order and safety—59 percent of the students reported that it is easy to obtain stolen items at school, and 38 percent reported that other students damage school property on purpose each day.

The findings related to gender differences are salient: Girls were more aware than boys that women are more likely to be sexually assaulted by someone they know than by a stranger. In a series of questions designed to ascertain the students' attitudes toward fighting, a slightly but statistically significant higher percentage of boys believed fighting was a reasonable way to settle disputes compared to girls. Although boys generally tend to exhibit more aggressive behavior than girls, a closer look at the survey data from the evaluation of the New York public school multifaceted violence prevention program reveals that girls' attitudes are approaching those held by boys. (See box below.)

Youths' Responses to Questions Related to Fighting

| <u>Response</u> | <u>Girls</u> | <u>Boys</u> |
|---|--------------|-------------|
| Percentage who believe that if someone starts a fight with them, they gain respect by fighting back | 49% | 54% |
| Percentage who agree that taking revenge is the "right thing to do" when someone insults their family | 34% | 47% |
| Percentage who believe that if their friend gets hurt, they should prove their loyalty by "going after" the person that hurt their friend | 34% | 47% |

Source: Bannister, T., "Evaluation of Violence Prevention Programs in Middle Schools," unpublished report submitted to NIJ, Victim Services, NY, NY, 1994.

The percentages are statistically significant at $p < 0.007$.

These data show the need for research and evaluation of programs aimed at reducing violence and highlighting factors that need to be considered in designing school-based programs. For example, the differing perceptions and behaviors between boys and girls should be taken into account in designing curricula that address the prevention of rape and violence against women. The disparity between boys and girls in their use of physical aggression is a clear indication that the different ways boys and girls manage conflict should be a part of conflict resolution curricula.

The differing perceptions and behaviors between boys and girls should be taken into account in designing curricula that address the prevention of rape and violence against women.

The school safety approach builds on previous successful programs in Madison, Wisconsin; Baltimore County, Maryland; and Newport News, Virginia, where overall reductions in crime occurred and community members reported significantly less fear.

As communities struggle to ease the strain of violence on young people, professionals working in schools and in mental health, criminal justice, victim services, and social services agencies should consider both the cost-effectiveness and the impact of New York's broad-based model. If it is found that the impact of broad-based conflict resolution programs counterbalances their costs, such programs can serve as models for similar programs in schools, community centers, mental health clinics, and youth incarceration facilities.

Empowering Students in Charlotte, North Carolina

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg County School District in North Carolina is responsible for 109 schools and approximately 80,000 students. The school district has introduced several programs to increase safety, including assigning police liaison officers to each of the district's high schools.

One high school began experimenting with ways to empower students by giving them the tools to identify and solve school problems and by giving the police liaison officer a proactive, structured, purposeful role in the program. The school is using the concepts and techniques associated with community policing and problemsolving to encourage students, teachers, parents, and administrators to work cooperatively to identify and reduce such typical problems as vandalism; physical attacks in the bathrooms or on the playground; drugs and their availability; firearms on school grounds; and facility issues, including lighting or the general accessibility of campus facilities.

Charlotte developed the School Safety program and incorporated a teacher-police-student partnership by adding a problemsolving component to the social studies curriculum required of all 11th graders. In social studies classes, students, police, and teachers jointly identify problems; explore the nature and extent of each problem; and look for underlying causes, potential solutions, and interventions. As a group, they work to implement their proposed solutions. All aspects are documented, including the problem, methods of solving the problem, respective roles of participants, and outcomes.

Teachers act as facilitators by presenting materials and serving as resources. They also assign out-of-class work, supervise the group's evaluations of potential solutions, and assess student input to the proposed solutions. The police officer participates fully in each class and takes part as an equal in identifying problems, developing solutions, and serving as a resource.

Between 25 and 30 students are assigned to each social studies class, which allows approximately 350 students to participate during the project year. High school juniors were chosen rather than sophomores or seniors because juniors have both a vested interest in the school's future and a knowledge of its past.

The approach builds on previous successful programs in Madison, Wisconsin; Baltimore County, Maryland; and Newport News, Virginia, where overall reductions in crime occurred and community members reported significantly less fear.

The School Safety program has two purposes: (1) to change attitudes and/or behaviors of group members and (2) to form the group into an agent with the skills and knowledge to effect change. As the students accept responsibility for their school community, their attitudes toward the police, their peers, the fairness and clarity of school and social rules, their own abilities to influence change, and even school itself should improve.

Evaluating the Charlotte Program

Two high schools—a test school and a control school—have been matched in terms of (1) the amount and type of criminal activity, delinquency, and vandalism; (2) the racial and ethnic composition of the student body; (3) student retention and disciplinary data; and (4) neighborhood demographic information.

The test school is implementing the School Safety program and involving a police officer in the problemsolving process. In the control high school, an officer who has no structured community policing duties or tasks is assigned to the campus. A process and outcome evaluation will measure the program's effects on the police, school staff, school safety, and student behavior and attitudes.

The evaluation team will observe the teacher and police training and the interactions between and among teachers, the police officers, and students in the classroom as well as measure the level of receptivity and responsiveness of the students involved. Data to be collected include the number of teachers trained, the number of problems identified during the strategic planning and workgroup processes, the number of police-teacher conferences, the number of problems and solutions identified by police and teachers, and the level of student attendance at problemsolving classes compared to routine classes.

While improvements are expected among all students who participate, it is anticipated that improvements will be most pronounced among those minority students who have invested little in the educational process. Forming bonds with school appears to be far weaker among those minority adolescents who find themselves dealing not only with the normal challenges of learning but with reduced expectations, unequal opportunities, and less supportive environments.¹⁰ By empowering these youths within their own environments, the related research suggests that their attachment to school and their academic commitment will increase significantly.

Finding Solutions in SMART Schools

Learning more about the various types of disorder in schools, identifying "hot spots" that are the source of continuing problems, and devising teams to develop solutions are the goals of another school-based program—the SMART program. Since 1983, NIJ and the U.S. Department of Education have worked cooperatively to promote and support SMART. This program offers school administrators specific proactive methods, techniques, and approaches to resolve law and disciplinary

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violations in schools. The program also serves as a data collection, assessment, and planning tool.

SMART is implemented in two phases. The first phase involves developing a management information system to gather data on what is happening in schools. Onsite Federal assistance is provided to assist school districts with a safety and security audit—an indepth analysis of incidents of misconduct in the schools. Most school districts do not have a comprehensive data base of accurate and complete information about disciplinary problems. Most school reporting systems do not differentiate between violations of public laws and those of school rules. The safety and security audit helps school districts to identify and define those incidents the school districts should track.

Upon completion of the audit, the school districts implement their own computer program, called the Incident Profiling System, which is adopted from crime analysis techniques that record and sort data on incidents of misbehavior and crime. The computerized tracking program helps each school routinely generate reports on incidents by type, location, time, and person(s) involved.

In the second phase, three teams are formed to apply the data to the resolution of problems of school violence and crime. The work of each team is related to a specific level or area of concern. These teams are as follows:

- A school team of students, parents, teachers, administrators, support staff, or staff from local criminal justice and social service agencies meets monthly to review computer-generated reports, set priorities, and devise plans to deal with specific onsite school problems revealed by the reports.
- A district team of staff specialists in security, personnel, evaluation, and staff development looks at the data for problems common throughout the district's schools. The team then makes recommendations on policy changes, inservice activities, and resource allocations to address these problems.
- An interagency team of school superintendents, police chiefs, juvenile judges, social service program directors, and other relevant public agency representatives coordinate their respective agencies' responses to youths who have committed crimes or have behavior problems.

NIJ recently funded two model programs in Norfolk, Virginia, and Anaheim, California, to serve as east and west coast resource centers for other SMART schools. SMART will be implemented in 10 more schools in each of these cities, the resource center will be enhanced, and the SMART program director will be available to assist other interested school districts in training and program implementation.

In Anaheim, the project also will build an integrated services program with other relevant community agencies, which then will implement a community-based conflict resolution program; develop, implement, evaluate, and refine a "training of trainers" program; and field test,

evaluate, and refine curriculum materials for a gang suppression program.

Districts that have used SMART have found that disciplinary problems, crime, and drug problems have decreased. The program also has led to improvements in classroom management and cooperation among schools, law enforcement, and youth services agencies. As the principal in one of Norfolk's SMART schools said, "SMART is helping make things more uniform. Uniformity across teachers is essential; the same rule has to apply to each kid. Our definition of fighting, for instance, was ambiguous. Now it is clear, and disciplinary action is applied more fairly." Another principal appreciates that SMART lets her rank individuals by the number of their infractions. This saves her time, makes it easier to talk with parents who can see the numbers for themselves, and directs her attention to where it is needed most.

PROVIDING COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES TO HIGH-RISK YOUTHS

The Children at Risk (CAR) program is an intervention strategy for (1) fostering healthy development among high-risk youths who reside in targeted inner-city neighborhoods and (2) reducing and controlling drugs and related crime. The approach focuses on reducing stress among youths who live in families and neighborhoods that exhibit the following risk factors:

- **Family and personal risk factors**—Targeted families generally have a history of criminal involvement, drug use, and inconsistent parenting. The program targets youths who associate with drug-using peers, fail academically, and exhibit rebellious behavior.
- **Environmental risk factors**—Targeted neighborhoods have low economic status and high rates of illegal drug use and criminal activity. Such an environment lacks the stable conditions favorable for cohesive neighborhood and community activities.

The program is aimed at youths between 11 and 13 years of age and their families. The children are characterized by such high-risk behaviors as truancy, delinquency, or experimentation with drugs; they also may be a victim of abuse or neglect or have a family member who has substance abuse problems or is a member of a gang.

Recognizing that children experience life through a rich mixture of activities involving their peer groups, families, and communities, the program supports at-risk youths by integrating the services delivered by the schools, community-based service agencies, police, and other criminal justice agencies. An active working team, for example, might consist of case managers, a juvenile probation officer, a family therapist, the CAR afterschool program director, community police officers, and seventh-grade teachers. The team might meet weekly to review cases of targeted youths and revise services based on their reviews.

The CAR program is a unique public/private partnership between agencies of the U.S. Department of Justice—Bureau of Justice

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Assistance, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and NIJ—and six private nonprofit foundations—the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Prudential Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ronald McDonald Foundation. The CAR program operates in six cities: Austin, Texas; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Memphis, Tennessee; Newark, New Jersey; Savannah, Georgia; and Seattle, Washington.

The Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University designed and currently manages the program. The center is a nonprofit organization founded in 1992 by Joseph A. Califano, Jr., former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Evaluating the CAR Program

The implementation of the CAR program as a large-scale experimental demonstration program presents an important opportunity to evaluate a program based on findings and recommendations from a host of recent studies on drug use risk factors and prevention.

Required Components of the CAR Program

The CAR program is operated in six cities nationwide and is being evaluated in five. Although each city's program may differ slightly to accommodate the specific needs of the targeted neighborhood, each program comprises the following program components:

- **Intensive Case Management**—During the first 3 to 4 months of the program, caseworkers handle a small caseload of families (usually about 15) and develop individual service plans. Intensive case management is a central component of the program and is followed by longer term monitoring.
- **Family Services**—This component includes intensive family counseling; training in parenting skills, stress management, and coping; identification and treatment of substance abuse; and referrals to education and training programs, health care services, job search and employment services, and income and social support services.
- **Education Services**—All participants receive tutoring, homework assistance, educational testing, and other services to reduce academic failure.
- **Afterschool and Summer Activities**—All youths participate in recreational programs, life skills and leadership development activities, and training or education.
- **Mentoring**—Mentors show youths alternative life choices, familiarize them with strategies to achieve those choices, and provide meaningful relationships through which youths are affirmed and inspired.
- **Incentives**—Gifts; trips; and vouchers for pizza, sports shops, and movies are participation incentives that build morale and attachment to the prosocial goals of the program. Stipends also are provided for community service during the summer.
- **Community Policing/Enhanced Enforcement**—Through the direct participation of police officers, the program's greater police presence in the neighborhood and stepped up supervision and sanctioning of drug offenders help reduce the influence of drugs in the targeted neighborhoods.
- **Criminal and Juvenile Justice Intervention**—The program's case managers work with police and juvenile court personnel to provide community service opportunities and to enhance the supervision of youths who become involved in the justice system.

Coordination of Efforts Is Crucial to CAR Program's Success in Austin, Texas

The CAR coordinator in Austin, Texas, Lynn Walker, describes the program:

I think the beauty of this project is that it focuses on the family, it's not just working on an individual....We focus on the family by providing comprehensive services, intervention, prevention, recreation, therapy. And the case management component interfaces with the community policing. For so long the police have performed a lot of social services; what we're doing now is bringing the two efforts together so that police are talking to the social service providers, and they can work together instead of duplicating efforts.

Austin has had programs for high-risk youths in the past, but according to Jesse Flores, the executive director of Austin's Youth Advocacy Program, a community service agency, "What is different now is that....we have all this coordination. We can concentrate on what we do best; the parks and recreation people can provide activities, summer programs. I think this integration of services will really make a difference."

Dennis Campa, director of Austin's Department of Youth Services, believes many families agreed to let their children participate in the program "because they saw it as an opportunity for their child to get help, not realizing that for the child to get help, the parent would have to participate too. Our challenge now is finding more creative ways to engage those families in deeper forms of intervention for themselves."

The Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse is conducting a documentation study that examines the issue of what happens in the process of translating the CAR model into working programs and, equally important, how and why events proceed as they do. The study, encompassing the structure and dynamics of the complex CAR program across all six sites, has resulted in a number of program status reports, including "Some Dynamics of Collaborative Action in the Children at Risk Program," "Children at Risk Program—The First Year," and "Children at Risk: Profiles of a Program at One Year." Understanding how and why CAR works in various locations establishes a framework for replication of the program in other communities across the country.

The Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse and NIJ have commissioned the Urban Institute to assess the effects of the CAR program on the target neighborhoods in five cities where the program has been operating since fall 1992—Austin, Bridgeport, Memphis, Savannah, and Seattle. The aim of the evaluation is to determine whether the program has resulted in the following:

- Increased family cohesion and improved parental control;
- Reduced fights, vandalism, disciplinary problems at school, gang activity, and reports by program participants of reduced juvenile crimes;
- Improved school performance and attendance as well as closer attachment to the school;
- Improved self-esteem and attitudes toward risk-taking; and

The youths reported that drugs were widely available; more than 50 percent said it would be easy to obtain marijuana or alcohol in their neighborhood, and more than one-third said it would be easy for them to get cocaine or crack-cocaine.

- Improvements in residents' satisfaction with the safety, appearance, and quality of life in their neighborhoods.

The evaluation study includes a test group of 328 youths who participate in the CAR program; a control group of 328 youths randomly assigned from those who meet program eligibility guidelines, consent to the study, and live in the targeted neighborhood but do not participate in the program; and a comparison group of 200 youths who meet program eligibility guidelines and live outside the target neighborhood.

Through interviews and data collection, the evaluation will assess program outcomes in four domains: community (neighborhoods), family, peer, and youth. In pretest and posttest interviews, youths and parents will be asked to rate their neighborhood in terms of safety, appearance, and police availability and helpfulness and to report on their personal exposure to drug dealing, used drug paraphernalia, personal threats, and victimization.

The evaluation also will assess changes in the number of school fights, vandalism, and disciplinary problems; records of gang activity and police-recorded incidents involving juveniles in the target neighborhood; changes in school performance and attendance; increases in the sense of attachment to school; and improvements in the participants' self-esteem, assertiveness, optimism for the future, and attitudes toward risk-taking.

Characterizing CAR Program Participants

Baseline data have been collected for the target groups in the evaluation. Preliminary findings regarding neighborhood risks, family risks, peer group risks, and youth risks are provided below, as are some early results of the evaluation.

Neighborhood Risks

Caregivers (i.e., parents, guardians, and/or relatives) ranked their neighborhood problems from largest to smallest as follows: drug dealing, drug use and drinking in public, vandalism, youth gangs, assaults, and used drug paraphernalia.

Only 24 percent of the caregivers said it was safe for them to walk outside after dark, and only 13 percent said it was safe for their children to walk outside after dark. Although less cautious as a group, most youths (69 percent) agreed that it was not safe for them to walk outside after dark, and more than one-fourth were concerned that someone would attack them outside of school or break into their home or that they would get caught in someone else's fight. The youths reported that drugs were widely available; more than 50 percent said it would be easy to obtain marijuana or alcohol in their neighborhood, and more than one-third said it would be easy for them to get cocaine or crack-cocaine.

Family Risks

The families relied heavily on income assistance. About one-half of the families received food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, or both. About one-fourth received Social Security and/or other assistance. Major personal problems reported included lack of money to pay bills (36 percent), depression (20 percent), and poor housing conditions (20 percent). Alcohol and other drug problems were common. Weekly violence between family members was reported by 16 percent of the youths, and 9 percent of the youths indicated they had been thrown out of the house for "a while."

Peer Group Risks

More than 40 percent of the youths knew peers who were sexually active and peers who shoplifted. More than one-fourth knew peers who had stolen cars or been involved in serious fights. Many of these youths said they felt pressured to do the same thing. More than one-fourth of the caregivers said the youths in their charge had friends who were a bad influence, although most denied that the youth in their care was a member of a gang.

Youth Risks

Two-thirds of the caregivers had been to a school conference in the past year because the youth in their charge was in trouble. School problems included failing grades, disrupting class, fighting at school, and getting suspended. Youths were less concerned about their school problems; only 19 percent said getting into trouble at school was a major problem for them, and 10 percent said doing their schoolwork was a major problem. However, 71 percent said they had been sent to the principal's office in the past year, 16 percent said they had skipped school in the past month, and less than 50 percent thought they would definitely be promoted to the next grade. Alcohol use also was found to be more prevalent than other drug use among youths. In addition, most of the self-reported delinquency involved serious fights (46 percent), group fights (32 percent), vandalism (22 percent), and carrying a weapon (27 percent).

The CAR program is designed to reduce the serious threats revealed by the pre-test evaluation data. By offering tutoring, for example, the program aims to increase school performance and reduce episodes of school-related violence. Summer programs are designed to build youths' leadership skills and self-confidence.

The evaluation of the CAR program is now in the middle phase of its 4-year analysis. A final report is expected in fall 1996. Preliminary findings about the program's effects on targeted youths indicate that the program may be having a positive impact on juvenile crime rates. For example, from 1991, the year before the CAR program was implemented in an Austin, Texas, neighborhood, to 1993, the program's second year, juvenile arrests in the target area rose at a lower rate than in other low-income sections of the city.

Schools are only one obvious place to implement programs that teach reasoning, problemsolving, and other violence reduction skills. Colorado has found that juvenile probationers in an intensive supervision program are ideal candidates for such programs.

For every child in the project, another child in a control group is tracked for comparison. In the Austin project's first year, preliminary findings indicate that children participating in the program had lower involvement with the judicial system than children in the control group.

TEACHING JUVENILE OFFENDERS PROBLEMSOLVING SKILLS

Many of the programs described in this chapter involve teaching reasoning and problemsolving skills in schools and implementing behavioral programs in schools and communities to help reduce violence by and against youths. But schools are only one obvious place to implement such programs. Colorado's Division of Criminal Justice has found another setting where such programs can be implemented—an intensive supervision program for juvenile probationers. The Colorado intensive supervision program is based on the premise that offenders tend to have inadequate interpersonal abilities. Offenders often lack the values, attitudes, reasoning, and social skills required for positive social adjustment. The juvenile offenders' interpersonal problemsolving skills, for example, and their ability to reason abstractly and think creatively are underdeveloped.¹¹ The Colorado Division of Criminal Justice has received funding from NIJ to evaluate a program to teach juvenile offenders who are in an intensive supervision program to think through their actions and to see the social consequences of their actions. An evaluation of a similar program for drug offenders found that offenders who received training to develop cognitive skills had lower rates of probation revocation than those who did not receive the training. They also were more likely to improve their scores on a set of "positive belief factors" and decrease their scores on "negative belief factors."

Colorado's intensive supervision program for juveniles already has generated encouraging results. Anecdotal information obtained during a process evaluation of the program indicated that some juveniles were so enthusiastic about the program that they asked to bring friends to group meetings. According to probation officers, some parents reported improved behavior and problemsolving ability by their children as a result of participation in the program. It is anticipated that the cognitive skills building component, when added, will provide the juvenile probationers with additional social and moral reasoning skills and thus may reduce recidivism further.

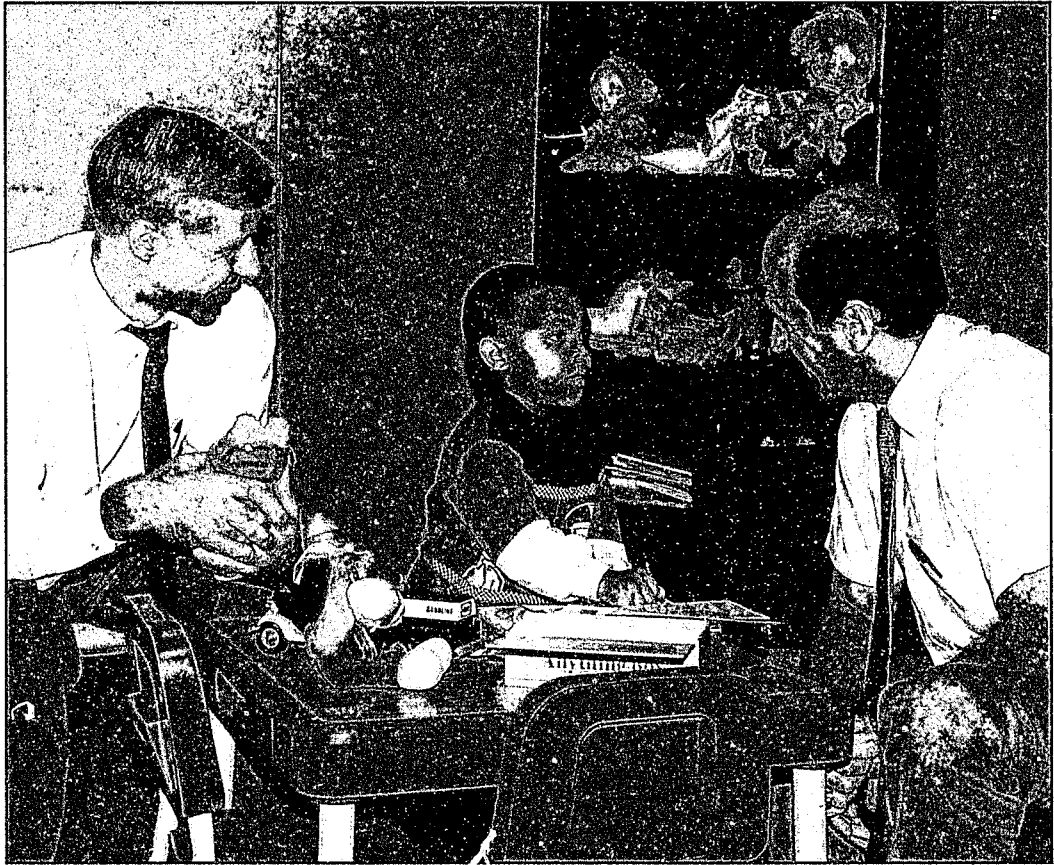
The intensive supervision program in Colorado currently is implemented by 22 probation officers or coaches, all of whom have been trained to coach the cognitive skills program. To ensure the integrity of the program, coaches were trained to conduct the 35-week course by certified trainers.

The training of coaches is now complete and implementation is under way. The evaluation will be completed in 1995. The Division of Criminal Justice within the Colorado Department of Public Safety will conduct both a process and impact evaluation of the program to provide an understanding of how the program works for juveniles and to determine if it is as effective for juveniles as it has proven to be for adults. The impact on recidivism will be one of the primary evaluation issues.

The findings will help probation departments direct their limited resources more efficiently and identify groups of offenders who will most benefit from alternative treatments.

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2. Reducing Family Violence

Historically, family violence, like rape, has been a secretive crime, shrouded in shame and self-blame, that occurs in the privacy of the home. Many victims never speak about their experiences to anyone. In recent years, as more public attention is focused on the issue, however, victims have begun to talk, and programs that respond to family violence are being developed. As a result, more accurate reporting of family violence is becoming possible, and our understanding of its causes and effects is becoming more complete.

Family violence can be viewed from several perspectives—as a criminal justice issue, a social problem with significant psychological aspects, and a moral issue with ethical or religious implications. Trying to separate criminal justice issues from the other aspects of a family violence case presents unique difficulties, especially because of the complex, long-standing interpersonal dynamics at play.

Legal responses alone are often inadequate to prevent further victimization. Indeed, typical legal responses, such as prosecution and punishment, are sometimes not even possible because the case involves an infant victim and no witnesses or a reluctant or uncooperative victim. Every police officer, prosecutor, and judge has seen a case fall apart when the victim withdraws the charges in the (usually mistaken) belief that the abuser will refrain from further abuse or because the victim simply cannot handle the emotional burden associated with sending a close relative, caretaker, or significant other to prison.

ISSUES AND FINDINGS

In one of the most detailed studies to date, research sponsored by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) has shown that neglect and abuse in childhood sets in motion a cycle of violence linked to violent criminal behavior later in life. Those who were abused or neglected as children are more likely to be arrested as juveniles and as adults and more likely to be arrested for violent crimes. Extensions of this research indicate other long-term negative consequences of abuse and neglect, such as mental health concerns, educational problems, drug and alcohol abuse, and employment difficulties.

There are significant barriers to counting the incidents of family violence. Much of what we do know is imprecise: Facts and statistics related to the issue are often hard to pin down and refine. Some reliable estimates, however, are available:

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER . . .

- *Responding to spousal abuse*
- *Evaluating family violence training programs*
- *Providing technical assistance to increase state capacity to conduct training*
- *Evaluating a court-based treatment program for family abusers*
- *Responding to child abuse and neglect*

- The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that 29 percent of all female murder victims in 1993 were killed by their husbands or boyfriends.¹
- Figures from the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse show that nearly 3 million children were reported abused or neglected in 1992—a 132 percent increase in a decade.²
- The Surgeon General estimated in 1992 that between 1.8 and 4.0 million women are abused in their homes each year.³

NIJ is working with a number of agencies and jurisdictions to deal with the issues surrounding family violence. New legislation, changing attitudes, and activist judicial reforms are all contributing to a climate that encourages increasingly effective interventions and responses to family violence.

This chapter discusses NIJ-funded evaluations of (1) training programs aimed at helping law enforcement, victim assistance programs, and others respond to family violence; (2) innovative court-based programs that refer abusers to treatment; (3) and the Court Appointed Special Advocate (CASA) programs in Virginia designed to protect children and advise the court on the best resolution of cases involving children.

CURRENT EVALUATIONS

Evaluation efforts focusing on reducing family violence include the following:

- A process and impact evaluation of Office for Victims of Crime (OVC)-funded projects that entails extensive fieldwork in sites located in seven different states regarding the effectiveness of training on family violence provided by law enforcement organizations, State-level victim advocacy organizations, and State-level human services agencies. The findings from this evaluation will be used by law enforcement and family violence professionals to develop and fine-tune the training and materials they provide on how to address family violence.
- To better adjudicate family violence cases and address the needs of families, NIJ has funded an evaluation of Miami's Domestic Violence Court to determine the extent to which the court can divert these cases from normal adjudicatory processing and expedite the processing of such cases.
- NIJ also is funding an evaluation of CASA programs in Virginia. CASA's are volunteers who act as child advocates in child abuse and neglect cases brought before the court and often are attorneys who may represent the child in court. The evaluation is focusing on the effectiveness and costs of such programs and will provide valuable information on what improvements should be made, what types of cases are best handled by such programs, and what types of services should be provided by expanded programs.

RESPONDING TO SPOUSAL ABUSE

Past research sponsored by NIJ has identified specific means available through the justice system to protect victims of family violence. Traditionally, many police officers were accustomed to treating family disputes as family matters, not criminal matters, and many officers had little understanding of the problems faced by family violence victims. Typically, police officers tended to avoid intervention in cases reputed to be both difficult to resolve and dangerous to the responding officer.

In the mid 1980s, a number of influences led law enforcement agencies to begin treating family violence as a criminal offense. The Minneapolis domestic violence experiment assessed the effectiveness of various types of police responses to calls concerning family assault and identified arrest as more effective than either mediating the dispute or refraining from intervening. In response to research findings, the concerns of women's advocacy groups, and as a result of successful lawsuits against law enforcement agencies, many jurisdictions have enacted legislation regarding mandatory or presumptive arrest.

NIJ replicated the Minneapolis experiment in Atlanta, Georgia; Charlotte, North Carolina; Colorado Springs, Colorado; Metro-Dade County, Florida; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Omaha, Nebraska. The replications produced varying results; they showed, for example, that arrest may deter repeated episodes of family violence by abusers who have something to lose, such as a job, but that for unemployed men with low socioeconomic status, arrest may actually increase the incidence of family violence.⁴

NIJ continues to sponsor research examining the effectiveness of particular interventions and sanctions in various situations in order to assist police officers who are in a pivotal position to detect and deter some types of family violence.

Evaluating Family Violence Training Programs

The type and extent of training police officers receive is crucial to reducing violence in domestic disputes, whether against officers or victims.⁵ Through the provisions of Title III of the Child Abuse Prevention, Adoption, and Family Services Act of 1984, law enforcement professionals, victim services agencies, and juvenile and family courts have received financial assistance to develop training to prevent family violence, provide immediate shelter and assistance to victims, and furnish technical assistance for those who provide services for victims.

Since 1986, the Office of Justice Programs' OVC has funded 23 state-based training and technical assistance projects related to family violence. Early efforts tried to reach the largest number of agencies possible by holding scores of training sessions at various locations across the country. Subsequently, greater participation and acceptance of the training was noted when locally recognized groups were involved in the training. Hence, subsequent awards were made to State or regional organizations to enhance participation and promote long-term change in policies and procedures.⁶

Research on domestic violence indicates that arrest may deter repeated episodes of family violence by abusers who have something to lose, such as a job, but that for unemployed men with low socioeconomic status, arrest may actually increase the incidence of family violence.

Since 1986, the Office for Victims of Crime has funded 23 state-based training and technical assistance projects related to family violence.

To assess the impact of the training funded under the act, NIJ is sponsoring a process and impact evaluation of the OVC-funded projects. The evaluation, being conducted by the Urban Institute, includes case summaries, intensive case studies, and victim surveys to produce findings and recommendations for future training. Findings from the initial assessment of the programs are described below.

The OVC grantees fall into three general categories: (1) law enforcement entities, (2) State-level victim advocacy organizations, and (3) State government human services agencies.

Because grantees responded to their jurisdictions' needs by tailoring their efforts to the victim issues pertinent at the time of the award, training and technical assistance programs show considerable variation in strategies, materials, and program administration. A Kentucky grantee, for example, emphasized the concerns rural officers have with limited resources and overlapping jurisdictions, while a North Dakota grantee sponsored a statewide training conference on policy development and interagency collaboration and provided technical assistance to establish a training resources library for Native American communities.

All grantees have involved other community or State organizations in their activities. These networks and cooperative relationships vary and enhance the programs in different ways. For example, when one law enforcement agency with strong ties to a women's advocacy organization and another with ties to a prosecutor-based victim assistance program ask their colleagues for input into line officer training, the advocacy group might focus on teaching officers techniques to minimize the damaging psychological effects of family violence, while the victim assistance staff might emphasize techniques to increase the likelihood of convictions.

The training has included training of trainers, managers, policymakers, officers, and advocate-officer pairs. Training has taken place at central locations using a general statewide curriculum or in various locations around the State using a curriculum and faculty tailored to the community. Training materials include videotapes, presentations by victims and abusers, and detailed instructions about how laws in the jurisdiction affect officers' actions.

The grantees are located in States with differing laws governing arrest in family violence cases. Several grantees were involved in developing task forces to review, standardize, or create policy regarding arrest. Law enforcement training policies also vary a good deal across sites, from agencies that require annual inservice training with a session on family violence to agencies that have no inservice training requirements.

Given the variety among States and agencies, important differences were noted in the goals and strategies of the grantees. For example, grantees serving law enforcement agencies that already had uniform family violence response policies and training standards put more resources into direct training of trainers or line officers. Jurisdictions without such standardized approaches focused on developing training standards, policies, or model legislation.

The review of the projects and a compilation of case studies is now complete. The second stage of the evaluation involves indepth field-work in seven sites to explore the important factors and issues raised in the case study review. The sites are located in Indiana, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota, Tennessee, and Texas. Followup victim surveys are being conducted in cooperation with State domestic violence services in New York and Texas. These sites were selected because they vary in terms of project characteristics, type of grantee, time period of the award, demographics, State laws, training goals, and unique features of the approach used.

Site visit interviews have been held with a variety of onsite staff, law enforcement officers, and victims to determine the following:

- How widely has the training been disseminated and institutionalized?
- To what extent are policies and practices changing as a result of the training?
- What are the officers' reactions to the training?
- How has the training influenced officers' responses to family violence calls?
- What are victims' perceptions of services provided by law enforcement officers and how, if at all, have the services changed?
- How do victims exercise their rights and avail themselves of services, and have these methods changed as a result of the training?

Professionals working in the fields of law enforcement and family violence can use the evaluation findings to develop or fine-tune their own training strategies and materials. Legislators also may look to the findings for systematic information on how policies can be developed and training curricula and standards measured.

Increasing States' Capacity To Conduct Training

Another evaluation awarded in late 1993 is focusing on training programs in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As part of NIJ's program to form partnerships with States to share information about evaluation techniques (discussed in more detail in Chapter 9), the Institute is providing technical assistance to help Massachusetts improve its capacity to evaluate and improve training programs as well as measure the impact of family violence training programs.

The Massachusetts team has identified two domestic violence programs to evaluate: the Cambridge Police Department's Domestic Violence Project and the Massachusetts Attorney General's Elder Abuse Training Evaluation Project.

Staff members from three agencies will be involved in a partnership to evaluate the projects: the Massachusetts Statistical Analysis Center, the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Committee, and NIJ. Together they will develop procedures and strategies for enhancing the State's ability

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To learn more about the behavior of family violence offenders and prevent future episodes of family violence, Dade County, Florida, has created a specialized court in Miami for family violence offenders that integrates substance abuse treatment into a specialized adjudication process.

to evaluate the training programs. The Massachusetts team members are coordinating activities with the two projects involved in the evaluation. The team members have identified data to be collected and have arranged access to the data. NIJ technical advisors have helped identify the most appropriate measures of outcome, focused discussions about the evaluation's purposes, and made suggestions about products that would be useful.

The Cambridge Police Department project will train all 300 officers in the agency's policies, procedures, and use of data reporting forms related to family violence. The Elder Abuse project already has conducted eleven 6-hour blocks of training for recruits (for a total of 750 recruits) and fourteen 2-day advanced training sessions for officers.

The Massachusetts team members are sharing not only their findings but also what they have learned about evaluation methodology with other evaluators in the area. The team's experiences will enhance the capacity of the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Committee and the Massachusetts Statistical Analysis Center to evaluate these and other types of programs.

Evaluating Treatment for Family Abusers

Although surprisingly little is known about the perpetrators of family violence,⁷ it is clear from clinical studies, case studies, and police reports that drug and alcohol abuse by both victims and offenders is a common element in incidents of family violence. In a recent study in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, police judged one-fifth of the female offenders and two-fifths of the male offenders to be intoxicated at the time of arrest.⁸ It also is believed that drugs play a part in family abuse and that drug abuse is underreported by both men and women.

In an effort to learn more about the behavior of family violence offenders and prevent future episodes of family violence, Dade County, Florida, has created a specialized court in Miami for family violence offenders. This specialized court was founded on the assumption that persons arrested for misdemeanor-level family violence are likely to be on their way to becoming more serious offenders and that drug and alcohol abuse play a central role in the eruption of family violence. The court therefore integrates substance abuse treatment into a specialized adjudication process.

The Miami approach is typical of the new direction a number of court systems are taking in response to family violence. Court data suggest that the criminal justice system is coming into contact with more and more family violence cases, and the traditional criminal court is poorly suited to dispensing the guidance and supportive intervention available in juvenile and family courts. Specialized courts, on the other hand, are staffed with professionals who receive training in the issues surrounding these cases and are better equipped to both adjudicate the cases and deal with the individual needs of the participants.

The Miami Domestic Violence Court, in operation since November 1992, uses an integrated, comprehensive program of treatment that

brings together criminal justice system players and a variety of community resources. Like treatment-oriented specialized drug courts, the Miami court's program places judges in an increasingly active role. (See Chapter 7 for a discussion of specialized drug courts.)

Family violence offenders usually have a variety of life problems—from difficulties with interpersonal relationships to work-related problems to substance abuse. Therefore, the Miami court addresses the offender as a whole person, treating all of the offender's problems and involving the victim in a central role in the program.

The evaluation of the Miami Domestic Violence Court is examining the assumptions about the role of drugs and alcohol in family violence and assessing the impact of adding integrated substance abuse and violence reduction treatment to the repertoire of ways to respond to families in crisis. Specifically, the project is evaluating the extent to which the specialized court can achieve the following:

- Divert domestic violence cases from normal adjudicatory processing.
- Transform the traditional judicial role and set in place a program of treatment and supervision that will reduce further crime.

The evaluation of the Miami Domestic Violence Court is nearing completion, and a final report is anticipated in 1995.

Evaluating CASA

Children who come before the court usually have suffered great trauma in their families. They may be victims of physical or sexual abuse or neglect, or they may be witnesses to repeated outbursts of spousal abuse. Many also face additional stress about having to testify in court—often against one of their parents or caretakers. Finding the best solutions for children who are wards of the court and ways to ease the stress of the court experience is the goal of the CASA program, which has become popular throughout the United States.

CASA is a broad term used by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges to describe a volunteer who acts as a guardian ad litem under the concept of "friend of the court." Typically, a guardian ad litem is an attorney representing a child; however, various jurisdictions have differing arrangements concerning child advocates who may or may not be lawyers.

CASA volunteers act as the child's advocate in abuse and neglect cases brought before the court. They strive to ensure that children who are under the purview of the court are provided with a safe and nurturing environment. Volunteers spend time with the children, gather and compile information, and present the information and their recommendations to the judge. The volunteers also monitor cases to ensure that court orders are followed.

The primary goals of CASA are as follows:

- *To give judges
comprehensive
reports to facilitate
informed decisions.*
- *To reduce the
number of
hearings and time
required by the
court process.*
- *To reduce the
amount of time
needed to resolve
legal issues.*

CASA programs not only give the child a voice in court but also support the judge, legal counsel, and the staff of the child welfare department by helping them fulfill their obligations to abused and neglected children.

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NIJ is supporting the first evaluation of CASA programs in Virginia, which were established in the State in 1985. In 1990, the Virginia State legislature passed a bill providing for the creation of additional programs; the State now has 14 programs in place with an additional 6 in the early stages of development. The evaluation will provide information on the effectiveness of CASA and recommend any needed changes. The findings will be used by legislators and other decisionmakers to determine whether CASA should be expanded or refined.

The evaluation will describe the Virginia CASA programs in terms of length of time in operation, geographical location, size of caseload, number of volunteers employed, and other characteristics. A number of key indicators of selected CASA and non-CASA cases will be compared, including demographic information about the children, the nature and extent of investigation in the case, the number of hearings, length of time in court, the number and types of temporary placements, amount of time in temporary placements, and the number and type of permanent placements. To gather narrative information about the programs, CASA volunteers, attorneys, social workers, and judges will be interviewed.

The information on the effectiveness and costs of CASA programs will guide program managers and directors in determining what improvements are needed to existing programs, what types of activities should be included in expansion programs, and what types of cases are best suited to CASA programs.

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Victimization Issues Receive Special Attention

Prior to redesigning its victimization survey, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) reported 33.6 million victimizations in 1992, down 5.2 percent from 1991 and 18.8 percent from the peak crime year of 1981. But about 6.6 million of 1992's victimizations were violent (up less than 1 percent from 1991 and 1981). The redesigned and more accurate survey found 42.9 million victimizations in 1992 compared to 43.6 million in 1993. Violent victimizations were 10.3 million in 1992 and 10.9 million in 1993.¹

Estimates vary about the financial costs to victims. Some sources measure victims' "out-of-pocket" expenses alone, excluding health or property insurance payments. According to BJS, victims of violent crime lost \$1.4 billion in 1992 in direct costs, including medical expenses; time lost from work; and activities related to the crime, such as going to court.² The other consequences of victimization—loss of freedom, fear of leaving the security of one's home or workplace, and the need to change one's routines—are more difficult to measure.

To relieve some of these burdens, crime victims receive support and assistance from many types of agencies, including both private nonprofit organizations and public agencies, such as prosecutors' offices, the courts, and law enforcement agencies. Almost all States now have victim compensation funds, although a survey of directors of victim compensation programs found that most funds are underused because victims do not know about them. A survey also found that victim compensation programs rely heavily on police officers, hospital and emergency personnel, victim assistance programs, and prosecutors to inform victims of their right to seek compensation.³

Improved treatment of victims by the criminal justice system has consistently been a focus of NIJ and other offices of the Office of Justice Programs (OJP),

especially the Office for Victims of Crime. They are collaborating to produce research, training, technical assistance, and evaluation involving victims issues.

Victimization Within Families—The family is supposed to be a safe haven, but for many youths it is the "first teaching ground for violence."⁴ Children are present in 80 percent of violent homes and are victims of abuse themselves in at least 40 percent of these homes. Researchers have determined that spousal and child abuse occurs in at least 810,000 families.⁵

Although precise data on rape victims under the age of 18 are difficult to obtain, BJS estimates that 51 percent of the women who reported they had been raped during 1992 were juveniles under 18 years of age and 16 percent were less than 12 years of age. A separate study in 1991 (based on FBI data from 12 states) found that 96 percent of the female rape victims who were less than 12 years old knew their attackers; 20 percent were victimized by their fathers.⁶

Children and youths who are the target of violence at home not only suffer immediate physical and psychological damage but also may be stimulated to be aggressive with others and enter a cycle of violence that manifests itself in school and later in adulthood.⁷ Although the majority of children do not go on to become violent offenders, they are at higher risk for later behavioral problems.⁸

Research on children and intra-familial violence indicates that children who have been directly abused or neglected or who have witnessed family violence are at increased risk of becoming future victims or perpetrators of violence.⁹

Some scholars estimate that boys who witness their fathers' violence are 10 times more likely to engage in spousal abuse in later adulthood than boys from nonviolent homes. Girls are more likely to internalize the violence they witness and are therefore at a greater risk of becoming victims of violence in their relationships with boyfriends and husbands.¹⁰

Delinquency and significant emotional disability are far more prevalent among children from violent homes than among children from nonviolent homes.¹¹ There is no doubt that a childhood filled with violence and neglect represents a widespread, serious social problem that increases the likelihood of delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior. Poor educational performance, health problems, and generally low levels of achievement also characterize the victims of early childhood abuse and neglect.¹²

Victimization of Youths—In addition to finding ways to prevent victimization within families, NIJ continues to investigate responses that reduce the type of street violence for which youths are too often the target. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention statistics indicate that the victimization rate for juveniles (aged 12–17 years) in 1992 was almost twice that of persons aged 25–34 years and five times that of those 35 and older; 23 percent of violent victimizations in 1992 were against juveniles (10 percent of the U.S. population).¹³ They also are more likely to be victims of secondhand violence—witnesses to violence—either in their home or outside of the home.¹⁴ In addition, those youths who engage in delinquent behavior are in turn the most likely to be victims of assault and robbery.¹⁵

Identifying those children at highest risk, channeling them into risk-reduction programs, and measuring the progress of such programs constitute a high priority for NIJ.

NOTES

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3. Focusing on Gangs

Landmark research in the late 1970s provided the first national baseline data on youth gangs.¹ Sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the research effort provided a valuable benchmark against which to gauge trends in the growth and geographical spread of youth gangs. Known as the National Youth Gang Survey, the research estimated about 2,300 youth gangs with about 100,000 members in approximately 300 U.S. cities and towns.² The survey's final report correctly predicted that "members of gangs and other youth groups will almost certainly continue to contribute heavily to the volume of serious crime in the United States."³

Just how heavily gangs contribute to the volume of serious crime was indicated in 1990 by law enforcement respondents to a 45-city survey: 11.3 percent of total index crimes in their jurisdictions were committed by youth gangs. Researchers found that the gang problem was not limited to juveniles; 45.6 percent of the youth gang-related incidents involved adults. In addition, respondents indicated that the rate of violent offenses for gang members was three times as high as for nongang delinquents. Gang membership also appeared to prolong the extent and seriousness of criminal careers.⁴

ISSUES AND FINDINGS

Updating its 1991 national assessment of gangs, NIJ supported a 1994 extended survey, which conservatively estimated that 8,625 gangs involving 378,807 members accounted for 437,066 gang-related incidents in 1993. The earlier study noted that all but 7 metropolitan police departments in America's 79 largest cities were troubled by gangs, as were all but 5 departments in 43 smaller cities.⁵ Gang-related crime is, above all, a violent crime problem: Homicides and other violent crimes accounted for about one-half of all recorded gang-related incidents.⁶

Findings of the national assessment suggest preliminary actions that jurisdictions can take to improve the availability of gang-related information to policymakers and officials. For example, jurisdictions should develop a centrally based collection of data on gang-related incidents. Those data could be part of a national data system, such as the National Incident Based Reporting System being implemented by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and would reflect the reality that the gang problem is, ultimately, not about young men and women forming groups with names and symbols but about groups committing

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER . . .

- *Antigang strategies*
- *A multiagency approach to enforcing probation conditions for gang members*
- *Gang membership prevention and gang activity intervention*
- *Gang prevention and intervention programs*
- *Essay on gang-related definitions and their significance*

The weapon used in almost all gang-motivated homicides in Chicago was a gun. Much of the increase in gang-motivated homicides from 1987 through 1990 was associated with the use of large-caliber, automatic, or semi-automatic weapons.

crimes against persons and property. Also, law enforcement agencies should continue to develop uniform definitions across jurisdictions of what constitutes a gang, a gang member, and a gang incident (see essay accompanying this chapter).

Recently published findings of NIJ-supported research on gangs in Chicago noted that gang violence can be grouped into two broad categories: (1) defending turf, which involves defense or expansion of gang territory and defense and glorification of the gang and its members; and (2) drug trafficking and/or other entrepreneurial activities. Turf disputes were much more prevalent in Chicago than drug trafficking during the 1987–1990 period covered by the research.⁷ Other findings include the following:

- The weapon used in almost all gang-motivated homicides in Chicago was a gun. Much of the increase in gang-motivated homicides from 1987 through 1990 was associated with the use of large-caliber, automatic, or semiautomatic weapons.
- The rate of gang-motivated crime in the 2 most dangerous areas was 76 times that of the safest areas.
- The chief criminal activities of one gang often differed from those of another. Consequently, street gangs and the crimes that they commit cannot be viewed as monolithic in nature. The policy implication is that intervention programs must be built on a foundation of continuously updated information about the types of street gangs and street gang activity in each specific neighborhood.

SELECTING ANTIGANG STRATEGIES

The National Research Council's *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, published in 1993, includes gang activities among the areas "for which systematic intervention design, evaluation, and replication could contribute to the understanding and control of violence."⁸ NIJ is funding a number of efforts to determine the types of programs and approaches that are effective against street gang violence. Increasingly used is a two-pronged comprehensive approach. One aspect of the approach consists of strategies and tactics that do not rely on legal sanctions but involve the formation of self-help citizen groups, creation of opportunities for jobs and further education, and provision of a variety of social services.⁹ Bringing to bear legal sanctions, whether criminal or civil, is the essence of the other facet of the comprehensive approach to street gang violence. The goal is gang suppression, which includes arrest, prosecution, incarceration, supervision, civil abatement procedures, and legislative remedies.

NIJ's 1991 national assessment noted that none of the surveyed law enforcement agencies reported relying solely on suppression strategies. Most agencies were also using tactics that did not rely on legal sanctions. However, as many observers have concluded, the effectiveness of a no-sanctions strategy depends frequently, if not usually, on the coordinated presence of law enforcement and other criminal justice agencies to first pave the way and produce basic security and stability

so that no-sanction, preventive efforts can take root and generate long-term reductions in street gang violence. As a police chief participating in a conference on youth gangs said, "There needs to be a strategy, a well-thought-out, multidisciplinary strategy involving all aspects of the community, not just law enforcement."¹⁰

EVALUATION SITES AND FINDINGS

This philosophy is evident in the project evaluations highlighted in this chapter. These NIJ-funded evaluations encompass a variety of gang prevention and intervention efforts, including those aimed exclusively at female adolescents and enforcement actions targeting gang probationers.

In San Diego County, a multiagency program, Jurisdictions Unified for Drug Gang Enforcement (JUDGE), is being evaluated. The program strictly enforces probation conditions and drug laws for juvenile and adult gang members with a drug use history as well as those involved in drug trafficking. Preliminary results of surveys and interviews indicate that the new approach resulted in pooling of resources and expertise, better coordination among agencies, smaller caseloads and more contacts with probationers, more information being collected about probationers, and more proactive policies. The researchers also have identified qualities or factors that contribute to successful task forces, which are discussed in this chapter.

A process and impact evaluation is being conducted of two antigang strategies—a gang membership prevention program and an early intervention program—in each of three cities: Boston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. The results of this evaluation will help identify the effectiveness of specific gang interventions and preventive measures.

A process and impact evaluation is being conducted of gang prevention and intervention programs targeting adolescent women. The evaluation focuses on female gang involvement, specifically how African-American and Hispanic young women become involved in gangs as well as the implementation and effectiveness of prevention and intervention programming designed for these young women. The results of this evaluation will provide valuable information regarding the extent to which program participation results in positive outcomes and will provide recommendations for improving current programs.

MULTIAGENCY APPROACH TO ENFORCING GANG MEMBER PROBATION CONDITIONS

The upsurge of gangs and associated drug and crime activity in the past several years and reductions in available resources have resulted in more States and local jurisdictions developing multiagency task forces, most of which pool resources and expertise to address drug violators. San Diego County is one such example. In response to the more than 100 gangs and an estimated 8,000 gang members (in contrast to the 3,000 gang members estimated in 1982), the county's district attorney administers the multiagency program JUDGE.

Preliminary results of surveys and interviews indicate that the new approach resulted in pooling of resources and expertise, better coordination among agencies, smaller caseloads and more contacts with probationers, more information being collected about probationers, and more proactive policies.

This multiagency approach uses such methods as undercover tactics, intensive supervision, and priority prosecution of high-risk offenders.

JUDGE was implemented in 1988 with funding from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) through the California Office of Criminal Justice Planning. The program includes a task force consisting of police officers, prosecutors, and probation officers. Task force members coordinate efforts to strictly enforce probation conditions and drug laws for juvenile and adult gang members with a drug use history as well as for other offenders who are involved in the use, sale, or distribution of drugs. Prior to the program's implementation, gang and drug enforcement and prosecution efforts focused on new offenses and not on the enforcement of the probation conditions of those already sentenced.

This multiagency approach uses such methods as undercover tactics, intensive supervision, and priority prosecution of high-risk offenders. Police officers make arrests when new criminal acts or probation violations are discovered, and probation officers prepare revocations of probation as needed. One of the deputy district attorneys assigned to the task force ensures that the arrested probationer is exposed to the longest prison term permitted by law. Vertical prosecution, in which one prosecutor handles a case throughout all stages of adjudication, is an integral program element.

Under a grant from NIJ, the San Diego Association of Governments is nearing the end of a process and impact evaluation of the multiagency approach to determine whether the program was implemented as planned and what the consequences were for offenders. Policy questions being addressed include the following: Is a multiagency task force approach more effective than traditional probation? How does enhanced surveillance of probationers affect recidivism? Is the program cost-effective?

The evaluation focuses on the first 2 years of the program (1988 through 1990), when only youthful offenders were targeted (later the program targeted adults as well). The research design incorporates three study groups—two experimental groups comprising 273 youthful offenders and a comparable control group comprising 97 youthful offenders. The experimental groups reflect two 1-year periods; each group received a different level of supervision from the program's probation officers. A comparable control group was to be selected from active probationers during the year prior to implementation of the program; however, finding an adequate number of offenders for the control group proved troublesome because many probationers initially considered for the program eventually were targeted by the program.

Evaluators tracked each group over a 3-year period. They compiled data on the juveniles' sociodemographic characteristics, gang affiliation, criminal history, offenses that resulted in probation supervision, probation conditions, contacts by probation and program staff, performance during probation, and new offenses during probation. For the process evaluation, data for the experimental groups were compared to project objectives to measure compliance in terms of program implementation and outcomes, such as probation violations and drug test results. Evaluators assessed the impact of vertical prosecution by

comparing control cases prior to the implementation of the multiagency approach to cases targeted by program prosecutors after implementation of the approach.

Early Findings

Examination of program implementation and some preliminary outcome measures suggest that the program used its planned screening criteria to target the intended offenders, intervened at the appropriate phase in system processing, and enforced probation conditions. Outcome measures, including recidivism and cost, will be addressed in the final report.

Fifty-six percent of the youths targeted in the two experimental groups were 16- or 17-year-olds, and the total sample of 273 was nearly equally divided between African Americans (45 percent) and Hispanics (52 percent), closely paralleling the ethnic breakdown of gangs in San Diego County. Seventy-four percent had been convicted of a drug violation, and the most frequent charge leading to first referral to probation was a felony-level property offense. Nearly all of the juveniles in the sample (89 percent) had been wards of the court. In addition, 55 percent of the youths were targeted by the program during the prosecution stage and 23 percent while on probation.

The program uses frequent drug testing of probationers to monitor compliance with probation conditions. Eighty percent of the 273 offenders in the 2 experimental groups submitted to drug tests. In the first experimental group, 63 percent tested positive, while in the second, 50 percent tested positive.

Another measure for assessing the efforts of the multiagency task force is the number of probation conditions resulting in violations. More violations were recorded for probationers during the period that probationers were under closer supervision, which is consistent with the proactive approach. A program expected to increase offender accountability should reflect more arrests, prosecutions, and custody time. Those measures will be examined in the final report.

Vertical prosecution occurred in more than 85 percent of the cases from 1988 through 1990. In 65 percent of the cases, defendants pled guilty to the highest charge, suggesting that the majority of cases were not plea bargained. Ninety-five percent resulted in convictions. However, nearly one-fourth of them resulted in trials, which has obvious cost implications.

Higher percentages of arrests resulting in filed petitions (requests that the court assume jurisdiction over juveniles) occurred during the program than prior to it. Also, more probationers in the experimental groups were apt to be in custody after arrest. Offenders more intensely supervised by program staff were also more likely to have enhanced penalties sustained by the court and to plea bargain less often. Such results are consistent with an approach that emphasizes that offenders be accountable.

The program uses frequent drug testing of probationers to monitor compliance with probation conditions....In the first experimental group, 63 percent tested positive, while in the second, 50 percent tested positive.

Factors that contribute to successful task forces: a goal or mission statement, cooperation, multi-agency involvement, commitment from top officials of each agency, motivated team members, adequate resources, strong leadership, identified targets, consistent responses, and vertical prosecution.

Practitioners' Views of the Multiagency Approach

Surveys and interviews revealed some of the positive elements of the multiagency approach as well as suggestions for improvement. Respondents noted that, compared to traditional probation, the new approach resulted in pooling of expertise and resources, better coordination among agencies, vertical prosecution, smaller caseloads and more contacts with probationers, more information collected about probationers, and more proactive policies. Respondents also mentioned that increased supervision better protects the community, leads to success in the courtroom, and motivates juveniles to stay drug free.

Fifty survey respondents identified the following as among the qualities or factors that contribute to successful task forces: a goal or mission statement, cooperation, multiagency involvement, commitment from top officials of each agency, motivated team members, adequate resources, strong leadership, identified targets, consistent responses, and vertical prosecution. The final report will include detailed descriptions of the process for implementing those elements within a multiagency effort.

Most of the suggestions for improving the multiagency approach came from those who work or coordinate with the program's personnel. Police and probation officers stressed the need for better direction from program staff, a more focused plan, and a return to the mission statement, particularly the initial emphasis on juveniles. About one-fourth of the officers stated that the program should focus more on juveniles. Many respondents mentioned the need for more resources and staff. The implication is that many more probationers should be targets of the multiagency approach. The effectiveness and the cost of the program in targeting drug- and gang-involved youthful probationers will be addressed in the final report.

GANG PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

Research indicates an increased propensity among gangs for violence, a heightened problem of gang-related substance abuse, and representation of a broad range of ethnic groups in gangs.¹¹ Because the composition and activities of gangs tend to change over time and because the nature of the gang problem is likely to differ from one location to another,¹² new and appropriately focused antigang strategies are essential, as is their evaluation.

Under a 1992 NIJ grant, COSMOS Corporation is conducting process and impact evaluations of two antigang strategies tailored to the prevailing conditions in three cities: (1) Boston, (2) Los Angeles, and (3) San Francisco. In each city, COSMOS is evaluating two programs¹³ that are part of each city's comprehensive strategy. The strategies are (1) gang membership prevention and (2) early intervention to reduce the number of undesirable gang activities.

Gang membership prevention includes providing alternative activities for young people who are at risk of joining gangs, forestalling gang recruitment and outreach efforts, and involving parents and others in

efforts to address gang problems. Early intervention to reduce the incidence of undesirable gang activities encompasses the use of diversionary programs for "wannabes" and peripheral gang members, campaigns to reduce gang violence, employment and training opportunities for gang members, mobile street intervention units, and crisis intervention networks.

The evaluator selected the 6 programs from more than 200 that reported benefits such as decreased delinquent behavior; decreased gang membership; increased school attendance; positive social and behavioral indicators, such as improved self-esteem and sense of responsibility; and improved decisionmaking skills.

Emphasizing the roles of social service agencies, schools, families, peers, and community groups in the lives of high-risk youths, the evaluation is identifying the logic underlying the strategies, collecting data from multiple sources, and testing rival hypotheses to explain the success or failure of specific prevention and intervention methods. To assist sites in obtaining needed information, evaluators worked with program management and other staff to design new forms and develop new procedures to enhance client information and tracking.

Evaluation findings will help to identify the effectiveness of specific gang interventions and preventive measures. Researchers and evaluators will be able to draw from the evaluation's design strategy for studies with similar complexities. Local program managers, educators, and practitioners in law enforcement, criminal justice, and the human services field can use these results as a guide to the types of data that can be tracked to determine the effectiveness of their activities.

GANG PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION PROGRAMS FOR ADOLESCENT WOMEN

As noted earlier, young women are less likely to be involved in gangs than young men. But NIJ's survey also revealed that a growing number of young women are active gang members. Much remains to be learned about the role of independent female gangs, female auxiliary gangs, and female members in mixed-sex gangs in gang violence and other crimes. Some research suggests that gang involvement by young women has more long-term effects on their lives as well as a more serious effect on their children's lives (and perhaps consequences for the community and society) than gang involvement by young men.¹⁴ Issues of female gang involvement have been and continue to be examined at the Federal level through the funding of seven female gang prevention programs in 1990 by the Family and Youth Services Bureau, Administration for Children, Youth and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS).

DHHS funded four additional female gang prevention programs in 1992. NIJ awarded a grant to Development Services Group, Incorporated, in late 1993 to conduct a 2-year process and impact evaluation of the following three of those four programs:

Some research suggests that gang involvement by young women has more long-term effects on their lives as well as a more serious effect on their children's lives (and perhaps consequences for the community and society) than gang involvement by young men.

Complementing previous research, the evaluation focuses on how females become involved in gangs, what kinds of activities they engage in as gang members, and what factors lead to, or have the potential for leading to, their leaving gangs.

- Females Obtaining Resources and Cultural Enrichment, which is operated by the Boston Housing Authority and serves a predominantly African-American and Hispanic population in Boston;
- Movimiento Ascendencia, which is operated by the Pueblo Youth Services Bureau and serves a primarily Mexican American population in Pueblo, Colorado; and
- Seattle Team for Youth, which is operated by the city's Division of Family and Youth Services and serves a primarily African-American population.

Program selection was based on geographic location, ethnicity of the service population, and differences in program focus. In the selection process, the evaluators also considered the availability within each program of adolescent females never involved in gang activity and those either currently or previously involved in gang activity whose initial involvement occurred between the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Complementing previous research, the evaluation focuses on how females become involved in gangs, what kinds of activities they engage in as gang members, and what factors lead to, or have the potential for leading to, their leaving gangs. Prior research indicates that a useful evaluation of female gang involvement must incorporate and control for information in the following six areas: (1) family relations, (2) school experiences, (3) peer relationships, (4) economic opportunities, (5) self-esteem, and (6) substance abuse.

These areas provide the context for process and impact evaluations of the selected programs and permit an assessment of the effectiveness and relevance of current policy philosophy and associated program practice.

The process evaluation focuses on two major areas. First, it addresses such implementation and operational issues as youth recruitment, staffing patterns, staff training, recordkeeping, and implementation barriers. Second, it examines such community-context factors as the nature and extent of the local gang problem, female gang participation, and other types of intervention strategies that have been implemented.

The impact evaluation will provide an updated description of female involvement in gang activity; explore the extent to which participants in the program differ from nonparticipants on the key variables associated with risk of, or actual, gang involvement for all participants; and assess the extent to which program participation results in positive outcomes. The impact phase of the evaluation will include 360 persons as follows: 90 persons involved in gangs but not in the program, 90 persons not involved in gangs who are also not in the program, 90 persons involved in gangs who are in the program, and 90 persons not in gangs who are in the program. The impact evaluation focuses on comparing the four groups in terms of level of gang involvement, family patterns and living situations, academic performance, job skills, life chances, self-esteem, substance abuse patterns, and positive outcomes attributed to project participation.

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Illustrative Gang-Related Definitions and Their Significance

What's in a definition? Plenty, particularly when the topic of discussion is gangs. The definition of "gang," "gang member," or "gang crime" is not an academic matter but has very practical and serious ramifications. For example, some States have antigang statutes containing definitions of some or all of the foregoing terms for purposes of law enforcement, prosecution, and sentencing. If agencies' definitions (and data bases for tracking gang activities and characteristics) do not include all elements of statutory definitions, use of those special gang laws is greatly impeded, if not precluded.

Definitions of "gang member" must be such that they will survive court challenges. Also important are definitions of types of gang members or aspiring gang members, such as "hardcore," "associate," and "peripheral" gang members, such as wannabes and other gang-prone persons.

In addition, as research in this chapter notes, the definition of "gang incident" or "gang crime" should be uniform across jurisdictions within a region, especially if the jurisdictions share intelligence and contribute to a common data base. If, for example, "gang crime" is defined differently by various agencies, interjurisdictional comparisons of gang crime will be of the apples-to-oranges variety. A higher rate of gang incidents in one jurisdiction than in another could be due to differences in how "gang crime" is defined and, thus, the comparisons could not be considered valid.

Definitions of "street gang" frequently include most or all of the following elements:¹

- Three or more individuals who associate periodically as an ongoing group or organization, whether loosely or tightly structured.
- A group or organization with identifiable leaders, although the leader for one type of criminal activity may be different from the leader for another.
- A group that has a name or identifying symbol.
- Persons who, individually or collectively, engage in or have engaged in violent or other criminal activity.
- Frequently a group that identifies with or claims control over specific territory (turf) in the community; wears distinctive clothes and colors; and communicates through graffiti and hand signs, among other means.

Reported gang crimes are the basis for deciding whether a gang problem exists, assessing its scope, formulating law enforcement's response, and evaluating the effectiveness of that response. But what determines whether crimes are gang crimes?

Some law enforcement agencies classify crimes as gang crimes if they are gang related, while other agencies may only classify them as gang crimes if they are seen as gang motivated.² The distinction is significant. Gang-related crime occurs whenever a gang member is the offender or victim, regardless of motivation or circumstances. A single gang member robbing a convenience store and

several gang members breaking into someone's home are examples of "gang-related crime." Only invading someone's home might qualify as a gang crime by an agency using the "gang-motivated criterion." Gang-motivated crimes are those committed at the direction of, for the benefit of, or in association with a street gang. Gang-motivated crimes include intergang violence, gang retaliation, turf protection, and other criminal activity affecting the gang's reputation or interests as a whole. Under a relatively stringent application of the "gang-motivated" criterion, both the offender and the victim must be gang members.

The motive-based definition yields significantly fewer gang crimes than the gang-related definition. That is particularly true if, under the former definition, an agency decides that both the offender and victim must be gang members or that the crime must be related to intergang encounters.

One possible approach is for agencies to classify a crime as a gang crime if it is gang related and to indicate which of the gang-related crimes meet the more stringent gang-motivated criterion. Such a classification system would provide law enforcement agencies with a broad picture of gang members' criminal activity, maximize agencies' flexibility to conform to whatever gang-crime definition is used in new or amended antigang legislation, and enhance agencies' chances of making apples-with-apples interjurisdictional comparisons of gang crime.

Other important questions include: Who are gang members? What criteria do agencies apply when evaluating whether someone is a gang member? Generally, most gang members are between 12 and 24 years old, with older adolescents and young adults engaging in the most serious and violent activity. However, veteranos or original gangsters can be aged 50 or older. The average age of violent offenders (whether or not they belong to gangs) is reported to be declining and is now about 17 years of age. Thus, law enforcement must include information on juveniles and adults in its gang classification system. Also, as mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, female gangs warrant attention—in 1991, 27 cities reported 83 independent female street gangs.³

A "gang member" may be defined as any person who participates in a criminal street gang; has knowledge that gang members engage in or have engaged in criminal activity; and willfully promotes, furthers, or assists in criminal conduct by members of that gang.

To address the needs of law enforcement and maximize the chances that the gang-member designation will survive court challenges, a number of criminal justice agencies have developed criteria to indicate that a person is a gang member. Grouped into three categories, the gang-member criteria include (1) self-admission (subject admits gang affiliation, bears gang-related tattoos, writes gang graffiti, and uses gang-related monikers), (2) association with known gang members (subject is included in group photographs of known gang members and is involved in criminal gang incidents), and (3) other (such as judicial findings of gang member-

ship, identification as a gang member by a reliable informant, and appearance of a suspect's name on a gang document).

Agencies also need to develop consistent criteria by which to categorize gang members and those who seem to aspire to gang membership. Those criteria will assist law enforcement in the designation of targeting priorities and identification of appropriate strategies and tactics. Generally, agencies categorize gang members according to the extent to which they are committed to a criminal lifestyle, gang values, and violence. One way of categorizing gang members is as follows:

■ **Hardcore gang members—**

These are the most dangerous and violence prone—the gang's leaders and "shooters." Completely committed to gang life, they tend to be older (late teens and beyond) and have numerous contacts with the criminal justice system. Frequently, less than 10 percent of a gang's members are hardcore.

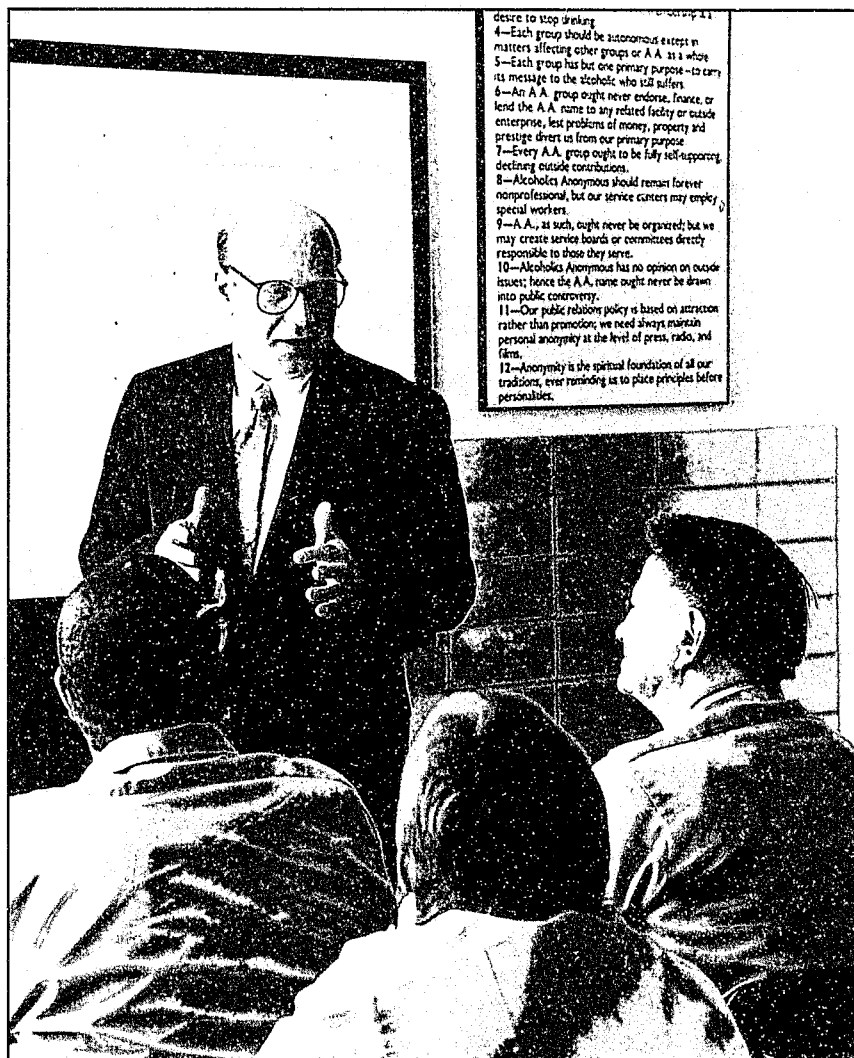
■ **Associate members—**These members are criminally active and claim allegiance to a gang but usually participate in fewer gang activities than do hardcore members. Generally of middle-to high-school age, associates tend to have violent and aggressive personalities and often commit crimes to elevate their status within the gang. Associates' commitment to gang life may not be as strong as that of the hardcore; some may even be looking for a way out.

■ **Wannabes (peripherals)—**Typically in their early teens, wannabes have not yet joined a gang but are attuned to gang values and predisposed toward

gang life. Often, they are on the fringes of criminal activity, sometimes acting as runners or weapons holders, and tend to be very gang-clothing conscious. Wannabes usually do not fully understand gang life or its consequences but are at risk of becoming gang members. (Another category of at-risk youths are those in elementary school who have begun to show an interest in gangs. They may begin to experiment with gang attire and symbols as early as the second grade.)

NOTES

1. See, for example, illustrative official gang definitions in Curry G.D., R.J. Fox, R.A. Ball, and D. Stone, *National Assessment of Law Enforcement Anti-Gang Information, Resources: Draft 1992 Final Reports*, University of West Virginia and the National Institute of Justice, 1992, Appendix E.
2. See Maxson, C.L., and M.W. Klein, "Street Gang Violence: Twice as Great, or Half as Great?", in C.R. Huff, ed., *Gangs in America*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1990:71-100; See also District Attorney, County of Los Angeles, *Gangs, Crime, and Violence in Los Angeles*, Los Angeles, CA: Office of the District Attorney, County of Los Angeles, May 1992:xxvi-xxvii.
3. Curry, G.D., R.J. Fox, R.A. Ball, and D. Stone, op. cit., p. 51.



- desire to stop drinking
- 4—Each group should be autonomous except in matters affecting other groups or A.A. as a whole
 - 5—Each group has but one primary purpose—to carry its message to the alcoholic who still suffers
 - 6—An A.A. group ought never endorse, finance, or lend the A.A. name to any related facility or outside enterprise, lest problems of money, property and prestige divert us from our primary purpose
 - 7—Every A.A. group ought to be fully self-supporting, declining outside contributions
 - 8—Alcoholics Anonymous should remain forever nonprofessional, but our service centers may employ special workers
 - 9—A.A., as such, ought never be organized; but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve
 - 10—Alcoholics Anonymous has no opinion on outside issues; hence the A.A. name ought never be drawn into public controversy
 - 11—Our public relations policy is based on attraction rather than promotion; we need always maintain personal anonymity at the level of press, radio, and films
 - 12—Anonymity is the spiritual foundation of all our traditions, ever reminding us to place principles before personalities

4. Treating and Preventing Drug Abuse

As drug-involved offenders have overwhelmed the criminal justice system in recent years, it has become increasingly clear that sanctions alone are not enough to bring about substantive reductions in drug use and criminality. With heightened concern about the links between drug use and crime, interest in drug treatment programs for offenders both in and out of custody is growing. In 1994, the Office of National Drug Control Policy emphasized the critical need to expand treatment opportunities for hardcore users.¹

BENEFITS OF DRUG TREATMENT

Research findings have acknowledged the value of drug treatment. Drug-involved offenders in treatment use drugs less often and commit fewer crimes than similar offenders not in treatment. In one large study, about two-thirds of persons who reported criminal activity and who remained in treatment for at least 3 months had ceased criminal activity in the year following treatment. Study findings also indicated that the savings in crime-related costs were equal to the costs of treatment.²

EVALUATING TREATMENT APPROACHES

As innovative drug treatment programs are implemented, it is important to provide critical feedback on how they are working and for whom they are most effective. It also is important to determine how best to provide treatment—through public criminal justice agencies or through private treatment agencies under contract. The evaluations discussed in the first section of this chapter review programs that offer treatment both within the community and in jails.

The findings reported here indicate that treatment programs can provide benefits but that expectations of success with this group of offenders should be realistic:

- A treatment diversion program in Maricopa County, Arizona, placed a large number of drug-using offenders in treatment at the prefiling stage. Three out of four offenders successfully completed the program and had a significantly slower return to recidivism than eligible defendants who did not enter treatment.
- Preliminary results from an intensive probation program in San Diego that includes treatment found that recidivism rates for the

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER...

- *Benefits of drug treatment*
- *Evaluating treatment approaches*
- *Assessing prevention efforts*
- *Drug treatment options in the community and in jails*
- *Preventing drug abuse and crime*
- *Essay: Following boot camp with aftercare treatment*

Treatment programs in five jails appear to have positive effects on participants in custody. Those in treatment had lower rates of physical violence and minor infractions. Thus, the treatment programs also help administrators and staff manage the facility.

experimental and control groups were about the same despite differences in level of supervision. The program addressed the needs identified by probationers, but evaluators concluded that short-term programs are inherently limited in resolving fundamental problems in behavior and persistent obstacles, such as lack of employment or housing for offenders returning to the community.

- Treatment programs in five jails appear to have positive effects on participants in custody. Those in treatment had lower rates of physical violence and minor infractions. Thus, the treatment programs also help administrators and staff manage the facility.

ASSESSING PREVENTION EFFORTS

The second part of the chapter focuses on preventing drug use and related crime, particularly in the context of public housing. An evaluation of the D.A.R.E.[®] (Drug Abuse Resistance Education[®]) program also is discussed.

Lessons learned from prevention programs discussed in this chapter include the following:

- Rates of drug and violent offenses in public housing are much higher than in nearby neighborhoods or citywide.
- The key to prevention strategies in public housing authority programs is pursuit of a collaborative approach involving police, housing authority management personnel, police, and residents.
- Boys' and girls' clubs can provide a safe haven for youngsters in public housing and can provide educational as well as recreation services.
- The D.A.R.E.[®] program has been successful in placing drug education in schools and enjoys widespread support from educators, students, parents, and communities.

DRUG TREATMENT OPTIONS

National Institute of Justice (NIJ) evaluations of community-based drug treatment programs encompass a variety of offenders, including county arrestees; city, county, and Federal probationers; and Federal prison releasees under community supervision. In addition, evaluators have examined five jail-based drug treatment programs, and a new effort is assessing drug treatment in the context of aftercare programs for offenders released from boot camps.

Reducing the Demand for Drugs

"Do drugs. Do time."—That is the warning given by a program in metropolitan Phoenix (Maricopa County), which is taking a new approach to reducing the use of illegal drugs. The program's approach entails arresting casual users as a deterrent to others and as a means of getting them into counseling and treatment. The Maricopa County

drug demand reduction program was evaluated during its first 24 months of operation (March 1989 to February 1991).

Based on data obtained by the Arizona Institute for Criminal Justice under a grant from NIJ, the evaluation looked for answers to such questions as the following: How many arrestees chose the treatment option? How many completed the treatment program successfully? What was the impact on recidivism?

Context of the Treatment Option

Reflecting the view that casual drug users pose a criminal justice problem because they provide the customer base for illegal drug sales, a consortium of 26 municipal, county, State, and Federal law enforcement agencies initiated the Maricopa County drug demand reduction program in March 1989. The program's principal objectives are as follows:

- To create a communitywide awareness of the severity of the drug problem and alert drug users to the increased risk of legal sanctions.
- To increase and coordinate law enforcement activities in combination with either full prosecution or diversion to treatment in lieu of prosecution as a way to reduce the demand for drugs.

To achieve those objectives, the program conducted a major public education campaign, which depended entirely on the private sector for funds, equipment, and materials; initiated high-profile arrest operations by a task force of representatives of all participating agencies; and retained drug cases within the criminal justice system that might otherwise have been dismissed.

At a minimum, persons arrested for drug use are expected to spend a few hours in the county jail while they are booked and await an initial hearing. The hope is that the prospect of arrest, formal booking, and short confinement in a holding cell will be a sufficient sanction to deter many of the middle-class casual users targeted by this program.

There are several options for law enforcement following arrest of drug users. Under the policy of zero tolerance, the county attorney ensures that all offenders who do not qualify for, accept, or successfully complete diversion to the treatment option will be prosecuted. The prosecutor decides whether a case is eligible for deferred prosecution pending successful completion of the treatment program. To date, persons referred to the community-based drug treatment program have tended to be young, Caucasian, male, first-time offenders charged with a single count of possession of marijuana or cocaine.

Drug Treatment Phase

The qualifications for entering the drug treatment program vary somewhat depending on the drug possessed, but the general purpose is to offer diversion to only casual users with no prior criminal history. Arrestees diverted to the treatment program can be seen as "doing

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time" during the 6- to 12-month treatment period. Those who enter treatment must agree to meet all program conditions, including submit to random urine tests as well as attend all required seminars, lectures, and counseling sessions.

In addition, treatment participants must pay in full all fees assessed them. Each offender booked and held at the county jail must pay a jailhouse processing fee of \$50. The offender also must pay an Arizona Drug Enforcement Fund fee, which varies by drug type from \$500 for possession of marijuana to \$1,200 for possession of cocaine. The offender also is assessed a fee equal to the costs of the treatment program; the fee ranges from \$135 for a 90-day program for possession of marijuana to more than \$1,600 for a 12-month program for possession of either cocaine or illegal prescription drugs.

Further, all program participants, including those charged with possession of marijuana, must provide a written statement admitting the offense and agreeing that this statement would be admissible in court if they fail to complete the treatment program.

Findings

Of more than 5,700 prosecutable offenders, some 1,450 (about 25 percent) were both eligible for and accepted the offer of treatment. Relatively few people refused the treatment option. Rather, they failed to respond to letters containing information about the diversion program sent by the county attorney either because they did not receive the letters or because they ignored or refused to take delivery of them. Nonresponse meant that the case was filed and a warrant issued. Ten percent of the group that failed to respond were later diverted to treatment after being arrested under the warrants issued.

Despite the indication that more offenders could have entered the treatment program than actually did, the drug demand reduction program has succeeded in diverting a large number of drug-using offenders into treatment. The vast majority are diverted to treatment at the prefiling stage.

Of those who entered the treatment program at this initial stage, three out of four successfully completed the program. Marijuana users were significantly more likely than other drug users, especially users of cocaine, to be diverted to treatment, to enter treatment when eligible, and to complete the program they entered.

Two factors may have influenced offenders' completion of treatment. One pertains to the different effects of marijuana and cocaine on users' ability to stay drug-free and to adhere to the rules and regimen of treatment. The second factor relates to differences in the marijuana and cocaine treatment programs themselves. The marijuana treatment program is less expensive and of shorter duration than programs for other drugs, making it a more attractive alternative to prosecution and an easier program to complete successfully.

Recidivism is defined as any new charge submitted to the county attorney's office after the initial offense that first brought the offender

to the attention of the drug demand reduction program. Of the more than 7,000 offenders referred to the county attorney for review, approximately 20 percent were rearrested during the period of observation; of those, 44 percent were charged with a drug offense, 29 percent with a property offense, and 12 percent with a crime against a person. The mean length of time between entry into the drug demand reduction program and recidivism was 177 days.

The evaluation results presented below indicate that defendants entering the program and completing treatment have a significantly slower return to recidivism than those eligible defendants who do not enter treatment.

Offenders Eligible for Treatment Between March 1989–March 1990 Who Committed Another Crime Before May 1, 1991

| <u>Offender</u> | <u>Percentage Who Committed Any New Crime</u> |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Entered treatment | 11% |
| Refused treatment | 18% |
| Did not respond to offer of treatment | 26% |

The findings may have been due to the success of the treatment program. Evaluators note, however, that the results also may, in whole or in part, reflect self-selection. That is, the same reasons that motivated persons to enter and succeed in treatment may have motivated them to cease future criminal activities.

The evaluation also found that some cases diverted to treatment seemingly would otherwise have been dismissed entirely. Prior to the zero-tolerance policy, many casual users were not prosecuted. Thus, this approach widens the net of the criminal justice system in terms of both the number and types of offenders.

Drug Treatment for Probationers in San Diego County

Severely crowded prisons and jails and the need to better protect the public from high-risk offenders supervised in the community have led to the emergence of intensive probation programs as an alternative to incarceration. Some incorporate drug treatment and employment assistance, while others focus primarily on surveillance and enforcement.

Intensive probation supervision coupled with drug treatment represents a balancing act between the surveillance and control functions of probation and rehabilitation. To maximize limited resources, decisionmakers need to know what types of interventions lead to successful outcomes for drug-using offenders and the characteristics of probationers who remain drug-free.

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To maximize limited resources, decision-makers need to know what types of interventions lead to successful outcomes for drug-using offenders and the characteristics of probationers who remain drug-free.

Under a grant from NIJ, the San Diego Association of Governments' Criminal Justice Research Division is conducting a process and impact evaluation of a probation enhancement program, Probationers in Recovery. This intensive probation program, located in San Diego County, requires offenders to participate in drug abuse treatment. Probation caseloads are limited, resulting in increased contacts with clients and more frequent drug testing. Probation and drug treatment staffs work together to enforce probation conditions and participation in the treatment program.

Evaluation Approach

The evaluation addresses two assumptions: (1) the provision of drug treatment within the program will reduce subsequent drug use and criminal behavior of high-risk probationers and (2) successful outcomes of reduced drug use and criminality are associated with characteristics of offenders and program services.

The process evaluation assesses the extent to which the program was implemented as designed. The outcome evaluation addresses the program's impact by comparing experimental and control groups in terms of recidivism, technical violations, drug use, social adjustment, and cost of program delivery.

The evaluation uses a quasi-experimental design to compare program activities and outcomes for matched groups of high-risk probationers receiving different services and levels of supervision. The experimental group includes 209 probationers assigned to the program. The control group consists of 151 probationers assigned to regular high-risk probation caseloads. The two groups differ in terms of the services they receive. After probationers complete or graduate from the program, they are placed on regular probation. The experimental and control groups are matched using a common set of screening criteria.

For the experimental group, approximately the first 8 months of supervision in the community included participation in the program, while the control group received regular probation supervision for high-risk probationers during the comparable 8-month period.

A pretest and posttest assessment measures behavior changes that occurred during the first 8 months on probation, as well as criminal offenses committed during the 6 months prior to arrest and 6 months after the initial 8-month program delivery period.

Findings

The experimental and control groups were comparable in terms of demographics and criminal history. The probation conditions ordered by the court for both groups were similar, with the exception of the program's elements.

Findings indicate that the level of supervision for the experimental group cases (exposed to the program) was significantly more intense than for the control group cases placed on regular high-risk probation. For example, during an 8-month probation period, participants in the

experimental group had 13.8 face-to-face contacts with a probation officer, compared to 5.2 face-to-face contacts for the regular probation group participants. The mean number of drug tests for the experimental group participants was 17.0 compared to 3.9 for the control group participants.

Despite the extensive use of sanctions for those in the program, the return-to-custody rates for the experimental and control groups were about the same. About 25 percent in each group were returned to local custody, and about one in five eventually was sent to prison as a result of violations committed during the first 8 months of probation.

The experimental group had a significantly higher number of technical probation violations as a result of the increased level of supervision. The mean number of violations detected for each group differed significantly, with 45.9 violations for those in the experimental group compared to 5.6 violations for those in the control group.

Despite the differences in the level of supervision, the preliminary data suggest that the recidivism rates for both groups were the same. Data were analyzed for three time periods: the first 8 months of probation, the following 6 months, and the total 14-month period after intake. Although the percentage rearrested and reconvicted for a new offense or a probation violation was slightly higher in the regular probation control group, the difference was not statistically significant.

For example, during the first 8 months of probation, 52 percent of those in the experimental group were rearrested compared to 54 percent of those on regular probation. During the following 6 months, the rearrest rates were 31 percent for the experimental group and 36 percent for the control group. During the total 14-month period, the rearrest rates were 69 percent for the experimental group and 72 percent for the control group.

Another measure of recidivism is the average number of rearrests and reconvictions. A comparison of the full 14-month followup period showed no significant difference in the study groups for the average number of rearrests (1.2 rearrests for the experimental group members versus 1.3 rearrests for the control group members) or reconvictions (1.0 reconvictions for those exposed to the program and 0.9 reconvictions for those on regular probation).

The final report, scheduled for completion in 1995, will measure the time to failure as well as indicate the severity and type of crimes committed by both groups in the followup periods. Even though overall recidivism rates do not vary significantly, a delay in reoffending or a reduction in the seriousness of the offenses committed as a result of participation in the program may surface. The final report also will include an assessment of the characteristics of probationers who were successful on probation and the relative costs of the program and regular high-risk supervision.

Findings suggest that the program addresses the needs identified by probationers. However, the level of services participants said they needed did not change significantly after their time in the program.

Despite the extensive use of sanctions for those in the program, the return-to-custody rates for the experimental and control groups were about the same.

The continuing need for services may reflect the complex nature of the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders when released to the community, such as remaining clean and sober and maintaining employment.

The continuing need for services may reflect the complex nature of the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders when released to the community, such as remaining clean and sober and maintaining employment. Final results of the evaluation may indicate that to expect a short-term program to solve such problems is unrealistic.

Drug Treatment for Probationers in New York City

A new evaluation will gather data on the outcomes of various treatment strategies for probationers. Four models of drug treatment currently used for felony offenders sentenced to probation in New York City are being assessed under a 1993 NIJ grant to National Development and Research Institutes, Inc. Evaluators will examine the relative merits of contracted outpatient programs in comparison to other programs and the advantages and disadvantages of using specialized units versus regular probation units.

The evaluation will examine formal case decision criteria, operating procedures, linkages between the probation department and treatment providers (including client supervision and sanctions used), probation officer and client characteristics, type of treatment, and perceptions about drug treatment.

The process evaluation will analyze data from several different surveys and document reviews; structured interviews and observations will permit a content analysis of treatment program case study data.

A client outcome evaluation will be based on a retrospective analysis of 2,000 probationers admitted during the 1-year period when central-placement-unit treatment referral began. The evaluation will assess individual characteristics important for effective matching of client to treatment. Various analyses will identify factors that are significantly correlated with specific behavioral outcomes and recidivism.

Treating Federal Probationers and Prison Releasees

In collaboration with the U.S. Probation Office of the northern district of California, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, through a recent NIJ grant, is conducting a rigorous experiment to evaluate two drug treatment models for Federal offenders (probationers and recently released prisoners) under community supervision.

One model reflects a traditional treatment approach that relies on private drug treatment providers for individual and group counseling. The second model consists of an innovative program developed in Canada, Cognitive Skills Training: Reasoning and Rehabilitation, that relies on probation officers to correct drug offenders' life-skill deficits. The latter model, referred to as the experimental design, may be more cost-effective than the traditional approach, which is followed by most Federal probation and parole offices.

Offenders will be admitted to the experimental design from two sources. The first source will be offenders sentenced by the U.S. District Court to probation with a condition of participation in a drug

treatment program. The second source will be offenders who have been ordered to participate in drug treatment as a condition of their release from prison to community supervision. Offenders will be selected randomly from both groups for assignment to one of the treatment approaches. Random selection will ensure that both treatment populations are equivalent in terms of all relevant factors and will enable evaluators to more readily identify the outcomes attributable to each treatment model.

The process evaluation will describe how the treatment programs operated and compare that to how they were designed to operate. The impact assessment will determine the programs' effectiveness in terms of offender drug use, recidivism, attitudes, and such factors as employment, income, marital status, residency, and educational level.

Another focus of the study is whether community-based drug treatment is more cost-effective than the alternative sanction of incarceration. A cost analysis will estimate the net averted criminal justice and victimization costs that may result.

Jail-Based Treatment for Drug Offenders

Some evidence exists that drug treatment in jail can have a positive effect on recidivism, perceptions of self-efficacy, and mood states. These effects, which have been shown to wane over time, tend to be correlated with length of time spent in a program and participation in aftercare. The continued analysis of outcome is an important research goal. Equally important, however, is to thoroughly describe several types of jail-based treatment programs in terms of content, settings, and the various issues confronting those attempting to provide treatment.

This NIJ evaluation provides detailed descriptions of participants and program components for five jail-based drug treatment programs: (1) Jail Education and Treatment Program, Santa Clara County, California; (2) Deciding, Educating, Understanding, Counseling, and Evaluation Program, Contra Costa County, California; (3) Rebuilding, Educating, Awareness, Counseling, and Hope Program, Los Angeles County, California; (4) Substance Abuse Intervention Division, New York City Department of Corrections, New York; and (5) New Beginnings, Westchester County, New York.

Program Operations

A process analysis of the five programs found that program personnel considered their approach to be an eclectic model that used the various skills and techniques of staff members. All understood the importance of integrated postcustody services, or aftercare, for offenders. In most programs, however, budget limitations barred formal postcustody linkages. Information on levels and types of actual participation by offenders in substance abuse programs after their release was generally unavailable.

One commonly identified precondition for successful treatment programs is that participants must remain separate from the general jail

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population. Programs at all sites housed participants in separate living units, at a minimum. In 1993, the average daily population of the programs varied from 58 to 1,020.

Compared to the total number of inmates in the jail systems, the treatment programs are reaching only a small proportion of inmates—a maximum of 15 percent of the average daily jail population. The average time spent in the five jail systems ranges from just over 2 weeks in Contra Costa County to approximately 10 weeks in New York City. Thus, a substantial number of jail inmates would be ineligible to participate in the programs or unable to complete the programs based on their relatively short lengths of stay.

Participation in all programs is voluntary. The primary eligibility criteria are that the inmate have a substance abuse history and a custody classification suitable to the program's living unit. Three of the sites require that participants have some minimum time period remaining in jail (usually 90 days). In practice, very few individuals are rejected on the basis of that criterion, because even offenders who anticipate staying in jail for 90 days may be unexpectedly transferred or released.

The programs try to screen out violent or severely problematic offenders but do attempt to provide substance abuse services (either directly or by referral) to those with mental health problems. Although it would be ideal to match the level of treatment to individual need, resources are not available to accommodate a person who needs both intensive psychiatric intervention and substance abuse treatment while in jail.

Treatment Services Provided

The programs offered a variety of drug treatment services, including group and individual counseling, drug education, self-help groups, parenting, life skills, and relapse prevention training. All but one program conducted drug testing.

Three of the programs are designed to last 3 months from entry to completion; two of the programs report no designated length of stay. Given the short lengths of jail stay (both systemwide and for the evaluation sample) and the unpredictability of release, all sites face serious difficulties in planning for precompletion exits from the program.

Among the sample of participants studied, the average length of stay in the programs ranged from 54 to 112 days. Program completion rates ranged from 10 to 68 percent. The most common reason for exiting programs was release from jail.

The mismatch between program length and jail-stay duration suggests that program administrators and staff would benefit from redesigning the program, with the goal of developing services for those who are in jail for only a few days as well as for those who are in jail for 3 or more months. Additionally, because offenders appear to spend a substantial amount of time in jail before being admitted to these

programs (22 to 59 days on average in this sample), earlier recruitment should be seriously considered.

All but one of the programs have a phased program approach. For three programs, movement into the next phase of treatment was entirely time based. Therefore, some offenders may not be exposed to aspects of treatment beyond the most basic ones, because they leave jail after only 1 month of participation. Conversely, many who may not be ready for the next phase are nonetheless moved into it simply because they have participated in the program for 30 days. Only one program formally incorporates counselor assessment into the phase process.

At all sites except one, the program is operated by a noncustody agency—either a school district or a substance abuse treatment agency. Treatment staff-to-inmate ratios are generally between 1 to 10 and 1 to 16, with the gender and ethnic makeup of staff members not particularly reflecting that of the offenders served.

The process analysis found that an extremely important issue for both treatment and custody staff was relations between program staff and line custody staff. Most program staff felt that it was easier to “sell” a drug treatment program to jail administrative or management staff than to line custody staff. The administrators have invested in the programs and tended to view them as behavioral management tools. Line staff, on the other hand, perceive custody as the jail’s first priority. Although all programs report providing some cross-training, more training of custody staff on program theory and techniques would appear to be beneficial. Ideally, a new program would include the custody staff in planning and training efforts and in ongoing program staff meetings and inservice sessions.

Participants’ Characteristics and Program Cost-Effectiveness

Overall, about 33 percent of participants were Caucasian, 38 percent were African American, and 25 percent were Hispanic. Participants differed regarding education level, employment history, marital status, self-reported alcohol and drug use patterns, and prior drug treatment. The vast majority reported the abuse of more than one drug, with alcohol and cocaine being the most commonly reported drugs of abuse. The average age of participants was fairly consistent across all sites (i.e., participants were between 30 and 32 years of age).

The process analyses revealed that Caucasian offenders, older offenders aged 29 years and above, and those with no previous self-reported history of mental illness were significantly less likely to prematurely terminate or be terminated from the programs. Approximately 28 percent of African Americans and 30 percent of Hispanics prematurely terminated from the programs compared to 12 percent of Caucasians. These termination rates may reflect issues relating to the social or cultural sensitivity of the treatment approaches.

The evaluators found clear evidence that the drug treatment programs have a very positive effect on levels of serious behavior, such as

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physical violence. Rates of nonserious infractions also were lower for participants, although the differences were less striking.

All programs resulted in net additional costs (treatment plus custody staffing) of between \$2.49 and \$41.51 per prisoner per day (excluding program administrative costs). The question of whether jail-based drug treatment is a cost-effective investment depends in part on the results achieved by the program, whether through reduced recidivism or lower in-custody incident rates. If recidivism is lower for participants than for comparable nonparticipants, one can assume that the higher costs of these programs are offset by tangible savings to the criminal justice system and by less tangible but significant savings to the community. A followup study will track program participants and a matched control group for 12 months to gauge postrelease recidivism.

PREVENTING DRUG ABUSE AND CRIME

The most effective way to reduce crime and drug abuse, of course, is to prevent it in the first place. This section describes NIJ-funded evaluations of several prevention programs, including anti-drug initiatives in public housing and an evaluation of a school-based drug prevention and education program for youths in the late elementary grades (fifth and sixth grades).

NIJ recently completed a study of the extent of crime in public housing communities in three cities—Los Angeles, California; Phoenix, Arizona; and Washington, DC—and confirmed that the rates of drug and violent offenses in public housing communities are very high relative to other areas. The rates were at least double the citywide rates and were significantly higher than rates in nearby neighborhoods.

Safer Public Housing

A number of programs are under way to prevent crime, especially drug-related crime, in public housing. Many of the programs are aimed at youths, who may be at risk from drug sellers and gang members. NIJ, the Office of Public and Indian Housing within the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and offices within the Department of Health and Human Services are bringing their expertise and resources to these communities as part of a coordinated effort to improve the quality of life in public housing developments.

NIJ currently is funding the following three evaluations of crime prevention programs in public housing communities:

- An evaluation of the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA's) Anti-Drug Initiative.
- An evaluation of the Spokane ROAR (Reclaiming Our Area Residents) Drug Elimination Program.
- An evaluation of boys' and girls' clubs programs being implemented in 15 cities.

Anti-Drug Initiative in Chicago

CHA is the third largest public housing agency in the country, after the public housing agencies in Puerto Rico and New York City. CHA, with a 3,200-person staff, is the city's largest landlord. The agency houses more than 150,000 people in 40,000 public housing units and 9,000 federally assisted housing units.³

CHA is characterized by an unusually large number of highrise developments, including the largest public housing development in the world—the Robert Taylor Homes. Crime rates in CHA housing have risen steadily in the past decade. According to Chicago Police Department statistics, the murder rate in CHA housing communities was three times that of the city as a whole, and sexual assault crimes were twice the city's average. Statistics on teen pregnancy, high school dropouts, infant mortality, and gang control were similarly discouraging. Citizens who were concerned about the crime rates began moving out of housing operated by CHA, resulting in a vacancy rate of 20 percent.⁴

The CHA anti-drug initiative combines features that researchers and policymakers feel are essential for a successful crime prevention effort in public housing, including the following:⁵

- It is collaborative, involving local police, CHA police and security, CHA management, social service providers, and residents.
- It is comprehensive, including law enforcement, management improvements, increased security, resident patrols, and drug prevention and intervention services.
- Followup activities are tailored to the respective development and are designed to help residents develop self-esteem and concern for their living environment. The activities include resident patrols, beautification programs, recreational activities as alternatives to "hanging out," evening classes, and similar activities.

A preliminary evaluation of CHA's anti-drug initiative indicates that the program has had some success in improving overall safety and reducing drug trafficking in one development and has reduced drug-related violence in another.⁶ In May 1994, the evaluation surveyed three developments to measure the extent to which residents were aware of, and participated in, the components of the CHA initiative.⁷ Awareness of tenant patrols was fairly high. About 30 percent of respondents had reported a problem in their building to police or guards during the 12-month period. Citizen participation in tenant patrols averaged 11 percent. Tenant patrols received higher marks ("good" to "fair") than did guards; most residents felt that guards were doing a "poor" job of preventing crime and fear of crime.

The evaluation was expanded in Spring 1994 to assess a new intervention in Robert Taylor Homes in response to increased violence there. The expanded evaluation also will result in more regular feedback to CHA so it can modify programs and will track community policing in three housing developments.

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Spokane's Anti-Drug Program

The west central neighborhood in Spokane, Washington, is the location of the largest public housing unit in the city. The public housing development is a neighborhood typical of those that have experienced a downward spiral of disorder and crime that too often leads to serious decay.⁸

To empower residents to take back control of their community, local business owners, residents of the public housing development, the police, and the housing authority management staff have developed a multiagency collaborative program to eliminate drug-related crime. Following implementation of Project ROAR in 1994, a 24-month, NIJ-funded evaluation will be conducted to assess the effects of the program.

Project ROAR builds on the police department's community policing efforts and takes a Weed and Seed approach that includes surveillance, education, training, and target hardening components. Specific elements include the following:

- Two project police officers serve as liaisons to the community groups involved in Project ROAR, participate on ROAR's committees, interact with the business owners associations and resident groups, and coordinate the neighborhood's block watch program.
- A neighborhood community center located within the public housing development houses the police officers, a resource center, and a crime prevention center. ROAR staff anticipate that the center will be staffed by public housing residents.
- The project includes a program to assess security needs, repair windows and doors to increase security, and improve lighting and landscaping.
- A social services component brings such services as health screening and job assistance to the public housing residents.

The evaluation of Project ROAR promises to shed light on a number of important issues related to community-based efforts to deal with problems of crime, fear, and disorder. The evaluation will seek to identify strategies to organize public housing residents and to develop and strengthen ties to community organizations and institutions as well as to residents in the surrounding neighborhood.

Specifically, the evaluation will consider how well ROAR reduces the fear of crime, improves the sense of quality of life, reduces signs of physical and social disorder, and decreases the number of officially recorded crimes and self-reported victimization.

Boys' and Girls' Clubs

More than 1,200 boys' and girls' clubs currently operate in major metropolitan areas, often in or near public housing developments. Club facilities and activities provide an alternative to the streets through recreational programs, tutoring, crafts programs, field trips,

and mentoring. Boys' and girls' clubs have been instrumental in addressing some of the needs of at-risk youths and have been effective in providing an attractive alternative to drug use and dealing, violence, and crime.⁹

To increase the presence of boys' and girls' clubs in public housing and to complement Weed and Seed efforts, the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) recently funded 15 boys' and girls' clubs located in various public housing communities around the Nation. Many of the clubs are located in sites that receive Weed and Seed support. Ten of the clubs have been active for some time; with BJA's funding, these clubs will receive technical assistance to enhance their existing programs such as broadening educational opportunities by working with local schools and eliciting greater cooperation among community agencies. The remaining five clubs are newly formed and will receive startup funding.

NIJ's evaluation of these clubs will document and describe the process of developing program activities. The evaluation will identify implementation difficulties encountered at the different sites and issues that are common to all the clubs. Because the environments and needs of individual public housing communities vary considerably, the evaluators at the University of Wisconsin expect to see variation in the types of interventions the clubs implement. For example, community resources available to complement individual programs will vary and affect the programs in different ways.

Results will document strengths and weaknesses of the programs, assess whether the clubs achieved their goals (for example, the educational enhancement component), and offer recommendations applicable both to individual programs as well as to other boys' and girls' clubs. The descriptions of the programs will form the foundation from which other clubs may choose to implement similar prevention and intervention efforts.

The evaluation's final report, expected in 1995, will answer the following questions:

- What is the nature of drug use, violence, and crime within the targeted communities?
- Are club activities an appropriate component of the Weed and Seed programs in the community?
- What is the relationship between the Weed and Seed programs at each club and other club programs?
- What is the relationship between club programs and other programs in the community?

The evaluation will include a cost-benefit analysis that correlates the costs of implementing and maintaining the boys' and girls' club programs with the benefits derived from them. The findings will be analyzed both within each program and across the sites.

In many inner-city areas, boys' and girls' clubs are the only neighborhood location where youths can feel safe, relaxed, and accepted. For

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many youngsters who live in public housing, the continuing presence of boy's and girl's clubs makes possible the only long-term, community-based drug and crime prevention activities available to them. The findings and recommendations from the evaluation are expected to be featured in future policy discussions and funding decisions related to prevention programs in public housing communities.

The D.A.R.E.® Program

Prevention programs have proliferated in response to concern about substance abuse, particularly among young people. An understanding of the effects of these programs is only beginning to emerge, however. One such program is the school-based D.A.R.E.® program. This program is distinctive for a number of reasons, among them: (1) its widespread adoption throughout the country; (2) its use of trained, uniformed police officers in the classroom; and (3) its combination of local control and centralized coordination.

A recent study, conducted by the Research Triangle Institute (RTI) and sponsored by NIJ, confirmed the prevalence and popularity of D.A.R.E.®; revealed that its appeal cuts across racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic lines; and indicated considerable support for expansion of the program.

Created in 1983 by the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles Unified School District as a substance abuse prevention program for children in kindergarten through 12th grade, D.A.R.E.® has expanded to encompass programs for middle and high school students, conflict resolution, gang prevention, parent education, and afterschool recreation and learning. The curriculum has been revised over the years as a result of research findings and is now more interactive; that is, it promotes active participation by students. D.A.R.E.® also has established a scientific advisory board to aid in self-evaluation and recommend program changes.

The RTI evaluation was twofold. First, the researchers examined the program structure and operations, how the program is perceived by program coordinators at the school-district level, and factors that make for effective implementation. The second part of the study used "meta-analysis," a method of analysis involving the synthesis of previous studies, to examine the short-term effectiveness of the program's core curriculum. The researchers also compared the effectiveness of D.A.R.E.® to other school-based substance abuse prevention programs.

Among the questions the study sought to answer were:

- How extensively is D.A.R.E.® implemented nationwide?
- How is D.A.R.E.® managed and funded at the national, State, and local levels?
- How does D.A.R.E.® compare with other substance abuse prevention programs in community support, satisfaction, and effectiveness?

The study confirmed some of the beliefs about the prevalence of D.A.R.E.[®] and the extent of support for it. D.A.R.E.[®] has been extremely successful at placing substance abuse education in the Nation's schools. More than one-half (52 percent) of the school districts nationwide have adopted the program in one or more of their schools. This is a rate far higher than for the next most frequently used curricula.

Support for D.A.R.E.[®] is strong, as is user satisfaction and the involvement of teachers. School district drug use prevention coordinators generally indicated that support for D.A.R.E.[®] among students, school staff, parents, community representatives, and law enforcement agencies is strong. Ratings of other substance abuse prevention programs were also high, but approval of D.A.R.E.[®] was substantially stronger. In assessing the D.A.R.E.[®] curriculum and how it is taught, most drug use prevention coordinators gave it higher ratings than they did other programs. D.A.R.E.[®] outranked these programs on other components, most often by wide margins.

The D.A.R.E.[®] program appeals to students irrespective of race. Students' receptivity to D.A.R.E.[®] was rated higher than for other programs, but coordinators in districts with a large proportion of minority students were even more likely than those in districts serving predominantly Caucasian students to rate students' receptivity to D.A.R.E.[®] as very high.

Not only is D.A.R.E.[®] widespread and popular, but demand for it is high: more than 40 percent of the drug use prevention coordinators plan to expand the program, and 21 percent of those whose districts do not have the program said they are interested in adopting it.

Impact of D.A.R.E.[®]

The meta-analysis of D.A.R.E.[®] programs indicated that D.A.R.E.[®] was best at increasing students' knowledge about substance abuse and enhancing their social skills. The effect of D.A.R.E.[®] on attitudes toward drugs, attitudes toward the police, and self-esteem were more modest. Its short-term effects on substance abuse by fifth and sixth graders were small, however. Only the findings for tobacco use were statistically significant. These findings should be interpreted cautiously because of the small number of studies used for analysis and the low level of drug use among fifth and sixth graders.

D.A.R.E.[®]'s teaching methods, which combine traditional didactic and interactive elements, were compared to those of other programs. While not conclusive, the findings suggest that D.A.R.E.[®] may benefit from using more interactive strategies and emphasizing social and general competencies. A revised D.A.R.E.[®] curriculum that includes more participatory learning was piloted in 1993 and launched nationwide in fall 1994. The effects of the new curriculum on learning and behavior may in turn call for a new evaluation.

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NOTES

1. Office of National Drug Control Policy, The White House, "Executive Summary," *National Drug Control Strategy*, Washington, DC: The White House, February 1994.
2. Hubbard, R., M. Marsden, J. Rachal, et al., *Drug Abuse Treatment: A National Study of Effectiveness*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
3. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Chicago, Illinois: Operation Clean Sweep," in *Together We Can Create Drug-Free Neighborhoods*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1992:5.
4. Responding to a May 1994 survey about their perceptions of crime and disorder, residents in three CHA developments indicated the following: inside the buildings, "shootings and violence" is the biggest crime problem, with "people being attacked or robbed" a close second; outside the buildings, "shootings and violence" was also regarded as the top problem; disorder and incivilities are widespread and serious, with graffiti and use and sale of drugs "big problems" inside and outside the buildings; the most prevalent form of victimization in two of the developments over a 12-month period was bullets coming into apartments, followed by burglary. Popkin, S., D. Rosenbaum, and V. Gwisada, *Evaluation of the Chicago Housing Authority's Anti-Drug Initiative: Summary of Wave 1 Resident Survey Findings*, Bethesda, MD: Abt Associates, October 25, 1994.
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Following Up Boot Camp With Aftercare Treatment

The 1994 National Drug Control Strategy recognizes that "drug dependence is a chronic, relapsing disorder requiring specialized treatment and provision for aftercare."¹ Increasingly, aftercare is seen as critical for boot camp releasees. For example, an evaluation discussed in Chapter 8 concludes that the key to successful substance abuse programming in boot camps may well rest upon the quality of aftercare. The evaluation emphasizes that the boot camp/aftercare combination must be viewed as a continuum, not as independent programs, and that treatment plans must encompass a means to solidify the positive changes in offenders' lifestyles once they have returned to the community.

To achieve this goal, according to many professionals, aftercare programs must offer more than drug counseling and treatment.² Aftercare may include, as appropriate, job training and placement, education, housing assistance, and life skills de-

velopment, among other services designed to promote releasees' successful transition from boot camp to the community.

In terms of treatment, the evaluation summarized in Chapter 8 recommends the "therapeutic community" approach.³ This finding is consistent with findings of another study: "For drug abusers who are not in prison, stays of at least 3 months in therapeutic communities reduce the tendency to commit crime after discharge. Up to about 18 months, longer stays in the therapeutic community produce greater reductions."⁴

Regardless of the specific elements comprising an aftercare program, their linkage to and coordination with boot camp activities is highly important. In particular, the aftercare program must coordinate substance abuse treatment efforts with boot camp activities, which requires cooperation between criminal justice and treatment personnel.

NOTES

1. Office of National Drug Control Policy, The White House, *National Drug Control Strategy*, Washington, DC: The White House, February 1994:61.
2. See 1994-1995 *NIJ Program Plan*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1994:43.
3. Therapeutic communities involve "a highly demanding twenty-four-hours-a-day social setting, with patient government and group pressures to socialize the individual into accepting more adaptive attitudes, as well as patterns of mature, productive behavior." (*Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice*, Vol. 2., New York, NY: Macmillan and Free Press, 1983:658-659.)
4. Roth, J.A., "Psychoactive Substances and Violence," *Research in Brief*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1994:7.

Sample Drug Market Analysis Map
Map Illustrating Drug Markets in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*



*Shading indicates drug markets; maps such as these are used by law enforcement to plot locations of drug markets and design effective enforcement strategies.

Source: Pittsburgh Bureau of Police, Crime Analysis Division, September 1994.

5. Assessing Drug Control Strategies

Drug offenders are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime, and criminal justice agencies find their resources stretched by the impact of dealing with drug-involved offenders. To help criminal justice agencies meet the challenges they face, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) is engaged in a systematic process of trying to determine more effective enforcement and adjudication methods.

ISSUES AND FINDINGS

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 directed NIJ to evaluate drug control innovations operated by States and localities. Notable efforts include an NIJ-funded evaluation of the Drug Market Analysis (DMA) system that is applying new technology to help police in five cities target drug markets more effectively. Among the findings to date:

- In Hartford, drug enforcement activities were found to be more effective in areas with boundaries where access could be controlled, such as neighborhoods with one-way streets or bridges.
- In Pittsburgh, marked reductions in drug-trafficking activities occurred in targeted areas, and the DMA system helped law enforcement detect newly emerging criminal activities. Following intensified enforcement in one area, for example, gun complaints dropped 50 percent.
- San Diego used the DMA system to identify properties where drug trafficking occurs. The police strategy targeted property owners rather than drug offenders. The strategies used were inexpensive but showed promise. Preliminary findings indicated that a high percentage of property owners want to cooperate with law enforcement to evict drug dealers.

NIJ evaluations also have focused on police crackdowns, which are used to supplement normal police activity in targeted areas. Results from an evaluation of New York's Tactical Narcotics Teams bear out findings from other studies. The teams had a short-term impact on drug market activities in highly visible areas, increasing the time required to find a dealer from whom to buy drugs. Although long-term effects on criminal activities in the targeted areas were not apparent, community leaders and residents supported the teams and wanted them to remain in the community.

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER . . .

- *Assessing Drug Market Analysis*
- *Drug enforcement strategies and tactics*
- *Drug testing and prosecution*

NIJ has funded and evaluated five DMA demonstration sites and is supporting an umbrella project that is synthesizing the experiences of those sites.

CURRENT EVALUATIONS

NIJ continues to build upon existing knowledge about street enforcement as well as the wide range of new tactics being tried throughout the country. A number of effective tactics were identified and are discussed in this chapter.

Research has shown that long-term effects of enforcement strategies are influenced by what happens after arrest. An assessment of a program to prosecute complex drug cases is discussed in this chapter, along with an evaluation of a systemwide drug-testing program that reflects the growing consensus that availability of treatment and the capacity to sanction offenders who test positive are critical in such programs.

ASSESSING DRUG MARKET ANALYSIS

To enforce drug laws effectively, law enforcement agencies must first pinpoint locations where the drug problem is most intense and subsequently evaluate resulting enforcement efforts. These are the major objectives of the DMA program initiated by NIJ in 1989. The program includes the development of a highly technical computer-based mapping system that replaces traditional pin maps depicting drug-trafficking locations and the evaluation of enforcement strategies and tactics supported by the superior information produced by that system.

DMA uses integrated computerized data bases so that, for example, drug-related observations by officers patrolling a particular beat can be supplemented by calls for service and arrest data pertaining to that location. The value of this system was underscored in Kansas City where research revealed that 95 percent of drug-dealing locations reported by citizens to the 24-hour police hotline were not known as drug locations by patrol officers in those areas. Conversely, 84 percent of drug-dealing locations identified by beat officers were not reported by citizens to the hotline.¹

NIJ has funded and evaluated five DMA demonstration sites² and is supporting an umbrella project that is synthesizing the experiences of those sites. Two sites, San Diego and Pittsburgh, are discussed in the next two sections. A subsequent section on the umbrella project provides, among other information, thumbnail sketches of the remaining three sites.

Drug Market Analysis in San Diego

San Diego's DMA program consists of three major components: (1) integration of drug information from several sources, (2) development of a mapping system for the integrated data, and (3) use of the system to plan street-level drug enforcement strategies and to evaluate their impact.

In San Diego, the police department has completed development of an integrated system that contains location-specific information from citizen reports to hotlines regarding drug activities, police investigative

files, multijurisdictional task forces, vice units, patrol operations, gang units, and community policing activities. A computer depicts drug locations through area maps that are generated based on information from the different data sources. To date, police have identified more than 200 drug markets using this system.

The maps display drug and other crime trends in the patrol officers' beats as well as in specific areas. In addition, investigative units have developed their own uses for the maps. For instance, the homicide unit uses the maps in some of its investigations of serial murders, and the sex crime unit displays the maps in court to indicate crime scenes.

Mapping can designate police boundaries by beats, sergeants' areas, or divisions and can indicate other geographic sectors such as council districts, census tracts, community planning areas, and a radius around a selected address.

To assist police and community efforts to control drug dealing, the San Diego Police Department and the Police Executive Research Forum researched the geography of drug dealing in an area of the city known for drug sales. Using computer-generated area maps and a case-control study design, the research resulted in such findings as the following:

- Multiple drug markets can exist in the same geographic area. In the area studied, thriving markets existed for crack-cocaine, powder cocaine, heroin, methamphetamines, and marijuana.
- Dealers who sell primarily to users with whom they are not well acquainted operate close to major arterial routes and shopping areas that attract large numbers of people for legitimate purposes.
- Dealers selling primarily to users with whom they are well acquainted operate over a larger area and are less dependent on arterial routes and shopping areas to attract customers.
- Drug dealers of all types were more likely to be found in apartment buildings than in other types of structures, primarily because so many apartments were available in the area studied. (Later in this chapter, tactics used by San Diego Police to abate drug dealing in rental properties are discussed.)
- Powder cocaine, crack-cocaine, and heroin dealers seem to like defensible space, such as apartment buildings with locked gates.

The researchers state that greater attention needs to be paid to the marginal economic situation of small landlords. Their properties may be particularly vulnerable to drug dealers because of a diminished ability to screen and evict tenants, maintain the physical condition of their properties, and generally control behavior in and around their buildings.

Pittsburgh's Drug Market Analysis System

Pittsburgh's police department uses a DMA system to implement and evaluate innovative law enforcement strategies targeted against street-level drug trafficking. The system includes computer-generated maps

The researchers state that greater attention needs to be paid to the marginal economic situation of small landlords. Their properties may be particularly vulnerable to drug dealers because of a diminished ability to screen and evict tenants, maintain the physical condition of their properties, and generally control behavior in and around their buildings.

While originally intended to focus on drug offenses, the system's design is flexible and can support broader crime analysis simply by expanding the crime types included in the data.

and accompanying reports that can trace drug activities over time and by location. Computerized street maps display the location and volume of drug-trafficking activities, and area maps compare activity levels across larger geographic units like neighborhoods and police zones. The maps reflect two kinds of police data: (1) citizen complaints from 911 calls for police emergency services, which accurately reflect locations and times of high and low criminal activity across the city, and (2) standard police incident reports of individual offenses and arrests.

In addition to customary street-map features, the computer-generated maps display land parcel boundaries, roof outlines, streets, waterways, railroads, census tract and political boundaries, neighborhood boundaries, parking lots, parks, pools, schools, and many other features. These detailed maps are used by the police to prepare for raids on drug market locations.

The main benefits of the computerized system are the rapid retrieval and synthesis of current data on many individual criminal incidents, thus enabling police to identify emerging patterns quickly. Unlike manually maintained maps, the computer-generated maps can be printed to provide a permanent and easily distributed record of conditions at different times and places. Computer-generated maps also can be redrawn quickly for new time periods or boundaries.

While the computerized information system continues to be developed, individual components of the system are implemented for use by narcotics detectives and police administrators as soon as available. Aside from identifying software problems, this strategy of phased implementation has provided early and valuable feedback about design considerations from the intended users of the system. It also has been an effective means of stimulating interest among future users through assisted hands-on experience with the capabilities of the system.

The system supports police investigative and administrative functions through maps and data queries of police records. While originally intended to focus on drug offenses, the system's design is flexible and can support broader crime analysis simply by expanding the crime types included in the data.

Operational on a pilot basis since 1991 and used in hundreds of investigations, the mapping system features a data-query capability that effectively searches police records by telephone number, person's first name, and neighborhood of arrest. The resulting list of individuals efficiently targets further investigation.

Computer-generated mapping of activity near target locations has been included as part of probable-cause affidavits for obtaining search warrants and as evidence in liquor license reviews and special hearings for injunctions to close nuisance bars. Followup maps are used to monitor activities after bars have been closed through license reviews or court-ordered injunctions.

Police also use the maps to determine whether an offense occurs near a school. Under both Federal and State laws, offenders convicted of

drug trafficking are subject to enhanced sentences if the offense occurs within 1,000 feet of a school. The mapping system can accurately calculate within five feet the distance from offense location to nearest school. In addition, computer maps of areas where "crackdowns" have taken place can reveal displacement of drug activities to new locations in order to better target subsequent enforcement.

The Pittsburgh mapping system software will be available free on an as-is basis, along with technical specifications, through NIJ's Data Resources Program. Implementation of the system involves capital expenditures of about \$50,000 and annual operating costs of about \$6,000.

The federally funded phases of the project were completed during the summer of 1993. Funded under grants from NIJ, the 3-year demonstration project is a joint effort by the Pittsburgh Department of Public Safety and Bureau of Police, with technical assistance from the H. John Heinz III School of Public Policy and Management at Carnegie Mellon University and from Pittsburgh's Department of City Information Systems.

An evaluation of two drug enforcement strategies supported by Pittsburgh's use of DMA is described later in this chapter.

Developing a Model Drug Market Analysis Program

Under a 1992 NIJ grant, the Institute for Law and Justice is conducting an evaluation synthesizing the experiences of the five DMA demonstration sites. The evaluation encompasses both the development of information systems at the sites and the application of these systems to support street-level enforcement activities. In addition to Pittsburgh and San Diego, the other demonstration sites are as follows:

- **Jersey City, New Jersey**—Objectives of the project were to develop an information delivery system to analyze drug markets, formulate a working definition of a drug market based on information from the system, support the department in innovative street-level strategies to reduce drug market activities, and evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies. To develop a definition of a "drug market," researchers used information from community surveys, arrests, a citizen hotline for drug activities, and officer observations. The researchers define a drug market as "a location where sales of illegal drugs are made up and down the block." The information delivery system, which integrates data on arrests, calls for service, investigative reports for major crimes, and property information, is capable of producing automated area maps. Like Pittsburgh's system, the Jersey City system has inquiry capabilities on offenders, types of drugs, street locations, and other data fields. An experiment with innovative street-level enforcement strategies has also been conducted; results are expected in 1995.
- **Kansas City, Missouri**—The three components of the Kansas City project were (1) to develop a hotline for citizen tips and integrate

Computer maps of areas where "crackdowns" have taken place can reveal displacement of drug activities to new locations in order to better target subsequent enforcement.

Geographical characteristics have a significant impact on the success of enforcement efforts. Enforcement efforts in neighborhoods with boundaries...tend to be more successful because it is easier to control access to the areas. Enforcement efforts in neighborhoods with major streets are less successful because of the ease of getting in and out of the areas by dealers and clients.

hotline information with data from calls for service, arrests, and officer observations; (2) to conduct an experiment on the effectiveness of raids on reducing drug market activities; and (3) to evaluate the effectiveness of the expedited prosecution of drug dealers on reducing drug market activities. The first two components have been completed. The experiment with raids to reduce drug market activities found that raids have little effect on crime and disorder in crack-house blocks. Raids do not appear to interrupt drug market activities; if they do, the interruption is short-lived and generally results in the market being displaced to another location.

■ **Hartford, Connecticut**—This project focused on the identification of active drug market locations in four neighborhoods. Intergovernmental efforts were then formulated to reclaim the area from drug market activities. The project used information on drug arrests, calls for service, a citizen hotline, drug overdoses, and community surveys to identify drug market locations. The police department worked with different community and government agencies to develop reclamation activities to reduce drug market activities, including the physical improvement of the areas and development of community organizations to combat crime. Additionally, the police department had an active presence in the four neighborhoods. The results show that geographical characteristics have a significant impact on the success of enforcement efforts. Enforcement efforts in neighborhoods with boundaries, such as bridges, railroads, and one-way streets, tend to be more successful because it is easier to control access to the areas. Enforcement efforts in neighborhoods with major streets are less successful because of the ease of getting in and out of the areas by dealers and clients.

The demonstration sites have contributed to knowledge about the operational characteristics of drug markets, the utility of information to make informed decisions about street-level enforcement strategies, and the effectiveness of street-level tactics to combat drug trafficking. The cross-site evaluation explores those contributions in more detail and addresses issues pertaining to (1) the development of technologies to identify hot spots for street-level enforcement and to evaluate patterns in drug market activities, (2) identification of salient features of drug markets, (3) the use of mapping technologies to support street-level enforcement strategies, and (4) the implementation of DMA techniques and information delivery systems to support organizational change in police departments.

Although the technologies used at the demonstration sites have slightly different configurations, they possess some common features. These features include inquiry capabilities on key attributes, such as name of the offender (and alias), time of day, location of the offense, prior residence of the offender, prior arrest locations for the offender, and type of offense.

During site visits, evaluators interviewed officers, administrators, and crime analysts concerning access to and uses of the mapping systems.

Interviews revealed that police departments find the information generated by drug market analysis is critical to understanding crime trends, identifying "hot spots" or problem areas, tracking the impact of enforcement efforts, and sharing information with communities and other agencies. In particular, address or location information was useful in obtaining interagency collaboration on difficult crime and social issues.

The cross-site evaluation will result in a technical manual on how to implement computer mapping systems, reports on the various definitions of drug markets and how those definitions affect street-level enforcement tactics, and reports on the sites' experiences with their automated systems and field applications.

DRUG ENFORCEMENT STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Often supported by drug market analysis and computer mapping, the drug enforcement strategies and tactics discussed in this section include initiating crackdowns combined with an extended police presence and intensive enforcement (Pittsburgh), targeting certain rental properties (San Diego), and deploying special narcotics teams (New York City). A survey-based overview of current drug enforcement tactics concludes this section.

Intensified Police Presence and Enforcement in Pittsburgh

The DMA project in Pittsburgh supported two enforcement strategies that were recently evaluated: (1) a crackdown involving an intensive and highly visible police presence over an extended period of time in one neighborhood plagued by drug trafficking and related violence and (2) intensive enforcement, primarily through police raids, directed against drug trafficking located in and around selected nuisance bars. Targeted enforcement occurred between September 1991 and April 1992. Data on levels of drug-trafficking activity in the period before, during, and after the targeted enforcement extend from January 1990 through early 1993.

Analysis of preliminary data suggests marked reductions in drug trafficking in targeted areas. A sustained reduction in drug dealing is possible in areas characterized by relatively isolated drug markets. When other viable market areas are nearby, however, shutting down one market is usually accompanied by displacement of the activity to other locations. In such cases, the data retrieval and mapping capabilities of the DMA information system are particularly useful in providing police with early detection capabilities for pinpointing the locations of displaced activity.

For example, a computer-generated area map indicated a very high volume of complaints about drug dealing in the immediate vicinity of a bar over a 3-month period. After 10 to 12 police "impact raids" per month over the course of a few months, the mapping system showed a

In Pittsburgh...

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Systematic use of call-for-service data in Drug Market Analysis permits police to take full advantage of citizen surveillance opportunities and to respond in a timely manner with appropriate tactics.

substantial reduction in complaints as the result of drug arrests inside the bar and in the surrounding area. Regarding another targeted bar, however, mapping indicated that drug-trafficking activities were displaced to a nearby area.

In another instance, mapping of call-for-service data revealed newly emerging drug activity in a certain area. In response, police conducted surveillance that verified active drug trafficking at the location. This example illustrates how systematic use of call-for-service data in DMA permits police to take full advantage of citizen surveillance opportunities and to respond in a timely manner with appropriate tactics.

One type of computer-produced area map indicates changes in calls relating to guns over time in census tracts. For example, tracts colored red were "heating up"—gun complaints were increasing by more than the tract average in the city; tracts colored blue indicated "cooling down," as the number of gun complaints declined to less than the tract average. The more intense the shading, the larger the difference from average changes. During one summer, such a map documented that a particular area experienced a marked increase in shootings believed to be associated with drug trafficking. This precipitated a major sustained police crackdown on drug activity in the area. Although a followup area map indicated little reduction in total drug activity in the target area, trafficking was removed from traditional market locations. Also, gun complaints in the target area declined by one-half during the period beginning 6 months prior to the crackdown and ending 6 months after the enforcement effort ceased. The reduction in gun complaints far exceeded the general seasonal reduction that occurred in other drug markets throughout the city during the period.

Abating Drug Dealing in San Diego Rental Properties

Traditional drug enforcement tactics, such as warrant searches and buy-and-bust operations, have proved effective in providing some relief in identified drug markets. The results, though, tend to be temporary. In many cases, drug activity is soon back to prior levels. Designed to achieve lasting results, San Diego's approach targets the property owner initially, not the drug offender.

Under a grant from NIJ, the San Diego Police Department and the Police Executive Research Forum are evaluating drug enforcement strategies developed as part of problemsolving efforts within the department. The strategies involve the community (property owner) in the solution. They are very inexpensive in terms of needed personnel and equipment. Finally, when the strategies are successful, the impact may be more lasting.

To test the strategies, eligible properties (defined as residential properties with one or more recent incidents of drug arrests) were randomly assigned to one of three groups. The first group comprised properties whose owners received a letter from the department's drug abatement response team advising them of drug activity at the respective properties. However, the team does not follow up the letters with additional contacts.

The second group comprised properties whose owners received letters informing them of drug dealing on their property and requesting that they schedule an appointment with the team's detective. If the owner or property manager has not called the team within 5 days, the team's detective arranges a face-to-face interview at the property. The detective then describes steps that the owner should take to rid the property of drug dealing and to prevent future problems. The primary objective, for the purposes of the evaluation, is eviction of the tenant involved in drug activities. If the property owner or manager claims to have already evicted the tenant, the detective will verify that.

The third group, which is not accorded special attention, is the control group. Each of the 3 groups consists of 40 properties, which are randomly assigned.

Certain variables included in the study indicate the level of treatment applied to eligible properties. Those variables include letters sent to property owners, meetings with property owners, claims by owners that offenders were evicted, drug and other arrests at the location once the property has been assigned to the experiment, physical changes in the property made by owners, and changes in property management practices as claimed by owners.

Other variables taken into account by the evaluation are factors that are out of the police's control. These intervening variables include physical characteristics of the property, ownership pattern, financial condition of the property and owner, drug type, intimidation of the owner, lease provisions, whether the offender is named on the lease, offender characteristics, perception of police, and types of adjacent properties.

Outcome measures used in the evaluation include presence or absence of the dealer(s) at the address, cessation of drug dealing at the address, reduction in drug complaints at the dealing address, reduction of calls for service for the block containing the dealing address, reduction of Part I crimes at the dealing address, and changes in the mobility of drug offenders associated with the address.

All outcomes are measured during a 3-month period before and after implementation of the abatement strategies. Randomization should ensure that the three groups are equivalent prior to the abatement efforts so that any differences are due to the team's efforts alone.

Initial impressions from the abatement team are that the strategies have been very effective. Team members observed that a high percentage of owners were unaware that drug dealing occurs at their properties and that a high percentage of the owners were cooperative in trying to eliminate drug dealing at their properties.

If preliminary findings and initial impressions prove accurate, the strategies show great promise. The abatement program can be applied not only in San Diego but in other areas as well. Procedures are simple, costs minimal, and results apparently significant and permanent. No matter how effective the program, some owners choose not to cooperate. In those instances, agencies should take additional steps that are even more aggressive. This should persuade most reluctant

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The tactical narcotics teams' objectives extended to mobilizing the community and drawing on the resources of 25 city agencies to help solve neighborhood problems that police enforcement alone would not likely be able to address effectively.

owners to comply and will send a message to all owners that the initial contact by a narcotics detective is merely the first step in a process that could ultimately result in the loss of their property.

The evaluation of the enforcement strategies is scheduled for completion in 1995.

New York City's Tactical Narcotics Teams

The growing crack-cocaine trade of the 1980s contributed significantly to a decline in public order and to a deteriorating quality of life in inner-city neighborhoods. In response, local police agencies across the Nation began to redirect their strategic attention—and their resources—to heavy enforcement action against the street-level tier of drug distribution networks. A major effort of that type was the New York City Police Department's tactical narcotics teams.³ These teams attracted considerable national attention, and their "successes and shortcomings are likely to have a substantial influence on the evolution of drug enforcement strategies in the United States," according to evaluators of the project.⁴

With financial support from a number of sources, including NIJ, the Vera Institute of Justice launched, in 1989, a 2-year evaluation study of the impact of the teams on two neighborhoods. In the words of then-New York City Police Department Commissioner Lee P. Brown, the evaluation's findings "hold implications for how [the department] ought to go about the business of stripping control of drug-infested neighborhoods from the crack-cocaine dealers and returning the streets to the use and control of law-abiding residents. And they hold implications for the host of other American jurisdictions trying to do the same thing."⁵

Objectives Set for the Teams

The intended focus of the teams was considerably more than to conduct conventional street-level crackdowns for which the number of arrests is usually the measure of success. The tactical narcotics teams' objectives extended to mobilizing the community and drawing on the resources of 25 city agencies to help solve neighborhood problems that police enforcement alone would not likely be able to address effectively.

The plan was to deploy teams of undercover and plainclothes narcotics officers to supplement normal police activity in identified target areas for about 90 days. Intensive buy-and-bust operations were expected to disrupt and reduce drug activity at targeted locations so that the community's own capacity, enhanced through community mobilization efforts and through help from various city agencies, would be sufficiently restored for the gains to endure after teams moved on to the next target area. Thus, the teams' ability to fulfill their mission would depend as much on changing community perceptions, attitudes, and behavior as it would on eliminating or disrupting drug markets.

When the teams were in the planning stage, little was known about how local markets for drugs other than heroin would respond to heavy enforcement operations at the retail level. Would market places reemerge after police relaxed enforcement efforts? If they did, how soon? Would drug dealing on the streets simply move to alternative markets or to as yet undeveloped areas? Would heavy enforcement deter new entrants to those drug markets; if so, would the existing local market shrink?

Approach to Evaluating the Teams

The 2-year evaluation focused on two Brooklyn neighborhoods targeted by tactical narcotics teams. For comparison purposes, the evaluation encompassed a third neighborhood whose drug market was a likely future team target. By documenting conditions and drug markets in those communities 90 days before teams entered the two targeted areas, evaluators developed information on the patterns of drug sales and drug use in the local drug markets and on associated community attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions. These data provided a baseline for interpreting information collected during and after team enforcement action in the two targeted neighborhoods.

The evaluation examined records documenting community conditions, the volume and type of team activities, and the impact of the teams on ancillary criminal activity in the target areas. Interviews and field observations provided a detailed picture of the teams' operations and of their interactions with other governmental agencies and with community groups. By establishing a continuous presence on the streets, the evaluation's ethnographers sought to supply a rich record of observations and interviews about the nature of the drug markets and street conditions that characterize the neighborhoods and how the markets and area conditions changed over time.

Findings

Despite the three-pronged nature of the team initiative—enforcement, community involvement, and interagency cooperation—the emphasis was decidedly on enforcement. The teams in the target areas produced large numbers of felony drug arrests and confiscated a substantial number of cars driven by drug purchasers. But little evidence pointed to substantial community involvement with, or awareness of, team operations. Nor was there much evidence that extensive interagency activity focused on hot spots in the target areas.

Although instances of short-term impact on visible street markets occurred, these effects did not appear to endure in most locations. The evaluation found little evidence that the teams reduced non-drug-related crime in the targeted neighborhoods, improved the community's perceptions of disorder, reduced fear of crime, increased use of public amenities, or improved attitudes toward police.

Data indicate that many arrested curbside crack-cocaine sellers were quickly replaced by other drug users and dealers. Eventually, street dealers adapted to the intensive enforcement activity in a number of

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ways, some of which directly affected the community: moving selling locations indoors, shifting selling hours to times when the teams were thought not to be operating, devising schemes to reduce hand-to-hand exchanges, moving out of the selling location after a sale, and using observers adept at spotting team vehicles. The teams appeared to be most effective in reducing the visibility of street markets in areas that were geographically separated from highly concentrated drug markets and in areas that catered to purchasers from outside the neighborhood. Evidence also indicates that as a result of team efforts that disrupted drug activities, there was an increase in the time required to find a dealer from whom to buy drugs.

Although street drug sellers and users quickly learned about the presence of the teams in their neighborhoods, community residents and leaders were far less knowledgeable. The teams had little effect on residents' perceptions of physical and social disorder or on citizens' level of fear. Not surprisingly, therefore, the teams did not inspire residents to organize community-based initiatives to reclaim the streets for themselves.

Among the most intriguing findings, according to then-Commissioner Brown, is that "although most community leaders and residents interviewed by the researchers did not believe [the teams] could have enduring effects on local drug markets, they supported [them] and wanted [them] back. The demand that something be done about the crack-cocaine problem on this city's streets—even if it does not solve the problem—is at least as deeply rooted as the crack-cocaine market itself."⁶

Policy Implications

The evaluation's findings suggest that the teams and precinct managers might usefully engage in more aggressive community outreach, precinct-based community police officers could encourage community residents to organize in response to the presence of the teams, and the administrative staff of the teams could enlist other agencies in aggressive problemsolving activities designed to address specific hot spots identified by team members or by the community police officers.

According to the evaluators, the department should integrate the enforcement tactics of the teams with the problemsolving activities of community policing at the precinct level. Routine street-level drug enforcement would become, increasingly, the province of precinct-based personnel. This would represent a move away from short-term enforcement actions toward community policing at the neighborhood level. Although enforcement actions mounted under those conditions would be less intensive than those of the tactical narcotics teams, such efforts should yield longer term improvement in troubled areas of the city.

Current Drug Enforcement Strategies and Tactics

What drug enforcement approaches are State and local agencies using, and how do they regard the effectiveness of those approaches? What are the characteristics of promising or innovative drug enforcement

strategies and tactics? On the basis of findings from a survey mailed to large law enforcement agencies, NIJ, through research conducted by the Police Executive Research Forum, has identified more than 150 different anti-drug tactics in current use. (Police interpreted the term "drug enforcement" broadly—from community policing and D.A.R.E.® to undercover surveillance and code enforcement designed to shut down drug houses.)

Police, especially patrol personnel, employ a wide variety of tactics to respond to local drug problems. Many of their efforts rely on disrupting street drug markets and improving the visual appearance of neighborhoods once dominated by the presence of street-level drug dealers. Tactics within this context range from stop-and-frisk searches to code enforcement and from surveillance activities to traffic enforcement or altering of vehicular traffic patterns.

Data suggest that patrol units have developed and use a wider range of anti-drug tactics than in the past and that investigators may have improved the application or focus of their tactics in recent years. Significant cross-fertilization of drug enforcement tactics occurs between patrol officers and investigators. For example, patrol officers may engage in surveillance or develop informants, and investigators may enforce local ordinances, such as those pertaining to trespassing or disorderly conduct.

Research data reveal that, despite the predominant reliance on what may be considered traditional drug enforcement efforts, narcotics personnel use a wide variety of nontraditional tactics. Many investigative units consider these nontraditional tactics the most effective or promising in their anti-drug repertoire. The results of successful tactics used by various jurisdictions include the following:

- Publicizing drug arrests by the Billings, Montana, Police Department resulted in a 200-percent increase in calls to a Crimestoppers hotline and a decrease in the availability of drugs on the street;
- Covertly videotaping fixed locations of drug markets provided valuable information about drug dealers and buyers to the Fayetteville, North Carolina, Police Department; and
- Collaborating with code enforcement officers to identify violations at suspected drug-dealing residences in Escondido, California, forced residents to quit dealing drugs, move out, or get evicted.

Despite their use of nontraditional anti-drug tactics, most investigators consider such traditional tactics as undercover surveillance and buy-and-bust operations as the most effective and promising approaches.

Among the tactics that patrol units of State and local law enforcement agencies regard as most promising or effective are the following:

- Refuse or trash seizures, which has been a successful tactic used for more than 15 years by the Anne Arundel County Police Department in Millersville, Maryland;

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Data suggest that, as they become available, new tactics are added to the existing anti-drug repertoires of law enforcement agencies.

- Use of police officers as role models to support athletic teams and such programs as the Boy Scouts by the Tulsa, Oklahoma, Sheriff's Office for more than 3 years, thereby improving communication with citizens in targeted areas;
- Use of a Crimestoppers telephone hotline to solicit anonymous information on crimes, including drug tips, in Fort Collins, Colorado, for more than 6 years;
- Establishment of Drug Free School Zones, in Tucson, Arizona, for 4 years and in Pueblo, Colorado, since 1992;
- Traffic enforcement with incidental searches, which has been used for more than 10 years by the Largo, Florida, Police Department; and
- Drug Recognition training in Virginia Beach, Virginia, which has been in place since 1989 and trains officers to identify and charge drivers under the influence of drugs other than alcohol.

The data reveal that most anti-drug tactics are not used alone and appear complementary in ways that may prove useful for guiding policymaking decisions in such areas as resource allocation, organization and deployment of various units, development of collaborative relationships with other agencies, and cross-training in various tactical approaches.

Among the tactics highly related to one another, thus suggesting complementary use, are increasing or improving lighting in specific areas, using foot patrols, reducing nonresidents' access to properties, and altering public telephones. Similarly, another common pairing is aggressive enforcement followed by neighborhood stabilization efforts, which might include the use of foot patrols or substations. Use of such tactics in combination is identified by police agencies as an important element of their effectiveness.

Statistical analysis of the survey data does not suggest that new tactics are substituted for old tactics. Instead, the data suggest that, as they become available, new tactics are added to the existing anti-drug repertoire of law enforcement agencies. However, the data are limited in their ability to determine the intensity with which various techniques are used. Thus, police agencies may scale back traditional drug enforcement tactics as they increasingly use such approaches as community policing.

For the most part, police agencies still rely upon traditional performance measures to gauge the effectiveness of anti-drug efforts—number and quality of arrests, contraband and assets seized, conviction rates, as well as the quality and quantity of intelligence information received. But some evidence exists that police are evaluating the impact of anti-drug activities in other terms as well. For example, a decline in calls for service may indicate that concern among residents has decreased, and neighborhood survey results may reflect reduced fearfulness. Other nontraditional measures of effectiveness include an increase in cooperation between citizens and police, an increase in the

amount of information provided to hotlines, improvement in the visual appearance of an area—especially the absence of dealers on the street—and a reduction in crime related to drugs in specific target areas.

Anti-drug tactics reported by agencies as most effective appear to require extensive cooperation between police agencies and others, particularly community policing, which 64 percent of the agencies surveyed reported using to address drug problems. For example, the Jefferson County Police Department patrol unit in Louisville, Kentucky, has developed working relationships with its narcotics unit, the local housing authority, health department, fire department, and adult and children's protective services.

The researchers took a closer look at some of the tactics identified as new or as showing some promise of effectiveness. Some of these tactics include airport profiling, citizens' academies, clone pagers, drug-dealing ordinances, drug taxes, thermal imagery, and postseizure analysis. Other tactics range from voice mail interception to tracking of citizen complaints, from the use of nuisance abatement ordinances to mail-in drug reporting coupons, and from hotel and motel interdiction efforts to targeting of mail delivery services.

Drug Testing and Prosecution

Evidence of the links between drugs and crime and the promising results of early evaluations of drug testing programs have provided the impetus to develop and evaluate a systemwide drug testing program in Multnomah County, Oregon.⁷

Drug testing at other sites has shown that such programs have the potential to provide both information about newly evolving drug problems (for example, that heroin use in the community is declining and crack-cocaine use is increasing) as well as data to evaluate the effectiveness with which the criminal justice system handles drug problems.⁸

Drug testing also has the potential to help the criminal justice system identify and place offenders in appropriate drug treatment programs, ensure their compliance with these programs, and sanction failures to comply. By monitoring drug use, imposing sanctions, and providing a controlled environment, the criminal justice system can help many offenders temporarily or perhaps even permanently abstain from illegal drugs and wean themselves away from criminal careers.⁹

As a result of these findings, in 1991, the Bureau of Justice Assistance funded a systemwide drug testing program in Multnomah County, Oregon, that was designed (1) to detect and deter drug abuse and (2) to improve the detection of offenders who need treatment and make appropriate referrals to treatment programs.

The Multnomah Drug Treatment and Evaluation (DTE) program has two components that allow it to reach all clients in the system: (1) a pretrial drug testing component and (2) a postadjudication drug testing component.

By monitoring drug use, imposing sanctions, and providing a controlled environment, the criminal justice system can help many offenders temporarily or perhaps even permanently abstain from illegal drugs and wean themselves away from criminal careers.

The pretrial drug testing component is meant to reduce failures to appear for trials and hearings and rearrests during the presentence period. The postadjudication drug testing component is used to exercise control over a probationer's or parolee's drug-use behavior. Random drug testing coupled with sanctions for failure to cooperate or positive drug tests is intended to inhibit drug use and further criminal behavior.

Evaluation Results

A process and impact (outcome) evaluation, conducted for NIJ by BOTEC Analysis Corporation and the Urban Institute, assessed the two DTE components separately.

In the evaluation of the pretrial phase of the program, a group of 169 treatment clients was compared to a control group of 92 clients not selected for the program's services. The two groups were compared on the basis of appearance at scheduled hearings and criminal activity while pending case disposition.

The evaluation of the probation and parole component compared violation rates of 504 offenders. Specifically, the evaluation examined the number of rearrests, technical violations, and total violations per day by medium- and high-risk offenders who were supervised by 53 corrections officers as well as assessed how the officers used the DTE program and sanctions available for positive drug tests or failure to appear for testing.

The process evaluation of program implementation involved interviews with system actors and analysis of official documents and records. Evaluators compared the program's original goals and operating procedures with the goals and procedures the evaluators actually observed. Findings indicate that program procedures for collecting urine samples; performing urinalyses; and communicating, recording, and storing client information varied slightly, if at all, from the intended procedures. Those procedures worked well and caused no problems for other program aspects.

The impact evaluation of the pretrial DTE component—most of whose clients had been charged with felony drug offenses—found no significant differences between the treatment and control groups regarding the proportion of clients arrested either during or after DTE participation. However, a number of factors may have contributed to that finding, including poor participant compliance with testing requirements, poor participation in and use of pretrial evaluations of drug-problem severity, and limited early entry into treatment as a result of DTE participation.

Only 14 percent of pretrial DTE participants appeared for all scheduled tests; 46 percent missed more than one-half of their tests. Many of those tested continued to use drugs: 60 percent tested positive at least once, and 34 percent tested positive on more than 75 percent of tests. Sanctions for positive tests were not provided during the first 11 months of the 22-month study period. Standardized evaluation was completed for fewer than one-half of the pretrial clients because of

delays in scheduling and a high rate of no-shows at scheduled evaluation appointments.

Furthermore, treatment resources are lacking for DTE pretrial clients because the Multnomah Department of Community Corrections has given probation and parole clients priority for drug treatment, and many drug users in need of treatment are diverted from pretrial supervision to the County's STOP Drug Diversion program.

Results of the impact evaluation of the DTE probation and parole component indicate that corrections officers believe that drug testing provided them with an effective case management tool and timely information on offender drug use. However, analysis of subsequent arrest records found neither a significant decrease in rearrest rates associated with DTE participation nor evidence that differences in the responses of corrections officers to violations of drug testing requirements affected recidivism. The rate of technical violations was unrelated to the use of DTE, officer supervisory practices, or the interactions of those factors.

The main link between the pretrial component of DTE and the probation and parole component is the probation officer's use of pretrial evaluations during the probation intake process. Because an estimated 75 percent of those in the pretrial drug-testing program go on to probation, links between the pretrial and postadjudication DTE components should be an essential part of the program. DTE guidelines suggest that clients should participate in the program for 3 to 6 months—the accepted length of time to ensure client cooperation. However, the program's guidelines allow probation and parole officers considerable latitude in how they use DTE in their cases. One result of this flexibility is that clients terminate their participation in DTE before they actually demonstrate a drug-free lifestyle or successfully complete a drug treatment program.

Although the officers are expected to consider only risk classification and drug use when assigning clients to DTE, many probation officers use other selection criteria, including work schedule, participation in special programs, the distance a client must travel to provide a urine specimen, the general capability of clients to adhere to rules and regulations, and the general behavior of clients.

An implicit intention of the DTE program was to channel clients who needed drug treatment into an appropriate treatment program. Many officers think that the control over clients DTE provides is sometimes a good substitute for a full drug treatment program and use drug testing to supervise and control clients instead of enrolling them in drug treatment programs that may have long waiting lists.

Furthermore, the system lacks sanctioning resources for clients who fail to appear for testing or who test positive. Probation officers are discouraged from seeking hearings for technical violations because such hearings are costly and disruptive to the system as a whole. However, probation officers use informal sanctions such as searches of clients' homes, increased surveillance, and requirements to keep journals.

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The need for sanctioning and availability of drug treatment is crucial when implementing drug treatment and testing within the criminal justice system.

The absence of swift and sure sanctions for violations by DTE participants, the limited number of formal assessments of client drug problems, the shortage of treatment slots for abusers, and the lack of coordination between the pretrial and postadjudication phases of the program did not permit the DTE evaluation to assess a fully implemented systemwide drug testing model.

Policy Implications

Two findings in particular stand out. The first is a confirmation of an emerging consensus among researchers who study drug testing: The need for sanctioning and availability of drug treatment is crucial when implementing drug treatment and testing within the criminal justice system. Without the capacity to sanction failures to appear for testing and positive drug tests, drug testing is a "paper tiger." Clients quickly become aware of this and ignore the program. Without drug treatment capacity, clients can at best be coerced into temporary patterns of drug abstinence. The possibilities for permanent rehabilitation, which DTE provides, are not realized.

Second, the flexibility Multnomah County has given its probation and parole officers allows these officers to adapt DTE to their needs in a way that does not appear to negatively impact the program's ultimate goals. Probation and parole officers are using the DTE program for short-term rather than long-term control. This is advantageous for the officers and may support the goals of the DTE program. Although this finding is specific only to Multnomah County, it should serve to make program planners aware that various professionals within the criminal justice system may act informally to alter specific aspects of a program to better serve their needs and the needs of their clients.

Prosecuting Complex Drug Cases

Illegal drug trafficking and manufacturing, as well as money laundering, are extremely costly to the American public in terms of the costs of investigations, prosecutions, and corrections. At the same time, drug suppliers, distributors, and dealers reap huge profits from these illegal activities. NIJ is involved in assessing the difficulties of prosecuting complex drug cases. Complex drug cases typically use advanced investigative techniques, including wire taps, financial investigations, asset forfeiture, link analysis, and sophisticated electronic surveillance. Each of these techniques requires resources not used by prosecutors in typical cases and thus are more costly in terms of cost and effort required.

The Jefferson Institute for Justice Studies currently is assessing the prosecution of complex drug cases for NIJ. The assessment's goals are as follows:

- To describe the nature of investigative and prosecutorial practices and strategies with respect to complex drug cases and how they affect State and local prosecutors.

- To examine the role of the local prosecutor involved in these types of cases.
- To inform policymakers, program developers, prosecutors offices, and police departments about the issues and factors associated with the prosecution of complex drug cases.
- To make recommendations for future research and programs in this area.

The assessment found that prosecutors can take action in a number of ways to improve the prosecution of complex drug cases, including integrating complex drug cases into the prosecutor's larger organized crime control activities; coordinating with other State attorneys general to monitor interstate patterns of organized crime; and developing information systems and advanced technologies to conduct financial investigations, support intelligence, and help discover fraud. A final report is expected in 1995.

NOTES

1. National Institute of Justice, *Searching for Answers: 1992*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, June 1993:9-10.
2. Drug market analysis demonstration sites include Hartford, Jersey City, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, and San Diego. See the 1992 edition of *Searching for Answers*, pp. 8-12.
3. Sviridoff, M., S. Sadd, R. Curtis, and R. Grinc, *The Neighborhood Effects of Street-Level Drug Enforcement: Tactical Narcotics Teams in New York*, Final Report, New York City, NY: Vera Institute of Justice, September 1992:1.
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5. Ibid., i.
6. Ibid., ii.
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8. Carver, J.A., "Drugs and Crime: Controlling Use and Reducing Risk Through Testing," *National Institute of Justice Research in Action*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1986.

The assessment found that prosecutors can take action in a number of ways to improve the prosecution of complex drug cases... including integrating them into larger organized crime control activities.

9. American Correctional Association, *Drug Abuse Testing: Successful Models For Treatment And Control In Correctional Programs*, 2nd ed., College Park, MD: American Correctional Association, 1981; Kleiman, M.A.R., M.E. Lawrence, and A. Saiger, "A Drug Enforcement Program for Santa Cruz County," prepared by BOTEC Analysis Corporation for the Office of the District Attorney and the Santa Cruz Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, 1987; BOTEC Analysis Corporation, "Program Evaluation: Santa Cruz Regional Street Drug Reduction Program," prepared for the Office of the District Attorney and the Santa Cruz Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, 1990; Chaiken, M.R., "Prison Programs for Drug Involved Offenders," *National Institute of Justice Research in Action*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1989; National Institute on Drug Abuse, *Compulsory Treatment of Drug Abuse: Research and Clinical Practice*, NIDA Research Monograph No. 86, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1988.



6. Policing Neighborhoods

Typically, what happens in people's own backyards—in their neighborhoods—is most important to them. This is particularly true when “what happens” is crime and disorder, especially if accompanied by violence, drug trafficking, and fear. In such an environment, the quality-of-life index plummets.

Reported in this chapter are evaluations of two major approaches to attacking crime and disorder at the neighborhood level: (1) community policing and (2) Operation Weed and Seed (which has a community policing component). Although both approaches rely heavily on policing, they also foster involvement by other agencies within and outside of the criminal justice system and by neighborhood residents themselves. Collaboration, partnerships, empowerment, and problemsolving are among the traits common to the two approaches, which are discussed below.

ISSUES AND FINDINGS

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) has funded evaluations of community policing efforts in such diverse areas as Tempe and Tucson, Arizona; Montgomery County, Maryland; Portland/Multnomah County, Oregon; and Colorado Springs, Colorado. Among the findings are the following:

- Agencies face considerable challenges in carrying out community policing; for example, this approach requires significant changes in both attitudes and practices. Officers may resist because they believe the approach erodes their crime-fighting capability, and community members may avoid involvement or long-term commitment to assist in security efforts. Expanded training and consultation of officers has been strongly recommended.
- Urban communities report varying degrees of progress with innovative neighborhood-oriented policing. Some—but not all—areas had decreases in crime. Generally, the program was perceived as bettering relations between police and citizens, even in those areas where no decreases in crime were seen. Securing interagency involvement was particularly elusive.
- Building on lessons learned from the evaluation of innovative neighborhood-oriented policing and other studies, Tempe, Arizona, is moving toward broader implementation of community policing,

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER . . .

- *Community policing*
- *National evaluation of the Weed and Seed program*
- *Tailoring policing to small cities and towns and rural areas*

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beginning with a new citywide deployment strategy as well as creation of beat teams whose officers are assigned for 2 years.

The chapter also addresses the complexities of evaluating this new model of policing and discusses the application of community policing to small cities and towns as well as rural areas.

COMMUNITY POLICING

Community policing means different things to different people. Motivated in part by the cumulative impact of research findings and by exhortations of national commissions focusing on crime, some police agencies tried one type of community-oriented approach—such as problem-oriented policing—while other agencies took a somewhat different tack. However, all of these approaches tend to fall under the category of “community policing.” An accompanying essay explores the nature of community policing and the difficulty of defining it.

After highlighting two major components of community policing, this section focuses on evaluations of several urban sites that are in the process of implementing that approach. A second essay probes the special policing needs of small cities and towns and of rural jurisdictions.

Community Engagement and Empowerment

Long recognized as a key community policing ingredient is agency conduct that promotes trust within the community. Such efforts entail collaborating with the community, forming a kind of partnership with residents, and interacting in meaningful ways—in short, engaging the community and empowering it rather than perfunctorily acknowledging it and its interests.

In some neighborhoods, there is a trend away from—even against—community cooperation with police. Widely acknowledged, however, is that improved safety for the individual and community depends on closer interaction between police and citizens. In “winning back the streets,” police in some areas must also win back the trust and participation of the community.

Winning back community trust and participation removes barriers so that citizens can better understand and participate in activities designed to enhance community safety, provides police with insights into underlying causes of disorder and crime in the neighborhoods, and helps the police and communities develop, as well as participate in, joint solutions to problems that have been identified. To the extent that this occurs, police effectiveness is enhanced. “In community policing, community institutions such as families, schools, neighborhood associations, and merchant groups are seen as key partners to the police in the creation of safe, secure communities.”¹

To make real partners of the public, police must move to empower two groups: the public itself and the police officers who serve it most closely and regularly. Only when the public has a real voice in setting police priorities will its needs be taken seriously, and only when street

officers have the operational latitude to take on the problems they encounter with active departmental backing will those needs really be addressed.²

Crime Prevention and Problemsolving

Community policing is an approach that supplements, not eliminates, the familiar arrest-oriented and incident-driven approach to police work. Community policing fully recognizes the obvious need to react to criminal incidents through appropriate response, investigation, and arrest. However, it has become increasingly important for officers to anticipate and proactively focus on underlying conditions or problems that, if not eliminated or significantly neutralized, will lead to criminal activity or its continuation, perhaps on an intensified basis.

Under community policing, officers trained in problemsolving skills extend their focus beyond each criminal incident and attempt to perceive how those incidents might be related by some underlying cause that, if resolved, would prevent such incidents from recurring. For instance, an officer might identify that the major factor linking robberies of convenience stores is that their cash registers cannot be seen from the street because of view-blocking posters on the stores' front windows. One possible solution would be to encourage removal of the posters and thus help reduce robbery frequency.

Urban Innovative Neighborhood-Oriented Policing

In 1990, with funding from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), eight urban and suburban jurisdictions began implementing community policing approaches to reducing the demand for drugs at the neighborhood level. The jurisdictions establishing innovative neighborhood-oriented policing projects were Hayward, California; Houston, Texas; Louisville, Kentucky; New York City; Norfolk, Virginia; Portland, Oregon; Prince George's County, Maryland; and Tempe, Arizona.

Not only diverse geographically and in terms of population and size of law enforcement agency (the size ranges from fewer than 200 sworn officers in Hayward to more than 25,000—now about 30,000—sworn officers in New York City), the sites also varied in terms of their familiarity and experience with community-oriented initiatives. Common components of the neighborhood-based approach among sites include law enforcement, a focus on neighborhoods, an emphasis on drug demand reduction, and partnerships with various local and State agencies and community organizations.

In June 1991, NIJ awarded funds to the Vera Institute of Justice to conduct process analysis and impact evaluations, now complete, of the eight projects. The process analysis included detailed site descriptions and cross-site comparisons of program structure and operations, assessments of factors that appeared to have facilitated or impeded implementation within the sites, and identification of common implementation issues. The impact analysis examined perceived project effects on drug demand reduction, public safety, and quality of life within and across

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sites and developed an overview of project implementation and impact on the basis of across-site comparisons. Most projects are ongoing and may have undergone change since the end of the data collection period, June 1991 to August 1992.

Impact on Drugs, Crime, Fear, and Police-Community Relations

The impact of the program on drugs, crime, fear among community members, and police-community relations were measured in terms of interviewees' perceptions. The general impression across all sites was that drug trafficking had been displaced from one area to another, from on the street to indoors, or from one time of day to another. However, there were some differences of opinion among sites. For example, perceived impact of the projects on drug trafficking ranged from "no effect" according to some people in Hayward, Houston, and New York to a very strong impact according to citizens and police administrators in Portland and Tempe.

Despite difficulty in determining which crimes were drug related, interviewees in New York perceived that the project had no effect on such crimes, whereas respondents in Norfolk, Portland, and Tempe judged that their projects had a very strong impact on drug-related crime.

Most respondents across all sites stated that their projects (or their community policing program generally) had led to reductions in drug trafficking and drug-related crime in the target areas. While many of those interviewed thought that drug trafficking had been displaced to other areas or indoors, they believed that crime had been reduced in the targeted neighborhoods. Generally, the projects' impact on fear reduction depended on whether citizens felt that the projects reduced drug trafficking and drug-related crime.

Most respondents reported improved relationships between police and citizens. Even in those sites where perceived effects on drugs, crime, and fear were minimal, respondents generally believed that the relationship between police and the community had improved.

More difficult to assess for respondents was the impact of the projects on community organization and community involvement. Although most respondents in most sites indicated that levels of community organization and community involvement had increased since the projects' inception, whether the increases were attributable to the projects is not clear.

Police Understanding of and Support for Community Policing and the Projects

Patrol officers offered substantial resistance to community policing at all sites, the evaluators reported. This finding is valuable to jurisdictions planning to implement community policing. By taking note of the reasons underlying patrol officers' resistance to the program at the evaluation sites, the jurisdictions can address these issues and improve the effectiveness of their community policing efforts.

The evaluation found that the most common reason that officers not involved in the project at all sites did not accept or support the program was that they perceived the program lacked an aggressive enforcement component. These officers felt that community policing eroded the traditional crime-fighting mandate of the police.

Some patrol officers were resistant to community policing because those who did not participate in community policing projects lacked even general knowledge about such projects. The bulk of the training focused only on those officers who were to participate in the projects. In addition, the officers involved often displayed only a rudimentary understanding of community policing.

Another cause of resistance was that the agencies created distinct units in the patrol force to implement the projects, largely because these projects were the first experience the departments had with community policing. This approach seemed to exacerbate the tensions between community policing's agenda and the departments' long-standing paramilitary structure. The special unit status of the projects also undermined trust between police management and nonproject patrol officers as well as between nonproject patrol officers and community-oriented patrol officers. Areas of friction included patrol deployment, career paths, and shift assignment.

Other objections to the projects stemmed from the belief that community policing is less productive than other forms of patrol, especially in sites where officers engaged in community policing were not required to respond to 911 calls. At each site, many patrol officers felt that community policing provided safe havens for officers who did not want to work very hard. Nonetheless, officers at all sites reported that community policing was more time consuming and required more police resources than did traditional policing.

Among other causes of resistance was the feeling of many officers that community policing was happening *to* them rather than *with* them. The officers' perceived lack of a good-faith effort to explain the project or the new community policing unit, or to communicate the department's future plans for community policing, created another obstacle to officer "buy-in." Many officers felt that directives came down from above without any form of consultation or any attempt to bring patrol officers into the decisionmaking process.

Impact on Interagency Involvement

The evaluation noted that interagency involvement was probably the least discussed and implemented component of community policing at the eight sites. The exception is Norfolk, where the active and mandated involvement of all city agencies makes that program notable. The other sites did not have the active involvement of all city agencies.

According to the evaluation, the lack of other agency involvement was due to the fact that no comprehensive problemsolving training was provided. Such training requires officers to be proactive by identifying and analyzing problems and devising and implementing strategies to

The transition to community policing may be made faster and more productive if cities...place equal importance on training the police, the public, and workers in all city agencies.

combat them. Such training instructs officers that many problems, especially those involving quality-of-life considerations, cannot be resolved through routine enforcement (e.g., arrest and summons) but require the assistance of other agencies and of community residents themselves.

Did the Projects Promote Community Involvement?

The evaluation observes that one of the elements common to all definitions of community policing is the idea that police and the community must work in concert, as partners, to define problems facing the community and to develop solutions. Project staff at all eight sites noted that building community partnerships was their greatest challenge. Most community leaders and individual residents in the project sites felt police should have better informed and educated residents about project goals and objectives and the role of community residents. Police agencies stated that community organization and involvement in the projects had not changed significantly since the projects began. At almost every site, only a small core of residents became involved.

Data collected at the sites strongly suggest that community residents in some areas may be predisposed to avoid involvement in community policing efforts. Among the reasons are fear of retaliation from drug dealers, the historically poor relationship between police and residents of poor communities, the here-today-gone-tomorrow nature of many projects initiated to help poor communities, the lack of community outreach, and the disorganized nature of the target areas. To reduce fear, such as from drug dealers, and thereby remove a barrier to community involvement, respondents said, police must first make streets safe from the perspective of residents.

The evaluation concluded by stating that the transition to community policing will take a considerable amount of time and that "it remains to be seen whether an already impatient public will accept this fact." However, the transition may be made faster and more productive if cities make a commitment that places equal importance on training the police, the public, and workers in all city agencies. Because community policing will, at least initially, require more resources, cities will have to commit themselves to larger budgets in an increasingly difficult fiscal climate.

Evaluation of Community Policing in Tempe

In addition to its inclusion in the eight-site evaluation noted above, Tempe is the exclusive focus of an ongoing evaluation of community policing funded by NIJ and conducted by the Institute for Law and Justice. In contrast to the neighborhood and drug demand reduction orientation of the earlier evaluation, this evaluation is assessing community policing in Tempe from an overall, citywide perspective.

Moving toward citywide community policing since 1989, the Tempe Police Department defines the approach as a partnership between itself

and its citizens to improve the quality of life in the community by jointly identifying and resolving public safety concerns.

Specific changes since 1989 include the testing of community policing in two beats; realigning geographic beat boundaries to coincide approximately with neighborhood boundaries; strengthening the development of Tempe's 70 neighborhood associations; dividing the city into 4 quadrants, each comprising 3 to 4 beats and managed by a lieutenant with 24-hour responsibility; implementing 15 beat teams citywide; conducting training in community policing for all patrol officers and most other departmental employees; and moving from incident-driven patrol to problemsolving, from fixed schedules to flexible schedules, and from control techniques to empowerment. The evaluation is addressing several key questions arising from those changes, including the following:

- To what extent does decentralization facilitate community policing and problemsolving at the neighborhood level?
- How has increased empowerment changed the attitudes and daily activities of sergeants and officers?
- Why do some officers "take" to community policing while others prefer traditional policing?
- How do beat teams find time for community policing and problemsolving, while still answering 911 calls?
- How have the responsibilities of sergeants changed under geographic deployment?
- What is the reaction of citizens to community policing as accomplished with beat teams?

Assessing Changes Under Geographic Deployment

The most significant change toward community policing in Tempe occurred in July 1993 with the implementation of a new citywide geographic deployment strategy. The strategy emphasizes the assignment of officers and sergeants to beats on the basis of citizen-call-for-service workload. Responsible for delivering services to the community and improving the quality of life, each of the 15 beat teams consists of 7 to 12 officers who are assigned to a team for at least 2 years. The team sergeants develop officer schedules and can change them to meet evolving needs in the community. Beat teams determine their priorities for problemsolving through team meetings, usually held every 2 weeks, which supplant daily roll calls.

Other types of teams include a Patrol Workload Team, which was established in July 1994, to review such issues as sergeants' workloads, beat integrity, and beat supervision. Earlier that year, a Crime-Free Multihousing Pilot Team began work on a handbook and landlord training program designed to reduce the level of crime in multihousing structures through the combined efforts of the police, housing managers, and residents. In late 1994, the department formed the Communi-

cations Center Dispatch Team to review dispatching policies and procedures.

The evaluation is assessing the changes under geographic deployment, including increased problemsolving activities, greater empowerment of beat teams, and expanded beat teams by applying the concept of functional work teams.

Problemsolving using assessment teams—With the department's assistance, the evaluators are establishing quadrant assessment teams. Each team will have a quadrant lieutenant, two sergeants, two officers, a crime analyst, and an evaluator. The purpose of the assessment teams is to review the progress of beat teams in solving identified problems. For selected problems, a report will include documentation of the extent of the problem prior to actions by the beat team, a summary of actions taken with estimates of officer hours spent on the problem, and an explanation of what happened after those actions. Quadrant assessment teams should be able to review major problems that require coordinated efforts of team members and possible involvement of other city agencies. The results of those assessments will enable the department to build on its successes and failures, making future problemsolving efforts more productive. Among the problems that beat teams may address are crowds of unruly youths along a two-block strip, a small burglary ring, and graffiti.

Empowering patrol personnel—The evaluation will address increased empowerment for officers and sergeants. In a general sense, empowerment means that authority and responsibility pass from higher management levels to lower levels. Employees then experience a sense of ownership and control over their jobs. In a beat team environment, team members feel directly responsible for alleviating the problems in their beats because they now have the power and authority to take action toward solving those problems.

Changing responsibilities for lieutenants and sergeants from shifts to quadrants is a significant empowerment change. In addition, the department has reduced layers of management within its organization by eliminating the positions of assistant chief, major, captain, and corporal. The ranks under the chief are now commander, lieutenant, sergeant, and officer. In addition, the department has 10 civilian community service officers to support patrol operations.

Surveys of patrol personnel and direct observations of team members will measure the extent of empowerment. Evaluators will compare responsibilities of sergeants under geographic deployment to their prior responsibilities and will ask officers how their daily activities have changed under geographic deployment and the extent to which they feel greater empowerment.

Using functional work teams—The department is considering the use of functional work teams, which would expand beat teams to include a traffic officer, detective, record room clerk, dispatcher, and members of other city agencies. An initial task of functional work team members would be to gain a basic understanding of each other's jobs. The functional work teams would then perform community policing and

problemsolving as a group. Within the context of this evaluation grant, evaluators are attending meetings of a department-established design team, which will be making recommendations on how the department should proceed with functional work teams or an alternative (self-directed work teams, patterned after the industry model). Expectations are that the design team will suggest an expansion of one or two beat teams on a pilot basis. Evaluators will develop an evaluation plan on the basis of the design team's recommendations.

Assessing Differences Among Officers

Another focus of the evaluation is the differences between officers who are active in community policing and problemsolving activities and those who are not. The Tempe Police Department has recognized for some time that not all officers are enthusiastic about the change toward community policing. Apparently, some officers have not embraced the empowerment concept and prefer handling citizen calls for service in a traditional manner. Other officers feel that they would not stay with the department under the traditional approach.

Evaluators plan to explore the differences between the two sets of officers. In Tempe, officers who regularly respond to citizen calls are considered as important as officers who are active in community policing and problemsolving. An officer's willingness to handle calls gives other officers time for their problemsolving activities.

Examining Computer-Aided Dispatch

Analysis of data from the department's computer-aided dispatch system is another key part of the evaluation. The system's data analysis center will examine issues centering on how beat teams are able to answer citizen calls for service and still have time for community policing activities.

The department intends to make changes in communications center procedures to strengthen its call management system. The changes will allow more flexibility in delaying calls and in selecting reports to take over the telephone. The revamped communications system also will provide records on the types of calls handled by the community service officers. This information will enable evaluators to measure how much work is thereby deflected from team officers.

The evaluation's estimated completion date is Fall 1995.

Impact of Community Policing on the Criminal Justice System

To date, no one has assessed how community policing has affected the rest of the criminal justice system. The absence of such information is surprising considering that prosecutors and courts are becoming increasingly responsive to community problems. For example, many prosecutors are intrigued by the opportunity to establish closer working relationships between their office, the police, local business communities, schools, and citizens. They recognize the advantages of decen-

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The twofold purpose of this study is to identify the effects of community policing activities on prosecutors' offices and other criminal justice agencies and to describe responses by the criminal justice system that affect the type or quality of community policing.

tralization or community-based prosecution, an approach that leads to new types of case management; improves training opportunities for new prosecutors; and develops a sense of "ownership," or belonging, to a specific community where the prosecutors can "see" the impact of their activities on the environment.

Similarly, some criminal courts also have adopted a proactive, community-oriented service philosophy. In midtown Manhattan, for example, a unique concept of a community court was established to serve the Times Square neighborhood (see Chapter 7).

The questions of interest to this study, conducted for NIJ by the Jefferson Institute for Justice Studies, focus on the nature of the changes initiated by community policing and their impact on the participants in the justice system. Of particular interest is the prosecution's function because of its direct interface with law enforcement. Of secondary interest is identifying local government agencies involved with community-based efforts and obtaining insight into the nature of their involvement.

Purpose of the Study

When exploring the impact of community policing on the criminal justice system, one should not ignore how the criminal justice system can affect the ability of law enforcement to develop and maintain a community policing effort. Little systematic knowledge exists about the type of influence that the rest of the criminal justice system brings to bear on community-based policing.

Questions to be answered by this study are as follows: Can the system act as a barrier to police activity? Can police develop and operate community policing programs without the active support of the courts and prosecutors? What is the effect of criminal justice system indifference? If the system is supportive, how does that change the nature of community policing, if at all?

Thus, the twofold purpose of this study is to identify the effects of community policing activities on prosecutors' offices and other criminal justice agencies and to describe responses by the criminal justice system that affect the type or quality of community policing.

Findings From Indepth Onsite Studies

Selected for detailed, onsite study were police and prosecution agencies in four jurisdictions: (1) the Montgomery County, Maryland, Police Department and the Montgomery County State's Attorney's Office; (2) the Tucson Police Department and the Pima County Attorney's Office; (3) the Portland Police Bureau and Multnomah County District Attorney's Office; and (4) the Colorado Springs Police Department and the Third Judicial District Attorney's Office.

These sites were selected because they reflect various combinations of community policing and prosecutorial involvement. The variations between sites afforded the assessment team the opportunity to observe

a broad range of program effects and responses and to examine criminal justice policy implications and issues under diverse circumstances.

Researchers chose Montgomery County because it illustrated the ability of the prosecutor to create change within the criminal justice system, specifically to initiate the implementation of community policing in a department that was marginally interested in the concept. The Montgomery County State's attorney sparked the initiative by decentralizing his office and dividing attorneys into five teams, which worked closely with their respective police districts. The effect was to personalize services provided by the State's attorney to the community, increase coordination with the police, and establish a credible and visible prosecution presence within the community. The proactive stance of the prosecutor moved the Montgomery County Police Department to adopt and implement a broad program of community policing.

Multnomah County is illustrative of the partnership that can be formed between the police and a proactive prosecutor. The Portland Police Bureau was one of the first major police departments in the United States to involve all employees in the implementation of community policing. The Multnomah County district attorney not only formed a partnership with the police department to support its goals but also developed a unique community prosecution effort.

The Tucson Police Department was selected for study because it had adopted and embraced community policing as a department philosophy for more than 12 years. The onsite study found that the department had promulgated the philosophy of problemsolving and problem-oriented policing. However, the department's organization, management, and procedures had not been restructured to support the implementation of the long-range goals of community policing. As a result, evaluators found little change in policing practices, and the effects of community policing on the Pima County Attorney's Office appeared minimal.

The community policing effort in Colorado Springs flourishes in a supportive criminal justice environment. The Colorado Springs Police Department has integrated its community policing philosophy departmentwide. It has made all employees responsible for problem identification and problemsolving and has taken active steps to reduce the department's dependency on calls for service as the primary initiator of police response and activity. The district attorney plays a responsive and supportive role by working with the police and other agencies to resolve community policing problems or to enhance community policing efforts.

Supplementing Onsite Findings

The findings from the onsite examination of the four jurisdictions were verified and supplemented by insights provided by experts who acted as advisors to the project and by telephone and mail surveys.

To validate the findings of the site visits and to verify the scope of the anticipated responses by criminal justice agencies, a two-part survey was undertaken. The first part surveyed 177 police departments that

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appeared to be involved in community policing. The survey identified the prosecutor's community policing role and the agencies that worked closely with the police. The survey was not designed to be representative of all law enforcement agencies, just those most active in community policing.

However, the vast majority of police department respondents (117 of 143, or 82 percent) reported that their participation in community policing was less than 1 year. Each department was asked to specify its stage of development regarding community policing at the time of the survey. Twenty-four police departments stated they were in a planning or development stage, and 119 said they were implementing or modifying their community policing programs. Each department was examined to determine the level of integration that community policing had achieved within the department.

Fifty of the most integrated and oldest community policing agencies were identified for the second phase of the survey. Each was contacted to explore in more depth the nature of the police department's involvement with other agencies. The prosecutor in each jurisdiction was contacted by mail or telephone survey to identify the nature and type of impact that community policing had on their offices and to obtain information about other areas in the criminal justice system that also were affected. Followup interviews with these agencies also were conducted. The results of these interviews will be analyzed and presented in the final project report.

Preliminary Findings

The purpose of the initial telephone survey was twofold: (1) to describe the nature of the community policing effort and the role of the prosecutor and (2) to identify agencies with which police work most closely.

Preliminary results indicate that it is difficult to attribute substantial changes in the caseloads of the courts to community policing for a number of reasons. First, because community policing targets problems in small geographic areas, changes in crime and caseloads that would indicate successful community policing efforts may not be large enough to observe when included with all other criminal activity throughout the city or county. Second, because of the extent to which community policing focuses on quality-of-life crimes involving ordinance violations and misdemeanors (e.g., loitering, public nuisance, and shoplifting), improvements in the targeted community may be highly visible but not measurable within the universe of all minor crimes. Finally, unless community policing targets open-air drug markets or drug trafficking, little impact on felony crime and caseloads is apparent, according to the researchers.

Results of community policing are most clearly visible in reducing quality-of-life crimes and in addressing problems associated with juveniles and domestic violence. Problems in those areas are best resolved by the joint efforts of multiple agencies, including the criminal justice system. The survey indicated the natural partnerships that were

formed as a result of those endeavors. The box on the next page illustrates those partnerships by showing the percentage of police departments reporting coordination with various agencies as a result of community policing activities.

Of special interest is the close relationship between police and the mayor or local government head. Without such top-level support, the full range of community policing may not be attainable. Within the criminal justice environment, the components most affected were city attorneys, city courts, and lower misdemeanor courts.

Natural Partners With Community Policing Efforts

| Agency | Percent* | Agency | Percent* |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Mayor | 81% | Fire department | 60% |
| Building | 71% | Health | 60% |
| Schools | 69% | Juvenile court | 52% |
| Housing | 68% | City court | 51% |
| City attorney | 67% | Misdemeanor court | 43% |
| Child welfare | 61% | Felony court | 39% |

*Percentage of 158 police departments stating they worked closely with the agencies listed.

Community policing introduces changes in police organization and personnel assignments. Most notable are those that decentralize police services and key them to the needs of small geographic areas rather than citywide calls for service. Reinforced by the permanent assignment of patrol officers to geographic areas, decentralization has produced changes in arrest policies for certain types of cases, improved the quality of case preparation for the prosecution, and decreased delays in case filings. The overall impact appears to be improving the effectiveness of the criminal justice system and placing demands on its ability to be flexible and responsive to the needs of small areas. The preliminary findings will be explored in more depth as subsequent survey findings are analyzed. The findings and their implications will be presented in the final report.

EVALUATING THE WEED AND SEED PROGRAM

Operation Weed and Seed is designed to demonstrate an innovative, comprehensive, and integrated multiagency approach to law enforcement and community revitalization for controlling and preventing violent crime, drug abuse, and gang activity in targeted high-crime neighborhoods across the Nation. Initiated in 1991 and funded by BJA

Weed and Seed Demonstration Cities

Atlanta, Georgia
Charleston, South Carolina
Chelsea, Massachusetts
Chicago, Illinois
Denver, Colorado
Fort Worth, Texas
Kansas City, Missouri
Los Angeles, California
Madison, Wisconsin
Omaha, Nebraska
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Richmond, Virginia
San Antonio, Texas
San Diego, California
Santa Ana, California
Seattle, Washington
Trenton, New Jersey
Washington, D.C.
Wilmington, Delaware

and the Executive Office of U.S. Attorneys, Weed and Seed demonstration programs exist in more than 20 cities. Additional sites are recognized by the Executive Office of Weed and Seed (Department of Justice [DOJ]) and are given special consideration by Federal agencies for financial assistance.

In common with the community policing approach, Weed and Seed operations focus on neighborhoods and include such elements as crime prevention as well as law enforcement, priority prosecution, multiagency action, and community involvement.

The Evaluation in Perspective

Nineteen of the demonstrations are undergoing an NIJ-funded process evaluation by the Institute for Social Analysis in collaboration with the Police Foundation and American Prosecutors Research Institute. The chart on this page lists the demonstration sites and the weeding procedures and strategies being implemented at each site. The evaluation's goals are to understand the costs and value of Weed and Seed programs in urban settings; to inform policymakers, program developers, and law enforcement agencies about new and promising innovative strategies; and to make recommendations for program development. The national evaluation is documenting program activities, from the initial stages of organizing a steering committee through planning, development, and implementation of Weed and Seed strategies.

During the weeding stage, concentration of police and prosecutive actions removes violent habitual offenders, including those engaged in drug trafficking, from the targeted neighborhood. This effort is followed by the introduction or intensification of community policing in the area. Targeted neighborhoods are those whose needs for crime control and community improvement are great. Weeding, if successful, paves the way for seeding—i.e., the introduction or intensification of human service programs, which, in turn, will inhibit the return of violence, drug trafficking, and other criminal activity.

Active involvement in Weed and Seed by the local U.S. attorney at the various sites is considered vital for effecting the necessary coordination of Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies; making maximum use of Federal law in weeding strategies; and helping mobilize resources for seeding programs from a broad array of Federal agencies. Local U.S. attorneys are expected to play a central role in the planning and organization of representative steering committees and task forces. The members of these committees and task forces will include representatives of law enforcement agencies, foundations, and businesses as well as residents of target communities.

Interim Findings and Key Issues

Tentative at best, according to the evaluators, interim findings and identification of key issues include the following for the "weed" phase at the demonstration sites:

- Some sites encountered initial opposition and negative reactions to the "militaristic jargon" characteristic of the weeding phase but found that community policing and seeding efforts helped establish a basis for better communications, mutual trust, and support for the initiative.
- Weed and Seed funding called for the creation of law enforcement and community revitalization task forces. As a result, community policing was to find a niche, or to form a bridge between the two, and may not be as fully integrated into enforcement activities as in those cities in which community policing predated funding.
- Prosecution and arrest data are not standardized but are subject to various local definitions, criteria, and procedures. Thus, analyzing those data across sites may be inappropriate.
- Prosecution responses commonly consist of traditional case processing, vertical prosecution, asset forfeiture, and use of other civil remedies, such as nuisance abatement efforts.

Tentative findings and issues pertaining to the "seed" phase include the following:

- Seeding programs, services, and activities include substance abuse treatment and prevention, alternative activities for youth, education and personal or family development, employment and job training, victim assistance and protective services, health and nutrition, community crime prevention, and home ownership.
- Seeding efforts were in their early stages in many sites. Some significant ventures to develop jobs and improve the local economy had not yet been implemented.
- The scope and magnitude of problems in the target areas overwhelm the level of Federal resources directly earmarked for seeding activities. Seeding thus appears to be the weaker component of Weed and Seed. However, a number of Federal agencies, other than DOJ, are developing new systems to give Weed and Seed priority in discretionary and formula grant programs.

Evaluators noted that the ultimate issue pertains to the impact and long-term effects of Weed and Seed on the sites served. Plans are now under way to conduct such an impact evaluation.

POLICING IN SMALLER JURISDICTIONS

Drug problems and the resulting need for anti-drug initiatives do not conveniently disappear when one exits urban areas. Yet most of what is known about those problems derives from studies focusing on large urban centers. NIJ currently is funding two evaluation projects designed to help fill that knowledge gap, particularly regarding the applicability of community policing to smaller jurisdictions.

Anti-Drug Initiatives in Small Cities and Towns

On the basis of interviews with residents in scores of small cities and towns, Southern Illinois University's Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections identified several concerns and observations. The findings indicate that young people are the primary focus of concern in these communities. Respondents viewed alcohol abuse and, secondarily, marijuana as the top drug problems among youths. Few reported substantial problems with such drugs as crack-cocaine and heroin, and very few indicated major problems with serious drug-related crimes. Other than law enforcement, prevention is the primary emphasis of anti-drug initiatives in these areas. Threats to the future of these communities are more likely to be characterized as economic than as drug related.

From anti-drug programs identified as "most important" in 160 communities, four major types of programs emerged and were classified in terms of the type of organization operating them: (1) law enforcement agencies, many of which offer D.A.R.E.[®] (Drug Abuse Resistance Education[®]) and other educational programs as well as engage in community policing, community crime prevention, investigation, and enforcement activities; (2) community organizations, such as citizens groups and service or fraternal organizations; (3) treatment and counseling organizations, such as clinics and hospitals; and (4) educational organizations. The vast majority of the programs target youths; deal with an array of legal and illegal substances; and are oriented toward awareness, education, and prevention.

The assessment identified four communities possessing unique, creative anti-drug initiatives: (1) Elroy, Arizona; (2) Hibbing, Minnesota; (3) Port Clinton, Ohio; and (4) Valdosta, Georgia. Although the programs vary in structure, operations, and emphases, the following characteristics are common to all:

- The programs meet the unique needs of the local community. When necessary, programs successful elsewhere are reshaped to address local problems.
- The programs address a wide range of community problems, under the guiding principle that drug use and other problems are interrelated.
- The programs network with law enforcement, schools, and other agencies and organizations in the community.
- The programs emphasize programming for youths.

Rural Innovative Neighborhood-Oriented Policing

Prior evaluations of projects of this type were not designed to answer the question of how effective the approach can be in rural jurisdictions. As a first response to this knowledge gap, in 1992, BJA funded rural innovative neighborhood-oriented policing programs in Caldwell, Idaho; Fort Pierce, Florida; Newton County, Indiana; and Richmond,

Maine. NIJ awarded a grant to Queues Enforth Development to conduct process and impact evaluations of these programs.

The evaluations will describe interventions in the target areas by police, community, and non-police agencies and will assess changes in drug activity, quality of life, and level of overall criminal activity within the target areas.

The evaluation began at the outset of the programs, thus enabling evaluators to observe virtually the entire program implementation process. Evaluators expect to assess not only the program planning process but also the initial expectations of the participants and stakeholders, the roles of all pertinent parties to the program, their resource commitments and the extent to which they have been fulfilled, and the process of selecting program target areas.

Measuring the impacts of the program on neighborhood safety and quality of life will be more difficult. Experimental or quasi-experimental designs are beyond the capacities and resources of the four sites. However, through data and program monitoring, site observation, and a series of community surveys, the evaluation should be able to detect the presence or absence of critical neighborhood problems and to assess program awareness, neighborhood cohesion, and the feelings of stakeholders toward their neighborhoods and their concerns about both crime and drugs.

The evaluation notes that implementation of the program at the four sites proceeded more slowly than originally anticipated. This may be due in part to the sites' lack of experience with police experimentation and to the associated process of "selling" their respective constituent communities. The sites were operational by November 1993, and the estimated completion date is mid-1995.

NOTES

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Process and impact evaluations of rural innovative neighborhood-oriented policing programs will describe interventions in the target areas by police, community, and non-police agencies and will assess changes in drug activity, quality of life, and level of overall criminal activity within the target areas.

Does Community Policing Work?

Gary Cordner, Ph.D.
NIJ Visiting Fellow

In little more than a decade, community policing has evolved from a few foot patrol experiments into a comprehensive organizational strategy guiding modern police departments. It is now seen almost universally as the most effective method available for improving police-community relations. Proponents also believe that it will ultimately prove to be an effective crime control strategy.

Four complicating factors have made it extremely difficult to determine the effectiveness of community policing. These factors are as follows:

Programmatic Complexity—There exists no single definition of community policing nor any mandatory set of program elements. Police agencies around the country (and around the world) have implemented a wide array of organizational and operational innovations under the label "community policing." Because community policing is not one consistent "thing," it is difficult to say whether "it" works.

Multiple Effects—The number of intended and unintended effects that might accrue to community policing is considerable. Community policing might affect crime, fear of crime, disorder, community relations, and/or police officer attitudes, to mention just a few plausible impacts. The existence of these multiple effects, as opposed to a single bottom-line criterion, severely reduces the likelihood of a simple yes or no answer to the question "Does community policing work?"

Variation in Program Scope—The scope of community policing projects has varied from single-officer assignments to departmentwide efforts. Some of the most positive results have come from projects that involved

only a few specialist officers, small special units, or narrowly defined target areas. Whether those positive results justify full-scale departmentwide implementation of community policing is an open question.

Design Limitations—Despite strenuous efforts by police officials and researchers, most community policing studies have had serious research design limitations. These include lack of control groups, failure to randomize treatments, and a tendency to measure only short-term effects. Consequently, the findings of many community policing studies do not have as much credibility as might be hoped.

These complicating factors are offered not as excuses but rather to sensitize the reader to the very real difficulty of producing reliable knowledge about the effects of community policing. These factors also identify priority issues that NIJ has addressed and is continuing to address.

What Is Community Policing?

Although it would be easy to list several dozen common elements of community policing—starting with foot patrol and ending with the police as organizers of, and advocates for, the dispossessed—it may be more helpful to identify four major dimensions of community policing and the most common developments occurring within each. The four dimensions are described below.

The Strategic Dimension

The strategic dimension of community policing includes philosophy, mission, and values. This dimension examines the big picture, including the basic relationship between a police agency and its community. It addresses questions of the role and function of the police, police priorities, and the most important criteria

for judging police effectiveness. Within this strategic dimension, community policing emphasizes the following:

- Policing should be guided by community norms as well as by legal and professional norms. Citizens should have input into police policies and priorities.
- Policing should conform more to a service style than to a legalistic style. A broad view of the police function should be adopted rather than a narrow crime-fighting or law enforcement view.
- Police executives should shift their attention from purely internal administrative matters (efficiency) toward external community problems (effectiveness). Strategic planning should concentrate on substantive community issues rather than on internal organizational problems.

The Organizational Dimension

Police organizations have long been criticized for being overly autocratic and bureaucratic. Regardless of the historical fit or misfit between traditional policing and the paramilitary organizational model, leading community policing supporters now advocate structural and managerial changes in support of the new policing strategy. Within the organizational dimension, community policing tends to emphasize the following:

Civilianization—Originally more a cost-cutting technique than anything else, "civilianization" has been adopted by community policing as a means of opening the police culture to external influences. The more that the community is represented within the police organization, the more the police will be responsive and sensitive to the community.

Restructuring—Police agencies should decentralize authority and decisionmaking, flatten their hierarchies, and eliminate unnecessary specialization. These changes will help make police agencies more responsive to citizens and also will empower officers and supervisors to address substantive community problems with creativity and imagination.

Values Management—Police agencies should be managed more on the basis of broad policy and shared values than on the basis of narrow rules and punitive discipline. Management should treat officers with the same respect that officers are asked to show citizens.

The Deployment Dimension

The deployment dimension of community policing calls for a reallocation of police resources, primarily to facilitate and reinforce a sense of identification and shared responsibility between police and citizens. It also seeks to create a greater sense of teamwork among patrol officers assigned to an area and between patrol officers and specialists such as detectives. Within the deployment dimension, community policing emphasizes the following:

Geographic Focus—Geography should be the primary consideration in organization and assignment. Patrol beats and precinct boundaries should be realigned to conform to neighborhoods and communities. Precinct commanders should be given more autonomy so that they function somewhat like local police chiefs. Patrol officers should be permanently assigned to beats. Specialists (e.g., detectives) should be geographically based whenever feasible.

Teams—Because it is not possible for any officer to be present or even available to the residents of an area continuously, patrol officers need to work together to meet the needs of citizens and communities. Additionally, police specialists need to adopt a

teamwork approach by working closely with patrol officers assigned permanently to neighborhoods.

Mini-Stations—Whenever practical, the distance between the citizen and police headquarters should be reduced by setting up mini-stations, storefronts, or other small-scale police offices within local communities. These mini-stations, staffed by sworn officers assisted by volunteers, should replace 911 as much as possible as the delivery system for police service.

The Tactical Dimension

The tactical dimension addresses the issue of "tell me what to do differently" for police officers. Among the most important elements of this dimension are the following:

Re-Oriented Operations—Police agencies should reduce their reliance on traditional methods, such as motorized preventive patrol, rapid response to every call, and followup criminal investigation by detectives. The police should make greater use of foot patrol, directed patrol, and other patrol options. The police should manage calls for service and use a variety of differential responses when citizens report crimes, disputes, and other problems. In addition, the police should allow patrol officers to shoulder more of the followup investigative responsibility and focus investigations on repeat offenders and locations as well as on individual reported crimes.

Problemsolving—The police should alter their conception of police work from incident-handling to problem-solving. Whenever possible, the police should search for the underlying conditions that lead to these incidents. The police should emphasize prevention rather than efficient after-the-fact handling and should seek to address causes, not merely symptoms. The police should develop a body of knowledge about how to reduce substantive problems to supplement their current knowledge base that stresses the process of law enforcement. In

addition, the police should collaborate in problemsolving with other public and private agencies.

Community Engagement—Police should share the burden of crime control, order maintenance, and public safety with the community. Communities and police should work together to identify, analyze, and solve problems. Community crime prevention initiatives are encouraged, as are school-based programs and other efforts focused specifically on juveniles. Various community-oriented roles are appropriate for the police, including public education, community organizing, and community advocacy.

What Do We Know?

Despite the programmatic and evaluation complexities discussed earlier, we do have a substantial amount of information from empirical studies of community policing. Findings of a recent review of more than 40 such studies indicate that nearly all of the evaluations conducted to date have focused on the deployment and tactical dimensions of community policing, providing little or no information on the effects of strategic and organizational changes. This gap in community policing research is undoubtedly caused by a combination of two factors: (1) most community policing efforts, at least until recently, have been limited programmatic and street-level initiatives rather than large-scale strategic or organizational initiatives, and (2) evaluation of narrowly focused programmatic initiatives is much easier and more feasible than evaluation of organizationwide change.

Also worth noting is the fact that except for a few very limited studies and some anecdotal evidence, there is a general lack of information about the effects of community policing on police officer use of discretion, use of force, arrest decisionmaking, citizen encounters, time utilization, and similar behaviors. Given what is known about the challenges in implementing

community policing, the pervasive influence of the police culture, and the intense demands of the police role itself, it cannot safely be assumed that community policing universally and significantly alters police behavior. An NIJ-funded study recently completed in Richmond, Virginia, addresses a number of police behavior issues.

Evidence on the effects of community policing by major impact area is discussed below.

Crime—A few studies have used experimental designs and victimization surveys to test the effects of community policing on crime, while many other studies have relied on simple before-and-after comparisons of reported crime or single-item victimization questions drawn from community surveys. Overall, a majority of the studies have detected decreases in crime, giving reason for optimism, but due to limitations in the evaluation design no authoritative conclusions can be drawn.¹

Fear of Crime—The evidence is mixed regarding fear of crime, but it is more positive.² A number of studies have employed community surveys to make before-and-after comparisons of fear and related perceptions, some with experimental designs. Fear typically has been measured using a variety of survey items, lending the studies more credibility. The now widely accepted view that community policing helps reduce levels of fear of crime and increases perceptions of safety seems reasonably well founded, although some efforts have not reduced fear of crime.

Disorder—The available evidence suggests that community policing, especially foot patrols and problemsolving efforts, helps reduce levels of disorder, minor crime, incivilities, and signs of crime, lending support to the "broken windows" thesis.³

Calls for Service—Community policing might reduce calls for service in

several ways. For example, problemsolving might address underlying issues that generate calls; collaboration might increase call referrals to other government agencies; foot patrols and mini-stations might receive citizen requests directly, thus heading off calls to central dispatch; and workload management might find alternative responses for some types of calls. Although the ability of workload management to reduce the volume of calls dispatched to sworn units for immediate response has been clearly demonstrated,⁴ the evidence on the effects of community policing on calls for service is mixed. Several studies have found positive effects, while several others have not.⁵

Community Relations—The vast majority of studies examining the impact of community policing on citizens' attitudes toward the police have found positive effects.⁶ Clearly, citizens generally appreciate mini-stations in their neighborhoods as well as foot patrols, problemsolving efforts, and other forms of community policing.

Police Officer Attitudes—A clear majority of the studies that have investigated the effects of community policing on officers' job satisfaction, perceptions of the community, and other related attitudes have discovered beneficial effects.⁷ Officers involved in community policing, especially if they are volunteers or members of special units, typically thrive on their new duties and responsibilities. What is somewhat less certain, however, is (1) whether these effects will survive the long term and (2) whether these benefits are as universal when all officers are required to engage in community policing. Whenever community policing is practiced only by specialists, as has generally been the case until recently in most departments, one condition that is nearly universal is conflict between the specialists and other members of the agency, which is frequently reflected in derogatory remarks about "kiddie cops" or "the grin and wave squad."

Police Officer Behavior—Anecdotal evidence suggests that foot patrol, problemsolving, permanent assignment, mini-stations, and other features of community policing lead to changes in police officer behavior, but as noted earlier, these behavioral effects have not been systematically documented thus far.

The available evidence on the effectiveness of each dimension of community policing is discussed below.

Strategic Dimension—At this point, there is no systematic evaluative information from which to judge whether increased community input, a service style of policing, a more substantive focus on community problems, or some combination thereof has any effects in the community or within a police agency. Current NIJ-sponsored evaluations of model community policing programs funded by BJA may soon provide some of the first credible evidence on these important questions. It should be recognized, though, that tracing the specific impacts of broad strategic innovations is a very difficult evaluation research challenge.

Organizational Dimension—There is little empirical evidence on the effects of civilianization, restructuring, and values management within police organizations or in the community. One study in Madison, Wisconsin, did find, however, that decentralization and "quality leadership" positively affected officers' attitudes and may have contributed both to the implementation of community policing and, indirectly, to increased citizen satisfaction with the police department.⁸ More research is needed to determine the effects of the organizational dimensions of community policing and to discover whether the implementation of community policing deployment schemes and operational tactics requires any particular administrative approaches.

Deployment Dimension—Mini-stations, teams, and permanent geographic assignment frequently have

been demonstrated to have beneficial effects,⁹ particularly on fear of crime and police relations with the community. The closer police presence created by mini-stations and frequent sightings of, and increased contacts with, the same police officers seem to reassure and please many citizens. The effects of these deployment dimensions of community policing on crime, calls for service, and police officer attitudes have been more mixed. The NIJ-funded study presently under way in Tempe, Arizona, should provide additional evidence of the impact of patrol teams and permanent geographic assignment.

Tactical Dimension—A sizable majority of the community policing studies conducted to date have focused on elements of the tactical dimension, particularly foot patrols¹⁰ and problemsolving efforts. The effects generally have been found to be positive on disorder, community relations, and police officer attitudes but mixed on crime, fear, and calls for service. It should be noted that summarizing and generalizing the effects of problemsolving is particularly difficult because by its very nature problemsolving promotes different treatments in different circumstances.¹¹ In essence, problemsolving is not really a treatment but rather a situational tailoring of an almost infinite variety of treatments.

A great deal of energy has been invested since 1980 in determining the nature of community policing and its effects. As a result, the scope and variation of community policing are much better understood today and some of its effects have been fairly well documented. Since community policing has evolved significantly during this period, however, some of its elements have been more carefully evaluated than others. In addition, programmatic complexity, multiple effects, variations in scope, and re-

search design limitations have hampered many of the community policing evaluations conducted thus far. Nevertheless, community policing seems to produce several beneficial outcomes for citizens and officers and has the potential to impact crime and disorder. NIJ is continuing to encourage the development, refinement, and testing of this promising new policing strategy.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Reiss, A.J., *Policing A City's Central District: The Oakland Story*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (beneficial effect on reported crime), 1985; Police Foundation, *The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment*, Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1981 (mixed effects on victimization); McElroy, J.E., C.A. Cosgrove, and S. Sadd, *Community Policing: The CPOP in New York*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993 (no effect on reported crime).
2. See, for example, Police Foundation, op. cit. (beneficial effect on fear); Cordner, G.W., "Fear of Crime and the Police: An Evaluation of a Fear-Reduction Strategy," *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 14 (1986):223-33 (beneficial effect on fear); Pate, A.M., et al., *Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark: A Summary Report*, Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1986 (mixed effects on fear); Cole, A.W., and D. Kelley, "Community Policing: The Lawrence Experience," Lawrence, MA: Lawrence Police Department, mimeograph, 1992 (no effect on fear).
3. Skogan, W.G., *Disorder and Decline: Crime and the Spiral of Decay in American Neighborhoods*, New York, NY: Free Press, 1990; see also Wilson, J.Q., and G.L. Kelling, "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety," *Atlantic Monthly*, (March 1992):29-38.
4. McEwen, J.T., et al., *Evaluation of the Differential Response Field Test*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1986.
5. See, for example, Trojanowicz, R.C., *An Evaluation of the Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program in Flint, Michigan*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 1982 (beneficial effect on calls for service); Cordner, G.W., "Public Housing Drug Elimination Program II in Lexington, Kentucky: Final Evaluation Report," Richmond, KY: Eastern Kentucky University, mimeograph, 1993 (mixed effects on calls for service); McElroy, J.E., C.A. Cosgrove, and S. Sadd, op. cit. (no effect on calls for service).
6. See, for example, Police Foundation, op. cit.; Wycoff, M.A. and W.K. Skogan, *Community Policing in Madison: Quality From the Inside Out*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1993.
7. See, for example, Boydston, J.E., and M.E. Sherry, *San Diego Community Profile: Final Report*, Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1975; Hayeslip, D.W., and G.W. Cordner, "The Effects of Community-Oriented Patrol on Police Officer Attitudes," *American Journal of Police*, 6(1)(1987):95-119.
8. Wycoff and Skogan, op. cit.
9. See, for example, Pate, A.M., et al., op. cit.; Cordner, G.W., "Community-Oriented Policing in Jefferson County: Final Evaluation Report," Richmond, KY: Eastern Kentucky University, mimeograph, 1993.
10. See, for example, Police Foundation, op. cit.; Trojanowicz, R.C., op. cit.; Esbensen, F., "Foot Patrol: Of What Value?" *American Journal of Police*, 6(1) (1987):45-65.
11. Eck, J.E., and W. Spelman, *Problem Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News*, Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum, 1987; Goldstein, H., *Problem-Oriented Policing*, New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1990.



7. Prosecuting and Adjudicating Cases

Courts all over the Nation are experiencing phenomenal increases in their caseloads, especially drug-related cases. For example: (1) of the most serious felony convictions in State courts in 1992, 170,806 were for drug trafficking, an increase of about 59,000 compared to 1988, and (2) during the same period, the number of defendants convicted in U.S. District Courts for drug trafficking increased by more than 6,000, from 11,561 to 17,578.¹ In 1993, there were more than 1.1 million arrests for drug offenses nationwide—a 56 percent increase since 1984. About 70 percent of these arrests were for illegal possession of drugs; 30 percent were for manufacturing or selling drugs.²

ISSUES AND FINDINGS

As researchers work with administrators to find solutions to court backlogs and increased workloads, they have found that simply increasing the number of courtrooms and adding resources will not necessarily resolve the problems and reduce delays; most jurisdictions do not have the additional funds to add more courts anyway. Research further indicates that the most effective way to reduce backlog is to assess court processes and implement more efficient court management practices. The principles of better court and prosecutor management are well established and include such things as early judicial intervention in caseflow, time limits on events, judicial enforcement of deadlines, and information systems to monitor cases throughout the judicial process.³

Some jurisdictions have created specialized courts in an effort to streamline case processing and make services available to stop the revolving door that returns most defendants to court. Findings currently available include the following:

- A National Institute of Justice (NIJ) evaluation of the Dade County (Miami) drug court in Florida, which combines both criminal justice and drug treatment approaches, indicates that the court has been successful in providing defendants with the drug treatment and support services needed to keep them from appearing back in court again. In addition, drug court defendants were found to reoffend less often, and it is believed that in the long run the drug court is more cost-effective than traditional court.
- A BJA assessment of eight drug courts that operate at night during a second shift in Chicago indicates that night courts maximize use

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER...

- *Assessing the effectiveness of specialized courts*
- *Measuring the due process dispensed by specialized courts*
- *Using fines to make sentencing more effective*

One increasingly popular method for responding to the overflow of cases is to assign like cases to special courtrooms that handle only those types of cases.

of courtrooms and are a viable alternative to constructing new buildings and hiring additional personnel.

CURRENT EVALUATIONS

Evaluations of specialized courts and other alternatives to traditional sentencing discussed in this chapter include the following:

- A process and impact evaluation of the Midtown Manhattan community court, which brings arrestees to justice in the neighborhood in which the incidents occur, and an evaluation of the implementation of a community court in Brooklyn's Red Hook Housing project.
- An evaluation of the effects of instituting specialized courtrooms to expedite cases, particularly drug cases. The evaluation is addressing such issues as whether short processing time impairs the disposition of justice.
- Building on earlier NIJ experiments, four jurisdictions are implementing structured fines programs; an evaluation is analyzing its costs and benefits as well as its effects on local policy and practice.
- NIJ and the National Center for State Courts are assessing the court response to drug cases to synthesize the current body of knowledge and to establish an agenda for providing more information where needed.
- NIJ and the American Prosecutors Research Institute are developing and implementing a computerized data base that tracks the prosecution of cases in communities that have been awarded Weed and Seed grants. The collection and analysis of prosecution data will provide critical feedback and guide the formation of future prosecution activities, not just in Weed and Seed sites, but in other neighborhoods that face significant levels of crime and economic decay.

ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SPECIALIZED COURTS

One increasingly popular method for responding to the overflow of cases is to assign like cases to special courtrooms that handle only those types of cases. A number of these specialized courts have been implemented across the United States. For example, the drug court in Dade County (Miami), Florida, handles almost all the Eleventh Circuit Court's nonviolent defendants arrested for drug possession charges. Milwaukee has established two specialized drug courts in the felony division of its circuit court. Other areas that have instituted special drug courts include Charlotte, North Carolina; Tacoma, Washington; and Alameda County, California.

Another approach to reducing delay and backlog is to maximize the use of courtrooms. In Chicago, for example, eight specialized night narcotics courtrooms operate during a second shift, allowing more extensive use of the physical space available. A BJA assessment of the drug night

court found that it is a viable alternative to constructing new buildings and hiring additional personnel.⁴

Specialized courts are designed to streamline the processing of particular kinds of cases and to offer services not usually available through routine adjudication. To assess the effects of this type of innovative case processing, NIJ has funded evaluations of three specialized courts: (1) the Manhattan Midtown community court, which processes misdemeanors committed in the Times Square area of New York City; (2) the Dade County drug court; and (3) the Dade County domestic violence court (discussed in Chapter 2), which handles family violence defendants using a court-based treatment approach.

Midtown Manhattan's Community Court

New York City's Midtown community court is one of the Nation's most ambitious efforts to bring persons charged with low-level crimes to justice in the neighborhood in which the incidents occur. The court is designed to be more efficient and more visible as well as more accountable to the community while holding offenders more accountable. The Midtown court is an experimental 3-year demonstration project, coordinated and developed by the Fund for the City of New York (a private, nonprofit organization) in collaboration with the State Office of Court Administration. The court began operation in the Times Square area of Manhattan in October 1993.

By dispensing justice within the neighborhood where the offenses are committed, the New York court system is acknowledging that communities as well as individuals can be victims. Prostitution, loitering, petty theft, unlicensed peddling, and low-level drug sales all slowly degrade the quality of life not just of individuals but also of neighborhoods and eventually destroy communities.

Members of the community actively contribute to Midtown's community court in various ways. Social workers, community activists, and business leaders, for example, all play a part in this unique setting where justice is dispensed swiftly (typically, all matters in a case, including sanctions, are settled in 48 hours). Community leaders participate in identifying and supervising community service projects. For example, one community service project with the horticultural society has offenders cleaning and maintaining sidewalk tree beds. Other community service activities include painting over graffiti and helping nonprofit organizations prepare bulk mailings. Members of the community who are working with the court include New York's Transit Authority, the Times Square Business Improvement District, and the neighborhood Salvation Army thrift store.

A variety of onsite social services are provided to defendants in the following unique ways:

- Defendants are assessed before arraignment to determine their general physical and psychological condition, for example, whether they have a substance abuse problem, a history of mental illness, or are homeless. The assessment guides the resource coordinator who

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*NIJ and the State
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funding an 18-month
evaluation of the Mid-
town community
court's implementation
process, its operations,
preliminary impact
on processing
misdemeanors, and
the efficacy of
sentence imposition.*

later determines what, if any, social services are needed. The assessment also helps the judge determine the sentence and gives those who monitor the sentence some background on the defendant.

- A resource coordinator, working in the well of the courtroom, helps the court match defendants with drug treatment, employment, and community service opportunities, as well as other social services.
- For the most part, the court hearing, social services, and community service punishments take place under one roof, and punishment usually begins immediately.
- The community itself—residents, businesses, and community service groups—helps develop and supervise community-based sanctions. Experience reveals two problems with community service that the Midtown court expects to avoid: (1) offenders who must perform community service have high “no show” rates, and (2) for those offenders who do appear and are ready to perform their service, the staff at the community service location often know very little about what the offender is supposed to do. The Midtown court will have offenders perform their service almost immediately in the neighborhood where they will be supervised by someone who helped develop the sanction and feels tied to the community.
- All components of the system (police, judge, social service providers, and community representatives) are linked via a computer system that contains merged data about police arrests, rap sheets, and data about local complaints against the defendants. All court professionals have online access to these data so they can obtain information about the cases and defendants on the day’s docket quickly, facilitating the speedy processing of defendants.

Community courts are quite new; only a few are in operation in the Nation. To date, we know little about how these courts affect their neighborhoods. To find out more, NIJ and the State Justice Institute are funding an 18-month evaluation of the Midtown community court’s implementation process, its operations, preliminary impact on processing misdemeanors, and the efficacy of sentence imposition.

At this point, we know that developing a community court requires a broad coalition of support from community leaders, residents, social service providers, criminal justice officials, foundation and corporate supporters, and local politicians. Although specific issues vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, the obstacles inherent in the process of assembling a coalition of divergent constituencies—each with a unique agenda or special area of interest—are likely to be similar in all urban settings.

The Midtown court hopes to achieve the following goals:

- Respond constructively and immediately to low-level crimes like vandalism that contribute to the perception that the quality of life is

decaying in midtown Manhattan, which in turn increases the sense of disorder and levels of fear and leads to more serious crime.

- Use the moment of arrest to engage defendants in treatment, education, health, and other social services.
- Enlist community members and local service providers to help solve neighborhood problems.
- Make justice speedier and more visible in the neighborhood where the offenses occur.

With support from NIJ and the State Justice Institute, the Fund for the City of New York and the National Center for State Courts will conduct a process analysis of the court's implementation. An impact analysis will determine the community's level of awareness of the Midtown court, attitudes toward the court, and conditions and perceptions of disorder in the neighborhood. For example, community residents and business owners will be asked questions that assess their awareness of crews of community service workers cleaning up the area and their perceptions of the court's effects on conditions that contribute to a sense of disorder.

Defendants, too, will be interviewed to determine their awareness of changes in the neighborhood and the extent to which they move from one neighborhood to another as one area is targeted by the court.

Pretest and posttest data are being collected through systematic observations of the extent of street cleanliness in the target area and a variety of disorderly conditions, such as the number of prostitutes and illegal vendors present.

A second community-based court is now planned for Brooklyn's Red Hook neighborhood, which has nearly 8,000 public housing residents. Replication of the Midtown model, or aspects of that model, are likely in other jurisdictions as well.

The Red Hook court will combine aspects of criminal, family, small claims, and juvenile courts. For example, the court will resolve landlord and tenant matters, provide needed services to victims of family violence, and assist troubled youths who are traditionally served by the city's family courts. Job training, legal education, recreation programs, substance abuse services, and family violence counseling will be housed in the court's facilities and will be available to all residents. The Red Hook community court also will offer law-related education, mediation, and mentoring for youth.

A task force currently is working with court planners to select an appropriate site and identify local resources and organizations to collaborate with the court.

Policymakers, judicial administrators, planners, and researchers will be looking to the evaluation of the Midtown court experiment and to the Red Hook demonstration for a detailed description of the components of such courts, the potential barriers to implementation, and a preliminary review of the courts' impacts. The research will have a bearing

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The features of the Dade County drug court that contribute the most to its effectiveness include strong support from all criminal justice participants, a proactive judicial role, specially designed treatment programs, and a flexible approach to program participants' problem behavior.

on the growing interest in creating specialized courts and satellite courts located away from the centralized court.

Components that will be relevant for other communities interested in implementing specialized courts similar to the Midtown model include the following:

- The prearrest assessment of the defendant's needs.
- The community court's computer-based information system.
- The role of the resource coordinator.
- Efforts to increase the use of intermediate sanctions and increase the extent of compliance with those sanctions.
- The presence of community-based service providers at the court itself.

In addition to community courts, drug courts are another way to address the backlog in the court system and increasingly heavy caseload. As mentioned earlier, courts across the Nation are experiencing substantial increases in the number of drug-related cases. One of these courts, a specialized drug court in Dade County (Miami), Florida, is discussed below.

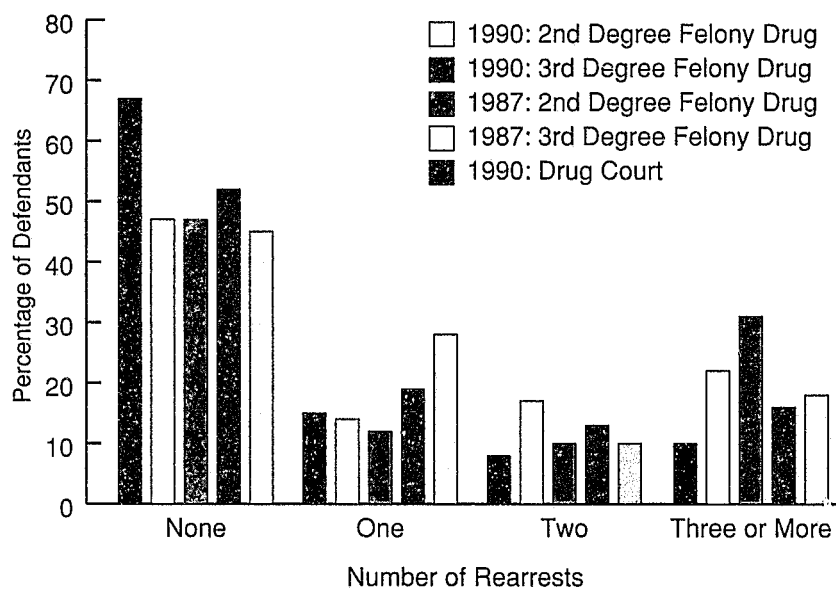
Dade County's Drug Court

The drug treatment program in Florida's Eleventh Circuit Court in Miami is a hybrid that combines elements of both criminal justice and drug treatment approaches to address the problems of a targeted population of drug-involved criminal offenders. The program expands on the traditional concept of diversion by giving defendants the opportunity to receive 1 year or more of treatment and case management services that include counseling, acupuncture, fellowship meetings, education courses, and vocational services along with strict monitoring through periodic urine tests and court appearances. In return, defendants who succeed in the program have their criminal cases dismissed.

Key elements include a proactive role for the judge and criminal courtroom personnel, a fundamental treatment orientation, and a diversion-like framework. The features of the Dade County drug court that contribute the most to its effectiveness include strong support from all criminal justice participants, a proactive judicial role, specially designed treatment programs, and a flexible approach to program participants' problem behavior.

The median length of time spent by drug court defendants in the program, measured from the date of the intake interview to the last day in treatment, is 331 days—almost 11 months—excluding defendants whose charges were dropped. Before implementation of the drug court, drug-related offenses were adjudicated in the traditional court setting within a few days, and no treatment options were offered to defendants.

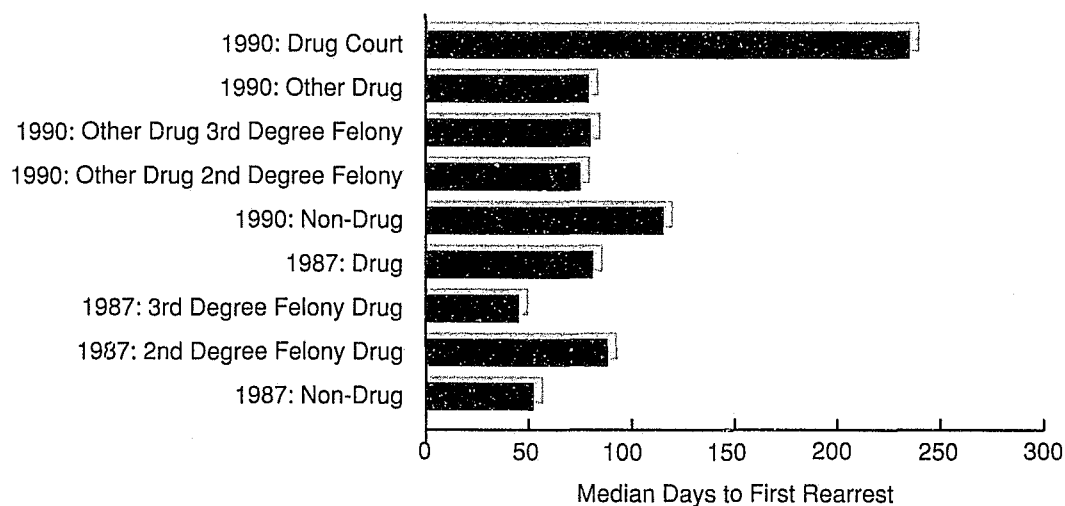
**Rearrests during an 18-month evaluation period:
1990 drug court defendants compared to 1987 and 1990 felony
drug defendants**



An evaluation sponsored by NIJ and the State Justice Institute found that Miami's drug court is clearly providing defendants with the treatment and support services needed to shut the revolving door that brings the majority of drug offenders back to court again and again. The evaluation results include the following:

- **Fewer cases were dropped**—As expected, “diversion” types of outcomes (diverted, nol prossed, case sealed) were much more frequently recorded for drug court defendants than for other felony defendants.
- **Incarceration rates were lower**—During the 18-month study period, far fewer drug court defendants than other felony and felony drug defendants were sentenced to incarceration for terms of more than 1 year.
- **There were fewer rearrests and longer times to rearrest**—Drug court defendants not only appear to reoffend less often, but those who did reoffend did so only after considerable time had elapsed. Defendants in the Dade County drug court had fewer rearrests than non-drug court defendants, as illustrated in the figure above. When drug court defendants were rearrested, the length of time to their first arrest, shown in the figure on the next page, averaged two to three times longer than the time to first arrest for comparison groups. Considering that an earlier study of 573 substance abusers in Miami found that in 1 year these substance abusers committed

**Median time to first rearrest during an 18-month evaluation period:
1990 drug court defendants compared to 1987 felony drug defendants**



6,000 robberies and assaults, 6,700 burglaries, 900 auto thefts, 25,000 acts of shoplifting, and 46,000 other larcenies and fraud,⁵ the decline in crimes could be significant if substance abusers become drug free and employed as a result of the court-based treatment program.

Defendants in the drug court also had higher failure-to-appear rates primarily because they are required to make many more appearances than offenders in traditional courts.

Although a systematic analysis of the cost-effectiveness of the program is yet to be done, administrators believe the diversion and treatment program is initially more costly than prosecution but eventually reduces costs by reducing rearrest rates and closing the revolving door into the court.

Most of the defendants who are referred to the program would, in a traditional court setting, receive a few minutes of court attention and then be released. It was difficult for the evaluation to determine whether the drug court's longer completion times contributed to greater use of court resources than normal processing. But given the reduced rate of reoffending, it is believed that the drug court reduces longer term costs.

The evaluation identified several key challenges for the Dade County drug court that have implications for other jurisdictions:

- The court must have fast, accurate information about defendants.
- The target population must be clearly defined to help set the basis for screening criteria and to avoid widening the net of defendants who are inappropriately assigned to the court.

- Different treatment plans are needed for different levels and types of drug abuse.

MEASURING DUE PROCESS ISSUES

Jurisdictions that have instituted specialized courts generally have praise for the approach. These courts can be highly efficient and pragmatic, and evidence is overwhelming that specialized courts dramatically reduce processing time. However, specialized courtrooms are not without their critics, and questions about the quality of justice remain to be answered. NIJ recently awarded a grant to the American Bar Association to evaluate the effects of instituting specialized courtrooms to expedite cases, most often narcotics cases.

There are strong arguments in favor of establishing segregated courtrooms for narcotics cases. Although drug cases make up as much as one-half of the felony caseloads of urban trial courts, they are often given short shrift, adjourned repeatedly while courts struggle to handle higher priority cases (such as those involving violent crime), and processed quickly without adequate assessment of the defendants' needs.

While the effects of specialized courts on processing time appear dramatic, spokespersons for the defense bar, drug treatment programs, and some judges and probation administrators have expressed serious concerns about due process issues. It is argued that the emphasis on processing speed in specialized courtrooms encourages "assembly-line" justice. Critics assert that defense attorneys are discouraged from filing suppression motions or insisting on trials; thus, they contend, evidentiary issues are pushed aside and innocent defendants may be convicted. It is also contended that shortened adjudication time often fails to allow sufficient time to evaluate defendants' needs for drug treatment or to locate available treatment slots. (Such criticism cannot be applied to the Dade County drug court discussed earlier, which emphasizes treatment rather than processing time.)

Supporters, however, counter that the increased efficiency of specialized courtrooms may actually work to defendants' advantage. Proponents believe that sentences may become more uniform as officials process cases more rapidly and do not consider information outside of the facts of the case. Sentences may depend more on the nature of the charge and a defendant's prior record and less on other factors such as the defendant's character or position in the community. Supporters of specialized courtrooms also argue that faster processing time benefits victims and their families, who are able to put the criminal incident behind them rather than allowing it to intrude on their lives over an extended period of time.

The concerns of defense advocates are compelling: If gains in processing speed are being achieved at the expense of quality of justice, criminal justice practitioners need that information as they contemplate the wisdom of specialized courts in their jurisdictions. If, on the other hand, proponents of specialized courts are correct that such courts promote greater sentence uniformity and victim confidence in the

Supporters of specialized courtrooms argue that faster processing time benefits victims and their families, who are able to put the criminal incident behind them rather than allowing it to intrude on their lives over an extended period of time.

Proponents of fines believe they can be a viable community-based alternative to the traditional sanctions of probation and incarceration if systems that impose and collect fines are more fully developed and made more credible through stronger enforcement.

justice system, that information also needs to be documented and the courts more widely replicated.

NIJ's assessment of the effects of specialized courts will measure the following factors related to due process:

- Frequency of motions, including suppression of evidence, admissibility of statements, improper identification of the defendant, and sufficiency of the complaint.
- Frequency of judge and jury trials versus guilty pleas.
- Frequency of assessment of defendants for drug dependency and placement in treatment programs.

In addition, the evaluation will assess potential positive effects of specialized courts on quality-of-justice indicators, such as sentence uniformity and victim confidence in the court system.

The evaluation will look at four specialized courts selected on the basis of documented gains in efficiency and, for each court, compare and contrast 125 cases disposed of prior to the creation of the specialized courtrooms and 125 cases disposed of subsequently. The courts are the (1) Milwaukee drug court; (2) Milwaukee violence court (homicide and sexual assault); (3) Gretna, Louisiana, drug court; and (4) Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, drug court.

Speeding up the process should never be the *ultimate* goal for courts—ensuring that justice is served must always remain the *primary* goal, and the speediness of the disposition is just one means toward achieving that goal. It is critical that the effects of speedy disposition on the quality of justice be evaluated carefully.

USING FINES IN SENTENCING

As prison crowding and probation workloads continue to challenge judges who are searching for appropriate sentences, possible alternatives are being explored. Structured fine programs are being implemented and evaluated in Maricopa County, Arizona; Polk County, Iowa; Bridgeport, Connecticut; and Marion County, Oregon.

Proponents of fines believe the fines can be a viable community-based alternative to the traditional sanctions of probation and incarceration if systems that impose and collect fines are more fully developed and made more credible through stronger enforcement.

The structured fine programs in the four jurisdictions build on previous day-fine research by NIJ—experiments in Staten Island's criminal court and Milwaukee's municipal court. This approach assigns units of punishment for offenses. The units are tied to the offender's daily income. For example, one unit may equal one-half day's income; hence the term "day fine." If, for example, 2 units of punishment are equal to 1 day's work and the sanction for a particular offense is 20 units, the offender must pay the equivalent of 10 days of income. Consequently, the fine for a wealthier offender is high and for a poorer offender low.⁶

Misdemeanor and low-risk felony offenders make good candidates for fines. Typical offenses include driving while intoxicated, reckless driving, disturbing the peace, violations of fish and game laws, and simple assault.

To guide jurisdictions that wish to expand or structure their use of fines, the Bureau of Justice Assistance funded the structured fine program, and NIJ has commissioned the RAND Corporation to evaluate it.

The evaluation's goals are as follows:

- To provide an analysis of the costs and benefits of the structured fine program in each jurisdiction.
- To describe how offenders and system participants (e.g., judges and probation officials) view fines and how the structured fine program has affected local policy and practice.

The evaluation employs several research methodologies, including case studies, the collection of data from offender files, estimated program costs and revenues, the conduct of focus groups with court personnel, and surveys of offenders.

Preliminary analyses indicate that the sentencing patterns did not change greatly in any of the four jurisdictions as a result of the day-fine programs. In Marion and Polk Counties, which targeted misdemeanors, the average amount of the fines changed, but the percentage of sentences receiving fines remained approximately the same. For example, in 1991, the average fine was \$340 in Marion County. After implementation of the day-fine program, the average fine increased to \$591. In Polk County, in 1991, fines averaged \$383; after implementation, the average decreased to \$320.

In Maricopa County, the outcomes for offenders who were sentenced under the structured day-fine program were matched with a group of offenders whose judges were not participating in the structured day-fine program. For both groups of offenders, the offenders' monthly income was approximately \$900, and the predominant charges involved theft and drugs. The structured day-fine sentences averaged \$625 in penalties compared with \$473 for traditional-fine sentences. Subsequent arrests were low for both groups: fewer than 5 percent of each group were arrested for violent crimes; 4 percent of the day-fine participants were arrested for drug offenses, compared with 7 percent of the nonparticipants. Approximately 15 percent of both groups received technical violations for failure to pay fines.

The findings from the current structured day-fine study and the previous work in Staten Island and Milwaukee show that sentencing patterns do not change significantly when a system of day fines is implemented. If sentencing policies in the United States shifted, however, some scholars believe day fines could supplant incarceration as a sanction for less serious crimes. Imprisonment could be reserved for more serious offenders. Norval Morris and Michael Tonry, in their 1990 book on sentencing reform, maintain that increased use of fines could become an important component in an array of community-based intermediate sanctions.⁷

Preliminary analyses indicate that the sentencing patterns did not change greatly in any of the four jurisdictions as a result of the day-fine programs.

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Specialized Courts Reduce Processing Time

Evidence suggests that significant reductions in case-processing time and in backlogs often have resulted from the establishment of specialized narcotics courtrooms. Specialization tends to produce staff who become adept at disposing of particular types of cases and who can practice case-management techniques that reduce processing time.

A study of court strategies to streamline the processing of narcotics cases found substantial reductions in case-processing time in both Chicago's and Milwaukee's drug courts. In Chicago, time from first appearance to adjudication dropped more than 70 percent (from 245 to 69 days) following the establishment of the night narcotics courtrooms; in Milwaukee, processing time dropped more than 50 percent (from 253 to 117 days).¹ Another study² reported a reduction in processing time from 154 to 30 days, which was attributed to the opening of special felony waiver courts in New York.

Although these improvements in case-processing time are dramatic, narcotics cases are probably the easiest

felonies to adjudicate because they typically involve only a police officer's testimony, a lab report, and possibly a motion to suppress evidence. In contrast, homicides and sexual assaults are among the most difficult to try. Milwaukee, encouraged by the success of its specialized drug courts, set up three special courts for homicides and sexual assaults (two began in October 1991 and one was added in November 1992), which were patterned after the narcotics court model. Like the narcotics courts, Milwaukee's new violent crime courts incorporate the concept of a scheduling order that commits all parties to resolve the case within 90 days and provide reciprocal discovery.

The myriad of motions that may be filed in homicide and sexual assault cases (e.g., suppression of evidence, admissibility of statements, improper identification of the defendant, and sufficiency of the complaint) must be filed within 15 days of the scheduling conference, and a firm trial date is set for 60 days after the first appearance.

Initial results are highly encouraging: One year after the homicide courts opened, 152 cases have been disposed and the time from initial appearance to a finding dropped from 319 to 92 days. Convictions rose from 84 to 93 percent, while the number of defendants who pled guilty on the original charge jumped from 19 to 42 percent.³

NOTES

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8. Assessing Correctional Systems

America's correctional system continues to operate under intense pressure. Dramatic increases in the number of offenders sentenced to incarceration and in the average time they serve in jail or prison generate burgeoning costs, crowded conditions, a record number of offenders under supervision in the community,¹ and other challenges. The pressure also has generated among correctional professionals an impressive array of creative responses designed not only to surmount immediate obstacles but also to promote the long-term effectiveness of the corrections system.

Consider recent incarceration figures: at the end of 1993, 946,946 persons were in State and Federal prisons, compared to 882,500 at the end of 1992² and 1,012,851 on June 30, 1994.³ Between the end of June 1993 and July 1, 1994, the State and Federal prison population expanded by more than 71,000—the second largest 12-month increase ever recorded, with about 40,000 of that increase occurring during the first half of 1994.⁴ The number of female inmates increased by 6.2 percent and the number of male inmates increased by 3.9 percent during the first six months of 1994.⁵ Furthermore, in State and Federal jurisdictions, 2.8 million adults were on probation and 671,000 were on parole at the end of 1993—a 163 percent increase since 1980.⁶

All told, in 1993 the number of adults under correctional supervision—incarcerated (in jails and in State and Federal prisons) or in the community—reached a new high of 4.8 million, about 1 in every 138 adult women and 1 in every 22 adult men.⁷

The corrections system is responding by developing and continuing to refine correctional alternatives to fill the void between routine probation/parole and conventional imprisonment. Intermediate sanctions have surfaced not just in the context of a need to fashion an approach to avoid further straining the budgets and capacity of conventional prisons, probation, and parole systems. Alternative approaches also have emerged in response to new studies, which are causing policymakers and practitioners to resurrect the notion that some rehabilitative methods, other than incarceration, can be effective for some offenders. The public's demand for safety, such as through a shorter leash for some types of offenders under routine community supervision, has been a strong impetus. Further, correctional alternatives arose from the efforts of those who maintained that filling the sanctions gap between traditional imprisonment and probation and parole would result in a more just system of punishment, quite apart from concerns over costs and crowding.⁸ These alternatives seek to

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER . . .

- *Evaluating boot camps*
- *Evaluating community-based alternative for effective corrections*
- *Enhancing the effectiveness of corrections through innovative approaches*

strike an appropriate balance among the goals of offender accountability, equitable punishment, rehabilitation, deterrence, public safety, and cost-effectiveness. The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) evaluations discussed here shed light on progress to date.

ISSUES AND FINDINGS

Issues and findings include the following:

- A multisite evaluation of shock incarceration programs indicates that offenders in boot camps viewed their experience positively and developed more positive social attitudes. Parolees released from traditional prisons and boot camp graduates performed an equal number of positive activities during community supervision. The evaluation also found that boot camps' ability to reduce prison crowding was affected by a number of factors.
- An evaluation of the effectiveness of boot camp drug treatment and aftercare indicates that there is a need for greater emphasis on treatment and aftercare services. Many boot camps recognize this need and are placing more emphasis on drug treatment, prerelease service delivery, and postrelease aftercare.
- An evaluation of an intensive community supervision program indicates that offenders participating in the program spent almost one-half the time in prison than offenders in a control group. Program reports indicate substantial cost savings per offender as a result of the program. Follow-up of offenders who completed the program indicate that more than 60 percent spent time looking for a job or were actively employed (and thus less likely to return to crime).

CURRENT EVALUATIONS

Ongoing evaluation efforts include the following:

- Process and impact evaluations of four boot camps for youthful offenders are under way and will assess whether boot camps are an appropriate and effective intermediate sanction for youthful offenders as well as analyze the effectiveness of aftercare programs across the Nation.
- A process and outcome evaluation is being conducted of a jail-based life skills training program that trains inmates in using computers.
- An evaluation is being conducted of recently completed correctional facilities in terms of safety, security, cost, and other factors. The results will provide valuable information about the operation and cost-effectiveness of various facility designs and technology, which will help guide future facility planning and provide feedback to administrators of recently completed facilities regarding the effectiveness of facility design, staff deployment, and identification of potential problems.

- A comprehensive evaluation of work release programs in the State of Washington will provide information about program services, offender reintegration, and recidivism among work release participants as well as provide a case study of a work program. The results are expected to guide the development of future work release programs, provide information on the public safety risks such programs entail, and provide information on the cost savings such programs produce by reducing the length of stay in prison.

EVALUATING BOOT CAMPS

Boot camp programs, frequently called shock incarceration, require offenders to serve short periods of confinement in a quasi-military program similar to military boot camps or basic training. In 1983, Georgia implemented the Nation's first boot camp program, which was one of many sentencing options developed by the State throughout the 1980s in response to its crowded prison system.⁹

As of spring 1993, an NIJ-supported study identified 59 State and 10 local boot camps for adults in 29 States, as well as 9 boot camp programs for juvenile offenders.¹⁰ The Federal Bureau of Prisons also operates boot camps—one for males and another for females.¹¹ Typically, the major goals of boot camps are to reduce crowding in conventional prisons and to lower recidivism rates.

Since Georgia's fledgling program in 1983 and other States' programs that quickly followed suit, subsequent assessments affected the evolution of boot camps. Thus, although a military regimen still plays a significant role in shock incarceration, many boot camp programs now allot more time to rehabilitation, education, and drug treatment. A number of programs increasingly regard the assignment of offenders to aftercare services during the postcamp period as critical.

Multisite Study of Shock Incarceration

Eight States participated in the NIJ-sponsored multisite evaluation of shock incarceration conducted by researchers in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at the University of Maryland: Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, New York, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Texas. The shock incarceration programs in those States represent very different examples of the shock incarceration concept. The two most significant differences are whether the court or department of corrections makes placement decisions and whether the program focuses on treatment and education (as in Illinois, Louisiana, and New York) or on military discipline, physical training, and work (as in Georgia and Texas).

A primary goal of all eight programs is to reduce prison crowding and related costs. Some States seek to achieve reductions by assigning offenders who would otherwise undergo traditional incarceration to shock incarceration, under which they serve less time. The evaluation, completed in early 1994, measured program impact on crowding and on recidivism rates. Researchers defined offender recidivism as

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rearrest or return to prison whether because of a new crime or a technical violation. The analyses and conclusions regarding recidivism were based on a time-to-failure basis—that is, the length of time until recidivism occurred, not just on the basis of whether recidivism resulted.

Offenders in all eight boot camp programs participated in a rigorous daily schedule of military drill and ceremony, physical training, and hard labor. Program length ranged from 90 to 180 days. Generally, participants were young males convicted of nonviolent offenses and without extensive criminal histories. Programs varied in size, location (an independent site or within a traditional prison but with camp participants separated from the prison population), type of therapeutic programming, intensity of release supervision, and nature of aftercare during community supervision.

The research issues guiding the evaluation were whether shock incarceration programs were successful in fulfilling stated program goals and which components of the programs led to success or failure in fulfilling those goals.

Impact on Offenders' Attitudes, Activities, and Recidivism

The evaluation noted that all boot camp programs had a similar impact on the attitudes of inmates. Unlike inmates incarcerated in conventional prisons, boot camp participants believed that their experience had been positive and that they had changed for the better. Boot camp participants in each State also developed more positive social attitudes during confinement. Positive changes in social attitude were greater for offenders in boot camps that were voluntary, had higher dismissal rates, or devoted more time to therapeutic activities. Comparison samples of inmates incarcerated in a traditional prison also developed more positive social attitudes.

Overall, boot camp graduates and parolees released from traditional prisons performed about equally in terms of positive activities during community supervision. In Florida, boot camp graduates participated in more positive activities than parolees. In addition, evaluation results did not support the assumption in some quarters that the boot camp experience leads to the development of more negative attitudes.

A priority for all boot camp sites is to reduce recidivism through rehabilitation or deterrence. Specific rehabilitative strategies include developing self-worth or self-esteem, providing education, and supplying substance abuse education or treatment. Estimated recidivism rates for boot camp graduates during the first year of community supervision were between 23 and 63 percent for rearrests, between 1.3 and 13.8 percent for new crime revocations, and between 2.1 and 14.5 percent for technical violation revocations.

In general, the evaluation found that recidivism rates for those who successfully completed boot camp were similar to the rates for a comparison sample (in terms of demographic, offense-related, and criminal history variables) of prison parolees. Prior to their parole, the offenders in the comparison sample had been incarcerated in conventional prisons

for longer terms than the confinement periods of boot camp graduates. In the few sites where boot camp offenders had lower recidivism rates, the lower rates appeared to result from the process of selecting offenders for the program or from postcamp intensive supervision.

In five States, the boot camp experience did not reduce recidivism. In Oklahoma and Texas, boot camp graduates were no less likely to recidivate than prison parolees in comparison samples. In Georgia, boot camp graduates were more likely to be "revoked" as a result of a new crime than were a sample of probationers. In Florida and South Carolina, analyses revealed that those selected for participation in boot camp programs differed initially in some unmeasured way from those who were selected as comparison group members. Differences in offender recidivism appeared to spring from these preexisting differences and not correctional treatment.

In New York, Illinois, and Louisiana, there was evidence that boot camps reduced recidivism. In New York, the reduction in recidivism was limited to technical violations. In Illinois and Louisiana, boot camp graduates were more likely to be revoked as a result of a technical violation but less likely to be revoked as the result of a new crime. The programs in these States also stand out as the only ones that instituted an intensive community supervision phase. Thus, the lower recidivism rates are, very likely, due to the type of community supervision and not the in-prison phase of the program.

Effect on Prison Crowding

Boot camp program design is critical to the successful reduction of prison crowding. Programs empowering corrections departments to select boot camp participants are the most likely to alleviate prison crowding because they maximize the probability of selecting offenders who otherwise would have been sentenced to prison. Other program characteristics that affect the ability of boot camp programs to reduce prison crowding include eligibility and suitability criteria, program length, program size, and graduation rates.

The evaluations' analysis of program impact on prison bed space savings revealed that carefully designed programs can reduce prison crowding. The Louisiana and New York programs, in particular, reduced the need for prison beds. The major factor influencing prison bed savings is whether the boot camp program targets prison-bound offenders. To reduce prison crowding, a sufficient number of otherwise prison-bound offenders must successfully complete boot camp, thereby serving less time than they would have in a conventional prison. In contrast, selecting offenders from a pool of probation-bound offenders would result in more imprisoned offenders than otherwise would have occurred.

Evaluation models examining the effect of boot camps on prison crowding did not support the view that prison crowding would be reduced by lower recidivism rates caused by the camps. Even if recidivism rates of boot camp graduates were reduced by 50 percent, the evaluation indicates that there would not be a substantial savings in prison beds.

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Evaluations of Boot Camps for Juvenile and Youthful Offenders

The American Institutes for Research is conducting process and impact evaluations of four boot camp demonstration programs for NIJ. The programs include three programs for juvenile offenders (aged 14 through 17 years) in Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile and one in La Grange, Kentucky, for youthful offenders (aged 17 through 25 years). The program for youthful offenders, funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), began operations in July 1993; the three juvenile boot camps, funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, have operated since April 1992. The evaluations seek to determine whether boot camps constitute an appropriate and effective intermediate sanction for offenders in the above-mentioned age ranges.

The design of the four programs calls for offenders to receive some combination of extensive assessment, remedial or special educational services, substance abuse counseling or treatment, life-skills training, job-skills and job-readiness training, and other services to prepare them for a healthy and constructive life. Delivery of those services begins while the juveniles and youths are confined to the boot camps and continues during a mandatory period of intensive supervision after the offenders leave the camps. During the postcamp period, aftercare programs focus on reintegrating participants into their communities and having the offenders complete their education, find employment, and if appropriate, rejoin their families. Though aftercare participants are under supervision, the intensity of the supervision tapers off.

The evaluation also entails an overview and analysis of aftercare programs at sites across the Nation. The study will involve a survey of the structure of all boot camp aftercare programs, more comprehensive information from a smaller number of programs representing the major strategies for the design and delivery of aftercare, and case studies of the most promising programs.

The process evaluation of the boot camp programs employs case study techniques to assess implementation experiences of the sites; the content, nature, and costs of the programming; and the characteristics and experiences of boot camp participants. In some sites, the evaluation is supplementing case studies with the following information:

- Pretest and posttest comparisons of boot camp participants' attitudes, literacy skills, and drug and alcohol involvement;
- Descriptive information about the boot camp participants' engagement in legitimate activities—employment, job training, and school—during the aftercare period; and
- An assessment of the rates, timing, and sources of program attrition.

The impact evaluation of the three boot camps for juveniles involves an experimental design that includes random assignment of eligible participants to the boot camp treatment group or to a comparison group receiving court dispositions ordinarily received by offenders in the jurisdictions. Although the design ultimately calls for the collection of

pre- and postmeasures on a number of dimensions, this evaluation is not collecting those data but is laying a foundation so that such comparisons can be made later.

A quasi-experimental design will be used to evaluate the effects of the youthful offender boot camp. This design will compare the experiences of boot camp participants to those of a similar group of offenders in the correctional system. Applying various impact measures to the boot camp programs, the evaluation will produce findings to aid in the interpretation of the effects of treatment strategies on changes in individuals, provide insights about how to replicate programs and make them more effective and less costly in the future, and provide a foundation for estimating the impact of boot camps on recidivism after sufficient time has passed.

Among assumptions that the evaluation is testing are the following:

- Boot camp youths will improve their respect for authority, self-discipline, self-control, sense of responsibility, integrity, teamwork, personal appearance, bearing, social behavior, and work ethic during boot camp.
- Boot camp youths in aftercare will report improvements in their school performance, employment, housing, interpersonal skills, work ethic, self-control, self-esteem, respect for authority, peer relationships, responsibility, and alcohol and other drug use after 8 months in the program.
- Boot camp youths will have lower rates of crime referred for prosecution during aftercare than in the period preceding boot camp selection.
- Boot camp youths with the least serious prior records and most positive family social and educational characteristics will show the greatest improvements in intermediate outcomes and the lowest program dropout rate.
- Boot camps (including aftercare) will cost less than the aggregate set of ordinary juvenile correctional dispositions that control- or comparison-group youths experience.

Boot Camp Drug Treatment and Aftercare

As discussed in Chapter 4, several NIJ evaluations are under way pertaining to projects involving drug treatment in various traditional criminal justice settings, including corrections. An NIJ evaluation, completed in early 1994, describes and analyzes drug treatment programs in a nontraditional correctional setting: boot camps and postcamp aftercare programs.

Conducted for NIJ by Southern Illinois University's Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections, the evaluation surveyed facility administrators as well as individuals directly responsible for substance abuse programming at 55 local, State, and Federal boot camps. The evaluation also surveyed 21 substance abuse aftercare

A quasi-experimental design will be used to evaluate the effects of the youthful offender boot camp. This design will compare the experiences of boot camp participants to those of a similar group of offenders in the correctional system.

Only 75 percent of the boot camp facilities indicated the existence of separate alcohol or drug treatment programs, despite 100 percent of the system responses in earlier surveys maintaining that such programs existed.

programs, which were identified by respondents to the boot camp survey. Evaluators also visited three sites judged noteworthy. The evaluation's objectives were to determine the nature and extent of substance abuse treatment and education in correctional boot camps and aftercare programs throughout the United States and to identify policy implications.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the findings indicate that the emphasis of boot camp programming is changing. Although committed to rehabilitating and changing offenders' behavior, boot camps seem to be shifting their emphasis away from methods that instill discipline and provide physical training toward greater reliance on drug treatment, prerelease service delivery, and postrelease aftercare. In effect, a "second generation" of boot camps is emerging, one whose programming is more likely to include drug treatment. This shift in program focus is significant in light of the large percentage of drug abusers who enter those programs. Indeed, the study indicates that, since 1988 especially, boot camp administrators and staff regard drug treatment as a critical component of their curricula.

Discussed here are highlights of the evaluation's findings regarding substance abuse programming in boot camps and in aftercare.

Findings Regarding Drug Abuse Programming

The evaluation notes that considerable confusion exists about what constitutes drug abuse treatment. Earlier system-level studies indicate that all shock incarceration programs provided drug abuse programs. However, a more indepth inquiry of the present evaluation revealed discrepancies on this issue. Only 75 percent of the boot camp facilities indicated the existence of separate alcohol or drug treatment programs, despite 100 percent of the system responses in earlier surveys maintaining that such programs existed.

According to respondents to the evaluation's surveys, about 25 percent of the boot camps provided only a drug abuse education program, 25 percent provided drug abuse treatment, and 50 percent provided both drug abuse education and a drug abuse treatment program. However, evaluators noted that all facilities providing drug abuse treatment include drug abuse education as a program component of treatment whether or not they identify a separate drug abuse education program.

Of 29 State and Federal boot camp programs responding to the drug abuse survey:

- Sixty-nine percent provide drug abuse assessment, and 90 percent of those providing assessment have drug abuse treatment programs.
- Of those with drug abuse treatment programs, 50 percent use assessment data to classify inmates for drug abuse treatment at the facility, and 94 percent use interviews as a primary assessment tool—50 percent of these use a formally structured clinical interview.

- In addition, 83 percent with drug abuse treatment programs use case histories (beyond the offense) to help assist in drug abuse assessments, and 78 percent with treatment use psychological or behavioral tests to assist in drug abuse assessments.
- Eighteen percent of the boot camps providing treatment do not conduct drug abuse assessments.
- Sixty-four percent of the facilities providing treatment have decision mechanisms other than drug abuse assessments that mandate treatment.

Most respondents indicated using multiple assessment techniques to identify drug abuse problems in their offender populations. However, survey results indicate that the predominant mechanism for placement of boot camp offenders in drug abuse treatment is neither a diagnostic process nor a clinically based decision of need, treatment amenability, or potential effectiveness. Rather, the mechanism is a legally mandated or nonclinical decision process.

All but one of the reporting boot camps employed multiple "modalities" (treatment approaches) in their programming. These approaches included a combination of drug abuse education; group counseling; the Alcoholics Anonymous 12-Step model; individual counseling; and, to a lesser extent, milieu therapy. The therapeutic community approach, which has been identified as one of the most successful treatment strategies and one which would appear to lend itself to the boot camp approach, was found in only two States.

Not only did most programs employ multiple treatment approaches but they used multiple treatment "interventions" or specific types of treatment as well. The Alcoholics Anonymous 12-Step model, reality therapy, and stress management were consistently ranked as the most frequent treatments used regardless of the modality used. Traditional psychotherapeutic approaches designed to deal with offenders' underlying psychological and emotional problems were found relatively infrequently in the drug abuse programs. This suggests that most programs are using a pragmatic, skill-building orientation to help offenders cope with the problems and stressors they will encounter after boot camp.

The survey found that the most common method of staffing drug abuse treatment programs in boot camps (91 percent) is to use in-house correctional personnel. Another approach is to use contractors to run the programs or to employ a combination of both methods. Staff-to-offender ratios range from 4 to 1 to more than 90 to 1. Survey results support the notion that, generally, contracted staff are more qualified than correctional personnel in terms of educational preparation and certification in drug abuse treatment.

Findings Regarding Aftercare Programs

Evaluation findings suggest that links are often weak between boot camp activities and services offered to camp "graduates" during the community release portion of their sanction, particularly with regard to drug abuse treatment.

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Four strategies regarding the provision of aftercare services emerged from survey results. The common denominator appears to be the use of community supervision through probation or parole officers.

Four strategies regarding the provision of aftercare services emerged from survey results. The common denominator appears to be the use of community supervision through probation or parole officers (depending on whether the boot camp program is established as a probation component or as part of an incarceration sanction). With the exception of four facilities that identified no aftercare, virtually all respondents indicated some use of such supervision. However, beyond that basic commonality, wide variation exists in the scope and type of services provided to boot camp releasees, particularly relating to drug abuse programming. Inspection of these differences suggests that aftercare delivery may be categorized as four levels, which are described here.

At the first level, aftercare closely resembles traditional parole or probation supervision. A second, more structured level involves use of an intensive supervision model seen in such States as Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, and Virginia. At the second level caseloads are intensively supervised with more frequent contact and additional requirements, such as curfew, frequent urinalysis testing, and a structured process of referral to existing community drug abuse treatment programs. This approach generally provides greater continuity of treatment, since the specialized probation/parole officers may be identified as part of the boot camp program and have more extensive contact with the institutional staff than occurs in the traditional parole/probation scenario.

At the third level, contracted vendors provide drug abuse treatment in addition to community supervision. The difference between this approach and the one at the second level is a direct link between the boot camp facility/program and the aftercare provider(s). In this vendor model, the boot camp and provider develop an agreement stipulating the parameters of treatment (such as treatment length and type, assessment, and costs) and formalizing the mechanisms for placement of the offenders into the treatment program. States that reported using such vendors included Arkansas, Idaho, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Wisconsin.

The fourth level of aftercare services might be best characterized as a "comprehensive" model. In this approach, a structured mechanism for the provision of aftercare services integrates multiple treatment elements that go beyond drug abuse treatment/relapse prevention and parole or probation supervision. The approach emphasizes transitional services, such as job development and placement, education, housing assistance, and life-skills programming. Although the other three levels essentially may achieve this degree of programming, a distinguishing feature of the fourth level is that those elements are developed and formalized as part of the boot camp program continuum structure.

Policy Implications

The evaluation identified a number of policy-related issues. First, drug abuse treatment programs can be distilled into three primary components: (1) an assessment phase, including evaluation and development of a treatment plan; (2) a treatment program; and (3) aftercare. For

boot camp programs, the evaluation concludes that these components need to be linked. This is particularly true regarding the continuity between the incarceration phase and the community release or aftercare phase, as positive changes initiated in the boot camp environment must be reinforced in the community if they are to become permanent.

Second, drug abuse treatment in other than correctional settings generally is premised on a clinical determination rather than a legal one. The process that usually initiates such treatment in the community is based on an evaluation and determination that the individual is addicted to or suffers from a dysfunctional use of a drug. The mandatory nature of drug abuse treatment in boot camps should not be permitted to minimize the importance of assessing offender drug abuse problems nor of using this assessment as a basis for tailoring treatment to individuals.

Third, the evaluation notes that boot camp programs could enhance the appropriateness of treatment and simultaneously maximize available resources by better matching offender substance abuse needs with substance abuse programming. As opposed to the current practice seen in many programs where all offenders go through the same treatment regimen regardless of drug abuse history or addiction level, the duration and intensity of treatment and aftercare programming offered could be adjusted to fit more closely each offender's treatment needs. For example, offenders with no drug abuse or a minimal abuse history might be targeted for an "education only" program.

Fourth, the use of the therapeutic community treatment approach is strongly recommended by the evaluation. The evaluation notes that due to their size, structure, and philosophical orientation toward developing an esprit de corps and individual responsibility, boot camp environments lend themselves to a therapeutic community approach, which is acknowledged as one of the most successful drug treatment strategies.

Finally, the study concludes that the key to successful drug abuse programming in boot camps may well rest upon the quality of aftercare. The boot camp program must be viewed as a continuum, and treatment plans must encompass a means to solidify the positive changes in the offenders' lifestyles once they have returned to their community. If separate agencies are involved in providing incarceration and aftercare, policies should be developed and resources committed to ensure close coordination.

Developing National Boot Camp Standards

Assisted by an NIJ grant awarded in 1992, the American Correctional Association has established professional standards for both adult and juvenile correctional boot camps. An eight-member advisory board of national leaders administering boot camps assisted the association in obtaining needed information and in reviewing and refining the project's goals.

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A process evaluation is being conducted of four demonstration sites that developed and implemented a variety of corrections options for high-risk youthful offenders.

Draft formats and outlines for standards were circulated to national correctional leaders and other correctional professionals for review and critique. Upon completion, the draft standards were sent to five sites for field testing. The standards cover the following areas, among others: fiscal management, personnel, information systems, citizen involvement, building and safety codes, security, safety and emergency procedures, food service, health care, and programs.

Among the anticipated users of the standards are correctional administrators, planners, architects, designers, and others involved in the construction and operation of boot camps for adults and juveniles. Expected benefits of the standards include improved management, reduced risk of litigation, increased staff morale, improved consistency and clarity of direction, and heightened prospects for objective program evaluation.

EVALUATING COMMUNITY-BASED ALTERNATIVES

As noted earlier, the correctional system supervises the vast majority of offenders while they live in the community. How effectively can that be achieved, other than through routine probation and parole? Evaluations of the projects discussed below begin to supply answers.

Correctional Options for High-Risk Youthful Offenders

Four demonstration sites, funded by BJA, developed and implemented pilot programs featuring a variety of corrections options for high-risk youthful offenders. These options include providing a diverse array of drug treatment, vocational training, educational services, health care, and intensified forms of community supervision to offenders who otherwise would have been incarcerated.

Under an NIJ grant award, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency began a process evaluation of the pilot programs in 1993 to determine whether the corrections options programs operated by the following agencies are functioning as planned: Alameda County (California) Probation Department, Florida Department of Corrections, Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services, and New Hampshire Department of Corrections.

Early findings of the process evaluation are based on data reflecting program operations at the sites through November 1993. The average age of offenders screened and accepted by the programs was 23 years. Eighty-six percent of those eligible were male. More than 50 percent of those screened and accepted were African American; 40 percent were Caucasian.

Overall, a drug-related crime was the most serious offense committed by 56 percent of those accepted into the program. On average, each offender reported being involved with 2.66 drugs of abuse. Approximately 25 percent of the offenders had committed a property offense and 11 percent had committed a crime against a person.

Most offenders found eligible for the corrections options programs were probationers or parolees (26 percent), probation or parole violators (25 percent), or jail inmates (20 percent). The primary referring agencies were probation/parole departments (47 percent) and superior courts (31 percent). The average number of days from referral to decision was 10, and the average number of days from decision to program admission was 13.

Of the 686 offenders screened through November 1993, 78 percent were found eligible for the programs. Across all sites, the primary reasons for nonacceptance were history of violence (37 percent), client refusal (20 percent), and lack or denial of a substance abuse problem (19 percent).

Offenders admitted to the programs totaled 390 through November 1993, which is 57 percent of those screened and 73 percent of those accepted. Offenders accepted but not admitted include those randomly selected for inclusion in a control group in Alameda County, as well as those in Florida who were deemed eligible for the program but whose sentences did not include corrections options program participation.

For the three sites providing service data through November 1993, the combined hours of service averaged 135 per month. The combination of drug education counseling and 12-Step counseling was the most frequently provided service. Of 240 cases tested for drugs, 4 percent were positive. Community-oriented services accounted for the most service hours, which included community bonding and job readiness/vocational training.

The evaluation noted several general implementation issues. First, both the programs and their organizational structures are extremely complex. This complexity seemed to at least partially explain staff difficulty in obtaining and maintaining full support of key players within grantee agencies, courts, correctional facilities, probation and parole services, etc. Implementation of alternative programs required agency personnel to reconsider and reorganize their work.

Program complexity also required program leaders to keep all members of a large staff engaged in both treatment and research. Frequent monitoring, retraining, and inservice sessions on how the programs fit into the larger correctional system may be required. The evaluation results indicate that extensive preaward meetings with judges, district attorneys, and correctional personnel may help to engage people in both the treatment and research process.

Finally, the evaluation concluded that more pilot work is needed to provide a realistic picture of client flow, participation level, and level of interagency cooperation. With that additional information, future sites may be better able to anticipate delays and to avoid over- or understaffing in the initial phases of program implementation.

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NIJ is conducting a process and impact evaluation of day reporting centers serving probationers in urban, small city, and rural settings in Wisconsin to determine whether they constitute an effective and efficient intermediate sanction.

Day Reporting Centers as a Correctional Alternative

Day reporting centers are a type of intermediate sanction imposed on individuals on probation, parole, or pretrial release. These individuals must make frequent appearances at the centers to participate in services or activities provided by the centers or other community agencies. Failure to report or participate is a violation that could result in revocation of conditional release or community supervision.

In addition to reporting daily to centers in person, offenders usually must telephone the centers throughout the day and can expect random telephone checks by center staff during the day and at home following curfew. Some programs require offenders to contact their respective centers an average of 60 times weekly and to take random drug tests.¹²

Recognizing the need to evaluate further this intermediate sanction of day reporting centers, NIJ is conducting a process and impact evaluation of day reporting centers serving probationers in urban, small city, and rural settings in Wisconsin to determine whether they constitute an effective and efficient intermediate sanction.

The primary goal of the process evaluation is to prepare a case study that specifies components of the centers, their features, and the factors that affect their operations in order to provide policymakers, planners, and practitioners with information needed to make decisions about implementing and operating centers.

The evaluation is addressing a number of questions, including: What are the crucial implementation issues and barriers for jurisdictions considering whether or where to establish centers? How do centers differ across locations and in jurisdictions of different sizes? Do centers serve the types of offenders for whom they were designed? What factors or client characteristics appear to be associated with successful completion of center programs? What barriers to successful completion do clients face? What are the implementation and operating costs? Are the centers cost-effective compared to alternatives, including incarceration?

The impact evaluation seeks to determine whether the centers' clients are less likely to experience probation revocation compared to other probationers and whether clients are less likely to recidivate (as measured by arrest, conviction, or incarceration).

Completion of the evaluation is scheduled for Spring 1995.

Minnesota's Intensive Community Supervision Program

Funded by BJA and the Minnesota Office of Drug Policy, the intensive community supervision program in Minnesota consists of two components: (1) prison diversion and (2) intensive supervised release. The prison diversion component is for offenders who, in its absence, would have been sentenced to incarceration but who now serve their sentences in the community under special conditions. Intensive

supervised release is for offenders who have served a prison term but upon release require more than routine supervision.

Key features of both components of Minnesota's program are maximum community surveillance and supervision with a lengthy period of home detention and close contact by specially trained agents with small caseloads. At the program's core are weekly drug testing and mandatory work or job training. To determine the program's impact on public safety, offender reintegration, and justice system costs, NIJ awarded a grant to the RAND Corporation to conduct a process and impact evaluation.

Evaluation Approach and Research Issues

Evaluation of each component uses a classic experimental design: random assignment of eligible offenders to experimental and control groups, with each offender tracked for 12 months following assignment to the appropriate component. The referral of offenders from the Minnesota Department of Corrections to RAND for random assignment began in October 1990 and continued until the end of June 1992. Eligible inmates were screened by case workers at selected prisons in the State. Program staff reviewed each referral. Inmates meeting all criteria (judge approval, inmate consent, and legislative and Department of Corrections criteria) were referred to RAND for random assignment either to the control or experimental group of the prison diversion study or to the control or experimental group of the intensified supervised release study. Offenders assigned to the prison diversion control group served their imposed terms of incarceration and, upon parole, underwent routine supervision. Offenders assigned to the control group pertaining to intense supervised release received routine supervision.

Analysis of collected data focuses on the following major research issues:

- The analysis will identify the types of offenders referred for prison diversion and compare them to the types of offenders who actually participated. The evaluation also will compare the characteristics of those offenders assigned to intensive supervised release to those offenders on regular supervised release.
- The evaluation will examine the services provided; specifically, the evaluators will determine to what degree the planned components of the program were actually delivered and to what extent the services differed from those provided to the control group.
- The evaluation will report multiple indicators of recidivism during the 12 months following each offender's assignment to the program, such as number of arrests, time to first arrest, and first technical violation. In addition, the analysis will report the rate of arrests, which refers to the number of arrests per year per individual during the 12-month period. Furthermore, the evaluation will indicate the proportion of offenders who do not recidivate (and, conversely, the proportion who fail) within each month of the followup period.

Key features of both components of Minnesota's program are maximum community surveillance and supervision with a lengthy period of home detention and close contact by specially trained agents with small caseloads.

The prison diversion component of the Minnesota program resulted in diverted offenders spending almost 50 percent less time in prison than offenders in the control group during the 12-month followup period.

- The evaluation will examine what impact the program had on offenders' social adjustment. Program effectiveness, of course, involves more than recidivism. The program encourages (and, in some instances, mandates) that participants obtain employment, attend treatment, perform community service, pay victim restitution, etc. The evaluation will examine the extent to which offenders actually participated in such activities and will ascertain the response of staff when offenders failed to comply. Program participation rates also will be used in the recidivism analysis to determine whether program participation (when offender risk level is controlled) is statistically related to lower recidivism.
- The evaluation will compare annual costs of prison diversion with those of incarceration and costs of intensive supervised release with those associated with regular supervision.

Preliminary Findings

The process evaluation suggests that the program has been implemented as designed in terms of the frequency of contacts and drug testing and of the progression of offenders through the various phases of the program.

Participants in the prison diversion component of the Minnesota program were low risk, and most were male, Caucasian, unemployed at the time of their current arrest, and high school graduates. A small proportion were married. Offenders were likely to have a fairly extensive record, given their average age of 27 at the time of the current conviction. More than one-third had served a prior prison term, and offenders averaged seven prior arrests.

Compared to offenders in the prison diversion control group who were ultimately paroled to regular supervised release, offenders diverted from prison had higher rates of face-to-face contacts with their agents (an average of eight per month) and also were tested more frequently for alcohol or drug use than were their paroled counterparts on regular supervision.

The measures of program participation for prison-diverted offenders suggest that they complied with program conditions, including mandatory employment of at least 20 hours per week or participation in a training program. More than 60 percent reported spending time looking for a job or said they were actively employed during the 12 months they were tracked; 20 percent were in an educational training program.

The prison diversion component of the Minnesota program resulted in diverted offenders spending almost 50 percent less time in prison than offenders in the control group during the 12-month followup period. Evaluators expect to document substantial savings in overall costs per offender. Program reports from the Minnesota Department of Corrections indicate a savings of 7,181 bed days, or \$466,765, during the first half of 1993.

The evaluation results should be of interest to State legislatures and corrections policymakers nationwide. Extremely important to know is whether the program achieved stated objectives and at what cost. Also important to discover is how intensive community supervision and other intermediate sanctions can be incorporated into a sentencing guidelines structure.

Local and State policymakers are grappling with how best to meet a public mandate that requires punishment without bankrupting their budgets. To assist in this policy process, researchers need to continue to empirically document the effects of various sanctions, specifically in terms of costs, recidivism, and public safety. Once those estimates are derived, policymakers can engage in more constructive debates concerning whether the dollars expended are warranted given the expected benefits.

ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CORRECTIONS

Although the following approaches—jail-based life skills training, postoccupancy evaluations of correctional facilities, and work release—target aspects of traditional incarceration, they share with intermediate sanctions the goal of forging a more effective correctional system. The approach is innovative in that it has garnered private-sector support and a company hires and trains those on work release.

Jail-Based Life Skills Training

Under a 1993 NIJ grant, the California State Board of Corrections is conducting a 24-month process and outcome evaluation of the office-technology life skills development program for male and female prisoners sentenced in one of Sacramento County's jail facilities. The program trains inmates to operate computers and standard personal computer-based software, such as word processing and desktop publishing applications.

The evaluation will track program participants and a group not enrolled in the training and will collect data on inmate participation, training achievement, and postrelease criterion measures of community adjustment, including recidivism and employment.

The evaluation will provide useful findings to the jail site and other interested jurisdictions, enable the California Board of Corrections to develop sustainable evaluation capacity for current and future State-funded jail-based life skills programs, and document the process of developing the evaluation and share this information with others. The assessment thus will address the increasing interest of educators, corrections officials, and State program funding sources in determining the "public paybacks" of jail-based education and vocational training programs and the adjustment of participants after release.

Under a 1993 NIJ grant, the California State Board of Corrections is conducting a 24-month process and outcome evaluation of the office-technology life skills development program for male and female prisoners sentenced in one of Sacramento County's jail facilities.

If administrators are to make appropriate decisions, they must not only know what facility designs have been developed by other jurisdictions but also understand how well those designs have worked.

Postoccupancy Facility Evaluation

Jail and prison administrators continue to identify crowding as one of their most significant problems. In response, public officials have begun facility construction programs; in so doing, they must make some difficult decisions and face many challenges. Because evaluation in this area is still relatively new, data are as yet absent pertaining to the operational effectiveness of various facility designs and technology, which have not been measured in terms of safety, security, and cost effectiveness.

Clearly, construction costs represent significant expenditures. Planners cannot afford the time or money to repeat others' mistakes or "reinvent old wheels." Equally clear, despite billions of dollars spent on construction, physical plant costs represent only a fraction of the total institutional costs over the life of the facility. Lifecycle cost analyses suggest that operational costs account for approximately 90 percent of all expenses. Design decisions can have a major impact on such costs.

Officials have had ever-increasing access to design and cost information from other jurisdictions. These data are invaluable in the planning and early design phases of a new facility. What officials do not have, however, is the information necessary to evaluate the operation of recently completed facilities. If administrators are to make appropriate decisions, they must not only know what facility designs have been developed by other jurisdictions but also understand how well those designs have worked.

Thus, in 1993, NIJ awarded a grant to help fund an evaluation of recently completed correctional facilities in terms of such factors as safety, security, and cost. Funding for the project also was provided by the National Institute of Corrections and a number of State and local correctional agencies. The project in brief encompasses the following activities:

- **Literature Review**—An ongoing literature review will include postoccupancy evaluations completed or in progress since 1991 to supplement previously collected information.
- **Data Collection and Conduct of a Benchmark Survey**—During 1992–1993, the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) completed a survey of nearly 300 new jail or prison facilities. The survey resulted in information on facility design, technology cost, and construction cost. During that same period, the NIJ Fellowship Program provided for the development of a survey instrument intended to measure facility safety, security, risk to staff, risk to inmates, ability to separate inmates, suicide prevention, escape prevention, fire prevention and surveillance, staffing patterns, programs, and medical facility use. The survey instrument will be distributed to the same 300 institutions addressed by the NCJRS construction survey so that construction data can be measured against the operational issues that have been identified.

■ **Data Analysis**—Once data have been collected, a basic descriptive analysis will be completed. Survey items will be organized into scales based on the apparent similarity of content (for example, questions on staff and inmate safety can be summed into a scale of facility safety).

■ **Detailed Evaluations**—Detailed case study evaluations will be conducted at five or six sites and will include jail, prison, and juvenile detention facilities. Sites selected represent interesting, important, and contrasting examples of facility design and operation.

■ **Development of Training Materials**—Evaluation instruments and procedures manuals will be developed. The items will enable such agencies as the National Institute of Corrections and the National Sheriff's Institute to provide training in postoccupancy evaluation. Jail and prison administrators then will be able to complete evaluations with in-house staff.

The postoccupancy evaluation of correctional facilities will benefit local, State, and Federal prison officials throughout the country in two major ways. First, it will provide data for new facility planning. For example, the evaluation will answer such questions as: How well did a particular design and recommended staffing level for a recently completed facility accommodate crowding? How effective is a new technology? What are the energy use and lifecycle costs associated with a particular design?

Postoccupancy evaluation information is also critical for administrators of recently completed and occupied facilities. Administrators will benefit from the information the evaluation provides on how well the facility is performing its mission and how effectively personnel have been deployed, as well as from identification of problems that can be resolved through operational changes or construction modifications.

The project is scheduled for completion in Spring 1995. Former NIJ Fellow Carole Sanchez Knapel is directing the evaluation.

Work Release in the State of Washington

An emphasis on prosecuting and imprisoning drug-involved offenders exacerbates prison crowding in many States. Jurisdictions are searching for alternatives to imprisonment that deter offenders from committing crime while protecting public safety. One mechanism for reducing pressure on the prisons is to reduce the length of stay. Work release programs offer promise in that area. Offenders near the end of their prison sentences live in residential facilities in the community, participate in work and training programs during the day, and return to supervised custody at night. The hope is that transitional services, such as employment opportunities and job training for work release participants, will result in higher rates of employment, lower recidivism rates, and better community adjustment following the offenders' sentences.

Administrators will benefit from the information the evaluation provides on how well the facility is performing its mission and how effectively personnel have been deployed.

A randomized field experiment is examining the impact of work release on offender recidivism and reintegration by comparing offenders placed in Seattle work release facilities with those who complete their terms in prison. Washington's approach to work release is innovative in that it has garnered private-sector support.

Under a grant awarded by NIJ, RAND Corporation evaluated work release in the State of Washington. The evaluation consisted of three studies. First, a statewide review is providing information on who participates in work release, what services they receive, and how many successfully complete the program. In addition, two field studies are assessing program impacts. A randomized field experiment examined the impact of work release by comparing offenders placed in Seattle work release facilities with those who complete their terms in prison. Washington's approach to work release is innovative in that it has garnered private-sector support. A case study of the Pioneer Industries work program used by Seattle area work release participants describes the program and the work release experiences of approximately 30 work releasees hired and trained by Pioneer Industries and a matched sample of work releasees with other community employment. Those studies are discussed below.

Study 1: Statewide Review of Work Release

Study 1 is descriptive in nature. The evaluation examined the records of offenders subject to the Washington Sentencing Reform Act who were discharged from the Washington Department of Corrections in 1990. Using its Offender-Based Transaction System, the Washington Department of Corrections provided information on each 1990 releasee's demographic characteristics (i.e., age, race, sex, and county of conviction), current conviction offense, prior record information, work release placements, institutional infractions, institutional work assignments, and length of stay.

An analysis of those data resulted in a number of key findings. Being placed in a work release program is the culmination of an application and acceptance process by both the inmate and the Department of Corrections. Almost one-half of the 2,452 male offenders applied for work release. Of those who applied, approximately 80 percent were accepted. Eventually, almost 40 percent of offenders were placed in work release facilities at some point during their sentence and spent an average of 104 days there. Not all, however, exited their prison sentence from a work release facility. Approximately 30 percent of offenders placed in work release facilities were returned to prison and ultimately released to the community directly from the prison environment. Overall, 27.5 percent of the inmates returning to the community in 1990 did so from a work release facility.

Regarding the application process, an average of 7.1 months elapsed before an application packet was submitted. Once the application was submitted, 35.2 days elapsed before a decision was made to accept the inmate into work release. An additional 56 days elapsed before the inmate actually entered a work release facility. The average length of time offenders, including both those who were unsuccessful and successful on work release, were in work release was 103 days. For offenders who were unsuccessful (i.e., were returned to prison and released directly into the community), average time in work release was 55 days compared to 124 days for successful offenders (those released into the community from work release).

Department of Corrections policies indicate that certain offenses and offender types are not eligible for work release. An analysis of the differences between inmates who did and did not participate in work release revealed that younger and older inmates are less likely to participate than are middle-aged offenders. In addition, Hispanics are less likely than Caucasians or African Americans to participate and those with property offenses and minor prior records are more likely to participate. Those with no prior record were least likely to participate.

Offenders participating in work release averaged just over 30 years of age; 48.7 percent received less than a high school education; and 67.2 percent were single. One-fourth were employed at the time of the arrest that led to their incarceration, whereas about 40 percent had no occupation or were unskilled. Almost two-thirds never worked or worked only occasionally.

As for prior criminal records, work release participants averaged 4.5 prior arrests, 2.4 felony convictions, and 2.1 misdemeanor convictions. The vast majority had drug problems, and almost 60 percent had prior involvement in drug sales. Drug and alcohol treatment needs were high for over 80 percent of the participants; more than 75 percent had moderate or high employment assistance needs.

The median salary for a participants' initial work release job was \$8 per hour. About 50 percent of the work release jobs were in the restaurant or construction industry. Less than 5 percent of the participants quit their jobs because of a problem with an employer or other reasons, but about 16 percent of the jobs were terminated when the participant returned to custody. Drug testing was performed an average of 3.2 times monthly; 8.4 percent of participants tested positive. While in work release, 58 percent of participants committed infractions. Almost 20 percent of the infractions were for possession of drugs or alcohol, and more than 40 percent were for rule violations.

Age, race, and prior criminal record were associated with successful completion of work release. Older offenders were more likely than younger ones to be successful, with Caucasians more successful than Hispanics or African Americans. More than 40 percent of the Hispanic and African American inmates were returned to prison, in contrast to 25 percent of white offenders. On average, for every 3 days on work release, participants spent 1 day back in prison.

If judged by recidivism, work release appears to do as well as letting offenders serve out their terms in prison. Records indicate that no inmates were arrested during work release. Subsequent arrest rates were similar for both groups: 24.1 percent for the work release group (most frequently for drugs) and 30.2 percent for those serving out their terms in prison, which is a difference not statistically significant.

Study 2: Impact of Work Release on Seattle-Based Offenders

The study randomly assigned Seattle-based offenders either to a group that participated in work release or to a group that did not. Those in the former group spent an average of 68 fewer days in prison than did inmates in the latter group.

An analysis of the differences between inmates who did and did not participate in work release revealed that younger and older inmates are less likely to participate than are middle-aged offenders.

The evaluation of the Pioneer Industries work program will benefit prison officials looking for ways to reduce the length of stay in prison through back-end release mechanisms.

For work release to break even, the evaluation estimated that the cost of a work release bed would need to be about 70 percent that of a prison bed. However, the Washington State Department of Corrections pays for work release beds regardless of whether they are being used. Cost savings may be realized if screening criteria were developed to predict the better candidates for work release, according to the researchers.

Study 3: Case Study of the Pioneer Industries Work Program

Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, the evaluation describes the goals and objectives of Pioneer Industries, implementation of Pioneer Industries' programs and policies, and the experiences of a sample of work release offenders who have been hired by Pioneer Industries and a similar group of offenders hired by others.

Pioneer Industries provided education, drug testing, and training. However, findings indicated that work release participants placed there performed no better, in terms of recidivism, than did work release offenders employed elsewhere. According to the researchers, one reason appears to be that work release participants spent a median of 3 months in Pioneer's program, which was designed for 18 months. Twenty-five percent of participants spent 1 month or less at Pioneer, and 44 percent were let go because they were unable to follow the rules, which the researchers did not find necessarily surprising given the poor prior work experience and occupational history of the participants.

Policy Implications

The completed evaluation will provide much needed information on how work release can best be implemented, what public safety risks such programs entail, and what offender and program characteristics are associated with success. The results will have immediate policy relevance, particularly for those who are responsible for devising sound programs that attempt to reduce corrections costs and offender recidivism without compromising public safety.

Specifically, the evaluation will benefit prison officials looking for ways to reduce the length of stay in prison through back-end release mechanisms. However, the results also will be of interest to community corrections officials as well. The extent to which such community programs as work release affect offender recidivism and reintegration into society are critical to our understanding of how best to supervise high-risk offenders in the community.

NOTES

1. Jankowski, L., "Probation and Parole 1990," *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1991. See also Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Probation and Parole Populations Reach New Highs*, Press Release, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, September 11, 1994:1.
2. Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States 1993*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, forthcoming 1995.
3. Bureau of Justice Statistics, *State and Federal Prison Population Tops One Million*, Press Release, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, October 27, 1994:1.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, 2.
6. Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Probation and Parole Populations Reach New Highs*, Press Release, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, September 11, 1994:1.
7. *Ibid.*, 1, 2.
8. See Cronin, R.C., *Boot Camps for Adult and Juvenile Offenders: Overview and Update*, Washington, DC: American Institutes for Research, August 1993:5.
9. MacKenzie, D.L., and C. Souryal, "Multi-Site Evaluation of Shock Incarceration," Final report to the National Institute of Justice. College Park, MD: Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland, March 1994:6.
10. Cronin, R.C., *Boot Camps for Adult and Juvenile Offenders: Overview and Update*, Washington, DC: American Institutes for Research, August 1993.
11. MacKenzie, D.L., "Boot Camp Prisons in 1993," *National Institute of Justice Journal*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, November 1993:22.
12. Gowdy, V.B., "Intermediate Sanctions," *Research in Brief*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1993.



9. Looking to the Future

State and local governments bear the greatest part of the burden of making communities safe; the majority of drug-related crime occurs within their jurisdiction. The Federal Government has enacted two important pieces of legislation to help State and local government agencies fight drugs and crime and encourage partnerships among Federal, State, and local agencies—the Omnibus Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (Public Law [P.L.] 99-570) and the subsequent Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 (P.L. 100-690). Focal points for future evaluations will be selected activities funded under the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

ASSESSING THE ANTI-DRUG ABUSE ACT OF 1988

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 retained the focus on drug-related crime found in the 1986 act but added a strong emphasis on violent crime. The 1988 act also emphasized the importance of coordination between Federal and State authorities as well as between State and local criminal justice officials responsible for substance abuse treatment and prevention.

One provision of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, the Edward Byrne Drug Control and Systems Improvement Grant Program, authorized the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) to distribute funds to reduce drug-related crime. BJA funds approximately \$500 million annually under the provisions of the grant program.

The act authorized the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to conduct a national assessment of the funding distributed under the act. The RAND Corporation won the award to assess the act's effects. The primary goal of the project is to analyze the ways in which Federal, State, and local criminal justice and drug control activities have been shaped by the grant program. The assessment also is considering the effects of the legislation on treatment, prevention, education, and public housing activities.

The assessment, which is nearly complete, will describe the distribution of anti-drug abuse grants to States and localities to create a nationwide picture of the types of projects and recipients supported with Anti-Drug Abuse Act funds. It also will compare the framework of the distribution process to other funding approaches with different requirements.

INSIDE THIS CHAPTER . . .

■ *Assessing the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988*

■ *Increasing States' evaluation capacity*

Data have been collected for BJA distributions made from fiscal years (FYs) 1987 through 1993. Fieldwork has been conducted in seven States (i.e., Arizona, California, Delaware, Iowa, New York, South Carolina, and Washington). These States gave the evaluation staff special entree into their operations at the State, county, and local levels. The staff assessed the sites' process for distributing the funds, implementing the programs, and evaluating the effects of the programs.

In June 1993, senior-level policymakers and researchers from the Departments of Justice, Housing and Urban Development, Health and Human Services, and Education gathered in Washington, DC, to attend a conference convened by BJA to discuss the major issues surrounding the assessment and their policy ramifications. The issues raised at the conference included the following:

- What are appropriate goals for Federal criminal justice assistance?
- What is the importance of strategic planning to program operations?
- How and to what extent can coordination among criminal justice, substance abuse treatment, and substance abuse prevention systems maximize the benefits of Federal funds?
- How can funding equity be assured and how should equity be balanced against other program goals?
- How should responsibility for program activities be distributed among State and local governments?
- What role should monitoring and evaluation of funded programs play?
- What is the appropriate Federal role?

The comments and feedback received from the attendees will be incorporated into the assessment's final report.

The assessment will result in a series of three major reports: (1) a description and analysis of the major facets of the legislation; (2) an assessment of the implementation of the legislation on Federal, State, and local agencies and consideration of how the Federal funds have been spent; and (3) a final report that will contain recommendations about the directions for future funding of this kind.

INCREASING STATES' EVALUATION CAPACITY

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 continued the evolving emphasis on greater accountability by recipients of grants. Each project funded under the 1988 act must contain an evaluation component and explain how anti-drug dollars are being coordinated with other agencies. States also evaluate, audit, assess, and account for programs annually.

In FY 1993, NIJ set up a pilot program designed to encourage and enhance evaluation research conducted by State agencies. The activities that are part of NIJ's State capacity-building goal are designed to

create partnerships between NIJ and State research and criminal justice agencies in conducting State-level evaluations and facilitating replication and adaptation of the best evaluation practices.

Five initiatives are in place throughout the country. These initiatives focus on particular needs within States and communities. For example, through NIJ's program, Massachusetts is evaluating several of its training programs related to domestic violence (discussed in Chapter 2). Technical assistance is provided to these projects by NIJ staff and selected consultants who work with the project staff at the sites in all phases of a project, offering guidance and making recommendations about different approaches to consider. The goal is to build lasting relationships among the local agencies, States, and NIJ. These partnerships in turn assist in responding to the needs of the participating agencies and strengthen, where appropriate, the evaluation environments and methodological approaches used within the agencies. Partnerships also encourage involvement of the appropriate stakeholders in all phases of the evaluation.

Other evaluation projects funded under this category of NIJ's program plan and discussed elsewhere in this report include the Colorado evaluation of teaching violence reduction skills to youth in an intensive probation supervision program (described in Chapter 1), Virginia's evaluation of the Court Appointed Special Advocates program (described in Chapter 2), and California's evaluation of a life skills development program for male and female prisoners in one Sacramento County jail (described in Chapter 8). These evaluations will provide valuable information on the effectiveness of the programs and make recommendations for improving them. The information will be used to decide whether the programs should be refined and expanded. The end results will help State and local areas use their limited resources most effectively and efficiently.

In Iowa, capacity-building efforts are concentrating on increasing the ability of the State's juvenile justice system to standardize the measurements the State uses to place juveniles in programs (risk assessment) and assess the outcome of programs. The juvenile justice system in Iowa, as in most other States, is a complex combination of components from various systems (e.g., the court and social, human, education, mental health, substance abuse, and private service agencies). Efforts to discover which programs work better for certain juveniles can be easily hindered by the autonomy of each system and each system's divergent priorities, conflicting definitions, and the related lack of a common impetus or focus for research and evaluation.

Although many of Iowa's juvenile justice programs have been evaluated, their findings apply only to the specific programs evaluated. The current project is attempting to relate and integrate these programs so that all juvenile justice system measurements and reporting mechanisms will relate to one another. The facilitator of the project, Iowa's Criminal and Juvenile Justice Planning Agency, is providing the various participating agencies and organizations with information about risk assessment tools and outcome measurements now in use in Iowa and elsewhere. The planning agency also is examining several

Five initiatives are in place throughout the country....the goal is to build lasting relationships among the local agencies, States, and NIJ.

types of forms and procedures—including intake forms, reporting mechanisms, court disposition reviews, service provider case plans, and contract-monitoring reports—to determine the extent to which existing materials can form the basis for standardized risk assessment criteria. A review of these materials and procedures will help establish benchmarks from which to develop the desired outcome measurements.

A key aspect of the Iowa project design is its reliance on the extensive participation of the agencies and officials involved. Project participants are helping identify the strength of various risk-predictive variables and are taking part in simulations of different models. The project will track a sample of juveniles whose dispositions will result from applying the new risk assessment model.

Not only is Iowa in the process of standardizing its juvenile justice outcome measures, it is also in the midst of a major restructuring of its child welfare services and the Medicaid eligibility of placement and nonplacement services to children and youths. Most child welfare placement service agencies that contract with the State have recently redefined their service approaches and are renegotiating their contracts, which require the use of service outcome goals. It is anticipated that the outcome measures and reporting procedures developed through the NIJ-funded juvenile justice project will be useful in the development and monitoring of service contracts.

The Iowa effort is in its early stages. Given the widespread support for the project, and because it is designed to result in the regular reporting of comparable outcome measurements from many different programs, the Iowa effort has the potential for affecting many programs and different types of policy decisions on an ongoing basis.

As funding for and reports resulting from evaluation capacity-building projects take shape, it is clear that States differ widely in their ability to evaluate programs and use evaluation data. A State's interest in and understanding of the potential uses of evaluation often are severely hampered by staffing and resource limitations. As the capacity-building studies described in this report (in the States of California, Colorado, Iowa, Massachusetts, and Virginia) are completed and the study findings are submitted, NIJ will continue to assess the effectiveness of this component of NIJ's program plan in order to better respond to the needs of States and increase their ability to conduct and sustain evaluation projects that, through shared information activities, will improve the ability of all criminal justice agencies to control crime and ameliorate its consequences.

Appendix: Fiscal Years 1992-1994 Evaluation Grants

National Institute of Justice Drug Control Evaluations (by fiscal year).

| Fiscal Year | Amount Awarded |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1992 | \$4.2 million |
| 1993 | \$2.8 million |
| 1994 | \$3.5 million |
| Total: | \$10.5 million |

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) wishes to thank the evaluation project directors and staff members who provided information for this report. The following list includes all NIJ grants made in fiscal years 1992, 1993, and 1994 under Section 520 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, as well as other NIJ evaluations reported in this document. These lists show the full title of each grant, the NIJ grant number, the name and location of the evaluating organization, and the amount of the grant. (NIJ publishes a full list of its awards each year, which is available from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20850.)

Grant Title: Evaluation of the Family Violence Prevention and Service Act
Grant No.: 92-IJ-CX-K009
Evaluator: Urban Institute
 Washington, D.C.
Grant Amount: \$208,825

Grant Title: Gangs and Targets of Intervention
Grant No.: 92-IJ-CX-K022
Evaluator: COSMOS Corporation
 Washington, D.C.
Grant Amount: \$249,943

Grant Title: Weed and Seed Prosecutors Information System
Grant No.: 92-IJ-CX-K023
Evaluator: American Prosecutors Research Institute
 Alexandria, Virginia
Grant Amount: \$98,231

Grant Title: Drug Market Analysis: An Enforcement Model
Grant No.: 92-DD-CX-K031
Evaluator: Institute for Law and Justice Inc.
 Alexandria, Virginia
Grant Amount: \$200,000

Grant Title: Evaluation of Violence Prevention Programs in Middle Schools
Grant No.: 92-IJ-CX-K030
Evaluator: Victim Service Agency
 New York, New York
Grant Amount: \$215,378

Grant Title: Longitudinal Impact Evaluation of Strategic Intervention for High Risk Youth
Grant No.: 92-DD-CX-0031
Evaluator: Urban Institute
Washington, D.C.
Grant Amount: \$581,952

Grant Title: Assessing the Impact of Community Policing on the Criminal Justice System
Grant No.: 92-IJ-CX-K033
Evaluator: Jefferson Institute for Justice Studies
Washington, D.C.
Grant Amount: \$275,000

Grant Title: Data, Research and Analysis for Geographic Narcotic Enforcement
Grant No.: 92-IJ-CX-K035
Evaluator: Kansas City Missouri Police Department
Kansas City, Missouri
Grant Amount: \$90,037

Grant Title: Evaluation of Correctional Options Demonstration Program
Grant No.: 92-DD-CX-K037
Evaluator: National Council on Crime and Delinquency
San Francisco, California
Grant Amount: \$399,904

Grant Title: Boys and Girls Clubs in Public Housing
Grant No.: 92-DD-CX-K038
Evaluator: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Grant Amount: \$199,998

Grant Title: National Standards for Adult and Juvenile Corrections
Grant No.: 92-DD-CX-K039
Evaluator: American Correctional Association
Laurel, Maryland
Grant Amount: \$249,931

Grant Title: Evaluation of Boot Camps for Juvenile Offenders
Grant No.: 92-DD-CX-K043
Evaluator: American Institutes for Research
Washington, D.C.
Grant Amount: \$649,710

Grant Title: National Evaluation of the Weed and Seed Program
Grant No.: 92-DD-CX-K044
Evaluator: Institute for Social Analysis
 Alexandria, Virginia
Grant Amount: \$549,458

Grant Title: Evaluating Domestic Violence Training Program
Grant No.: 94-IJ-CX-K001
Evaluator: Massachusetts Commission on Criminal Justice
 Boston, Massachusetts
Grant Amount: \$46,979

Grant Title: State Evaluation Capacity Building
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-K017
Evaluator: Colorado Division of Criminal Justice
 Denver, Colorado
Grant Amount: \$49,526

Grant Title: Iowa State Evaluation Capacity Building
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-K019
Evaluator: Iowa Department of Human Rights
 Des Moines, Iowa
Grant Amount: \$50,000

Grant Title: State Evaluation Capacity Building
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-K021
Evaluator: California State Board of Corrections
 Sacramento, California
Grant Amount: \$50,000

Grant Title: Enhancing Criminal Justice Evaluation Capacity in Virginia
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-K022
Evaluator: Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Service
 Richmond, Virginia
Grant Amount: \$49,015

Grant Title: Improving School Safety by Empowering Students
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0026
Evaluator: University of Nebraska Board of Regents
 Omaha, Nebraska
Grant Amount: \$120,841

Grant Title: The Role of Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Domestic Violence
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0028
Evaluator: Crime and Justice Research Institute
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Grant Amount: \$239,437

Grant Title: Dispensing Justice Locally: Implementation and Effects of the Manhattan Community Court
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0032
Evaluator: Fund for the City of New York
 New York, New York
Grant Amount: \$212,914

Grant Title: An Evaluation of the Chicago Anti-Drug Initiative
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0037
Evaluator: University of Illinois at Chicago
 Chicago, Illinois
Grant Amount: \$174,883

Grant Title: Two Models for Treating Sentenced Federal Drug Offenders
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0041
Evaluator: National Council on Crime and Delinquency
 San Francisco, California
Grant Amount: \$140,309

Grant Title: Expansion of SMART Program
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0043
Evaluator: Anaheim Union High School District
 Anaheim, California
Grant Amount: \$150,000

Grant Title: Reducing School Violence in Detroit
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0046
Evaluator: Michigan State University
 East Lansing, Michigan
Grant Amount: \$214,970

Grant Title: Day Reporting Centers as an Intermediate Sanction
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0048
Evaluator: Research Triangle Institute
 Durham, North Carolina
Grant Amount: \$167,673

Grant Title: Evaluation of Youth Gang Drug Intervention/Prevention Programs
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0051
Evaluator: Development Services Group
 Bethesda, Maryland
Grant Amount: \$140,000

Grant Title: Post Occupancy Facility Evaluation
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0053
Evaluator: Carole Knapel
 Capitola, California
Grant Amount: \$109,000

Grant Title: Reducing Disorder, Fear, and Crime in Public Housing
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0054
Evaluator: Washington State University
 Pullman, Washington
Grant Amount: \$206,251

Grant Title: Evaluation of the New York City Probation Drug Treatment
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0056
Evaluator: National Development and Research Institute
 Albany, New York
Grant Amount: \$137,070

Grant Title: Crime Prevention and Community Justice in Public Housing
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0057
Evaluator: Kings County District Attorneys
 New York, New York
Grant Amount: \$150,000

Grant Title: Tempe Police Department Use of Self Directed Work Teams
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0058
Evaluator: Institute for Law and Justice Inc.
 Alexandria, Virginia
Grant Amount: \$159,297

Grant Title: Expanding, Implementing, and Sharing the SMART Program
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0059
Evaluator: Norfolk Public Schools
 Norfolk, Virginia
Grant Amount: \$150,000

Grant Title: Specialized Courtrooms: Does Speeding Up the Process Jeopardize Quality of Justice
Grant No.: 93-IJ-CX-0060
Evaluator: American Bar Association
 Washington, D.C.
Grant Amount: \$139,294

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