

U.S. Department of Justice

Office of Justice Programs



**What To Do About Crime:
The Annual Conference on
Criminal Justice Research and Evaluation**

Sponsored by:

National Institute of Justice
Bureau of Justice Assistance
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

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Conference Proceedings

July 10-12, 1995
Renaissance Washington Hotel
Washington, DC

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Welcome and Opening Session

Jeremy Travis, Director, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice

Welcome to the 1995 Annual Conference on Criminal Justice Research and Evaluation, sponsored this year by the National Institute of Justice, the Bureau of Justice Assistance, and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, all of which are offices within the Office of Justice Programs.

We meet on an important topic at an important time. Crime and the concerns about crime remain number one issues in public opinion polls. The 1994 Crime Act represents a historic response to the problem of crime; and at the local level, dedicated practitioners and community groups are developing innovative responses to the challenges of crime, fear, and disorder. Within the National Institute of Justice, we are undertaking a very ambitious program to implement a research and evaluation strategy for each Crime Act initiative: community policing, violence against women, boot camps, and drug courts.

More than ever, there is a compelling need to know what works, to catalogue what we have learned, and to ask how we should do things differently. The theme of this conference, "What To Do About Crime," reflects our focus on effective responses and the need to translate research into action.

Our hope is that this conference, this year and in years to come, will become the premiere annual meeting place for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers who are thinking constructively and critically about our responses to crime. Collectively, we can all make contributions to this important national debate by

increasing the breadth and depth of this conference.

We are particularly pleased that a number of federal research agencies have joined us as supporters and participants in this conference, including the National Institutes of Health, the National Institute on Drug Abuse, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, the Family Violence Prevention Services Program, the U.S. Department of Education, and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Also, for the first time, all of the federal research clearinghouses will

"More than ever, there is a compelling need to know what works, to catalogue what we have learned, and to ask how we should do things differently."

participate in this conference. We believe it is important to see the forest as well as the trees and to stimulate our thinking about the next frontiers of research and policy development. We have cast a wide net to bring a variety of researchers to this conference, ready to discuss a wide variety of topics, looking far beyond the research activities supported by the Department of Justice.

To focus this discussion, we offer two themes: the promises and limitations of the criminalization of spouse assault and the effectiveness of treatment in the criminal justice context, with particular focus on treatment in prison. Papers will be presented in these areas by Jeffrey Fagan and Douglas Lipton (to be subsequently

published by NIJ), and five or six workshops will be conducted in each area. To stimulate our thinking about the next frontiers of research and policy thinking, we intend, this year and in future years, to develop thematic subjects of discussion within this annual conference.

Laurie Robinson, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice

There is probably no issue on the front page of the newspapers today that the American public cares more about than crime and violence. We know that there are no quick fixes in the criminal justice arena, but we have learned a great deal over the past 25 years about promising approaches and programs. Our purpose over the next several days is to build on and share that knowledge.

We are setting the pace for research and evaluation in the 1994 Crime Act programs by taking a percentage of money off the top of each program to devote to evaluation and research, to better inform the spending of these federal dollars. I hope and believe this will set a standard for how we think of evaluation and research across the board at OJP.

We are seeing that research questions are no longer confined to the academic world. Examples range from an article on the front page of *The New York Times* on the drop in the crime rate to the public debate in Texas on the issue of drug treatment in prisons, both relying on research. This underscores the difference your work is making and the promising marriage between the research and the practitioner community. Yet we should still be concerned about the many instances around the country where criminal justice policy is seemingly set without any apparent reference to research knowledge.

Collaboration and communication are central themes here. This conference, with sponsorship by three OJP bureaus, reflects a strong commitment by the Administration to coordination, communication, and partnership. OJP has improved communication by setting up coordinating committees across the bureaus to address common issues. We try to work together on our program planning and to coordinate programs addressing common themes. We have encouraged an unprecedented number of joint efforts among the bureaus and other federal agencies. We've also brought together and listened to groups of practitioners and state and local representatives, to insure that our programs are addressing the real needs of states, local communities, law enforcement, and other parts of the system. And we are doing a better job of getting information about promising programs out to communities by establishing avenues through Internet and telephone systems.

The main topics of this conference, family violence and treatment under the criminal justice system, are relatively new areas of priority for the department, but they are critically important ones. We know that these issues clearly contribute to the cycle of crime in this country. If we can find better ways to address these problems, we can go a long way toward preventing future crime and violence.

Nancy Gist, Director, Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice

We are here to address some of the critical issues that confront us as a nation, how to solve the problems of drugs and violent crime and, in particular, how to address the unique issues of family violence and drug treatment under criminal justice supervision. Before we move to that agenda, I want to take a look at how we

arrived here. The progress is due, in no small part, to BJA's innovative demonstration work through the Byrne Formula Grant program over the years. For the past 10 years, BJA has conducted 56 "laboratories" in the states and territories.

Examples in the area of family violence include experiments in the state of Hawaii, with its comprehensive program for domestic violence, and Massachusetts, where Byrne funds were used to establish a court with jurisdiction over family violence. Byrne discretionary money also led to the formation of drug courts with jurisdiction over drug cases and to court supervision of a treatment component for offenders. The most famous example is the Miami drug court. BJA evaluated state strategies, processed grant applications, and awarded grants under the 1994 Crime Act, which included a violence against women initiative.

We want to ensure that the best information about promising programs and fully documented success is disseminated as widely as possible, so that all of us can continue to make our communities safer. BJA is very proud of this work. In its partnership in hosting this conference, BJA wants to ensure that the best information about promising programs and fully documented success is disseminated as widely as possible, so that all of us can continue to make our communities safer.

**Shay Bilchik, Administrator,
Office of Juvenile Justice and
Delinquency Prevention, U.S.
Department of Justice**

I don't believe that the topic of research and evaluation has ever received as much scrutiny as it does today. Both in the public and private sectors, your work is relied on to justify the existence of countless programs and to serve as a credibility check for our criminal and juvenile justice systems.

I can remember, as a beginning prosecutor, finding the research journals and reading through them to try to learn about the cutting edge in the criminal justice field. Our discussions back then did not need to justify the survival of our programs, only their improvement. Today's discussion has a bearing on the ending of programs and the need to make a case for their refunding. Today, practitioners realize they must closely evaluate their programs and be ready to show not only the process evaluation, but the impact as well. Research and evaluation are crucial to the success and the survival of the juvenile justice system. The cycle of research and development—research,

"Both in the public and private sectors, your work is relied on to justify the existence of countless programs and to serve as a credibility check for our criminal and juvenile justice systems."

demonstration, evaluation, replication, and dissemination of information—is at the heart of the juvenile justice system. It is necessary to develop strategies and programs to be used at the state and local levels, because they have the responsibility to reverse the trend of increasing juvenile crime and violence.

The OJJDP Formula Grant Program is in place to help states and localities improve their juvenile justice systems through innovation. The federal role is to help provide states and localities with the information and assistance they need to do their job of keeping children from becoming criminals. OJJDP supported research shows that there are both factors that increase the risk of violent behavior and ones that protect juveniles. OJJDP has developed the

Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders, a guide which includes a blueprint for implementation, prevention, and graduated sanction programs which research and evaluation have shown to work.

In order for programs and policies to be effective, they must be based on quality evaluation and research. Evaluation and

research must be integrated into program development processes to achieve their true value. Our goal is to find answers through research and evaluation, solve the problems of juvenile delinquency, and bring research to influence practice. We must identify the causes of delinquency and the programs that work to counteract them. That is our best hope.

Plenary Session: The Criminalization of Spouse Assault: Promises and Limitations

Jeremy Travis, Director, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice

Family violence is an issue of great concern to the nation. Annually, five million American women experience violence within intimate relationships. Title IV of the 1994 Crime Act calls for fundamental change to the concepts relating to violence against women. We have to address the need for additional research and evaluation. The Crime Bill specifies a research agenda that will increase our understanding of violence against women. In addition, the Crime Bill mandates a study of the extent to which states collect and store centralized data on sexual assault cases. The Crime Bill also mandates a study of the extent to which the Battered Women's Syndrome defense is used in court cases. The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) research solicitation, which came out a few weeks ago, was designed after a collaborative strategic planning conference with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Through the National Institutes of Health (NIH), a separate solicitation is also coming out to develop knowledge of the causes of violence against women.

Our first plenary speaker, Professor Jeffrey Fagan, is evaluating the 1991 New Jersey legislation on domestic violence. He is a member of the National Research Council's panel on the assessment of family violence. The first discussant, Alana Bowman, is supervising deputy of the domestic violence prosecution unit in the Los Angeles City Attorney's Office. She has been a pioneer in the prosecution of family violence. For the past two years, she has served as Chair for the Los Angeles County Domestic Violence Council. The

second discussant, Wendy Baldwin, the Deputy Director for Extramural Research at the National Institutes of Health, has demonstrated leadership in many women's and children's issues. Let me turn the dais over to Professor Fagan.

Jeffrey Fagan, Professor, School of Criminal Justice, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

I have prepared a long paper on what is working, addressing methodological issues, strength of evidence, and other technical things; but I would like to talk, instead, about the infrastructure of knowledge: how we learn and how we can learn better. In my paper for a 1977 NIJ evaluation conference, I discussed evaluation of treatment outcomes. It is fair to ask what has changed since then. From a contract researcher's perspective, success means: we received funding, finished the research, published results, got more money, had some influence on policy, got tenure, started debates, and got on the media. Evaluation has had to compete with other research interests for scarce dollars within the agency. It is often considered to be driven by policy rather than theory.

I would argue that the Minneapolis domestic violence experiment has been noteworthy, not as an evaluation of domestic violence, but as a test of basic theory. It was a research project intended to test deterrence theory, like its replication programs—evaluation was not its primary concern. The Rand prison inmate services study, in my opinion, was the second most influential NIJ-sponsored study. Although it produced great controversy, it brought methodological developments. These projects, however, were not done in the context of evaluation.

Why have evaluations not had much influence on criminal justice reforms? This is due to a segregation of basic research from evaluation and the underlying segregation of policy and practice from theory.

In the 1960s, something that had been a private family matter became a target for state intervention—child abuse. There is very little societal ambivalence in responding to physically and sexually abused children. The transition has not been so smooth for spouse abuse. In earlier years, police would try very hard *not* to arrest domestic batterers. They were trained in crisis intervention, trained to look for alcohol problems, etc. In the 1970s, under the influence of feminist and victims' rights groups, this began to change, as focused advocacy strengthened criminal justice responses. Under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which funded 23 domestic violence programs between 1976 and 1981, shelters and special prosecutorial programs developed, and in the 1980s institutionalization began. This covered a 30-year period, a short time for social science but "several lifetimes" politically.

The criminalization of spouse assault during this period proceeded along three parallel tracks:

- Criminal punishment and deterrence of batterers,
- Batterers' treatment, and
- Civil restraining orders or protective services for victims.

There was a new generation of laws, recognizing risks to cohabitants as well as married couples. Increased funding for shelters and other measures was arranged in different ways, such as through fees on marriage licenses. Victim advocacy groups worked for legislation and funding. Many states developed sweeping measures and strong legislation, such as requiring filing for divorce before allowing issuance of a protective order. This wide range of activity

recognized the reality of spouse assault and the complexity of criminalizing it.

New Jersey has the strongest law for protective orders, specifying 29 different forms of emergency relief, including cash assistance and custody of the home. It makes violation of the protective order a felony. Most importantly, it provides detailed procedures for implementing the law at the local level.

How effective have these measures been? There have been many complaints, and this was the reason for the establishment of a National Academy of Sciences panel to evaluate the changes. We have gone through and used a "gold standard" and sorting process to look at evidence and determine its strength. Evidence of effectiveness has been inconsistent.

Much of the research is descriptive. We found many weak evaluation designs. Police actions received the greatest focus. The Minneapolis experiment showed no clear-cut answers. Even after standardization across the sites, some places showed a small deterrence effect, some showed a small escalation, and some showed no effect. In Omaha, offenders were absent when warrants were issued. There is a lot of descriptive work on how police can best help victims. In prosecution, experimentation was extremely rare. In the Indianapolis domestic violence experiment, findings were difficult to interpret, but we got insight into how decisions were made, both by victims and in prosecutorial offices.

Restraining order research is in much the same condition. Restraining orders were found to be minimally effective—in some cases they did more harm than good. There are some interesting studies in Quincy, Massachusetts. It's very difficult to mount a credible experimental design to answer research questions in these areas. Available sanctions have been limited, civil and criminal systems showed poor information coordination, and a long-standing

ambivalence exists toward domestic violence incidents.

Weapons seizures got fast action. Treatment programs for batterers have proliferated around the country, but there is limited evidence of effectiveness. CDC did a multi-site experiment in two states to check on recidivism and repeat offenses. Coordinated responses to domestic violence, as developed in Minnesota and San Francisco, had many benefits but were difficult to evaluate. A web of social control is placed over would-be batterers. Despite the obvious benefit of systematic support to women and children, there was still no strong evidence to formally evaluate. It's very difficult to do this without some kind of a "control jurisdiction." We cannot draw conclusions about anything other than the impact of arrests and subsequent violence. The promise of criminalization of spouse assault has not been realized in terms of evaluation data. Despite favorable intuitive feelings, we still do not know if it works.

What lessons are there in this for criminal justice research? Understanding spouse assault involves complicated legal and social dimensions. For one thing, the victim often loves the assailant. Lengthy adversarial procedures to invoke punishments may be very difficult to arrange. The victim may be financially dependent on him, near poverty level without support.

Wife beating is a recurring event. It is common in about 10 percent of marriages, more than 30 percent in some subsets, and particularly high in working class groups (a group to which line police officers usually belong, possibly explaining ambivalence to the problem). It is not possible to police each home, to completely follow all cases through to punishment, or to arrest the batterer each time he does it.

We have not done a very good job of measuring the effectiveness of whatever we have done. The field is "littered" with weak

evaluation results. We don't do clinical trials. How credible is the evidence? Follow-up is often too short; data collection is costly; evaluations are often started too late, and worse, with a retrofit of theory to program rather than starting with a conceptual framework and substantive theory as a basis.

We usually don't measure implementation. In 1979, the National Academy of Sciences had a panel on the rehabilitation of criminal offenders. The final paper called for careful measurement of the strength and integrity of every intervention that was put forward. We simply don't do that. Independent variables are assumed to be dichotomous rather than continuous. Untreated control groups may be unethical. But there are designs that could be used and are not: case control, factorial, and bootstrapping designs.

There are contradictions in the theories. Are we seeking general or specific deterrence? Do we protect the victim or sanction the offender? Does the system facilitate arrest or social intervention? Should the offender be punished or treated? Can general deterrence, led by legal institutions, be proven to result in zero tolerance? Specific deterrence is more realistic in my view.

There are also questions about the role of the legal institutions. Should social services be provided? Is it the role of legal institutions to provide linkages to social service agencies? What can the criminal justice system actually do well? Can the criminal justice system control a high frequency behavior of this magnitude?

Another problem is the segregation of theories on wife beating from theories on violence in general. Spouse assault is violence, yet we treat it almost exclusively as a crime of gender. This has done a disservice to the development of interventions. We have assumed that patriarchy causes wife beating; it leads us to

a specific set of policies. There is a much more complex set of hierarchically structured influences. What part is played by social control, situational arousal, or psychopathology? These might lead in a different direction.

There is a limited range of appropriate sanctions. The approach in the 1960s avoided arrest. In the 1970s, with the LEAA programs, there was a movement toward full prosecution of cases. The 1980s brought the Minneapolis experiment, but few of the offenders were handcuffed or actually spent time in jail. Most were not prosecuted; so where is the punishment? Jail time, unless injuries are serious, is a rarity. Intensive supervision probation is rare for this offense, although it is generally felt that there should be substantive punishment.

There are other practical limitations too. Police departments experience competition for their resources. Some of my students from police departments tell me a story like this. On a typical Friday, five patrol cars might be attending to traffic accidents, a bar disorder, and three "domestics." When a sixth call comes in for a robbery in progress, the fifth car would be ordered to leave the last-registered "domestic," an item of lower priority. This is the law in action, an assessment of whose life is in danger. Ambivalent attitudes are found not only in police, but in judges as well.

We must gain more knowledge, not just about people, but about domestic violence events—their motivation and control. There is a need to connect with cumulative basic research. In general, designs have been limited, often settling for descriptive results which are insufficient for fashioning new approaches and for evaluation. There has been too little attention to theory. Research should not be separated from evaluation. We need a theory about organizing our knowledge, in social policy as well as in hard science. How should the nexus be

structured between theory, method, policy, process, and evaluation?

I would propose that we need a "summit" on theories: about violence, about victimization, about events, and about the interface between legal and social control and treatment. We could test theoretically-driven interventions in policies. It is cumulative knowledge that leads to effective policies, not fads. Basic research should inform policy. We need basic research, for example, on the natural history of family violence. There should be further study of people who have successfully stopped violence outside of the criminal justice system. This would bring us theories that have not yet found a way into policy.

There should be no evaluations without theory. A stable infrastructure, tied to specific agencies and specific definitions, should support research. It's a bit burdensome for a program to have to allocate 15 to 20 percent of its budget for evaluation. I would recommend instead something like a "superfund," such as that developed for toxic waste, to which agencies could apply for evaluation funding. This support could come from private foundations, block grants, and other funders. An example of this kind of arrangement exists in the fund for AIDS study in New York.

We need more methodological consistency. Many studies in the area of domestic violence are incomparable due to different measures. This would be another good topic for another "summit."

Knowledge needs to be made available to the public, but this translation should be done by a different agency rather than by the researcher. For example, more could be published with the Government Printing Office. We are becoming an experimental society, and we do not need to be embarrassed by nonsystematic evaluations.

**Alana Bowman, Supervising
Deputy City Attorney, Domestic
Violence Prosecution Unit, Los
Angeles City Attorney's Office,
Los Angeles, California**

I am a person who tries to listen to research. I am glad to see what works and to resolve problems. The Los Angeles City Attorney's Office has tried to follow research with limited frameworks for application. We have to think about new ways of practical application. I have been involved in the response to domestic violence from the beginning of my career as a lawyer and a therapist. We have to consider how the issues are framed; we do not talk, for example, about "bad women" or "women who steal children." We have done a good job in the last 20 years in getting restraining orders and improving the acceptability of using these with the police, but what about child stealing by the abused parent? Our system is limited in dealing with that kind of problem.

In crimes against women, there is a threshold where jurisprudence has to catch up with social services. Without the proper connections and information, the justice system can backfire, "cause" crime. We need to know why domestic violence occurs and is so widespread. Why do people think they need to avoid traditional criminal sanctions? It is important to link with health system efforts. We have to hold the offender accountable; but, like doctors, we should use a "do no harm" caveat. The attitude and actions of one prosecutor can affect a whole community.

As I look at the numbers, I am dismayed. Data sets need to be bigger. There is an issue of reporting: under what circumstances is the victim more or less likely to report the crime? The Sherman study on arrest as a response produced conflicting results.

Legislation against stalking has been helpful. These laws were originally enacted not for women, but for high profile individuals. Although the statutes were not intended to create this result, they confirmed women's experience. State caseloads show that domestic violence is not usually a mutual combat crime. Women do leave, sometimes at a high cost.

Another way that framing of the issues in domestic violence may be too narrow is in not including roles such as former boyfriend. In general, the family emphasis is placed above the individual component of the crime. There is also too little evaluation by practitioners themselves. More practitioner-researcher collaborative work needs to be done. When a policy is enacted, every effort should be made to see if it is what is needed. Integrity of the research requires some guidelines that will make it easier to apply. Practitioners must be told the limitations of research results.

**Wendy Baldwin, Deputy
Director of Extramural
Research, National Institutes of
Health, U.S. Department of
Health and Human Services**

The criminal justice and the health systems are complementary. For a problem that is so intrinsically important, we have to find ways to work together. If we are polarized, we all lose. Much of what NIH supports focuses on prevalence of risk factors. There must be identification of risk factors such as

- History of exposure to violence,
- Belief systems,
- Social and economic factors,
- Poor communication or emotional problems, and
- Drug or alcohol abuse.

Some of these factors cannot be changed. Basic research is a little more inclined to include such factors, while

evaluation may try to leave them out. Unchangeable factors may tell us what would be a constructive environment. Health factors, such as a family history of violence, have implications for early intervention. We must think comprehensively. For example, we have growing knowledge that a history of exposure to violence influences later violence.

We may be looking at people who have developed a sense of the legitimacy of violence. There are belief systems that consider violence a strategy to solve problems. In the health field, however, we are used to looking at an intimate relationship as supportive of health. Domestic violence is a reversal of the health-supporting norm.

Although we now have safe havens and crisis intervention programs, the empirical support for these methods is not strong. Many of these programs have not been systematically evaluated. Few can demonstrate particularly encouraging results, and there are few evaluations of outcomes such as women's decisions to return to abusive relationships. The multitude of personal problems such as poverty (inability to leave the shelter, for example) make analysis difficult. We need small, theory-based studies that will yield sound ideas to try rather than grand clinical trial designs.

Much of the response to spousal abuse is at the extreme end of the continuum. At that end, you are able to marshal public support. Research repeatedly shows that aggression begins early in a relationship and may begin early in life. It is much more difficult to get support for research and earlier intervention programs, even though it may be the only way to get real success.

Compartmentalizing violence may be a mistake. We need to identify common pathways for an array of behaviors in order to catch the process early. Services and

interventions will have to focus across the whole range of abusive behavior. The pattern is hard to change once established. The interventions must be stronger and bridged across the health and justice sectors.

Studies of the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence have made significant progress. We at NIH want to encourage that progress and the cooperative work with the National Institute of Justice, the effort to help each other with complementary needs. We know that simple solutions will not work. Collaboration between health and justice systems is difficult. There are different expectations, "constituencies," and technical languages. The streams should be associated, but independent. There is frequently not enough money to provide services and conduct research or evaluation well. We have to look for creative ways to pull together public and private resources to develop collaborative projects.

Neither health nor justice can deal with these problems alone. By the time a child is 15 and has stolen a car, it is not difficult to tell there is a problem. But if you say the roots of the problem occurred 10 years earlier, perhaps observed only in the family, it is much more difficult to approach.

Discussion

Comment: Experimental designs are being used to study police and social service responses, but there are many problems with that approach. There is often no control group, insufficient money, and too few years to complete a project with decisive findings.

Question: Can you speak about the application of research based on experimental design?

Professor Fagan: Given limitations in resources, there is a need for innovative ways to do things. The paradigm of the last 30 years of university research is not sufficient. Next year, there should be a concentration on more new research within the limitations. A "gold standard" of

evaluation is needed—a level of certainty or confidence that the findings are not due to something extraneous. This will give solid

evidence, rather than scattered guesses. There are creative ways, other than randomization, to do control groups.



Concurrent Panels, Monday Morning

Prosecution and Judicial Responses to Domestic Violence

Moderator: *Barbara E. Smith,
Consultant, American Bar
Association, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Allan R. Barnes,
Director, Alaska Justice Statistical
Analysis Unit, University of Alaska,
Anchorage, Alaska*

*Susan Keilitz, Senior Research
Associate, National Center for State
Courts, Williamsburg, Virginia*

*Donald J. Rebovich, Director of
Research, American Prosecutors
Research Institute, Alexandria,
Virginia*

Dr. Barnes

Alaska receives Byrne formula block grant money for drug intervention. The people who control that money have asked the Alaska Justice Statistical Unit to do a statewide survey. Two surveys were conducted in the spring of 1995. The purpose of the surveys was to assess the needs and concerns of the state of Alaska. We also wanted to look at the potential for community intervention. The study addressed many issues, but I will talk only about a portion of the survey, that part which involved domestic violence and drug abuse.

In the geography of Alaska, we are talking about immense rural areas. There are rural areas that you can reach only by flying. We did a random digit dialing telephone survey of 603 adults, with 120 in each of five areas: Anchorage, Fairbanks, the Mat-su valley, Southeast Alaska, and rural Alaska.

There were 150 questions that focused on communities, perceived problems, and potential solutions. We used professional pollsters for this, because you need someone who can speak many different native languages. We also wanted to determine if rural areas are different from other areas with respect to domestic violence and drug abuse.

The results showed that in Anchorage, the most serious community problem is general crime, while in rural areas, the responses pointed to drug and alcohol related crime. There were also 178 separate problems and 263 separate solutions identified.

With regard to juvenile crime, the survey results showed that Anchorage has the greatest concern and that this is more of a problem in the urban areas. The responses were weakly correlated to the area of the state. There was great general concern about drug abuse across the state, and there was no large difference between responses from Anchorage and rural areas. Alcohol abuse, on the other hand, seems to be more of a concern in the rural areas.

Domestic violence was a low concern in rural areas and a high priority in Anchorage. This may reflect the need of people in the rural areas to keep things "within the family."

Drug abuse was the largest perceived problem in non-rural areas and concerns about alcohol and tobacco (chewing, not smoking) were the greatest in rural areas. There are similarities between rural and non-rural areas in the types and size of problems. There were also no statistical differences in the methods used for fighting common problems. Education

and treatment were the most often cited responses, followed by arresting offenders. This led me to think that perhaps, all of Alaska, including Anchorage, may be considered rural.

Ms. Keilitz

I am going to talk about a study we are doing that involves civil protection orders (CPOs). CPOs are one of the primary tools courts have used to deter domestic violence. In all states, civil protection orders can be sought by the victim as an alternative to criminal action or in tandem with criminal prosecution. Previous studies of civil protection orders suggest that they can be an effective form of relief if their terms are specific and comprehensive, and if they are consistently enforced. Other factors that may influence the effectiveness of civil protection orders are their accessibility and whether they are linked to social, mental health, housing, advocacy, and other services.

A strict experimental design is problematic for a study of this kind. To do this, one would have to enroll women who are experiencing, or have experienced, domestic violence problems; and they would have to be treated differently according to the controlled design. This is somewhat unrealistic, so we compared outcomes for three jurisdictions that vary in their court procedures. The three jurisdictions we chose were the District of Columbia Superior Court, the Denver County Court, and the Delaware Family Court in Wilmington.

This study is work in progress, funded by the National Institute of Justice. The statistics I present today should not be quoted because the study is incomplete. We are interviewing about 100 women in each court, and we are doing two rounds of interviews. The first interview is

conducted about a month after the woman received a CPO, and the second interview will be about six months later. We are doing some of the second round interviews right now. In March 1995, an analysis of 211 interviews indicated that 30 percent of the women thought the man had violated the order, but that less than 5 percent of the violations entailed physical abuse. Some of the things we are looking at include the demographics of the women, the nature and frequency of the abuse before the CPO, and the types of orders that were obtained.

Police were called by only 42 percent of the women reporting violations and contempt orders were filed by only 23 percent of these women. There were several reasons women gave for not returning for a permanent order. Most often, they said the men had stopped bothering them. A majority of women in both rounds of interviews believed that their life and self-esteem had improved since the order. Reduced income was most often cited as the way in which their lives had become more difficult since the order.

So far, the second interviews indicate that the percentage of women having difficulties increases over time. In the first wave of interviews, a majority of women reported no problems after the order was obtained. This number appears to decrease over time, as a lower percentage have reported no problems in the second interview phase.

A percentage of women stated that the O.J. Simpson case had prompted them to get the order, and a smaller percentage of women stated that the men used the O.J. Simpson case as a means of threat.

At this point, I see that women benefit from more information, which they receive when they get protective orders. The system, however, needs to become more integrated.

Dr. Rebovich

We are in the process of conducting a study for NIJ regarding the local prosecution of domestic violence. One part of the study is a national survey of local prosecutors. In the past, local prosecutors have been accused of denying the importance of domestic violence. This may have been true, but it appears that this is changing. Local prosecutors appear to be taking a more vigorous stance against domestic violence.

Many prosecutors are starting to explore and assess alternatives to screening out these cases. They are moving ahead with prosecution even when the victim won't cooperate with the prosecution. The questions to ask are:

- What are the most effective alternatives when the victim will not testify?
- What are the most important factors in predicting success of domestic violence prosecution?

Our survey is a national mail survey of 1,000 prosecutors. There is a second part to this which involves three site visits to areas that we feel are progressive in prosecuting domestic violence cases. These sites are Seattle, Washington; San Francisco, California; and Duluth, Minnesota. There is a victim survey also included in these three sites.

The response rate for large jurisdictions was very high, at 70 percent. The smaller jurisdictions had a much lower response rate of 30 percent. We found out that many of the small jurisdictions felt that the survey was not geared toward what they do. We changed the survey, sent it again, and were able to increase our response rate.

We separated the survey into different areas:

- How do prosecutors screen and charge cases?
- How do they use policies?

- What type of protection orders are used against offenders?
- What and how effective are post-charge diversion programs?
- What is done at trial if the victim does not come forward to serve as a witness?
- What is the full range of sentencing options?
- What are the victim support programs, if they exist?

We separated the results from large and small jurisdictions. Of the 142 large jurisdictions, one-half had specialized domestic violence units. Twenty-two percent of these divided the units into felony and misdemeanor units.

Of the large jurisdictions, 80 percent said that they proceed with prosecution when the victim will not cooperate. All jurisdictions had pro-arrest policies, and more than half of them had "no-drop" policies. Very few respondents believed that pre-trial release policies were effective.

The survey asked prosecutors about the methods they used to overcome a lack of witness testimony. The most common mentioned among the large jurisdictions were subpoenas, photographs of the injury, utterances by the defendant, and 911 audio tapes. Only 5 percent of prosecutors in these jurisdictions thought that sentences were severe enough. Also, in the large jurisdictions, 75 percent of the respondents had victim advocates located within their offices.

The smaller jurisdictions had contrasting results. These are jurisdictions with less than 250,000 people. Only two percent of these jurisdictions had separate domestic violence units. Sixty percent of the small area respondents said that there was a lack of resources to maintain a separate unit.

Only 25 percent had domestic violence screening policies. When there

was no victim cooperation, only 37 percent of the small jurisdictions proceeded with prosecution. Many more of the small jurisdiction respondents rely on 911 audiotapes when they do move forward with prosecution.

These results are both encouraging and disheartening. They are encouraging because we are seeing a movement in the larger jurisdictions to a more vigorous prosecution stance. These prosecutors

also seem to be ranking domestic violence as a higher priority.

The downside is the reliance of prosecutors on the protective order, even though they do not think it is effective. Finally, there is a disheartening difference between the large and the small jurisdictions. It appears that the lack of resources in these smaller jurisdictions makes effective domestic violence prosecution difficult.

Youth Delinquency

Moderator: *Joan Hurley, Acting Director, Research and Program Development Division, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Patricia Chamberlain, Research Scientist, Oregon Social Learning Center, Eugene, Oregon*

Adele Harrell, Director of Program on Law and Behavior, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

Shelli Rossman, Senior Research Associate, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Chamberlain

The Mediators of Male Delinquency study examined the outcomes of adolescent males with histories of chronic delinquency who were treated in community settings. The purpose of the study was to understand if supervision, discipline, and deviant peer association (while the boy was in placement) contributed to later outcomes. The major outcomes assessed were criminality, academic performance and engagement, and mental health status.

Researchers examined the impact of alternative forms of community programming and causes for differences among programs. Two forms of programs were examined: group care (GC) and treatment foster care (TFC). My research found that there were three mediating variables that predict the subsequent criminal and mental health outcome of youth involved in the programs: (1) the amount of association with peers also arrested and the degree of influence caretakers thought this had on the youth;

(2) the level of detection of rule-breaking in treatment; and (3) the overall level of supervision.

Researchers examined 11 group homes throughout Oregon which ranged in size from six to 150 youth and sought to provide a positive peer culture. The studied TFC programs included community families that had been trained and provided close supervision. The control groups received family therapy, school supervision, and frequent home visits by case workers who were trained in the same system as treatment foster care providers.

The study design involved a pre-placement phase, which included referral by the Department of Youth Services, random assignment to TFC or GC, and a baseline assessment; placement in TFC or GC; and consideration of mediating variables. The study took place over a period of 24 months, during which assessments were made at six-month intervals. Most of the youth in the study sample were ages 12 to 14 at the time of their first arrest, most had committed two to 17 offenses prior to referral, and most were ages 13 to 16 at the time of referral.

In studying the influence of mediating variables, researchers posed the following question: Do lack of consistent discipline, deviant peers, and lack of supervision predict future criminality? Discipline was measured through interviewers' impressions in several interviews of youth and caretakers. Interviews addressed discipline practices, qualities of caretakers, and percent of problem behaviors for which consequence was recorded. The influence of deviant peers was measured from caretaker reports, telephone interviews, and interviews of youth. The youth were asked how much they associate with other youth who steal,

vandalize, or fight; and how much they are influenced by deviant peers. Regarding supervision, youth and caretakers were asked how well youth are supervised, whether they are engaged in activities unknown to adults, and how much time per day youth are without adult supervision.

Outcome assessments were conducted at 12- and 24-month follow-up periods. Preliminary findings indicate that association with deviant peers is a mediator of delinquency. The more youth are among noncriminal peers, the less likely they are to recidivate. The presence of discipline—rule violation for which there were consequences and perception of fairness—was also found to be a mediating variable of delinquency. The more consistent the consequences of rule violation, the less likely the youngsters were to engage in criminality. Level of supervision was not found to be a mediating variable of delinquency.

Findings also indicated that type of placement setting is a mediating variable. One year after placement, significantly more GC youth were in residential treatment and detention than TFC youth. There were more than three times as many TFC youth at home one year later than GC youth. Detention rates and runaway status were three times lower for TFC youth than for youth given community placement. GC and TFC youth had a significantly lower rate of arrest than community placements six months and one year after placement. Cumulative arrest data for all youth indicate that TFC youth are involved in half as many crimes as the GC youth. Youth involved in serious and chronic offenses fared much better when placed in TFC than in GC. They ran away less, responded better to discipline, and showed fewer mental health symptoms over time.

Dr. Harrell

The Children at Risk (CAR) program is an extensive two-year intervention for high risk youth in high risk neighborhoods. Youth are 11 to 13 when they begin the program. They attend the sixth or seventh grade of the neighborhood middle school; live in the target neighborhood; and exhibit family, school, or individual risk indicators. The program includes case management, family services, educational services, after school and summer programs, incentives, mentoring, community policing, and enhanced enforcement/criminal justice services.

CAR's approach is grounded in theories of socialization and based on a social control model. This supports the contention that delinquency is a learned behavior, or a form of socialization. CAR examines this socialization process to identify protective and risk factors for youth delinquency.

CAR first identified neighborhoods in which to locate the program and then sought youth to participate. CAR targeted youth who exhibited individual risk criteria, who lived in high risk neighborhoods, or whose families were at risk and known to social services. CAR intervention efforts address needs at neighborhood, family, and individual levels and emphasize locally-directed involvement and integrated community service delivery.

Preliminary findings are based on the first year cohort. This includes official records on 228 youth recruited for the evaluation between January and May 1993 in Austin, Texas; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Memphis, Tennessee; and Seattle, Washington. An analysis was done of police contacts among CAR youth and a control group. Findings indicate a significant difference between groups in the number of police and juvenile court

contacts. Rates were about equal from birth to recruitment, but there were significantly more contacts in the control group in the first year after recruitment. There were no differences in academic grades in the first year after recruitment, but there was a difference in chronic absenteeism. A decline in the crime rate in the treatment neighborhoods suggests a positive effect of the program in the community.

Ms. Rossman

The National Evaluation of Cities In Schools is a multi-year evaluation of the nationwide Cities in Schools (CIS) programs targeting at-risk youth. The CIS model integrates and repositions existing community resources and services to school sites to achieve dropout reduction and to mitigate related problems of at-risk youth. CIS services include academic and recreational programs; physical and mental health treatment, as well as prevention education; and employability and job skills training.

The basis of the CIS program is community-based, comprehensive services delivered through public/private partnerships. The CIS tenet is that services and resources are already there, and they just need to be organized. The nearly 100 CIS projects across the nation often have nothing in common, but adhere to the same set of key principles. CIS principles are local autonomy, services integration, co-location of services, case management, personalized services, and accountability to clients.

Reasons that youth were referred to the program included poor or inconsistent grades (37 percent), absenteeism (29 percent), inappropriate school behavior (17 percent), being over-age for grade level (17 percent), low self-esteem (11 percent), and dysfunctional family (11 percent).

Interviews with CIS participants addressed such issues as school climate (e.g., whether students felt safe at school and whether they perceived weapons, gangs, or drugs as prevailing school problems), problems experienced (both inside and outside of school) by CIS students, CIS services received, and students' satisfaction with CIS support. The student survey focused on self-reported problems and perceptions of improvement with respect to grades; homework completion; absenteeism and tardiness; fighting in school; suspension from school; relationships with peers, teachers, and family; substance use; association with gang members; police or legal involvement; and pregnancy and child care needs.

Given the at-risk characteristics of the students served, CIS programs' cumulative dropout rates compare reasonably well with other programs that serve the same type of student population: 20.7 percent had dropped out of school; 68.4 percent were still in school; and 8.6 percent graduated, which represented 68.9 percent of those estimated to be eligible to graduate by this time. Similarly, although CIS programs do not achieve stated objectives for all participants, attendance and academic performance are improved for students with serious or moderately severe problems. The majority of students reported they did not have problems associated with substance use, gang membership, or police/legal involvement prior to participating in CIS. However, those who did report such problems generally reported improvements which they credited, at least in part, to CIS assistance.

There are several common obstacles to service delivery. It is difficult for most CIS programs in rural areas to deliver a comprehensive core of services because these services are often far away, or those

organizations capable of providing them are often private and reluctant to commit to the program. Programs also reported difficulty in attracting criminal justice personnel. Police are supportive and involved, but there is little participation from the courts and probation.

Downsizing in public agencies has prevented commitments to site relocations because of limited resources. Successful programs as well as those that could not demonstrate success had funding problems after seed money was exhausted.

Several strategies and practices were identified as elements of a model CIS

program. The community or key decisionmaker must make a commitment to top-down reform. The program must establish early and continued involvement of the private sector. The program must engage in formal strategic planning that is focused on sustainability. Key program practices include client surveys, tracking of academic and behavioral performance, formal agreements among professionals, and formal agreements with students and parents to permit all agencies involved in the project to share information.

Community Policing: Organizational Issues

Moderator: Felice Kirby, Founder, Neighborhood Anti-Crime Center, Citizens Committee for New York City, New York, New York

Presenters: David L. Carter, Professor and Director, National Center for Community Policing, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan

Mary Ann Wycoff, Senior Research Associate, Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, D.C.

Garrett W. Zimmon, Commander, Community Policing Administrator, Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles, California

Ms. Kirby

Good morning and welcome to this panel on organizational issues in community policing. I am a community organizer, trainer, and consultant for police agencies. I work for the Citizens Committee for New York City and founded the Neighborhood Anti-Crime Center there. I have been involved in police agency training programs in community mobilization for the past 10 years.

Community policing was initiated as a program in New York City in 1984 and graduated into a full-scale operation in the late 1980s. It has been my experience that there are many challenges in evolving an effective community policing strategy for an agency. One of the most compelling questions is how to bring the whole organization forward toward an objective that serves the city and profession and

contributes to crime reduction and order maintenance. Our experienced panelists will address this question.

Professor Carter

I will give an overview of some of the human resource issues related to community policing. The single greatest obstacle to community policing is organizational change. The resocialization of a police organization undergoing organizational change is very complex. Resocialization entails the establishment of new attitudes, belief systems, and values. In order to be successful in redefining the police organizational culture, we need time to acculturate our police organizations for this change. This is difficult because, as a society, we want immediate results and overnight change. Changing the organizational culture of a police department is a human resource system issue because it directly deals with people.

Among the key components of this change are officer characteristics. If we go back to scientific management, Frederick Taylor suggested that in staffing our organizations, we need to first define the characteristics of the job, select persons capable of fulfilling this role, train the employees, and assess their performance. This approach is applicable today in deciding who we want to be our police officers for the next generation.

However, we have not yet clearly defined what knowledge, skills, and abilities are necessary to acculturate the officers already working, as well as our next generation of officers. The recruitment process should reassess the level of education and appropriate

personality for our vision of future officers. Police departments do a horrendous job in recruiting officers. We do not recruit, we fill slots. We need to make an effort to identify who we want as police officers, sell the organization to those people, and then select the best and the brightest.

A second key component is training. Some of the community policing training we have seen so far has been superficial. Though there is a need to reiterate the principles, we need more depth in community policing training. In addition, training needs to be delivered with a commitment to the concept by the administration. The former chief of Aurora, Colorado, Gerald Williams, actively communicated his commitment to the concept. He initiated each of 16 four-hour blocks of training with the statement that "this is what the department will be doing." He then attended each of the sessions.

A third key area is labor relations. We have seen some interesting things in labor relations that affect community policing. For example, if community policing is deemed to be a desirable assignment, then the issue of seniority must be considered. If the department is going to be involved in decentralization and despecialization, the department might have to provide exemptions in contracts. Because labor relations can become an obstacle to resocialization, the department needs to plan ahead for potentially problematic contract issues. The Fair Labor Standards Act also has some implications for community policing. For example, if an officer becomes enthusiastic about a community policing effort and decides to work after hours, the department must be prepared to compensate the officer as directed by the Act.

A fourth human resource issue is personnel development. Because police departments have an upwardly mobile culture, departments must develop personnel. Once officers become good at what they do, they should want to continue their role as community police officers. Administrators should consider means of enriching the job and rewarding efforts so the officers feel they are making progress in their career, without necessarily being promoted. Though many departments have experimented with merit pay, this is an issue that warrants further exploration.

Performance evaluation is another key issue. The best personnel evaluations are not in the form of checklists. We need to look at how the supervisors and managers evaluate their subordinates as well as how the patrol officers can assess their superiors.

A final component to be considered is middle management. The middle managers have been circumvented, and even lost, in the organizational change process. We need to acculturate, train, and involve the middle managers in all stages of community policing.

Commander Zimmon

The Los Angeles Police Department received a developmental grant from NIJ about two years ago to try to form partnerships in community policing. Dr. Jack Greene of Temple University assisted the department in navigating the waters of organizational change. The project was broken down into three parts:

- Rebuilding community partnerships,
- Developing a long-term strategic plan, and
- Revitalizing the community.

The City of Los Angeles has a population of 3.4 million and covers 457 square miles. The city is broken down

into 18 geographic areas. In 1983, the police department implemented a computer aided dispatch system, which has had a major impact on efforts to implement community policing. The basic concept of community policing began back in the 1970s, when Chief Davis instituted the Basic Car Plan.

In community policing, one of the key concepts is to develop partnerships with the community. Each commanding officer developed a community police advisory board in his or her geographic area. Each board consisted of between 25 and 40 individuals representing the area's residents, business people, and members of what I call social purpose groups (students, gang members, homeless advocates, etc.). To reflect the community-police partnership, the commanding officer served as a co-chair of the board, with another individual elected by the members.

A "State of the Community" report was developed to emphasize this changed management. The report was developed jointly by the area community police advisory board and the commanding officer. The purpose of the report was to let citizens identify what they perceived as the most important problems facing their community. Various issues arose out of this effort.

For instance, we found that there was a need to develop a whole new set of skills for our commanding officers. The officers needed to understand that community policing does not support a command and control relationship between the police and community. They can no longer dictate; they must be open to the community. Commanding officers involved in community policing needed training in group dynamics: how to develop meaningful partnerships, consensus building, negotiation, and listening skills.

Another issue is how to translate decisions that come from the community police advisory board to the field level. We needed to make sure that the concerns of the community were translated into proactive efforts by officers who could get results.

Groups such as the community police advisory board will experience problems. For example, people come to the table with their own agendas. We found that unless you make it clear that the board is an advisory board on community problems, members will attempt to assume a role in policymaking. Another potential problem is how to include not only community activists, but also residents who are silent members of the community. Additionally, we found that the boards tend to be process-oriented versus action-oriented. It is important to establish the process early on and then focus on actions, so that the members do not become bored and apathetic. A final problem is that the board members tend to build their own hierarchical structure. The board should consist of people who have a vested interest in the community, not people seeking power.

Externally, politicians felt that the police department was using the boards to build a political power base. The city council put forward a motion that they should be included as board members. The chief of police and I visited all of the city council members and promised them that they could attend all of the board meetings, but that the board itself should be made up only of community members. In forming the board, you have to be ready to justify the selection of the members, because many people will demand to know why they were not involved.

The Basic Car Plan is a key component to our department. Our goal was to build a sense of officer ownership in the community and to instill a

meaningful problem solving approach. We found that even though we provide training in community based problem solving, all of it falls by the wayside when there is a yearly call load of 1.5 million. Though the officers learn that the calls for service can be reduced through problem solving efforts, they still give these calls priority. Other problems include collective bargaining and the split force concept.

We have attempted to break down competitiveness through community mapping. We have had 123 Basic Car areas since 1973. These have changed demographically, although they have not changed in size and shape. We sent officers to seek out natural communities that were mapped by our crime analysts. Because we found that the Car areas did not match these natural communities, we realigned the cars to reflect the neighborhoods. However, this resulted in an outcry from many community members, who were unhappy with the thought of losing contact with their officer, even though it would mean better service.

We have found that the concept of community policing is very difficult to sell at the police officer level for two reasons. The first issue is resistance to prioritizing problem solving over calls for service. The second issue to overcome is the perception that community policing is "lollipop policing." We found that you must take the time and effort to explain to the officers that community policing does not take law enforcement out of policing. Instead, it must be emphasized that community policing more effectively targets law enforcement activities to community identified problems.

Ms. Wycoff

While I was at the Police Foundation, we received a grant to study first-line

supervision within the community policing context. The project focused on the first-line supervisors because BJA demonstration site chiefs articulated concern about them a couple years ago.

When the community policing professional literature began to emerge in the 1970s, one of the early pieces by Muir was on the role of supervisors. This aspect has also been emphasized by Goldstein and Trojanowicz. Anyone who has ever administered a survey to or observed first-line supervisors is aware of the power of the supervisor to influence others in the resocialization process. We do not yet have any findings, because we are still in the design stage of the project.

We are administering written surveys to first-line officers and sergeants in 11 of the BJA demonstration site police departments. The survey will assess the officers' perceptions of the types of jobs they are being asked to do under community policing, as well as the kind of support they think they need to carry out these roles effectively. In addition, we will also conduct telephone interviews with a sample of first-line supervisors, lieutenants, managers, and chiefs. The telephone surveys will augment the written surveys and allow a more open and less structured way of responding to the questions.

Though I will be the facilitator of the research team, the project is largely designed and conducted by seven officers from different departments around the country. Each of these officers has been involved in and is concerned about the issue of changing to community policing. After the surveys are completed, the officers will brainstorm on what the profession needs to do in order to shape the transition to community policing. They will produce a list of recommendations for the police supervisors.

Discussion

Question: How do the panelists feel about specialized patrol versus generalized patrol?

Professor Carter: Departments that are small in size might have greater success than larger departments at implementing community policing department-wide. The larger departments might find it more useful to move incrementally towards community policing.

Ms. Wycoff: I have seen both the generalized and specialized approaches succeed and fail. The success of the specialized approach depends on how management uses it and what they do to integrate the specialized officers with the other officers of the agency.

Question: Do you have any measuring devices for selecting recruits?

Professor Carter: I am an advocate for not having residency requirements.

The issue is not just where to find recruits, but how to teach the recruiters to find the best and brightest. We need to encourage people to come, so the department can choose from the cream of the crop.

Ms. Wycoff: Although Massachusetts places a high value on education, they also seek people who have life and work experience.

Commander Zimmon: The majority of persons recruited today do relate to the community policing concept. However, once they enter the department, they are acculturated to forget this ideal. One process is attracting the right people, but an opposing acculturation process stops the development.

Professor Carter: We need to think more about hiring older people who are looking for a second career. These people have maturity, and they are typically more stable and exert better judgment than many younger people.



Computer Mapping Applications

Moderator: *Michael D. Maltz, Professor, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois*

Presenters: *David Weisburd, Faculty of Law, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel*

Lorraine Green, Assistant Professor, Division of Criminal Justice, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio

Joseph Lake, Associate Executive Officer, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Theresa Whistler, GIS Analyst, Geo Research, Washington, D.C.

Professor Maltz

There has been large growth in computer mapping since the Voting Rights Act in the 1970s. That development enabled determination of racial components of districts and civil division enforcement of appropriate district lines. When district mapping started, Arc/Info was used to create hundreds of maps showing racial and ethnic compositions.

Now we are using the same technology in the Criminal Division of DOJ and overlapping with state and local agencies. There are new initiatives on violence and gangs which used to be handled by state and local levels only. Today's computer mapping technology is helping us determine where to place new assistant U.S. attorneys and where to target federal aid.

Professor Green

In Jersey City we had three goals overall: to identify the necessary kinds of applications for computer mapping, to develop computer mapping capabilities (hardware/software), and to run an experimental evaluation. The Jersey City Police Department was already committed to developing computer mapping capabilities, but wanted the research team to help develop the best system to arrange data for practical uses. A different kind of system was necessary for centralized analysis than was desirable for line officer problem solving.

Several policy questions were addressed using computer mapping. The agency had to develop beat boundaries to match community service officers with appropriate racial or ethnic neighborhoods. Merging geographical crime data could help the department restructure in that way. By contrast, street-level operational units require real-time access to police data, with greater levels of mapping precision for location-specific data mapping.

More recently, Jersey City mapping capabilities have also been used to look for domestic violence and gang trends. The DMA investment in Jersey City included an individual PC network for the investigators, which was linked to a main system. MapInfo software was used. The PC environment was designed to give more user flexibility and to be better for street-level officer use and even for beat redesign.

Customized menus were designed by Lieutenant Belucci, an in-house computer talent. He set up tailored menus to be easily changed and built a re-set capability into the database to restore accidentally lost data. This custom PC environment

this organization already has experience with computerized systems. The population is over 800,000. The county already had systems technology to connect different parts of the county government. The police department wanted to take several uncoordinated GIS efforts together and build them into a system that would allow them to share data. The officers also wanted building profiles in order to combat increased crime along the subway lines. Previously, the department had relied on a daily news summary produced in dBASE. Two-thirds of the time was spent preparing data, and the data was rarely shared between districts.

Ms. Whistler

The Warrenton site needed state-of-the-art hardware and software. The department had been functioning with only two DOS-based 286-PCs and a printer. They also needed more sophisticated records management capabilities and WINDOWS.[®] There had been a joint communications study with the sheriff's department, and the police department was about to go on-line with a new CAD system called ARGUS. Through the demonstration improvements, the department was able to network with the county sheriff's new communications center, to go on-line with the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS) and the Virginia state reporting system, and to produce automated GIS reports for the community and the state. Increased data content and quality and better reporting capabilities resulted.

The department implemented GIS and was able to differentially correct close to 100 percent of the geographic location records in the system in real time, using the Arlington Coast Guard signal. They can now put in X and Y coordinates with their records. The software used for

spatial crime analysis included Arc/Info and ArcView2. Training was conducted in both.

In Montgomery County, an earlier GIS enhancement had failed due to insufficient tailoring. The staff had not been trained in the specific applications of telecommunications, network software, and system maintenance. We needed to initiate data sharing among the districts. They had some information exchange, but the demonstration sought to arrange working and docking stations that would better share data for presentations to the community and other agencies. Incident reporting was automated and integrated with the GIS system.

The special operations and investigations divisions wanted better tactical support organization. They had a "threat index," basically a handbook, and they wanted a database with geographic representation for better dispatch of those operations. There was insufficient administrative support for the network and technical division—only three people supported all of the information systems. People had no time for combined division training.

The solution in Warrenton involved using a file server, two PCs, and a laptop with docking capability. The GIS software was Arc/Info and ArcView2. To set up the database U.S. Census Bureau TIGER files and third party vendor data were used. In Warrenton, a total of approximately \$38,000 was spent on hardware, software, data files, and training.

The GIS solution for the Montgomery County site involved eight different networked PC stations along with the two Sun workstations already on site, new fibre-optic cabling, Arc/Info, ArcView2, digital photo capabilities, and network training. Approximately \$160,000 were spent in establishing the system. Training

in Montgomery County was application specific, usually one-on-one. This was intended to remedy earlier training deficiencies.

We are making a big change in the crime analysis capabilities in Warrenton and Montgomery County. Both of the demonstration sites will be subject to written evaluations at three months, one year, and two years. There will be interviews and comparisons of arrest records and crime records before and after the use of GIS.

So far, the experience is indicating better officer deployment, enhanced analysis capability, and increased prevention and reduction of crime. This will encourage state and federal criminal data requests and will promote community awareness of criminal activity and volunteer involvement. DOJ has a hands-on, participatory approach to the application of GIS to crime control in police departments. The goal is to achieve increased public safety via advanced technology. GIS technology has become an integral part of crime reduction.



Revitalizing Communities—Panel 1

Moderator: *Benjamin B. Tucker, Director of Operations, Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse, Columbia University, New York, New York*

Presenters: *Catherine H. Conly, Associate, Abt Associates, Inc., Bethesda, Maryland*

Janice Roehl, Vice President, Institute for Social Analysis, Pacific Grove, California

Ann Marie Rocheleau, Project Director, BOTEK Analysis Corporation, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Mr. Tucker

Any effort at community revitalization requires good cooperation and partnership. In turn, good cooperation and partnership require ironing out major questions of funding, turf, and local politics.

Ms. Conly

A colleague of mine, Dan McGillis, and I have spent 20 months evaluating the sites participating in Project PACT (Pulling America's Communities Together). In the summer of 1993, the federal government set up an interdepartmental working group on violence. One of that group's subgroups, the Cities Project, was to identify cities that could be used as test sites for the best current knowledge in violence prevention and control.

After the Cities Project got going, the city of Denver approached the President and the Attorney General and asked for federal help in the wake of what had been a particularly violent summer in Denver. Metro Denver thus became the first PACT site. The other PACT sites are Metro Atlanta, Nebraska, and the District of Columbia.

Six federal agencies (the U.S. Departments of Justice, Health and Human Services, Labor, Education, and Housing and Urban Development, along with the Office of National Drug Control Policy) are working together to help local sites by providing information and streamlining support.

These are the six principles of Project PACT:

1. Communities are in the best position to develop antiviolence strategies.
2. Coordinated, multi-disciplinary approaches work best.
3. Violence reduction requires measures with short-, medium-, and long-term outcomes.
4. Empirical assessment is essential.
5. Local risk and protection factors must be understood.
6. The federal government will provide technical assistance but not funding.

Project PACT itself consists of four main components:

1. Local working groups,
2. Interdisciplinary and intergovernmental steering committees,
3. Federally sponsored facilitators, and
4. On-site technical assistance as needed; off-site assistance from PAVNET (the Partnerships Against Violence Network).

Several features have sustained the commitment of local PACT planners. Among those features are investment by key leaders, dedicated staffs, short-term successes, nonpartisan behavior, funding, long-term commitment, and careful consideration of membership.

Analysis of Project PACT teaches several lessons about federal participation in the program. Leadership of the program comes from the U.S. Department of Justice. The agencies coordinate some activities with

each other but rarely share resources. The federal authority to establish local planning deadlines is diminished, which is unfortunate, as an external force might have helped. Local planners gain important guidance and information from on-site federal representatives. Federal agencies provide a significant amount of technical assistance in structuring local planning.

In our analysis, we also found that state and local planning groups can benefit from technical assistance in the following matters:

- Resources (learning what is available),
- Planning process,
- Data collection and analysis,
- Antiviolence programs,
- Community development, and
- Process and outcome evaluation.

The major challenges for state and local planners can be distilled to

- Improving the quality of information to support risk-focused planning,
- Staying focused on producing coherent, comprehensive antiviolence programs,
- Involving community residents,
- Sustaining funding,
- Coordinating the work with existing antiviolence programs, and
- Targeting program resources.

Dr. Roehl

In 1991, the U.S. Department of Justice launched the Weed and Seed program. The name refers to weeding out the most violent offenders in a neighborhood and seeding the neighborhood with services and economic development. Nineteen sites are participating in the program.

In late 1992, I was called on to perform a process evaluation of the Weed and Seed Program. The evaluation covered the first 18 months of the program, from 1992 to 1994. The neighborhood sites were in high-crime-rate and low-crime-rate cities; high-

population and low-population neighborhoods; and geographically large and geographically small neighborhoods. What the neighborhoods all had in common, however, was a high degree of social disorder: high unemployment, much family dysfunction, etc.

The sites received about \$1.1 million each. On average, they used the funds as follows: 39 percent for weeding, 23 percent for seeding, and 37 percent for community policing.

Weeding activities raised objections at first. Many residents felt that the word was insulting, that program organizers were calling their kids "weeds" and putting them in jail. Other residents, however, welcomed the weeding. Others wanted seeding to be emphasized more.

This was not a grassroots program. It was designed by federal agencies and introduced to residents by the police. Its origin and manner of introduction also raised some objections.

The law enforcement methods most used in the weeding portion of the program were to identify and secure trouble spots, to conduct high-visibility saturation patrols, and to obtain many search and arrest warrants. In the 16 sites I studied, 39,000 arrests were made from June 1992 to December 1993. Of those arrests, 25 percent were for felony drug crimes, 19 percent were for violent crimes, 16 percent were for possession of narcotics, 4 percent were for firearms violations, less than 1 percent were for violations of the Racketeer-Influenced Corrupt Organizations or Continuing Criminal Enterprise Acts, and 35 percent were for other major and minor crimes.

The effectiveness of the weeding efforts is inconclusive. Some areas reported dramatic reductions in Part I crimes, while other areas reported little change.

The most common seeding activities were prevention and education, safe havens

(which have evolved into multi-service centers), Boys and Girls Clubs, cultural and entertainment activities, and community cleanups.

Ms. Rocheleau

The Comprehensive Communities Program, funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), is still in its infancy. Initially, BJA funded 16 pre-application sites. The sites had to have community policing and community mobilization in place and had to possess certain other components, such as drug courts and community-based alternatives to incarceration. The program's pre-application process also required that teams be assembled up front. Then BJA decided to fund all 16 sites with just under \$1 million each.

My company, BOTEC Analysis Corporation, is performing a process evaluation of 12 of the sites for BJA. We

will look at sites' methods of budgeting, use of resources, and management. We will also examine how closely the programs adhere to their original and modified plans. Finally, we will assess the quality of their data for future impact evaluations.

Discussion

Question: What will your report on the Weed and Seed process evaluation include?

Dr. Roehl: It will include data and case studies. We will have it finished within a month, but the U.S. Department of Justice will take longer to publish it.

Question: What about the synergy that occurs between Weed and Seed, the Comprehensive Communities Program, and PACT, when several such programs are active in the same city?

Dr. Roehl: In some cities, the programs do not even know about each other's existence.



Workshop: Judicial Intervention in Domestic Violence

Moderator: *Rosemary Chalk, Study Director, National Research Council Board on Children and Families, Washington, D.C.*

Presenter: *Annabel Eve Chotzen, Director, Judicial Education and Resource Development, State of Hawaii Judiciary, Honolulu, Hawaii*

Ms. Chalk

I am pleased to be here this morning. I am a staff member of the National Research Council here in Washington, D.C., and have been invited to moderate this workshop because I am currently the study director of a project described earlier by Jeff Fagan, the Assessment of Family Violence Interventions.

This is the workshop on judicial intervention in domestic violence. We are extremely fortunate to have someone with a great deal of experience in training programs for judicial intervention. Annabel Chotzen is the Director of Judicial Education and Resource Development for the State of Hawaii Judiciary. In this role, she is responsible for the continuing judicial training of over 1,700 members of Hawaii's judiciary. She also teaches at the Hawaii Pacific University and has been a keynote speaker for various programs and events focusing on motivation. Prior to working with the Hawaii State Judiciary, she was the executive director of the Honolulu Charter Commission.

Ms. Chotzen

It is interesting that I bring you "Aloha" from the islands of Hawaii, when domestic violence is one of our biggest problems. Approximately 20 percent of

all women between the ages of 18 and 60 in Hawaii have been victims of domestic violence. That means when you look at me, there is a one in five chance that I have been a victim of domestic violence.

If you were the chief justice of your state, and if you had a serious domestic violence problem, as almost every state does, how would you solve this problem? Our Chief Justice Moon decided to take on the problem of domestic violence. First, he wanted to teach judges more about domestic violence. Second, he wanted to find ways that judges could intervene in their own courtrooms; and third, he wanted to evaluate their progress. This was the basis on which we wrote the grant application to the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

While you are thinking about your strategy to find a way to end domestic violence, I want to show a short video that was produced in Hawaii. The video is called, "Problems in Paradise." It focuses on domestic violence and sexual harassment, and it talks about the need for men and women to be more equal in relationships, in order to eliminate the sexism that pervades society. The video explains the roots of domestic violence problems, especially in the psyche of the batterer. It points out that the accused have rights, but the victims have no rights and are often blamed for the violence.

Finally, the video stresses that batterers can change, but it is a lifelong process through which they must replace destructive behaviors with new behaviors. Children must be taught conflict resolution skills. The long-term goal is to change attitudes and behaviors.

Even though we can agree on the causes of domestic violence, it is a complex problem with no easy solution. I

want to tell you why Hawaii's chief judge decided to address this issue.

We first looked at Hawaii's domestic violence statistics. Domestic violence consumes more police time than all other major felonies involving physical violence combined. Thirty-three percent of visits by women to emergency rooms are caused by domestic violence. Fifty percent of abusive husbands batter their pregnant wives, causing an increase in birth defects. Over 75 percent of battered women report that their children are also abused, and abused children are more likely to commit acts of violence outside of their homes. Children who witness violence at home often repeat this behavior later in life, thus continuing the cycle of violence. Children growing up in a violent family are also at risk of having more problems in school. Up to 50 percent of abusive men are substance abusers as well.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this workshop, we found in Hawaii that 20 percent of Hawaii's women have been victims of domestic violence. That is over 49,000 women between the ages of 18 and 64. Arrests in the category of offenses against family and children grew from 34 in 1983 to 3,201 in 1992. This was an 8,785 percent increase during a nine-year period. There were at least 22 domestic violence homicides in 1991 in Hawaii. Family court records indicate an approximate 33 percent increase in temporary restraining orders issued in the past five years.

Our chief justice felt that there was a need for judicial leadership. In fact, he recommended that judges provide leadership in their courts and in their communities to insure that family violence cases are effectively managed and that adequate resources are available. He wanted all judges to be trained in the dynamics of family violence and how to thoroughly address this. He wanted to

challenge the judges to impose sentences that would strongly reinforce the message that violence is a serious criminal matter, for which the abuser will be held accountable.

Furthermore, judges were not to underestimate their ability to influence the defendants' behavior. Even a stern admonishment from the bench could help deter the defendant from future violence. I agree with our chief judge that judges are the ultimate legal authority in the civil and criminal justice system. If they fail to handle family violence cases with the appropriate judicial concern, the crime is trivialized, and the victim receives no real protection or justice.

The goal of our program in Hawaii is to provide training that will improve each judge's ability to intervene in situations where family violence has occurred. In this way, they can prevent further injury to the victims and minimize the negative impact of such incidents on other family household members.

Full-time and per diem judges attended the training sessions. We had excellent instructors to facilitate small group discussions on topics such as civil protective orders, victims' treatment, batterers' accountability, and pretrial release considerations. Materials included a bench book for judges on domestic violence. The bench book is available for a fee of \$40 from my office. Each judge was asked to create an action plan which he or she would implement in the courtroom. The plan was to reflect the information and ideas generated in the workshop and was to include at least one action that would be monitored for its effectiveness.

To help them focus on a realistic plan, we asked them to consider these questions:

1. What changes would you make in your current court environment to

better handle domestic violence cases?

2. What factors might inhibit executing these changes?
3. What resources would you need to implement these changes?
4. How long would it take?

Following the formulation of an action plan, each judge provided an

evaluation of the training session. Three months later, those judges who created an action plan were asked to evaluate the implementation of their plans. This was followed up with a discussion at the spring conference. Our evaluation is an ongoing effort.



Luncheon Address

The Honorable Janet Reno, Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice

This is a wonderful opportunity to exchange ideas—to find out what's working and what's not working. To bring researchers, community leaders, policymakers, and operations people together to get things done in a nonpartisan, common-sense way that can make a difference.

Research is critical. I was a chemistry major in college. I've forgotten most of the chemistry I knew, but I can still remember taking the issue and trying

“By integrating the work of many different agencies, researchers, and communities, we can better match research findings and public policies to reach our common goal of a safer America.”

to design the research that could prove something one way or the other. Too often, we don't see that happen in the criminal justice system because it's too politicized. It's time we came up with real solutions, and this conference is aimed at putting research and evaluation findings in the forefront of the public debate on crime and justice. By integrating the work of many different agencies, researchers, and communities, we can better match research findings and public policies to reach our common goal of a safer America.

Research and evaluation are vital tools to helping us understand the nature of the problem and how we can develop

the solutions. The findings help policymakers clarify our thinking about concepts, define goals and reasonable expectations, and move toward the most feasible and tested approaches. Those of you in research and evaluation have no idea what it's like to get a well written report as the State Attorney in Dade County, Florida, trying to figure out what can work and what cannot work.

Suddenly, across your desk comes a sound report of research and evaluation done in a similar jurisdiction that can help mold the public policy in Dade County. For that I thank you—it was like finding a gold mine for my community.

We've seen the influence of evaluation in many cases. With boot camps, evaluations have helped us understand what the criteria should be in selecting participants, the importance of treatment and training in addition to drill and discipline, and the vital need for aftercare services so these young people can maintain constructive attitudes and behavior once they are back home. Evaluations also give policymakers confidence to try new approaches, through the documented track record of successful pilot programs. It is important to present the evaluation issues briefly, and in the clearest possible way. Get to the heart of the issue and talk about something that has potential to work better or more effectively.

This Administration and the Justice Department are fully committed to supporting the kind of research and evaluation that will expand the knowledge base so that we can keep broadening our understanding of what to do about crime. We are allocating up to five percent of the crime program funding for research and evaluation in the four broad areas of innovation provided for in the Crime Act:

community policing, violence against women, boot camps, and drug courts. The research itself will encourage new partnerships between highly experienced researchers at the state and local levels and practitioners who are implementing the 1994 Crime Act initiatives, ensuring that we are collecting objective information on all our OJP programs.

I'd like to share with you what I believe can be done by evaluators and researchers to make an effective difference.

- Evaluate all component parts, in the larger context, and look at the continuum.
- Understand what works within a program and how to replicate the programs in other communities.
- Listen to the community being served.

- Make sure research is current.
- Provide accurate data and information.
- Create standard measurements for comparing among jurisdictions, so we can speak a common language.
- Use a language that lay people can understand.

We need to create a partnership with the people of this nation. Behind the data, numbers, and clinical histories are people struggling to live in very difficult circumstances. People who want to be somebody, who want to contribute, who want to raise a family the right way; but, all too often, they don't know how. We must take the research, evaluation, and policy concepts and implement them in human terms that can make a difference to the people of this nation.

Concurrent Panels, Monday Afternoon

Criminal Justice and Private Sector Responses to Domestic Violence

Moderator: *William D. Riley, Director, Family Violence Prevention and Service Program, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Joel Garner, School of Criminal Justice, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey*

Christopher Maxwell, Research Associate, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan

Nancy Isaac, Research Associate, Harvard Injury Control Center, Boston, Massachusetts

Jessica Pearson, Director, Center for Policy Research, Denver, Colorado

Mr. Riley

If we are going to implement successful interventions against domestic violence, we will have to include the private sector. Each of our presenters has worked on projects related to this theme. Professor Garner will share his presentation time with Christopher Maxwell, a research associate in the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Professor Garner

In 1980, the Police Foundation proposed that NIJ support a test of specific deterrence theory: does the sanction of arrest deter the prevalence of subsequent assault against a spouse? This proposal became the Minneapolis

Domestic Violence Experiment, whose widely publicized findings of a deterrent effect became a catalyst for reform and for subsequent research.

The School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers is analyzing the data from the six NIJ-sponsored replication experiments (Spousal Assault Replication Program). We are looking at what the publications from all these experiments have said. The results for these individual projects have been mixed. We want to put the data into a common format and analyze it across all sites for interactive and contextual effects. Sanctions work differently in multiple social contexts (i.e., different jurisdictions). Disparate findings from the publications sometimes support deterrence, but sometimes they show an escalation effect in violence against victims. There has been inconsistent reporting, but we would reanalyze the data even if the reports had been consistent. Most results show no effect. Research demonstrated that the published results had been based on variable definitions in case eligibility, criteria for failure, and statistical analysis. We can develop theory and policy better, if we integrate data across sites.

The present research includes a literature review, reproduction of site-specific published findings, analysis using consistent sets of cases, common data elements, frequency of re-offending, kinds of first re-offense, and the connection between employment and marriage (because questions about that area arose). Subsequent violence, subsequent offenses, and subsequent injuries are all being considered possible outcomes. We are

also looking at variations in treatment delivery and the whole process occurring at the time of arrest.

There are a great variety of possible findings for any one experiment. Subsequent reports depend on what is being compared in the analysis. Through the publications, we found no findings of a particular experiment reported across all the experiments. Indeed, the findings of the original Minneapolis experiment were not reported in any of the replication study publications.

The theory of effects of arrest on the prevalence and frequency of subsequent offending, even the form of measure for frequency of offending, was not developed in advance for testing. Without the theoretical framework, statistical analysis for evaluation purposes becomes overly complicated.

Mr. Maxwell

Reports of repeated violence may refer to the same victim or to a new victim. In Charlotte and Omaha, the first time the victim interview data was analyzed, statistically significant escalations in violent incidents were reported. But among the people who were not arrested, we got a higher prevalence of injuries. We are still trying to understand the relationship between the reported violence and injuries.

We did a set of analyses on the "failure time," or time between the arrest and incidence of violence. We often saw a period of about six months. Why? In Colorado Springs, for example, 45 percent of the cases indicated repeat incidents after six months. The time-to-failure model allows us to compare unequal problems in which timing may be an important element. It expands our theory to allow us to look at non-sentencing failures, or the proportion of people failing as time goes by and the time to

failure whether or not there is an arrest. We are going to continue and expand this analysis to include the kind of person or neighborhood as factors.

Dr. Isaac

The Harvard Injury Control Center is conducting an exploratory, NIJ-funded study looking at what, if any, response the corporate sector is making to domestic violence as a health and safety issue for employees. The research overlaps with the problem of violence in the workplace, but focuses on partner abuse—abuse that occurs between adults in intimate partnered relationships. Quantifying the costs of domestic violence to the corporate sector would be a difficult undertaking, but I think this, too, would be very helpful.

I am interested in what kind of role the private sector could have in addressing this problem. The three components of the study are interviews of corporate sector professionals representing various departments (legal, benefits administration, human resources) and types of industries (pharmaceuticals, publishing, banking, insurance, communications, and energy); a survey of 750 members of the Employee Assistance Professionals (EAPs) Association; and a case study of Polaroid, which examines that company's responsible action around this issue.

Preliminary results of the survey represent responses by about 150 people. The sample is roughly half male and half female. On average they have been employee counselors for about 10 years. Thirty-three percent are from internal EAPs, 39 percent from external, and the remainder from organizations that are both.

How often is this problem seen? I used this definition: "Partner abuse is the use of threats, intimidation, or force by

one person to control and coerce another. It may include physical, sexual, psychological, and emotional forms of abuse." On average, the EAPs had seen 21 cases in the past year. I asked whether EAPs agreed or disagreed with certain statements such as, "Women will not admit being involved in partner abuse or being affected by it, when asked directly." Eighty-two percent agreed with that statement.

The interviews revealed different patterns, depending on who was interviewed. Counselors and employees knew that the women were not comfortable talking about the topic, that they feared it might affect their employment, etc. EAPs reported over 90 percent of the victims as being female. Male perpetrators may appear in the context of substance abuse counseling, also one of the functions of EAPs.

We asked the EAPs if they had ever seen the use of a restraining order or incidence of stalking in their counseling activities. About 80 percent of respondents had seen both of these in the past year. This is not particularly startling: we know that domestic violence has a high prevalence in the population.

These are results of some of the first surveys to come in, so they may be biased toward the companies that are more responsive. For the 54 respondents who were internal EAPs, almost half had written brochures on domestic violence, about 40 percent provided seminars that include information on domestic violence, about a third had articles in company newsletters or posters, and about one fifth had training for supervisors or managers.

In relation to collaboration with the criminal justice system, about one half had had telephone contact with the police. About half had also had some contact with court advocates. Most had had no contact with prosecutors, district attorneys, and

judges. I also asked them to rate the helpfulness of the criminal justice personnel who had been contacted. Police generally received good ratings, but court advocates were rated most helpful.

I asked for comparative opinions on the responsiveness of large companies to domestic violence and alcohol abuse (which has had longer focused attention in the private sector). There was a marked difference; about 60 percent of respondents considered the response to domestic violence "poor." Regarding barriers to developing programs in this area, the highest percentage of respondents felt that lack of awareness by upper management was the greatest barrier. Fear about liability and concern about program costs were also significant.

Insights garnered from interviews and surveys are being supplemented by the ongoing case study of the Polaroid Corporation, which has been particularly proactive in its response to domestic violence. Polaroid has held seminars at most plants, supported local coalitions against domestic violence, developed leave policies related to domestic violence, and even helped in investigations or enforcement of restraining orders.

As the findings are completed, they may provide impetus and direction to the development of stronger partnerships between the corporate and criminal justice sectors in responding to domestic violence.

Dr. Pearson

This NIJ-supported study, which is still in progress, examines how courts use mediation as a tool in contested custody and visitation cases when domestic violence may be an issue. We conducted a survey of the performance and methods of 136 court-connected divorce mediation programs. This was a lengthy protocol

about what they were doing and they how handled custody evaluations. Then, 30 to 40 of the responding programs were interviewed by telephone. Finally, researchers also visited court programs and interviewed court administrators, mediators, judges, attorneys, advocates of various domestic violence interventions, and individuals exposed to court procedures.

This is a qualitative assessment of court responses. Findings indicated that domestic violence is involved in about half of all divorce cases with custody and visitation disputes. Most mediators agree that domestic violence varies greatly and does not really tell much about the power balance or imbalance or capacity to mediate. The judicial counsel found that only 20 percent of divorce cases were free of safety allegations, including drug or alcohol abuse. Restraining orders have not been reliable indicators of domestic violence. Some of the most fearful victims in domestic violence cases do not pursue restraining orders against their abusers.

Interview findings also suggested that mediators' attitudes towards divorce cases have changed dramatically. In the past, mediators refused individual consultations with the people who were divorcing. Now, they are specially trained in domestic violence factors and see people individually. There is also widespread

acknowledgment of the pervasiveness of domestic violence and the need to meet privately and explore issues in confidence. There are fewer instances in which rigid rules determine which cases to exclude.

Other changes that mediation programs have undergone in recent years include ways to determine whether domestic violence is a factor and adoption of more visible security measures for clients, including escorts to and from cars, separate waiting rooms, and other precautions. Only about half of the programs, however, do screening that is totally private. Mediators also make more referrals to other social programs for services, specific community resources for domestic violence, and emergency investigation for serious problems.

In the early days, mediation was agreement driven, but now there is recognition of the need for a more subtle range of outcomes. The use of co-mediation is increasing, although many programs cannot afford it and will refer to other services. There is more emphasis on safety in visitation plans. In more jurisdictions, attorneys and judges are appreciating the use of mediators. Except in rare instances, batterers usually do have visitation rights. Negotiation for safe visitation arrangements causes tension. Individual and community resources may be important for outcomes.

Coordinated Responses to Violence Against Women

Moderator: *Patricia Dobbs-Medaris, Chief, Violence Against Women Branch, Crime Support Division, Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Eve Buzawa, Professor and Chair, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, Massachusetts*

Robert Davis, Senior Research Associate, Victim Services, New York, New York

Andrew R. Klein, Chief Probation Officer, Quincy District Court, Quincy, Massachusetts

Bruce Taylor, Project Director, Victim Services, New York, New York

Ms. Dobbs-Medaris

The Bureau of Justice Assistance has already given out 55 of 56 grants which have been made available to states under the office established to administer programs for the Violence Against Women Act. In 1995, approximately \$26 million are being made available in total.

Professor Buzawa

I would like to give some overview, as our focuses may be a little different. There are actual implementation issues, unanticipated consequences, and questions to discuss. Prior to the 1970s, domestic violence met with what could at best be called "benign neglect." Police departments and prosecutors have been institutionally resistant to change. The Minnesota study on general and specific deterrence produced a lack of consensus on what should be examined. In general, there has been an "offender focus." There has been little

examination of victims' issues and difficulties, the civil rights of women to be free from domestic assault, and what actually deters this.

The criminal justice system is trying to make substantial changes. Police departments have made aggressive responses to domestic violence, including restraining orders and court-supported counseling in increasing numbers. Although police officers and prosecutors have made efforts, the changes are sporadic from agency to agency. Many have not undergone any real change.

According to police records, cases of domestic violence are not usually ones where the woman is suing for equal protection, although women should be entitled to the same safety from assault as men. Records show that police are three and one-half times as likely to arrest the offender when the victim is a male. Shouldn't we be asking how to give equal protection, rather than asking only what deters?

It is very difficult to prove deterrence. In Iowa, which is a mandatory arrest state, only one out of 160 District Attorneys is assigned to domestic violence. There are as many prosecution actions on reports of barking dogs as on domestic violence reports. In Michigan, a case has to show probable cause before the prosecutors will act on it. The picture is more complex if you look at implementation issues in diverse areas like Iowa and Michigan, before trying to evaluate. In one city, most such cases are thrown out as having insufficient evidence. Some communities are ignoring the problem; some are enthusiastic about working against it; and some are circumventing the problem, by not prosecuting, for example.

People have reported that domestic violence calls for service have increased, but these calls have been downgraded in

priority. Warrants and restraining orders are not enforced consistently. Some patrol officers just put those warrants that are easiest to enforce on the top of the pile. We need some implementation criteria before we can determine which approaches are working.

There are also increased burdens on agencies, increased calls in general, and decreasing manpower. We still do not know what responses are effective, and there is inconsistent information about impact on victims. Community policing needs to be connected with efforts against domestic violence. For example, when a department records a positive effort to get drunks off of the streets, where do those drunks go? Do they go back home and victimize women and children? Attitudes about public and private disorder are at variance. The systemic solutions are too fragmented, and overburdened systems are not treating domestic violence as assault.

If the victim of a domestic assault defends herself, then dual arrests are made. There is no effort to determine the primary aggressor. A small population of victims are beginning to succeed in protecting themselves without help from the social or justice systems. What is in the victim's interest may not necessarily be in the interest of society.

It would be helpful to label domestic aggressors in the criminal justice system, because they will continue to find new victims. In the Massachusetts records, we can identify an assaulter, but it may not always be in the victim's interest. Threats to child custody arrangements and the victim's personal safety can result. Processing by the criminal justice system can put some victims at greater risk for retaliation. We must to determine alternative mechanisms to address victims' needs.

There should be a typology for offenders: not all offenders are the same, and we should quantify these differences.

How many offenders are actually affected by domestic violence legislation? Some will not be deterred. Batterers who are in criminal court are not typical of all batterers. They are more likely to be generally violent. We need to study the victims more carefully, too. They may have been in abusive relationships before. In Quincy Court, more than 50 percent of domestic violence victims had been involved in some kind of prior abuse. We need to look at these situations.

Finally, we could look at whether the criminal justice system or mental health services should take particular actions, to prevent later emergency room experiences, for example. It is hard to get public support for earlier phases of the problem. We have to find the appropriate questions.

Mr. Taylor

Coordinated responses to domestic violence provide social services in conjunction with the police department and batterer's treatment programs. The effectiveness of arrest has been examined, but not the effectiveness of victim services. Research on victims' progress has not been conducted experimentally or in conjunction with the coordination of social service and police programs.

In the 1980s, victim services began domestic violence intervention education programs. These were proactive and led to examinations of complaints. A social services worker and an officer would visit a house and offer help to the victim, explaining available options. Victims who had received treatment were more likely to call the police again, although the violence did not go down. We were able to increase the reporting of crimes, and longer follow-up may show reduced violence with increased reporting.

As social services were coordinated with the police department and batterer's treatment after 1977, offenders in treatment grew to between 100,000 and 200,000.

Using quasi-experimental methods, studies were done on batterers by Halpern; Dutton; Maiuro, et al.; Edleson, et al.; Chen, et al.; and Douglas and Perrin (among others). People who go to treatments differ from those who do not go. Adele Harrell of the Urban Institute has done one of the best studies on this topic.

Our review included about 30 studies between 1984 and 1991 on batterer's treatment programs. Only seven of the studies were designed with control groups, and standardized measures were often not available. Follow-up time ranged from seven weeks to four years. Although community intervention appeared helpful, there is a need for more randomized experiments.

Some evaluations were based on comparing people who completed programs versus those who did not. There were reasons, however, why the studies were not comparable. Randomly assigned defendants did or did not go to treatment programs based on a kind of lottery. Proposed sentence length affected retention in the program. For example, why should clients agree to 26 weeks, one hour per week, of court control (the treatment program), when they could satisfy their obligations with a single week of community service? They often wanted a compressed program and opted for that. When program administrators say that batterer's treatment has to be 26 weeks and cannot be compressed, we are caught in the middle of the dialogue. Another problem common to batterers' treatment programs is low attendance rates. Out of the first 54 men in the sample who went to treatment, only 10 completed all of the sessions they were supposed to attend. I think that compressing the hours of treatment into a shorter time period would possibly satisfy the requirements.

Another problem is a failure of the court to restore to the calendar the cases of

batterers who do not attend treatment. We are working toward having those cases restored to the calendar so the men can be sentenced to a few days in jail before they can re-enter the treatment program. We think this would improve the completion rate.

If we went after more serious cases, where the alternative to batterer's treatment is not community service or diversion but serious jail time, we would get more cases.

Mr. Klein

I have been working as a practitioner in the criminal justice system for the last 20 years, and it is not a very regular system. When I was told we would talk about coordinated responses to violence against women, I noticed a newspaper article showing that Cambridge was planning to make up 60 street signs stating that domestic violence would not be allowed. If this works, we can all go home.

I want to focus on the Quincy coordinated approach and on how researchers helped this process. Domestic violence cases used to be considered "not real" cases. The old criminal dockets used to list "assault and battery" or "assault and battery (wife)." The "(wife)" meant that the case would not be prosecuted. In the 1960s and 1970s, wife batterers, similar to drunk drivers, were not considered real criminals. They were ordinary people who had a relationship or alcohol problem.

One of the first research efforts in this area examined victimization experiences of women coming into court for restraining orders. Dr. Ruth Kramer, who was responsible for that work, wanted to know if these women had prior victimization experiences. She found that most of the women coming into court had experienced a mean of six victimization experiences. Forty percent had been raped as an adult by a prior partner; 52 percent had been sexually abused as children; and 45 percent had been

severely physically abused as children. A large portion of the women coming to the court for help had lacked skills for coping with these problems for much of their lives.

Researchers also found that 82 percent of the women had been with their current abusers for two years or more. Thirty percent had been with them for more than 10 years. These women were not running quickly to the court for help. In 30 percent of the cases, the police had been to the woman's house five times or more before the restraining order was requested.

These figures gave us a better idea of who the victims were. If we would not make the system "user friendly," the victims were not going to stay in court. In fact, in Massachusetts, the majority of women coming to court for restraining orders do not show up 10 days later. Our return rate is now 80 percent. A parallel court south of us has a return rate of 20 percent. These rates indicate that our court system is "user friendly."

If batterers were basically ordinary, well-meaning citizens, civil remedies would work; and they would stop offending. We looked at every male who came into Quincy Court in 1990 for a restraining order. There were 664 that year. We found that 78 percent had prior criminal arrests; the majority had been to court for alcohol or drug-related offenses. Fifty-five percent had been there for drunk driving. About 43 percent had been in court for prior crimes of violence.

We looked into the criminal complaints and found that, for two-thirds of these cases, prior victims had included males as well as females. Eighteen percent of the batterers were already on probation for something else. Thirty-seven percent had had a prior restraining order with the same victim. In fact, in Massachusetts, a person is more likely to have a criminal history if he comes in for a restraining order than if he comes in as a new arrest.

We followed these cases for two years to see if some variables would allow prediction of repeat offenses. We looked at certain victim characteristics. We looked at the presenting incident—was it for physical abuse, threats of abuse, etc.? For males, the only factors that predicted repeat offending were age and past criminal history for any kind of complaint. Men between 17 and 20 years of age were five times more likely to abuse than men over 50. The majority of the men coming into court for battering are between 17 and 35.

Only 20 percent of the batterers never had a prior criminal complaint. Most had 13 or more. The policy implications are that these are "real" criminals, among the highest risk population that we have in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Battering is still a misdemeanor in most jurisdictions. An offender can be arrested repeatedly for domestic assault, with different partners possibly, and be sentenced to only misdemeanor time. The maximum sentence is two and one-half years.

The majority of women who take out restraining orders have tried many things already, including physically separating from the man. A separate study in the court indicated that about 50 percent of the women getting restraining orders had already separated from the man. This means that the repeat offender had to find the woman in order to repeat the abuse. Discussion of anger management or "sudden rage" does not fit this kind of situation. Finding the woman was a deliberate act.

Coordinated programs must agree on their goals. Our primary goal had to be safety of the victim. Our dual approach aimed at empowering victims and controlling offenders. Everything had to connect to those aims. It did not make sense, for example, to have mandatory arrest if the prosecutor was not going to prosecute. To make the response coordinated, we had to identify where control was weak.

One problem is that women "come in the civil door." We know from existing criminal histories that most batterers are not going to pay attention to a civil order (they do not even pay attention to the criminal rulings against them). Police were sometimes serving civil restraining orders on men who already had warrants out on them. Now, when we send out a civil order, we check for outstanding warrants and make arrests.

Another way we closed the gaps is with automatic forfeiture of weapons when there is a restraining order. It was often found that men reported for wife battering had guns and were using them to intimidate the women.

Violations of restraining orders were often dismissed at time of arraignment; they were not taken seriously. We needed to "mean what we said" to the offender. If the court said he must stay away, it had to enforce that. If the goal was victim safety, in addition to standard probation supervision, we also needed to be in touch with the victim. We sought a grant from the Governor's office to have full-time victim advocates working within probation for these kind of cases. The probation conditions had to be protective as well as punitive and rehabilitative.

There is a correlation between domestic violence and drug and alcohol abuse. Many weeks of batterer's treatment will not do much good if the man gets drunk and forgets all about it. We have a requirement that offenders in treatment not use drugs or alcohol, and we have instituted random drug testing. Over 15 percent of batterers in treatment regularly violate this with respect to alcohol. Positive drug tests for our male batterers are higher than for multiple offender drunk drivers.

Each year in Quincy, we issue 10,000 warrants, mostly for bad checks and unpaid fines. We have created a new kind of warrant for people assumed to be dangerous.

This is to encourage the police to take these cases more seriously. The warrant is orange and has a Polaroid photo attached. We also put out posters showing "probation fugitives" and send a copy to the local newspaper, along with an article. We have had very good results with this, a 73 percent apprehension rate. So far, only two of the offenders committed a new crime before they were picked up.

Without the research to help us, we would have been left with "known facts" that often turned out to be myths. These defendants were often the same people we were already dealing with on other matters. Rather than treating this coordination of response as an add-on, it became a core mission of the police, the prosecutor, and the judge. Our efforts have been informed by good research that helped us find out who these defendants really were.

Discussion

Question: Could you say a little about the outcome measures?

Mr. Davis: We will be using a modified version of the conflict tactic scale to measure violence. We have modified a scale of attitudes on domestic violence that was originally created by Adele Harrell. We will be measuring conflict resolution skills, conflict management skills, etc. For the victims, we will measure use and knowledge of services as well as life satisfaction. We are trying to get a sense of whether the victim's life has improved in some measurable way because of the intervention.

Mr. Taylor: For measuring violence, we are also looking at official reports of repeat calls and arrests, and violence self-reported by the victim and by the batterer. This will be done over a six-month period.

Question: Could you explain the mandatory forfeiture of firearms?

Mr. Klein: Massachusetts has made it a law that you may not possess a firearm if there is a restraining order against you. It is

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now automatic. The judge first has to order it; the man has to turn it over; and the police will have a right to go in after it. In

Massachusetts, you have to have an identification card to own a firearm.

Issues Involving Victims of Crime

Moderator: *Sharon J. English, Crime Act and Special Project Coordinator, Office for Victims of Crime, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Edna Erez, Professor, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio*

Hope M. Hill, Assistant Professor and Director, Violence Prevention Program, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Michael Rand, Chief of Victimization Statistics, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

John Stein, Deputy Director, National Organization for Victim Assistance, Washington, D.C.

Ms. English

Welcome to this presentation on the issues involving victims of crime. I represent the U.S. Department of Justice's Office for Victims of Crime (OVC). The OVC serves all states and provides approximately \$185 million annually for victim compensation and assistance, training, and emergency teams during times of crisis.

Today, I am privileged to introduce some of the excellent researchers we count on to help us understand what is going on in our nation regarding victims of crime.

Mr. Rand

For the past 20 years, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has conducted a National Crime Survey. As with any survey instrument, over the years we have noted questions and areas that needed

strengthening or further clarification. Our challenge was, and continues to be, to improve the survey's ability to measure victimization in general, and certain crimes such as rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence, in particular.

A consortium of experts in criminology, survey design, and statistics performed extensive study and testing to update the survey and survey procedures. In January 1992, BJS introduced the redesigned National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS).

Among the changes was the addition of sexual assault to expand the types of sexual crimes counted. Direct questions about these crimes were added to encourage victims to tell interviewers incidents that may have been committed by someone known to them.

Other improvements introduced in the NCVS were computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) and an enhancement of some initial survey questions by "short cues"—examples of specific people, places, objects, or actions that may have been associated with a victimization—used to jog respondents' memories of events. The way to calculate population estimates has been adjusted to more accurately account for under-reported populations.

In 1992, the redesigned survey and the old survey were fielded concurrently in half samples for one and one-half years to enable comparison between the two methodologies. In general, the redesign had the anticipated result of increasing the number of crimes counted by the survey. Specifically, the increases in crimes *not* reported to the police were greater than the increase in crimes reported to the police. One reason for this increase is that the improved cues in certain questions caused respondents to recall more of the

less serious crimes, which they usually would not have reported to law enforcement officials. As a result, the percentage of crimes reported to police based on the redesigned survey is lower than the percentage calculated based on data collected with the previous survey design. This difference is particularly noticeable for crimes like simple assault, which increased 77 percent in the new survey.

BJS will be doing more research to study the impact of this redesign. We think that substantial improvements have been made in the survey, which will enable us to get a better picture of the amount and nature of crime occurring in the country.

Professor Hill

At the Howard University Violence Prevention Project, we study the impact of urban violence on the social and emotional development of children and develop prevention and treatment programs for children traumatized by community violence. We are currently planning to analyze the data collected from two years of research. Today, I want to tell you about our research design and briefly describe some preliminary findings.

We set out to (1) study the impact of urban violence on the social and emotional development of 50 African-American elementary school students in the Anacostia section of Washington, D.C.; and (2) develop a successful intervention program. Our project focused on three critical questions.

- Can we reduce the effects of exposure to violence?
- Are changes evident after intervention?
- Can we assist youngsters in developing "coping" skills?

Our intervention program was built on a "protective mechanism" model that considered social support; cognitive factors; ego strengths; adults who buffer violence or intimacy; and ethos, ideology, and culture. It is really a combination of applied research and community intervention and appears to be promising.

The components of the intervention are simply these: psychological debriefing which occurs every day, development of street smart skills, promoting effectual development; strengthening identity through fostering cultural awareness, value based experiences with adult mentors, parent empowerment network, and consultations with teachers. Within six schools, we have tried to build a multi-level approach. We deal with the youngster in this very small, tight-knit social group in an afterschool program. There are seven children and two adults in each group. We also work with the parents, teachers, and police.

We are trying to use multiple measures to begin to get a sense of children's perceptions of and exposure to violence. We cannot assume that we really know how kids interpret what is going on in their communities and how they make sense of it, or how it impacts on their long-term and short-term development. We use traditional quantitative measures, but we have found the more useful measures to be ethnographic qualitative.

I feel that intervention is the key to helping children process experiences of witnessing violence. Initially, our research shows that intervention reduces anxiety as well as apprehension. Finally, we are finding that paper and pencil tools are probably not the best ways to assess what is going on with these kids. We hope to combine qualitative ethnographic measures with traditional quantitative ways of assessing intervention.

Professor Erez

It is a great pleasure to speak to you today about an issue that has received very little attention in the United States—immigrant populations as victims. We conducted a general study to determine the problems immigrants face as victims and problems they have getting service from the criminal justice system. A final report detailing our findings should be ready in approximately two months.

The study involved the following three parts:

1. A national survey of criminal justice officials in law enforcement, prosecution, and court administration to provide information on the services available to immigrants.
2. An in-depth study of three neighborhoods of Asian immigrants (Koreans, Vietnamese, and Cambodians) in Philadelphia, to determine their crime problems and their experiences with the criminal justice system.
3. An in-depth study of the city of Jackson Heights, New York, where there is a very high immigrant population.

The overall response rate for the national survey of criminal justice officials was 61 percent. Police chiefs had the highest response rate, and court administrators the lowest. Larger cities responded more frequently than smaller cities.

When asked about crime reporting, respondents felt that immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, underreported crimes. They specifically thought that Asians and Latinos were the most likely to not report crimes. Officials ranked domestic violence as the most unreported crime, with sexual assault and gang violence following.

The perceptions of the criminal justice officials were confirmed during interviews with immigrants in Jackson Heights and Philadelphia. Immigrants gave many reasons for not reporting crimes, including fear of losing welfare benefits, saving family embarrassment, lack of understanding of laws and the criminal justice system, and language difficulties.

Further interviews with immigrants confirmed that domestic violence is a pervasive unreported crime. In addition, Vietnamese reported problems with Amer-Asian gangs, and Koreans reported frequent robberies of family businesses. While these immigrants varied in their attitudes toward the U.S. criminal justice system, they all thought the U.S. system is far too lenient on criminals.

Criminal justice officials have made efforts to respond to the special problems and needs of immigrant communities. For example, many larger police departments have translators available and employees with language skills. Special materials to explain the criminal justice system are often available in various languages. Some police departments offer training to employees about the culture and victimization patterns of immigrant communities. We also identified a program at a district attorney's office that offered outreach to crime victims.

Our findings suggest that (1) domestic violence is one of the major categories of immigrant victimization in the United States; and (2) the underreporting of serious crime results in fewer resources being directed to immigrant communities.

Mr. Stein

The National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA) is the oldest broad-based membership organization of victim advocates in what is now a world-wide

victims movement. At NOVA, we are concerned about many issues and want scientific information to support and help direct our efforts. Today, I want to discuss three of our concerns.

The project we are most interested in is *restorative community justice*. It is fair to say that in the early days of the victims movement, we were happy to say "to hell with the offender, what about the victims?" Today, that is no longer true.

We have learned from a number of people, starting with the chief probation officer who invented the victims impact statement in 1973. We have seen, from correctional systems across the country and from residents of viciously troubled public housing in Weed and Seed cities, that we must be concerned about the offenders. Yes, we hate what these young people are doing to themselves and each other, but they are our children. While we want quicker and more forceful intervention in their lives, they are coming back to live next door to us; and it is not sufficient to concern ourselves only with the victim and not the offender.

Next year, we will be testing our restorative community justice model in the Redhook section of Brooklyn, New York, with a population of 12,000. Community policing, community prosecution, community corrections, and neighborhood victim services will be focused on the residents of Redhook. Fifty Americorps youngsters will work to support these efforts. We believe that we will be criminalizing more conduct with more sanctions in the beginning of this experiment, since offenders will immediately be issued tickets for crimes that are usually tolerated (e.g. graffiti). They will be required to do community restitution for such offenses in hopes that

we can create a culture of peace. We aspire to lower the crime rate and improve the quality of life in these neighborhoods. We are going to take the chance, at least in our hearts, to say that the proper administration of justice can bring peace to a very unpeaceful part of the world.

I am mentioning this restorative community justice model today, because it needs to be evaluated. Programs like this are happening across the country, but we need to know if our hopes are being fulfilled.

Models of community crisis intervention, like the one in Oklahoma City, need to be evaluated. If we can get some evaluation of these models, we would be able to adjust our skills and provide more effective and efficient intervention the next time.

Twenty states have constitutional amendments for victim rights. Profound changes are going on, and no one is paying attention. In our hyperbole, we say the victims movement is causing a revolution in the criminal justice system by making the victim a serious legal actor. The criminal justice research community is starting to take notice.

Does crisis intervention reduce the likelihood that victims will be violent in the future? The Dutch have concluded, through their studies, that intervention does reduce violence. We have been saying, ideologically, for years that victim assistance is crime prevention and vice versa. It is time to find out the truth of this.

Finally, we want a free database of victim case law, statutes, and resources on the Internet. We propose that, together, victim advocates help build and maintain this database.

Firearms and Crime Control—Panel 1

Moderator: Lois Mock, Program Manager, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Presenters: John R. Firman, Director of Research, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Alexandria, Virginia

Christopher S. Koper, Research Scientist, Crime Control Institute, College Park, Maryland

Marianne W. Zawitz, Statistician, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Ms. Mock

The Office of Justice Programs places a high priority on firearms violence. Special emphasis is placed on firearms violence that involves juveniles. We are currently sponsoring a number of research efforts related to this issue and will continue to fund more. This issue is also one of the Attorney General's highest priorities.

Mr. Firman

The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) is the largest representative law enforcement association in the United States. The IACP is known for its periodical, *Police Chief*, which addresses policy, research, and practical issues. The IACP also runs the largest training program in the nation for law enforcement officers. However, the association has not been noted for its research in the past.

IACP reentered the research area over the last year and a half. We have produced our second research agenda

which lists 22 projects in key areas needing research. We recently released *Murder in America*, which was a report on IACP's Murder Summit. This report, as well as a report entitled *Guns and Other Violence in School*, which was prepared for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, both focus on guns and gun violence.

For *Murder in America*, we brought together 55 doctors, social workers, teachers, and police chiefs. We asked this broad-based group to develop recommendations for reducing violence. The report focuses on the ability to control weapons. There are huge gaps in the way police and others use technology to identify, investigate, and capture murder suspects.

The group recommended the continued support of gun buy-back programs, because they have been somewhat successful. Limitations on gun ownership was also discussed at the summit. It was recommended that guns be prohibited for those likely to recidivate, especially those persons convicted of stalking or domestic violence. An automatic gun seizure at the point of a domestic violence call could reduce the potential for a violent incident. We recommended more information technology for police officers confronting intimate or domestic violence calls, so they would have information on recent calls to an address and registration of a weapon there.

Other recommendations not relating to firearms included an increase in the number of women's shelters, more after-school programs, and additional training on domestic violence for police officers and teachers. Successful intervention in these areas reduces the possibility that an

incident will escalate to the use of a firearm.

The guns in school project studied 15 promising programs and identified six critical elements for reducing gun violence in schools. These factors are the following.

1. Collaboration. This must be increased between the schools, teachers, community groups, housing authority, and the police.
2. Multiple strategies. Programs that target more than one issue are more effective in reducing violence than those that only focus on one issue.
3. Support of the schools. Schools must express their need for assistance in overcoming problems.
4. Peer to peer issues. Kids can learn and teach other kids.
5. Weapons. Target guns because they are weapons of choice and will more often result in death.
6. Aim. Target specific audiences.

We have learned that many of the most innovative programs come from the grassroots level. The existence of these programs often relies on outside resources. Our next step at the IACP is to assist in funding those programs that have been proven successful. In addition, we will attempt to take these six elements and develop a how-to guide, so these promising programs can be replicated in other areas.

Dr. Koper

Gun violence is one of today's most pressing crime problems. In recent years, there has been a substantial increase in fatal and non-fatal gun crimes, especially among young people. There is an urgent need for research and development of approaches to curb gun violence.

The largest component of a research program by the Crime Control Institute and the University of Maryland is the evaluation of police efforts to proactively target gun crime. At the center of this research is the Kansas City Gun Experiment and the subsequent evaluation of the experiment by Lawrence Sherman, James Shaw, and Dennis Rogan. The premise of the study was that greater enforcement of existing laws against carrying concealed weapons could reduce crime.

Research on hot spots of crime has indicated that crime is concentrated in certain places. Lawrence Sherman revealed that three percent of a city's locations were responsible for all of its gun crime calls over a one-year period. The Kansas City project tested whether additional patrols at these gun crime hot spots would increase gun seizures and ultimately reduce gun crime.

The target beat in Kansas City was 8 by 10 blocks. A control area, with similar demographics and an almost identical number of drive-by shootings in 1991, was chosen for comparison. Initially, the officers made door-to-door visits to the residents of the area, informed them about the crackdown effort, and asked them to report gun activity to a hotline. Although 79 percent of the residents were reached, only two calls were made to the hotline. It was later discovered that two-thirds of the persons later found to be carrying guns resided outside of the area. A second strategy involved the detection of concealed weapons by pedestrians using body language techniques. However, this method was not as effective, because pedestrian traffic in Kansas City is low.

The technique of directed patrol was implemented for a 29-week period from July 1992 through January 1993. The effort involved a pair of two-officer cars working six hours of overtime from 7:00

p.m. to 1:00 a.m. each night. The officers spent about 27 percent of this time actually patrolling the target area. They focused on gun detection through pedestrian checks, car checks, visiting residents, and watching for signs of criminal activity.

Over the six-month intervention period, gun seizures increased by 65 percent, an additional 29 guns. This produced a rate of seizures per officer-hours that was substantially greater than that of other officers in the department, with the exception of the street narcotics enforcement unit.

Of the additional guns seized, 45 percent were seized on arrest, 34 percent were seized during a safety frisk, and 21 percent were in plain view. In addition, gun crimes decreased 49 percent over this six-month period. There were no significant changes in gun crime or gun seizures in the comparison area. Although there might have been some displacement of gun crime, the figures indicated that there was an overall reduction in gun crime. Both homicides and drive-by shootings also decreased significantly in the target area. Finally, surveys of target and comparison area residents indicated that the efforts of the patrols improved the residents' perception of their neighborhoods, with respect to physical and social disorder and drug problems. Surveyed residents strongly approved of the proactive patrols.

A number of factors could have contributed to the decrease in gun crime in the target area:

- Chance reduction
- Higher patrol visibility in the hot spots
- Specific and general deterrent effects from arrests and field interrogations
- Specific and general deterrent effects from gun seizures

- Incapacitation effects from gun seizures

NIJ recently approved a replication of the Kansas City experiment for Indianapolis. Officers have been chosen for their productivity in seizing guns and will maximize the effect of the effort. Overall, Dr. Sherman said:

The most important conclusion from this evaluation is that police can increase the number of guns seized in high gun crime areas at relatively modest cost. Directed patrol around gun crime hot spots is about three times more cost-effective than normal uniformed police activity citywide, on average, in getting guns off the street.

Research has demonstrated that there have been changes in the types of guns used by criminals and that the shift has made gun violence more deadly. In terms of wounding effects, shotguns and high velocity rifles are the most lethal personal weapons. The least lethal guns are the small caliber handguns. Semi-automatics are more dangerous because they permit more rapid firing and often have larger ammunition capacities. With a greater number of shots fired per gun attack, assailants using semi-automatics are more likely to hit their targets, increasing the likelihood of death.

I examined this issue from 1985 to 1993, to assess how the gun arsenal in Kansas City had changed over this time period and whether those changes influenced the deadliness of gun violence in Kansas City. Between 1985 and 1993, there was an increase of 26 percent in the shift towards semiautomatics. The use of large handguns was related to both gun homicides and total homicides. This suggests that stopping power is the most important weapon lethality factor.

I will examine this issue again with a data set on over 68,000 guns seized in Dallas from 1978 through 1994. I will create a gun lethality measure based on stopping power and semiautomatic weaponry and create gun lethality density measures. With these measures, I will examine whether it is more guns, or more lethal guns which is significant in determining levels of lethal violence.

Ms. Zawitz

I began researching guns and crime about a year and a half ago, for work we were doing at the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The first thing I did was to learn as much as I could about guns and how they work. I also tried to survey the data already available. These efforts have resulted in *Guns Used in Crime*, a BJA Selected Findings report, which lists the federal sources of statistical data relating to guns and crimes. This ongoing report includes data from both public health and criminal justice areas. It also contains both national and multi-jurisdictional data sets.

The terminology on guns is very complex. There are three basic types of firearms: handguns, rifles, and shotguns. The firing action of these may be either manual, semi-automatic, or automatic. There are two types of handguns: revolvers and pistols. The caliber of the gun is determined by the diameter of the bullet. Assault weapons are defined as semi-automatic firearms with a large magazine of ammunition, designed for rapid fire during combat.

When I began looking at the information on guns, I was disappointed with the scope of the data sources. The first data source I used was tracing data from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF). In 1994, 88,000 traces of guns were done upon the request of law enforcement agencies. The ATF does not

trace guns that were stolen or made before 1968, surplus military weapons, weapons with missing or illegible serial numbers, or weapons without the importer's name. There are, therefore, a significant number of guns that cannot be traced.

Another measure frequently seen is the number of guns in circulation, or the number of guns available for sale. The ATF has collected this data since 1899. However, this measure does not account for lost or non-working guns and does not include military or illegally imported weapons. A third of the weapons traced by the ATF are less than three years old.

When we realized the tracing data would not be able to give us the whole picture, we looked elsewhere for data. As criminals clearly steal guns, we turned to the FBI for information. However, the FBI database is also limited in scope, because it does not include unreported stolen guns. Guns that are recovered are removed from the database. In addition, the FBI includes cannons, grenades, and tanks as firearms. In 1993 alone, there were 306,000 gun thefts reported to the FBI.

Our report included information from the 1993 National Crime Victimization Survey, which reported that 1.3 million victims faced a criminal who was armed with a firearm. The National Crime Victimization Survey found that between 1987 and 1992, the annual number of gun theft incidents was 341,000. Eighty percent of the time, the firearm in a victimization was a handgun.

We redesigned the National Crime Victimization Survey in 1993, so these numbers are not directly comparable to previous year's data. However, we do see the same trends in 1994, from both the stolen gun file and the ATF tracing data. The majority of guns in armed attacks are handguns. Over half of the guns traced by the ATF were semi-automatic pistols, but

there are still a substantial number of revolvers. In fact, the 0.38 caliber revolver was the most frequently listed in the FBI's NCIC stolen gun file and the gun most frequently used to kill police officers between 1982 and 1993.

Discussion

Question: Did the FBI tracing data demonstrate a change in types of guns stolen over a period of time?

Ms. Zawitz: The FBI's stolen gun file only reflects those guns currently

outstanding. In addition, the year the gun is reported is not included in the file. There is no easy way to trace a shift in types of guns stolen.

Question: Was there any attempt in the Kansas City replications to control for other factors that might contribute to the success of the project?

Dr. Koper: No, however, the study in Indianapolis is still in the early stages. In that, we might be able to control for these factors.



Sex Offender Management and Batterer's Treatment

Moderator: *Susan D. Solomon, Special Assistant for Violence Research, National Institutes of Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Bethesda, Maryland*

Presenters: *Kim English, Director, Office of Research and Statistics, Colorado Department of Criminal Justice, Denver, Colorado*

Keith L. Kaufman, Associate Professor, Children's Hospital Research Foundation, Columbus, Ohio

Alyce Dunn LaViolette, Founder, Alternatives to Violence, Long Beach, California

Dr. English

I have just submitted to the National Institute of Justice my research report, "Managing Adult Sex Offenders: A Containment Approach." I have found that there are some very important reasons to study sex offenders: the victims. Sex offenses inflict traumas on victims and create social trauma as well. The criminal justice system *can* have an impact. However, that impact can be negative (further trauma to the victim) or positive (a reduction of sexual abuse).

The trauma inflicted by sexual abuse is enormous:

- One out of three girls and one out of six boys is sexually victimized by age 18.
- Offenders typically have committed 380 sex offenses by age 18.
- Offenders often have multiple personae—they are not solely

rapists, child molesters, or exhibitionists.

- Trauma is frequently associated with a violation of trust. You are more traumatized when trust has been violated than you are when a stranger commits the crime.
- Only one in 60 crimes leads to arrest.

Many people think sexual abuse is not a big deal. That attitude leads to the belief that one more time, one more instance of sexual abuse, will not matter. That makes sex offender management different from other parole jobs.

There are several common issues in sex offender management. Plea agreements to non-sex offenses reinforce a sex offender's state of denial. Also, it is important to be able to require special conditions of supervision, such as no high-risk jobs (for example, with children). Moreover, probation and parole officers who deal with sex offenders are themselves at risk. They should have car phones, radio contact with the office, or other safety measures at their disposal.

Here are the steps in what I consider a model process for managing sex offenders. First, the philosophy, from pretrial to post-conviction through supervision, should be to do what is best for the victim. Second, you need the collaboration of interagency teams of law enforcement officers, child protection workers, rape crisis center staff, prosecutors, and probation and parole officers.

Third, we must use a containment approach to supervision. The three parts of this approach are polygraph testing of sex offenders every six months, in which they must describe their sexual activities; sex-offense-specific treatment; and the criminal justice system. Fourth, we must

develop informed and consistent public policy.

The guiding principles to remember are that the mission is to protect child sex assault victims and to empower adult victims, that the client is the whole community, and that procedures must not revictimize the victim.

Professor Kaufman

I am just finishing a study funded by the Ohio Governor's Office of Criminal Justice Services and the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Titled "The Implications of Juvenile Sex Offenders' 'Modus Operandi' for Improved Treatment Planning," the study looks at 475 juvenile sex offenders, primarily incarcerated, in six states. We used a 258-item self-report measure and assessed such aspects of the problem as offender demographics, victim access, "grooming," gaining trust, sexual contact specifics, use of bribes, use of threats, and methods of maintaining victim silence.

Fifty-six percent of sex abuse is committed by adolescents. They are a major factor, but they may respond more successfully to intervention. However, the literature and research on the adolescent offending process is incomplete.

One thing we investigate is the offender's MO—that is, the pattern of behavior that the perpetrator displays before, during, and after abuse. The MO includes the techniques the perpetrator uses to get time alone with the victim and bribes, threats, and methods of maintaining the victim's silence.

Why do we investigate MO? The evidence suggests that offenders are highly repetitive in their behaviors. They plan their abuse carefully, and they perform similar offenses against multiple victims.

The assessment can be used in several ways. It can facilitate clinical assessment, identify treatment needs, aid in assessing denial and minimization, give insights into relapse prevention, and assist in evaluating treatment components.

Ms. LaViolette

I began by working with battered women and started one of the first organizations in the country that works with spouse abusers. Most people who come to us for spouse abuse treatment are not there because they want to be, but that does not mean they cannot be helped. However, a year is the minimum time required for successful treatment.

Regardless of socioeconomic status, race, education, or other factors, these spouse abusers have not learned the consequences of their actions. Early research suggested a high correlation between arrest and lack of recidivism, but that is wrong—what works is not arrest but a community, collaborative approach.

We use a male-female team in recognition of the gender-based, power-struggle aspect of spouse abuse. Instead of a classroom, we use an unstructured program. It is more like family living, which is the setting in which these guys have problems.

We use groups of no more than 12 people, and we work for two hours per session. The group setting makes it harder for a guy to con the facilitator.

Most people who batter do not murder, but being abused is the largest precursor to female suicide.

We want these men to pay for their own treatment. Probation and parole officers sometimes tell us, "Look, this guy has no money and cannot pay." But I say, "They manage to buy beer and cigarettes and to sell drugs, so we'll charge them at least something."

We must change their beliefs and attitudes, because behavior changes alone do not stick. While we are changing the beliefs, it is helpful to teach anger management for control in the meantime. We teach people to recognize their physiological signs when they are about to

explode. They must leave the situation and do something to physically cool down. Then, they must do mental activities to mentally cool down, for example thinking of the consequences. We also have to teach these people empathy.



Youth Delinquency Intervention

Moderator: Joan Hurley, Acting Director, Research and Program Development Division, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Presenters: Dominic Herbst, Founder and Director, Bethesda Day Treatment Center, Bethesda, Maryland

John Yates, Regional Director, North American Family Institute, Marriottsville, Maryland

Roscoe Wilson, Regional Director, Associated Marine Institutes, Tampa, Florida

Mr. Herbst

I will give you a comprehensive overview of Bethesda Day Treatment Center, a community-based program for violent and troubled youths. Bethesda Day Treatment Center provides comprehensive treatment six days per week, including day treatment through individualized education in the program's prep school, drug and alcohol counseling, short-term foster care, and family systems counseling, all without removing the youth from home or the community.

Bethesda's program is values-oriented and designed to defuse family conflict in an effort to prepare youth for re-entry into mainstream society. The philosophy of the Center includes intervention through:

- **Retribution** - requires client responsibility to pay for his or her offenses.
- **Restoration** - requires the client to produce an apologetic message and make monetary return to the victim.

- **Reconciliation** - requires client participation in family sessions leading to disclosure of painful memories and relational healing in the home.
- **Restoration** - within the family and in the community. It occurs as a result of responsible completion of treatment goals while enrolled in the program.

A 1989 study revealed the program had an 89 percent success rate in reducing recidivism, and 95 percent of the clients were again integrated into the community. There are currently five program centers in Pennsylvania, and the Center has a vision for 1995 to replicate its program in ten cities around the nation.

Mr. Yates

I would like to speak about the Thomas O'Farrell Center. The Center is a 38-bed residential treatment center in Maryland, which primarily treats youthful offenders who have learning disabilities requiring special care.

The youth spend six months or longer in the program, receiving education, counseling, and aftercare. The program stresses relational responsibility and empowerment through education, socialization, and client input. The program offers engagement through school and various group social activities and provides the clients with structure, discipline, and help needed for personal growth. What makes a difference to the youth is to always be there when they need support.

The O'Farrell Center takes in 60 youth per year, and 80 percent of those who leave the residential treatment center to go home are not reinstitutionalized.

Mr. Wilson

The alternative education residential and non-residential treatment programs run by the Associated Marines Institute serve youthful offenders, some of whom have committed violent offenses.

The various programs across the country range from the long-term education, skills, and activities programs in Little Rock, Arkansas, which are designed to keep youth out of gang

activities, to the intensive residential treatment programs for adjudicated youth in rural settings, such as the Last Chance Ranch in Venus, Florida.

The programs focus treatment around family and emphasize discipline and strict supervision, rather than intimidation. The programs teach the youth a system of values through education, empowerment, and responsibilities, showing them the impact of their own roles on the family and community.

Workshop: Training on the Internet and Criminal Justice Resources

Moderator: *G. Martin Lively, Acting Director, Reference and Dissemination Division, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Randall Guynes, Principal Associate, Institute for Law and Justice, Alexandria, Virginia*

John Gladstone, PAVNET Director, National Agriculture Library, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Mr. Lively

I am with the National Institute of Justice and I have been active on the Internet for a while. Today, we would like to hear from Dr. Guynes, who has helped us in many ways with the development of Internet resources and is an Internet operator himself. What is the Internet? How do we use it? We want to give you a general orientation on the Internet, show you some of the things we can do, and show some of the places where criminal justice information can be found on the Net.

It's our hope that we can meet the Attorney General's goal of quickly bringing clear, concise information to people. That's the value that the Net brings. My job is to run the National Criminal Justice Reference Service. With the technology of the Internet, everything that we do, in terms of word processing or publishing, is now available to you instantaneously. We can, at very little cost, make the same issues and the same changes available to everyone.

Dr. Guynes

I'd like to start with a couple of comments about the Internet. The current

state of the Internet is similar to television in the 1950s. It is new and has only a few million users. But it will be overwhelming as a communication device in the future. It's very easy for people in urban areas to access the Internet, but in some rural areas it is still difficult to get on-line. However, in the future, these rural areas will probably benefit the most from the Net.

The Internet is one massive network of other computer networks. Almost all of you have a local area network (LAN), and in that LAN you can draw down files from someone three offices away. This technology is the same as what the Internet does. It connects one network to another using slightly different protocols. As you explore the Internet, you will quickly find contacts all over the world.

The scope of what you can transfer on the Internet is as wide as anything you can put on a computer. Anything that can be computerized can be put on the Internet. If you know where to go, you can download a song, watch a movie, or read a book over the Internet.

There are many things that the Internet can provide the user, especially the criminal justice practitioner. First, the Internet provides worldwide access to information 24 hours a day. The Internet also provides excellent links to government and public information. Some types of accessible government information include: all of the Census Bureau's findings and results, copies of bills and legislation, proceedings from Congress, and information on grants from federal agencies.

Project Guttenberg is a program that is attempting to put books, in readable form, on the Internet. Other public domain software is already abundant.

Aside from this access to information, there is a great opportunity to interact with other professionals. One of these ways is e-mail. E-mail has an enormous capacity to expand interaction. Based on e-mail, we have what are called listservs.

Listservs allow one person to send out a message, and everyone else in a particular group can respond to that message.

You can also interact directly with the public. For example, a police department can provide the community with information on their public services, community programs, and even their most wanted lists.

News and views are other benefits of the Internet. You can subscribe to one of 10,000 newsgroups on any variety of topics. Discussions on law enforcement would be possible through a newsgroup titled *alt.law-enforcement*, for example.

Searching for things on the Internet is made easy through one of several search routines. There are search engines within the Internet; and there is easy access to many libraries, including the Library of Congress.

The question becomes, how can I get access? Anyone in an urban area can get on the Internet for a monthly fee of about \$20-30 for about 40 hours of usage a week. There are still some problems with access in remote areas. This is because all carriers in such areas have low-speed lines.

Once you have access, you can communicate through e-mail and listservs. One example of a listserv is CJUST-L managed by City University of New York (CUNY). It is a criminal justice listserv that carries anything from trivia to quality information on problems and issues.

FTP is a file transfer protocol and it is underneath all of these things that we have been talking about. FTP was the core protocol developed by the U.S. Department of Defense to make the

Internet work. The FTP was designed to go to another computer, get a file, and bring it back.

Telnet is another core way that computers interact with the Internet. Telnet goes to another computer and instead of bringing back a file, actually uses that other computer to run a program. Telnet becomes useful when the desired information is running on software that you do not have.

There are now two easy methods of getting around on the Internet. One is by means of a gopher; the second is the World Wide Web (WWW or Web). The gopher sets up a menu system that, in essence, uses the telnet and FTP concepts to go from one system to another to get information. It is like a directory with many subdirectories.

The World Wide Web can handle graphics and is navigated through the use of a browser such as Netscape. Rather than using directories and subdirectories, the WWW uses hypertext. Hypertext is clickable text that takes you directly to another directory or subdirectory file.

There are several search routines for gophers and the World Wide Web. *Archie* is a search method that is geared toward FTPs. *Veronica* is more powerful and is geared toward gophers.

Uniform Resource Locators (URLs) are like addresses. They tell us where certain pages are found. Most Web browsers have the ability to "bookmark" URLs in order to go instantly to the desired site.

Mr. Gladstone

It's important to remember that there are different browsers on different machines. In many senses, a browser is like a word processor. For instance, the Mosaic browser is excellent at making bookmarks, while Netscape is good at

creating new and unique ways to use the viewing capabilities of a Web server.

Let's look at a gopher—PAVNET. The text that is available on a gopher is completely readable. In some ways, it is better than the Web, because many people have been putting up flashy but insubstantial Web pages. The PAVNET gopher is very rich with information and will probably remain a gopher rather than taking the form of a Web page.

PAVNET stands for Partnerships Against Violence Network. Any of you who have ever researched federal government information have probably encountered difficulty. This is because much of the information is arranged by agency, not topic area. PAVNET tries to alleviate this problem. It only deals with issues of violence and is not organized by agency names. Whenever any federal agency locates a promising anti-violence program, NCJRS places it on the PAVNET gopher.

In PAVNET, there are about 550 programs broken down into subsections

such as firearms, domestic violence, and community violence. Looking at the community violence subsection, for example, we can see what a PAVNET file contains. Each file has a contact name, information on the type of program setting and funding, and sources for funding.

Mr. McQuade

I work in program development, and my job is to figure out how to better disseminate information. I am here today to invite you all to participate in a listserv. This listserv sets up an on-line, electronic conference on the topic of computer crime, police use of computers, and the impact of technology on law enforcement. About 75-100 people, who have interest in these topics, have been invited to participate in a 12-week discussion. We will explore this issue on-line and then synthesize what was shared, a content analysis. From this, we will make a summary of proceedings that will be publishable.



Prevalence and Consequences of Family Violence

Moderator: *Chesley L. Williams, Supervisor, Family Violence Unit, Dallas Police Department, Dallas, Texas*

Presenters: *Benjamin E. Saunders, Associate Professor, Crime Victim Center, Medical University of South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina*

Peter Wetzels, Criminologist, Criminological Research Institute of Lower Saxony, Hannover, Germany

Cathy Spatz Widom, Professor of Criminal Justice and Psychology, School of Criminal Justice, State University of New York, Albany, New York

Officer Williams

According to a recent police training film, there are about two million domestic violence offenses every year. Some estimates place the number as high as 18 million per year. All of us in the society pay a price for this problem. The effects of domestic violence spill over into many other problems: drug abuse, homelessness, gangs, alcoholism, and prostitution.

Professor Saunders

An NIJ-funded study of our research group in the last six months has looked at the prevalent kinds of social difficulties and personal victimization experienced by young people. These include the four major problems that kids experience—victimization, mental health difficulties, substance abuse, and delinquency—in the context of a comprehensive theoretical model.

Dr. Widom has examined the effects of victimization in the development of delinquency behavior, but few researchers have looked at all four areas in a

comprehensive, theory-driven, and retrospective way. We are conducting a national survey of adolescents to test hypotheses concerning the progression that takes place following victimization. We are in the middle of data collection. I will share preliminary information on the first 2,000 cases.

We are speaking about a national probability sample of adolescents living in houses with phones. The young people are between 12 and 17 years old. We are using random digit dial (RDD) methods to select a cross-section sample of 3,000 children (of which 1,000 are an over-sample from central city areas). I will give you results of the first 2,004 interviews that we have conducted.

We identified 2,555 eligible households through the RDD method. Of those, we have completed interviewing the parent in 2,356 cases; 92 percent agreed to be interviewed. We have 2,195 resolved cases out of those. That means the parent either allowed their adolescent to be interviewed or refused. Still pending are 161 cases for callbacks. We have 2,004 cases in which both parent and adolescent interviews have been completed. In summary, we have contacted and completed interviewing 78.4 percent of the eligible households and have communicated with the parent in 85.1 percent of those households. Conservatively speaking, our completion rate should be well over 80 percent.

People have been relatively willing. We are planning a series of follow-up studies. Permission to re-contact has been given by 98 percent of the adolescents interviewed. Although the survey was on difficult topics—sexual assault, drug use, and delinquency—few people in the field found the questions too offensive to answer. Of the adolescents contacted, 98.8 percent chose to answer. By June 28th, in over 4,800 interviews, we had only one

complaint. We feel that human subjects issues have been dealt with appropriately.

Some preliminary figures are shown in Table 1. There are some quirks in the data. The 12-year-olds were under-represented, having a higher refusal rate. The median age of these kids was 15. In a lifetime prevalence study, about one-third of the children are seeing someone threatened with a weapon. Seeing someone beaten up or punched was pretty universal. Three-quarters of the males and two-thirds of the females reported they had witnessed that. As might be expected, young women experienced substantially greater levels of sexual assault than young men. About 7 percent of the young women and about 3 percent of the young men report experiencing what would legally be described as rape. Interestingly, about 1 percent of the young men admitted to

committing what would be classified as a rape.

When you look at the difference between reported crime and epidemiological studies, there is a much higher rate of family crime showing up in the criminal justice system.

The mental health part of the study is similar to other studies we have done, for example, with adult women. These are the lifetime and current prevalence rates. We will be able to compare our results to other retrospective studies. To get a general feel for the mental health impact of violent victimization in studies of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and depression, it was found that young persons who were sexually or physically assaulted, or who had observed significant violence, were three to four times as likely to become involved in such incidents. We know almost nothing about

TABLE 1

Event Witnessed	Male (percent 'yes')	Female (percent 'yes')
Someone shot with gun	4.5	3.3
Stabbing	10.0	9.0
Sexual Assault	2.5	4.1
Robbery/ Mugging	12.5	7.4
Physical Assault Data (Self)		
Been attacked with weapon	5.0	3.3
Been assaulted with intent to kill	7.7	7.1
Been threatened with a weapon	7.4	4.0
Been beaten with an object, hurt badly	5.5	3.9
Been beaten with fists, hurt badly	8.2	5.8

the impact of observing severe violence on mental health. In some cases, the impact of witnessing was actually greater than personally experiencing violence. We will look at this in a multivariate way later.

In terms of delinquency, we checked for commission of index offenses. All types of victimization greatly increased the likelihood of committing delinquent behavior. Among the observed-violence groups, the figures were five to 10 times greater.

For the substance abuse area, we looked at categories in which kids had used (1) no substance in the last year (2) alcohol only, at least four times in the last year, (3) marijuana only, at least four times in the past year, and (4) some type of poly-drug abuse—cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, etc.—in the last year. Individuals affected by violent victimization were five to six times more likely to be involved in substance abuse.

Professor Wetzels

Domestic violence research is still underdeveloped in my country, although practitioners and groups such as the women's movement have stressed the importance of the problem. There are many practical interventions but very few evaluations. There is no strong evidence to indicate which kind of intervention is most appropriate, effective, or even unintentionally harmful.

In 1989, a national violence commission presented a report and concluded that violence in private settings was a most urgent problem and that there should be research, legal reforms, and changes in social practice. No systematic research had been conducted on the prevalence and consequences of the different types of violence in private settings. The commission had to rely on research conducted in the United States, and it was questionable how well U. S. research

conclusions could be transferred to the German situation.

We have a chance to learn from comparative results from a study undertaken in Germany in 1992. The nationwide crime victimization survey provided the data. It is presently the only database in Germany touching on family violence.

There is a problem with recurrence of violence across the life span. A social learning of violence takes place in several forms and has different consequences. I would like to discuss the form of "learning to take the victim role."

In the study, 15,771 persons, representative of the old and new federal German states, were interviewed to analyze their feelings of personal security, victimization, etc. Violence by family members, "crime committed by intimate acquaintances," was not reliably identified by conventional screening procedures. People were reluctant to report conflict and violence in the private sphere to the police or on the survey, despite a private questionnaire method. We used additional research efforts, conducting face-to-face interviews. Family conflict was specifically mentioned in a sealed questionnaire. People were able to avoid communicating shaming experiences or being overheard by other family members who might be present.

We used data to look at child victimization experiences and adult experiences. In Germany, according to the decisions of the Supreme Court, "slapping, hitting with object" is considered corporal punishment and may be legitimate behavior for a parent.

We interviewed 5,811 people. In comparing face-to-face interviews with police reports and surveys, 44.9 percent of victims only identified their experience in the face-to-face interview. In the usual crime victimization survey, a large portion of crimes remain unidentified. Over 95 percent had not reported their experiences to

the police. In some British research, this study has been criticized as including too low a level of criminal victimization.

I have compared victims of different crimes and with different victim-offender relationships. Victims of closely related offenders show higher depression rates and a lower sense of well being than, for example, victims of robbery or burglary.

Among female respondents, the early experience or witnessing of violence is closely related to adult victimization. There was a more than 10-fold higher adult victimization rate, if the subject had also been a child victim. Being a victim of sexual abuse as a child strongly increases the risk of becoming a victim as an adult. Some "learning to take the victim role" occurs. Also, women who have been child victims and have been abused by their partners also tend to abuse their children at a higher rate. This has often been noted by social workers in the women's shelters. To break this cycle, we must address the problems with counseling and teach such parents to deal with strong emotions.

Professor Widom

I have focused on the children and on preventing child abuse and neglect. Today, I would argue that intervention in child abuse and neglect is actually a form of crime prevention. Compelling problems arise when abused children grow up. Social costs are shifted to the family courts, the juvenile justice system, the substance abuse agencies, and social services. Ted Miller is doing interesting work in estimating the future costs of childhood victimization.

The study from 1986, supported by the National Institute of Justice, addressed the relationship of childhood abuse or neglect with later delinquency and violent crime. Many people had strong beliefs about this, but I wanted to overcome methodological problems. I wanted to show clearly that there was (or was not) a relationship. I

wanted to start following cases of abuse and neglect into the future and show that arrests were directly related to abuse, not due to some other factor such as being poor or being black. We know there are certain other correlates, such as that males generally get arrested more often than females.

We needed a control group who were alike in all other respects. In the newest wave of this research, our sample consisted of 1,575 children, 908 of whom were substantiated cases of physical or sexual abuse or neglect and 667 of whom were matched cases in other respects. In 1988, we collected criminal histories on the whole sample. They were about age 26 at that point. We also did a national death index search.

At the time of the first report, 65 percent of the original sample were not through the peak years for violations (20 to 25 years of age). This may have caused underestimates. In arrest records that were collected through 1994, only one percent had not yet passed through the peak age of offending. City, state, and federal criminal history records were checked for any non-traffic arrests.

I will just show you some highlights. In the National Institute of Justice's "Research In Progress" series there is a videotape that covers results more completely. The groups start to diverge very early on, at about age eight. There were major differences among the abused and neglected kids by gender, race, and ethnicity. The shocking finding was that 82 percent of the black males who were abused and neglected persons in the sample had had an arrest. For the females, who have a much lower risk of arrest, 50 percent of the black abused and neglected females in the sample had an arrest. There were much smaller differences for the white individuals in this sample. We cannot necessarily generalize from these cases, but they were certainly shocking findings. In addition, 50 percent of the black abused

males in this sample had had an arrest for a violent offense. About 20 percent of the white abused and neglected males in the sample had had an arrest for a violent offense.

Not only does violence give rise to violence, but physical abuse and neglect in the form of omitting basic care (food, clothing, shelter, medical needs) also produce that result. Neglect may be as dangerous as physical abuse. Multivariate analysis shows essentially the same picture. By the revised "box score," childhood victimization continues to have a significant impact on the lives of these individuals. The figures show that almost 50 percent of abused and neglected children would have an arrest before the age of 33. Of the matched controls, 38 percent would have an arrest by that time. This differs from the early reports, in which we spoke of 20 to 30 percent.

We often focus only on physical and sexual abuse and forget about neglect. Excessive failure by parents or caregivers to provide food, shelter, or medical attention may be as damaging to the developing child as physical abuse. Since neglect is a chronic condition, we can and must identify such children early and intervene. We have to think of the community's responsibilities and those of the juvenile justice and social service fields.

My figures show that in one million cases of neglect per year (a conservative estimate), three percent by age 15 had an arrest for violent activity. This refers to 30,000 children! By age 25, 11 percent or 110,000 had an arrest for violence; and by age 30, 17 percent had an arrest for a violent offense. Community policing approaches, which are proactive, can be used to identify these children and detect early signs of trouble. It is an opportunity for thoughtful, sensitive interventions by criminal justice actors.

We must be sensitive to the possible harm of negative labeling, which might rather hurt than help. Surveillance should not become a self-fulfilling prophecy. If we identify children who are living in problem homes, and we do not provide positive resources, treatments, or interventions for those children; we may very likely hurt the children rather than preventing the cycle of violence.

Communities and agencies need to consider their response to child abuse and neglect. Special attention should be given to differences in consequences by ethnicity. A higher proportion of ethnic minority children are affected. The long-term effect may be determined by the practices of the community in which the child lives. Why is the cycle of violence so strong for black children? Abuse and neglect do not occur in a vacuum; there are also other social factors at work. My findings regarding race are dramatic and require us to look at our responses to these children. We will be using the data to examine and account for those responses.

If abuse and neglect are detected later in black families than in white families, then the children live with it that much longer. Anger, hostility, and low self-esteem become entrenched. It may be that foster care is better for abused and neglected children. In my sample, black children were less likely than white children to be placed in a foster home. The longer we wait to intervene, the more difficult it becomes to change the process. Adequate and appropriate care and supervision are strengthening factors. Dealing with abuse and neglect is crime prevention. We must learn to intervene effectively for the future generations of our children.

Discussion

Question: Are neighborhood locations and family structures factors?

Professor Widom: Future models will take comprehensive neighborhood factors into account in an aggregate analysis. We think context is important. We have looked at household structure, economic factors, etc.

Professor Saunders: The CAR study after the Los Angeles disturbances indicated that neighborhood characteristics were unrelated to family violence, but were perhaps related to street violence.

Professor Wetzels: We observed no significant effect of social status on occurrence of family sexual abuse, but social status can aggravate child abuse problems. Stepfathers, however, were over-represented. This occurs, perhaps, because they have less chance to bond emotionally with the child during infancy. The other large influence we found on family violence was unemployment.

Question: Do you have data about mitigators as well as interventions? For example, what was different in the lives of the 18 percent of black abused males who did not have an arrest?

Professor Widom: There is a follow-up study involving 1,100 completed interviews that deals with these questions. For example, among those with no criminal record, are there other problems, such as substance abuse or psychiatric disability? If a comparable group is fully functional, what factors in their lives made a difference? I designed the follow-up study and got support from the National Institute on Mental Health and NIJ. We are in the process of interviewing on some of the

things that people have postulated as protective factors.

Question: Are male abused children more prone to drug use or alcohol use?

Professor Widom: In a series of analyses, looking at arrests for alcohol and drugs or separately for alcohol, females were particularly at risk for subsequent alcohol problems. Male abused children are more at risk for diagnosis of antisocial personalities. Both male and female abused children are at greater risk for suicide, running away, and prostitution. Occurrence of teen pregnancy was not related; this area seems more connected to social class and economic factors.

Professor Saunders: Sexually assaulted children are at greater risk for drug use.

Question: What about the dramatic race, economic, and ethnicity factors in the figures?

Professor Widom: The control group was designed to be as close to the group of abused and neglected children as possible, with the only difference being the fact of the abuse. The control kids came from the same school, neighborhood, age group, ethnic group, and gender. It is, therefore, biased toward the lower socio-economic levels. It is not a middle class group. Poor schools, difficult neighborhoods, etc., were all the same.

In a follow-up study, we are asking individuals about criminal history also. We will have self-report data as well as arrest data. Ultimately, we want to compare the self-report data to the official data.

Issues in Processing of Child Victim Cases

Moderator: *Bernard V. Auchter, Program Manager, Family Violence Research Program, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Gail S. Goodman, Professor of Psychology, University of California, Davis, California*

Lisa Newmark, Research Associate, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

Debra Whitcomb, Senior Scientist, Education Development Center, Newton, Massachusetts

Professor Goodman

Child abuse is difficult to prosecute because of the lack of witnesses. Moreover, because it is so hard for children to testify, hearsay testimony—that is, repetition by an adult of what a child told the adult, or the showing of videotaped testimony by the child—may be the only evidence available. Several U.S. Supreme Court cases have addressed the difficulty of child testimony in such cases and have generally said that judges must consider the credibility of the child when deciding whether to allow hearsay testimony.

Of course, several important questions arise about the use of hearsay testimony. What is the effect of the interviewer's leading questions and biases? Do jurors give more weight to hearsay on video or statements repeated by an adult than they do to live, in-person testimony by the child?

"Children's Out-of-Court Statements: Effects of Hearsay on Jurors' Decisions," a study that I have conducted with Professor John Myers on a grant from NIJ, is the first empirical study of the effects of the following forms of testimony on jurors: video, adult repetition, and live testimony.

We used mock trials with mock juries to see how well jurors reach the truth after hearing those three forms of testimony.

Half the children in the study were touched on the bare stomach, nose, and neck, while half were not touched. However, all the children were told to say they were touched. Two weeks later each child was interviewed by a social worker. Interestingly, only one social worker thought a child was lying.

Before they left for deliberation, jurors were not affected differently by the three methods. Notably, they reached the truth only half the time—that is, randomly—and they tended to believe boys somewhat more often than girls.

The jurors' post-deliberation judgment on the guilt of defendants showed a slight but insignificant tendency to believe the child more when he or she testified live. The jurors also found testimony less convincing when it came from a social worker. And still their chance of reaching the right answer was random.

Several predictors of jurors' guilty/not guilty judgments were discernible. When a child testified live, the child's believability and the details of the case determined the juries' verdicts. When the testimony was hearsay delivered by a social worker, the factors involved in the juries' decisions were the child's believability, the child's suggestibility, and the case details. When the testimony was a video of the child speaking, the factors involved in the juries' decisions were the child's suggestibility and the child's believability, but the case details were not a factor at all. With videotaped testimony, the juries focused almost exclusively on the child and not on any other evidence presented.

No method of testimony helped the juries arrive at a correct verdict better than any other method.

Dr. Newmark

"Parental Drug Testing in Child Maltreatment Cases" is a study of the use of urine testing for substance-involved caregivers in child abuse and neglect cases in the Washington, D.C., Family Court. There is some concern that this use of urine testing may narrow the focus of attention to the drug issue, leaving other family needs unattended. Therefore, the goal of the study was to determine how drug testing fits into the mission of D.C. courts and social services.

Studying cases from 1989 to 1990 allowed us to look at short-term outcomes. The study looked at numerous policy and process questions, such as these:

- Who is selected by the court for testing?
- Do people comply with testing?
- How are results reported?

We also looked at outcome questions:

- How often do tests show drug use?
- How do use patterns vary over time?
- Does testing make a difference in case disposition and recidivism?

Data was collected through interviews with court and social services personnel, through examination of case records of the Pretrial Services Agency (which performs drug testing in court-referred cases), and through study of the court clerk's automated and paper files.

The sample consisted of 169 cases referred for testing in late 1989 and 1990. We compared that group to 169 cases from the same time frame in which the parties were alleged to have been abusing drugs but were not tested for drugs.

Our preliminary findings showed significant differences between the tested and non-tested groups according to the types of child maltreatment alleged. For example, only 6 percent of tested subjects were accused of parental incapacity, while 13 percent of non-tested subjects were accused of the same offense. However, 25 percent of

tested subjects were accused of physical abuse, while only 8 percent of non-tested subjects were accused of that offense.

We speculate that the very drug-involved people are not being referred for testing or are not showing up for testing. Also, this may not be a representative sample.

Half the tests that were performed (and at least 40 percent of those scheduled were skipped) were positive for cocaine. These tests were typically scheduled to be performed weekly.

Ms. Whitcomb

"Family Preservation and Criminal Prosecution in Child Maltreatment Cases" is a study on the coordination of criminal drug cases and child abuse cases.

Many allegations of intrafamilial child maltreatment involve concurrent criminal actions (to punish offenders) and civil action (to protect children and preserve families). When these actions are not coordinated, the results can be harmful to the child, the family, and the justice system itself.

When civil actions in the juvenile court proceed first, parents are at risk. Information they provide to comply with treatment plans may be used against them in criminal cases.

When criminal actions proceed first, children are at risk. Treatment plans may be placed on hold, and statutory deadlines may delay family reunification. It is quite possible for judges in the separate cases to issue conflicting orders.

Among our research questions were these:

- What procedures are the criminal and juvenile courts using to enhance communication and coordination?
- What are some promising measures out in the field?

To perform the study, we first conducted a national telephone survey of prosecutors and child protection attorneys.

We found that, when cases are in both courts, 34 percent of prosecutors said it is random whether one goes first or the other, while 30 percent said the drug dependency cases go first.

After the phone survey, we chose four locations for on-site study. We selected sites where we knew some coordination was done. The sites were Chittenden County, Vermont; Tompkins County, New York; Santa Clara County, California; and Hawaii County, Hawaii.

Among the more interesting findings were that in New York, the prosecutor is, by law, a party to family court proceedings, meaning that he or she can attend and speak at all meetings in the process. Also, a family court judge in Hawaii has developed a database of all court orders for better coordination with different courts and agencies.

Society needs to form its priorities in terms of emphasizing protecting children or punishing offenders.



Community Policing: Conducting Field Evaluations

Moderator: *Robert H. Langworthy, Office of Research and Evaluation, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Stephen D. Mastrofski, Associate Professor of Administration of Justice, Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania*

J. Thomas McEwen, Principal, Institute for Law and Justice, Alexandria, Virginia

Wesley G. Skogan, Professor, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Dr. Langworthy

Welcome to this session on community policing. Today, we are going to hear from three people who are very important in the development of our understanding of community policing. They are studying the way community policing is being done in three very significant sites and will share some of their findings with us.

Professor Skogan

Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy has several key elements. First, the Chicago Police Department has asserted a department-wide commitment to community policing. All 13,000 sworn officers will eventually be involved in community policing. Second, responsibility is focused at the beat level, through turf-based assignments and differential dispatching. In addition, beat officers are expected to identify and formulate responses to problems in partnership with the community. Other

key elements include citizen participation, coordinated city services, a commitment to training, and department reorganization.

During the first 15 months of the program, five prototype police districts and comparison areas were selected to test the program elements before they were implemented on a citywide basis. Sixty percent of Chicago's populated area was represented in the study by the prototype and comparison areas. We monitored the planning and implementation efforts of the areas, surveyed police officers, attended training sessions, conducted case studies of problem solving, and surveyed community residents. The rest of this presentation will focus on the results of the resident surveys and what they suggest as consequences of the program.

The beat meeting process was used as a mechanism for residents to identify to the police problems in their community. The levels and intensity of crime in the areas differed dramatically. However, drug dealing was listed on all five prototypes' "top four" list of problems. The problems most frequently mentioned included complaints associated with social disorder, physical decay, and police performance. Among other kinds of crime, only gunfire, robbery, and burglary ranked among the top 21 problems.

We also tracked how satisfied the residents were with the quality of policing in their areas. Responses were very divided both by class and race. The black and Hispanic populations were most troubled by their relationship to the police. All five prototype areas experienced a decrease in the level of problems relative to the comparison area after 15 months of community policing. Three sites experienced changes that were statistically significant.

For example, the Englewood district had a high rate of homicides and abandoned building problems. We took the district's four biggest problems (drug dealing, gang violence, abandoned buildings, and trash in vacant lots), identified by our survey before the program began, and compared them with a matched comparison area. We then compared the districts 17 months later, after the community policing intervention. We found evidence of a significant decline in all four serious problem areas in the Englewood district. The level of problems in the matched comparison area remained the same, except for gang violence (which actually increased). The decrease in problems can be traced to specific community policing efforts.

In assessing citizen perceptions of police service, the following questions were asked:

- How responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns?
- How good a job are the police doing in dealing with the problems that really concern people in your neighborhood?
- How good a job are the police doing in working together with residents in your neighborhood to solve local problems?
- When dealing with people's problems in your neighborhood, are the police generally very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned, or not concerned at all about their problems?

We found that there was an increase in the citizens' assessment of police service in the prototype areas compared to the comparison areas. The component most significantly affected was the police level of responsiveness to community concerns. Increases in both home renters'

and owners' satisfaction were statistically significant. In addition, both white and black residents were positively affected by the program. Only the Hispanic population remained unaffected by the program. This program has now been implemented citywide, and the evaluation is continuing.

Dr. McEwen

Tempe, Arizona, has a population of 145,000 persons and covers an area of 39 square miles. The police department has been involved in community policing for the past five years. Today, I will talk about how the organization has changed, succeeded, and failed over this time period. I will conclude with the current status of community policing in Tempe.

The department's first entrance into community policing began with a Beat 16 Project between November 1990 and April 1992. There was a planning period between July 1992 and June 1993 that involved the expansion of community policing into other beats, analysis of citizen calls for service, realignment of beats, and assignment of sergeants and officers to beat teams. This led to geographic deployment from July 1993 to February 1995. During this period, the department developed a patrol workload team which led to a revised deployment plan.

The Beat 16 Project was a BJA-supported, Innovative Neighborhood Oriented Policing (INOP) project for drug problems in eight cities. Under this project, the Tempe department participated in the following activities:

- Established a substation (trailer) in Escalate Park;
- Sponsored seven community clean-ups and graffiti paint-over parties;

- Sponsored several sporting events, including events with gang members;
- Formed a community coordinating committee;
- Developed a "Beat 16 Vision Statement" with a community committee;
- Conducted an undercover drug operation; and
- Solved a homicide case of a 66-year-old woman, with information provided by citizens involved in community policing activities.

In addition to helping the police department plan its Beat 16 project, we were also involved in the Beat 16 survey of residents, which compared the responses of 376 residents in a February 1991 baseline survey to the responses of 348 residents in a May 1992 post survey. The frequency of residents' noticing an officer more than ten times per month increased from 38 percent in the baseline survey to 65 percent in the post survey. Twelve percent of the residents in the post survey knew the beat officers by name or face, compared to only 4 percent the year before. The number of residents observing drug activity in the neighborhood dropped from 24 percent to 13 percent. Sixty-three percent of those surveyed in May 1992 were aware of the substation in Escalate Park, and 50 percent knew that the police were working with neighborhood associations.

The Beat 16 Project did encounter several problems. For example, no citizens were present at one of the scheduled clean-ups. In addition, the coordinating council could not sustain itself, due to the apathy of its members, and its activities were taken over by a larger committee. Finally, there were not as many problem solving efforts undertaken as originally envisioned. This was probably due to an increase in the

calls for service workload and the newness of the concept. However, despite these problems, the Beat 16 Project was a positive learning experience. Concepts from the project were eventually expanded citywide and referred to as geographic deployment.

Geographic deployment had five basic features. There were 15 beat teams, consisting of a sergeant and between seven and twelve officers. The sergeant was responsible for scheduling and the team was responsible for problem solving. In addition, daily roll calls were replaced by team meetings every one to two weeks. Finally, teams operated out of selected substations. Most were established in apartment complexes known for generating many calls to the police. One was located in a school trailer.

During this period of geographic deployment, the teams conducted problem solving activities. There were also some unusual efforts that would not have been possible under the traditional model of policing. For example, the police were involved in mediation to counsel neighbors involved in disputes. One officer was so successful in mediating a dispute between two couples that the couples worked jointly to clean up an area. Team substations in apartment complexes were able to reduce the drug presence in those buildings. A drug enforcement effort with "East Valley Kids" involved distributing garbage bags of a particular color for easy identification among the other residents' garbage bags. The bags were later searched for evidence of drugs.

Not everything went well under geographic deployment, particularly in terms of workload for sergeants. In response, a patrol workload team was developed to discuss geographic deployment. The team began by listing

the positive and negative aspects of geographic deployment.

Examples included:

Negative aspects

- Lack of supervision
- Increased workload of sergeants
- Too many officer schedules
- Lack of daily communication because of elimination of daily roll calls
- Beats not covered during some shifts
- Lack of mentoring for new officers

Positive aspects

- Beat ownership
- Better problem solving
- Beat substations
- Improved officer knowledge of beat
- Generally better service to citizens
- Officers' feeling of empowerment for projects
- Better scheduling for supervisors
- Greater team focus within beats
- Close relationships with schools, businesses, and residents
- Better decisionmaking processes with flatter organizational structure
- Better accessibility for the public
- Better response to root causes of problems
- Better cooperation with other city agencies

The patrol workload team was divided into two groups: one that wanted change, and one that thought things were going well and wanted things to remain the same. As a compromise, a revised deployment plan was developed in February 1995. Under the new plan, sergeants and officers continue to be assigned to beat teams and have

responsibility for problem solving in their beat. In addition, an entire team works the same schedule and is responsible for answering calls in an entire quadrant. Finally, sergeants now supervise several beats for calls for service and daily roll calls have been returned.

Over the past five years, the department has experienced a clear flattening of the organization. In 1990, there were eight ranks; today there are five. The department has also become decentralized and has achieved greater empowerment and community involvement. Problem solving is conducted on a regular basis, and community policing is apparent in both low income and affluent communities. The department has implemented an internal planning model to support community policing and has formed committees around specific issues. Finally, the department has implemented a crime-free multi-housing program in coordination with beat teams.

Professor Mastrofski

I would like to talk about community policing at the street level. If community policing is going to make a big improvement in public safety, it is logical to assume that there needs to be a change in how police work gets done. Most community policing evaluations have focused on management aspects, citizen fear of crime, and citizen satisfaction. The issue of what the rank and file do for and with the community under community policing has been glossed over.

In the spring and summer of 1992, we did a pilot study in Richmond, Virginia, that concentrated on this part of the process. At that time, Richmond was in the midst of implementing community policing and we were able to observe patrol officers throughout their work shifts and throughout the city. One aspect we

observed was the police's method of dealing with suspects and disorderly people.

We looked at two things police accomplish. The first has to do with use of coercive power. Arrests, searches, interrogations, threats or warnings, and mobilizing other forms of social control fall into this category. We studied whether community policing has an effect on the arrest practices of officers and whether community policing-oriented officers are more influenced by considerations such as race, age, and sex. Another aspect we looked at was citizen compliance. Police enforce the law and maintain order by getting citizens to comply with demands. We looked at what impact community policing has had on the ability of officers to secure compliance.

The City of Richmond had a serious crime problem and was ranked number five in the nation for homicides. The city had a population of 203,000 residents, of whom 55 percent of whom were black and 43 percent were white. The Richmond Police Department had 621 sworn officers. Richmond's community policing program emphasized a value-driven management approach. The following values were promoted by the program:

- Police-community trust and involvement
- Positive police-community contacts
- Reduction of violence in neighborhoods
- Problem solving policing
- Creative failure (innovative approaches were encouraged, without the risk of reprimand if unsuccessful)

Richmond was in its third year of a five-year implementation plan and many things were yet to be done. For example, department training had been modest at this point. The department did undergo

several structural changes under community policing. For example, the precinct command was decentralized, permanent beat assignments were established, and foot and bike patrols were used. In addition, the department developed small specialized patrol units, integrated neighborhood services, community participation programs, and a Weed and Seed program.

Our study methods included ride-along observations for each beat. The observers accompanied officers and conducted brief interviews with them about their perspective on the department, city, and community policing. Other specialized units involved in problem solving were also observed. A total of 120 officers were interviewed over a period of 1,278 hours. Of the 1,630 observed encounters with citizens, 451 involved suspects. We were only able to observe a "snapshot" of community policing in Richmond within a particular time slot. Pre-tests and post-tests were not conducted.

However, we did find a great deal of variation in the way officers responded to the department's push to community policing. Thirty-one percent of the officers involved in the 451 cases stated they had positive feelings about community policing, and 19 percent expressed very positive feelings. Twenty-six percent stated they had either negative or very negative feelings about the community policing efforts, and 24 percent had mixed feelings. The mixed responses of officers were categorized as negative for the purposes of the study. However, we cannot assume that these attitudes, particularly positive attitudes, were a product of the reform effort. Many of the officers interviewed simply felt that the administration had finally come around to what they had always thought was right.

We found that there was a substantial difference in the arrest rates between those officers who were positive toward community policing and those who were negative. Pro-community policing officers were less inclined to make arrests. We also found that the negative officers were more driven by legal considerations than were the positive officers. There was no appreciable difference in arrest rates influenced by extra-legal considerations. In addition, there were no striking differences in the use of other forms of control, such as threats or interrogation.

There were 361 cases observed in which an officer issued a request or order to a citizens. Seventy-seven percent of the citizens complied. We found there was a striking relationship between the officer's feelings about community policing and the probability of compliance. Pro-community policing officers were more successful in securing compliance. In general, these officers tended to be friendlier toward the citizen than the negative officers. Though they did not tend to be less forceful or disrespectful, they might have been fitting better strategies to specific situations.

DNA and Its Future

Moderator: *Richard M. Rau, Forensic Sciences Program Manager, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Laura Ross Blumenfeld, Attorney-Advisor, Office of General Counsel, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C.*

Robin Cotton, Laboratory Director, Cellmark Diagnostics, Germantown, Maryland

Clay Strange, Unit Director, Criminal Prosecution Division, American Prosecutors Research Institute, Alexandria, Virginia

Dr. Rau

I am with the National Institute of Justice's Office of Science and Technology. This will be the only panel for this office at the conference this year. We have several major programs and efforts underway, including our forensic science program. This meeting is on DNA, DNA research, and its future. We are trying to give people a perspective on the physical science as well as its application. The three panelists will try to do that.

Dr. Robin Cotton is the Laboratory Director at Cellmark Diagnostics. Ms. Blumenfeld is the advisor to the FBI on DNA, and Clay Strange is with the National District Attorneys Association. He is the head of our study on DNA training and technical assistance for prosecutors.

Dr. Cotton

I will not teach you a long, scientific lesson about DNA today. Let me try to

give you an overview of DNA uses in criminal justice.

I work at a private laboratory. We only do DNA testing, and we do it for paternity and criminal cases. The number of laboratories that do DNA testing is growing. There are still more government than private labs, with the largest government DNA lab being that of the FBI.

First of all, what does DNA do? DNA is not intended to prove whether a person is guilty or innocent, but it functions at trial as any other piece of forensic evidence.

There are many types of cases where DNA can be used. Sexual assaults and homicides are two of the most common cases. Blood or semen from a suspect or victim is matched to a piece of evidence. This method has been used in a number of cases involving serial crimes. Many times, investigators do not know that they have a serial crime on their hands. For example, in a series of sexual assaults you may not have a suspect, but you can look at the DNA from the different crimes and see that you are looking for the same suspect in all those cases. We have had an instance where 21 sexual assaults all had the same DNA pattern.

Many courts and attorneys are saying that DNA is new. Actually, it is not new. DNA was identified as genetic material in the early 1900s. The structure of DNA was determined in 1953, and those researchers were awarded the Nobel Prize. In the process of analyzing DNA, restriction enzymes are used. These were discovered in the 1970s. Those researchers also won the Nobel Prize. People then learned to replicate DNA in a test tube. The first DNA polymorphism, meaning genetic difference, was discovered in 1980. Publication of the use

of DNA for identification purposes began in 1985.

There are now two basic techniques used for analyzing DNA. The discovery of one of those methods, polymerase chain reaction (PCR), occurred in 1987. This discovery also earned its inventor a Nobel Prize.

Here is a comparison between the two types of DNA analysis. RFLP, which stands for restriction fragment length polymorphism, requires a large sample of DNA to be tested (about 10,000 cells). The analysis time varies, but it is generally about two to three months. This method has an extremely high discrimination power, such that the chance of any two people having the same pattern would be one in a million or higher. This test is also useful because, in cases where there is a mixture of samples (two persons' blood, for example), RFLP can tell you that there are two types of DNA in the sample. It can also separate the patterns, so you know which part of the DNA belongs to which person. This is currently the test of choice, because it provides a larger amount of information. However, the test takes a good deal of time, needs a comparatively high sample to be productive, and is very expensive.

The other available test is the PCR test. This test will work with a sample of only 100 cells. The analysis time is only about two days. From an investigative standpoint, a suspect can be included or excluded right away. At the current time, PCR does not have as good a discrimination as RFLP and is not as good at mixture distinction.

Both of these tests are currently expensive, but the costs will come down as we learn to automate them. The analysis time will also come down, and the sample size will be small.

There are several possible results that you can get from a DNA test. You may

have an inclusion, which means that the DNA types or the DNA bandings matched. You can also have an exclusion, which means the patterns did not match. Not every DNA test gives a definitive result. Sometimes the results are inconclusive, because the DNA is too degraded or the amount is too small.

From my experience in the laboratory and from talking to criminologists and lawyers, I see that DNA testing is really having an impact. It is affecting investigations. The analysis can provide inclusions or exclusions and show links between multiple events. Also, the DNA test results are easily demonstrated at trial. The test itself is hard to explain, but the results are easily explainable. Lay people and juries can tell an inclusion from an exclusion.

DNA tests will also have an impact on the victims of crimes. For example, if you are a sexual assault victim, not only your word, but clear scientific evidence can be presented at trial.

Finally, DNA is making an impact on post-conviction release. In most of the studies where DNA testing is done, there is about a 30 percent exclusion rate. In a number of cases where the physical evidence remains, test results have shown that the convicted person should, in fact, have been excluded.

Ms. Blumenfeld

I am an attorney-adviser with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). My principal involvement with the Bureau pertains to the laboratory division.

First, let me give an overview of the FBI's involvement with DNA. In December 1988, the DNA Analysis Unit was created. The Bureau was the first public crime lab in the United States to perform forensic DNA testing. In 1989 in Hawaii, an FBI agent testified on DNA results in a trial. The results were

admitted and the suspect was convicted. This was the first time that someone from a public lab testified on DNA analysis. In July 1989, an FBI examiner was able to match a suspect to a crime scene where the physical evidence was 12 years old. In October 1989, a DNA legal analysis task force was formed. It was formed to assist the DNA Unit on legal issues regarding the new technology.

Since its inception, the unit has accepted over 10,000 DNA cases. These cases have involved the testing of over 44,000 pieces of evidence. Our agents have testified in over 500 trials and admissibility hearings throughout the country.

Of the cases handled by the DNA Unit, about 33 percent exclude the prime suspect. About 65 percent of these are sexual assault cases, and 35 percent are homicides.

In April 1992, the Unit began using the second generation of DNA testing, PCR. We have used this technology in over 75 cases and the evidence has been as small as epithelial cells left on stamps, cigarette butts, and the sweatbands of hats. One of our new efforts in technology involves mitochondrial cells from hairs. Other research being examined concerns the use of bone and dental pulp as sources of definitive DNA.

There are two cases in which the FBI was involved that had a significant impact on the admissibility and use of DNA testing in the courtroom. The first is entitled *United States v. Yee*. In this case, a district court, and on appeal, a circuit court, held that the government had met its burden of proof to show that the general scientific community had accepted the FBI's protocol and its procedures for determining a match of DNA fragments. The courts also stated that the FBI had properly estimated the likelihood of the

genetic pattern appearing in the Caucasian population.

The second landmark case is *United States v. Jakobetz*. This case was significant because of the liberal standard of admissibility it enunciated, based on the federal rules of evidence. These two cases are typical of the many cases where DNA is just a part, although a vital part, of a full body of evidence.

What about cases where there is no physical evidence that can lead to a suspect? The answer to some of the cases is called CODIS—Combined DNA Index System. CODIS is an FBI-developed law enforcement system of DNA records. The purpose of CODIS is to provide leads in rapes and other violent crimes. CODIS establishes four files of DNA records: the population file, the forensic index, the convicted offender index, and the missing persons index. Investigations are conducted by combining evidence obtained from a crime scene with the database of information in CODIS to find a match. There are already examples of cases where matches of evidence to suspects are confirmed using CODIS software.

Mr. Strange

At the American Prosecutors Research Institute, we are going to be training on a nationwide basis on the prosecutorial use of DNA testing. We will be publishing newsletters and bulletins to relay breaking news on DNA testing to prosecutors.

My purpose today is to give you an idea of what the line prosecutor deals with on a day-to-day basis. In my experience as a prosecutor, I've had three cases where DNA played a big part. One of the main things I think DNA offers us right now is the ability to exclude people. I was involved in a case where an elderly woman was murdered, and the suspect

basically was in the wrong place at the wrong time. The PCR technique that Dr. Cotton talked about was used to exclude the young man.

The second case helps to answer Dr. Cotton's question about the impact of DNA on the victim. I think that in a sexual assault case, which usually means a woman is testifying alone, the DNA brings something that makes the victim more comfortable. However, sometimes it doesn't work that way. As is true with the William Kennedy Smith case and a case I had in Harris County, when the DNA shows guilt, the defendant may change his story.

In my opinion, however, the most important thing DNA can do is solve the most difficult and horrendous crimes. Those typically are capital murder cases. These are cases in which the DNA evidence is most fought over and where the stakes are the highest. The third case I want to talk about is one of these situations.

In Texas, a brutal murder and sexual assault took place; investigators had no leads. A young man came forward with information on a suspect. He stated that this person had been infatuated with the young victim and had discussed doing unspeakable things with her. However, there was nothing to go on but hearsay information. A hair and fiber examiner was able to match a fiber on the victim's shoe to the suspect's car. Based on this information, a search warrant was issued on the suspect. A small amount of blood was found in the suspect's car. Two swatches of blood came from the suspect's grandfather, who had cut himself while driving the car. A third swatch, however, contained DNA patterns that matched the victim's. In the trunk of the car were items that also contained blood that matched the victim's. The suspect was convicted.

The point of this story is that DNA forensic analysis is very useful in many kinds of cases.

Crime in Schools—Panel 1

Moderator: *Oliver C. Moles,
Education Research Analyst, U.S.
Department of Education*

Presenters: *Timothy S. Bynum,
Professor, School of Criminal Justice,
Michigan State University, East
Lansing, Michigan*

*Martin Gold, Research Scientist and
Professor of Psychology, Institute for
Social Research, University of
Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan*

Mr. Moles

School and community violence are the focus of great concern and attention. In trying to reduce violence, many community issues spill over into the schools. Crime in schools, beyond simple issues of discipline, has become a serious public concern.

The U.S. Department of Education has established goals to make schools "safe, orderly, and drug-free." Coordinated programs in the communities and conflict resolution education are among the program efforts we are implementing.

Professor Bynum

To stop the violence, we have to reach the young. News articles on violence on the streets and in schools point out that this has become a way of life for many young people. Conflict resolution programs have been around for some time and have recently become popular interventions to reduce violence in schools. These programs are based on the belief that violence is learned behavior and that different responses can be taught for situations that may escalate into violence. Many school-based programs have been implemented that provide a

curriculum emphasizing alternative methods of resolving conflicts between students, such as peer mediation. These programs also attempt to change the culture in the school into a more positive one in which interpersonal violence can be prevented.

I want to discuss the preliminary findings of an NIJ-funded evaluation of a conflict resolution program that was designed by Deborah Prothrow-Stith in Boston and was implemented in two public middle schools in Detroit. The two middle schools targeted seventh grade students, and two comparable schools that had no violence reduction curriculum were tracked for comparison. Among middle schools in the district, there was a wide variation in the way the schools defined disciplinary offenses and criminal acts. There was also a different threshold in each school for getting into the record system. We picked four schools ranked in the top 12 for incidence of violence (but not considered "out of control"). These schools were also matched based on neighborhood factors.

Data is being gathered in three waves. The evaluation includes a survey of the entire student body and interviews with 50 randomly selected seventh graders in each of these schools. Students were asked how they would respond to six scenarios that could result in interpersonal violence. Preliminary findings reflect baseline data that were collected at the initiation of the program. Baseline figures involve the students' perceptions of school environment (safety), feelings about teachers and students, frequency of violent behavior, attitudes about fighting, and typical responses to potentially violent scenarios. The survey was kept to a two-page instrument. We also made observations of the program itself.

The violence reduction curriculum is based on an attempt to change the culture of violence in school and is designed to be easily incorporated into the school curriculum. The ten-week curriculum includes role play and, in the second phase, peer mediation. Students have an active role in the mediation process. By the eighth grade, every student has been exposed to the curriculum.

About 60 percent of students said they did not feel safe at school. About half of the students said "people sell drugs" around the school. Ninety-five percent had seen at least one fight between students at school within the past eight weeks. About two-thirds said they had seen someone bring a weapon to school. About half the kids said they had been involved in a fight in the last two months. For boys, this was 60 percent and for girls, 40 percent. About 20 percent said they had themselves brought a gun or knife to school. Twenty-four percent had been physically assaulted at school in the past eight weeks.

We explored student attitudes about fighting. Eleven percent of students thought fighting was the only way to resolve a problem. Fifty-one percent thought they could talk their way out of a fight. While 77 percent of students agreed that "it's okay" to walk away from a fight, 43 percent found it difficult to end an argument without fighting; and two-thirds of the students found it difficult to give in to someone else to avoid a fight. These figures are baseline information.

This conflict resolution program is much like other programs in the country. The keys to success are intensity and duration. Community issues affect the school and we should adjust expectations accordingly. The results are limited, given that the program lasted for only 10 weeks. One program alone will not be the solution. This program must be

reinforced over the years to have an enduring and significant impact.

Professor Gold

I would contend that school itself can cause crime in schools and that particular kinds of school program innovation are sufficient, without other intervention, to substantially reduce crime in school. The nature of the school program must consider what personality characteristics, like anxiety or depression, youngsters bring to the school. The school is the "gate keeper" to the better life. When that gate is closed, youngsters will do other things to gain self-esteem. By the third grade, one can predict from school performance whether youth will be delinquent. Delinquency is rarely found among average or better students.

Some argue that poor school performance *is* delinquency, rather than the cause or predictor of delinquency. Other arguments state that schools cannot help youth in school if non-school conditions such as home, family, and community are not addressed. Regardless of these differing views, schools have a major role to play in preventing delinquency.

I have conducted a study of alternative schools for troubled and troublesome adolescents in Michigan. Students in this program had been expelled or suspended from their regular school for intolerable behavior. The youth were assessed at the point of referral and one year later. We looked at their backgrounds, police records, etc. According to school district policy, the youth were returned to their original school after one year in the program. Data indicated that there was a significant decline in disruptive and delinquent behavior. However, since youth improve after any change when tested initially at the height of unacceptable behavior, these

data may not have been significant. A control group was established for comparing data between the alternative school students and conventional school students. Significantly less disruptive behavior on return to the conventional school was observed among the students with alternative school experience.

Findings from the evaluation also gave insight on the role of personality characteristics in delinquency intervention outcomes. Anxiety and depression are personality characteristics that are difficult to distinguish in young persons. I have combined standard measures of these two characteristics into one variable I call "besetment." Youth with less anxiety and depression would be referred to as more "bouyant." Bouyant youth were more likely to respond favorably to intervention. Bouyant youth in alternative school profited most from the program, even after they returned to their original school. Beset youngsters bring with them a basic insecurity and distrust, which the school had difficulty overcoming. Beset youth were comfortable in the alternative school program and behaved better there, but they lost gains from the program after they returned to their original school. This suggests that identifying certain personality characteristics of youth who are disruptive in school is important in determining how to intervene. These characteristics may be a predictor of the intervention's success.

There seem to be two essential program ingredients that were demonstrated in Quincy and Wayne Counties, but not in some other programs. To make an alternative school effective,

kids must not be allowed *to fail*. Success-based programs are individualized and no student can fail. All feedback is based on progress, not on national norms or test scores. Secondly, teachers in the effective alternative school develop personalized relationships with and social support for the youth, which goes beyond conventional teacher roles. These factors are especially important for beset youth, who thrive with "lovable" teachers. This has an impact on youths' behavior even if they are faring poorly academically.

Many programs operate with grades as the "bottom line." Bouyant youth are more concerned than beset youth with grades and the future. When bouyant youth returned to their original schools, their grades were markedly better. Although standard achievement tests were not affected, grades went up due to better behavior. Beset youth, however, made no significant improvements in their grades.

A particular school program alone can have an impact on youth in a school setting, without the involvement of family, home, or community. The youngsters made progress when they experienced the greater flexibility of the alternative program, which was tailored to their needs.

I would suggest that this study be replicated with follow-up on the effects of alternative schooling on the youth's behavior in the community. I would extend the study to look at a group therapeutic program, which would address the insecurities of the beset kids. The follow-up period also should be extended to more than one year, with an age limit in the early 20s.



Child Abuse and Neglect

Moderator: *Eric Peterson, Social Science Specialist, Research and Program Development Division, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *David Olds, Director of Prevention, Prevention Research Center for Family and Child Health, Denver, Colorado*

Susan Zuravin, Associate Professor, Lewis L. Kaplan School of Social Work, University of Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. Peterson

We now have research that shows that children who experience abuse and neglect are far more likely to eventually become abusive and criminal themselves.

Mr. Olds

I will give an overview of our research and work examining the effect of prenatal and postpartum nurse visitations on the outcomes of pregnancy, infant care giving, and maternal life course development among low-income, unmarried, young mothers.

Four groups of women received various combinations of services including health and development screening, free transportation, nurse home visitation during pregnancy, and nurse visitation during the first two years of the child's life. The research has three goals:

- To improve pregnancy outcomes (reduction of preterm deliveries, low birth-weight babies, and rapid successive unintended pregnancies;
- To improve children's health and development; and

- To better the mother's life course development, giving each mother a sense of control over her life and reducing incidents of child maltreatment, which is believed to affect school failure, crime, and delinquency later in the child's life.

Findings demonstrated that we can have an effect on the goal areas. Nurse visitations during pregnancy, combined with other services for the mothers, resulted in better prenatal health awareness among the mothers and increased birth weights among their children. Additionally, participants receiving program services were far less likely to maltreat their children, and the nursing visits positively affected maternal behavior toward the child. The biggest influence of the program, however, was in child care, where it was shown that mothers gave their children much improved care when they received instruction on parenting skills during prenatal and postnatal nursing visits.

The research also showed promising results on long-term cost savings to government. Follow-up research showed significant government savings in AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid payments to program participants.

Professor Zuravin

My research on the immediate and delayed relationships between excessive child bearing and child abuse and neglect is based on life course theory. The research specifically examines: (1) whether teen mothers would be reported at a high rate for child abuse because they lack child care knowledge and because they focus on their own adult development, rather than on the child's development (an immediate relationship);

and (2) whether teen mothers would be reported at a high rate for child abuse later in their lives due to cumulative stress (i.e., poor education, multiple children, poor employment opportunities, poor marital opportunities). These are often consequences of being a teen mother (a delayed relationship).

Research findings indicated that the relationship between teen motherhood and child maltreatment is a delayed relationship rather than an immediate one. There was also a greater possibility of child maltreatment if the mother had a large number of children.

Workshop: Measuring Drug Abuse and Violent Crime

Moderator: *Thomas E. Feucht, Director, Drug Use Forecasting Program, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *David Olson, Director, Information Resource Center, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, Chicago, Illinois*

Roger K. Przybylski, Associate Director, Research and Analysis Division, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Feucht

We are fortunate today to have two representatives from the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority. David Olson and Roger Przybylski will explain how their information system is designed and how it can be used and adapted by other jurisdictions.

Mr. Przybylski

Our presentation will focus on the data sources we use to measure drug abuse and violent crime. Since our work is highly reflective of the needs and nature of our organization, we will also give you an overview of the structure of the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (ICJIA). Finally, we will discuss how we document and disseminate information to policymakers.

We work for a state agency that is governed by a board of directors composed of 15 key criminal justice policymakers in the State of Illinois. We are staff to this board. Our staff of 120 develops and operates information systems, administers federal block grants, and conducts research.

When the federal government first started pushing for the development of

statewide drug strategies, Illinois policymakers were very supportive. Not only were they supportive, but they felt strongly that Illinois should engage in research and planning that would lead to sound policies and programs. Consequently, they provided substantial funding to establish a strong research component in the ICJIA.

Our research unit provides a great deal of support to our program development staff. It also engages in a detailed evaluation initiative. But this afternoon, I want to highlight the unit's work on developing aggregate statistical measures of drugs and violence and analyzing and disseminating that data.

Those of you from one- or two-person operations with limited resources may think you are restricted in your ability to fully measure drug abuse and violent crime. What we will present can be applied regardless of your resource levels. For example, you may be surprised to know that we do not engage in any primary data collection in our measurement work on drugs and violent crime. We rely on the data, expertise, and analytical assistance of other agencies. We manage this through our data advisory committee. This critical committee is composed of representatives from inside and outside the criminal justice system.

This partnership is beneficial for all parties. While committee members generally collect the data for their own specific management purposes, we take all of the data and use it for strategic planning across the system.

We strongly believe that these multiple indicators are essential. No single indicator can accurately measure the complexity of the drug problem or violence problem. Multiple measures together, used with appropriate caution and insight, can and do

help us understand and measure the ebb and flow of what is going on in these areas. It is very important to put together a wide variety of measures from as many disparate sources as possible. We strongly believe in using continuous data from a variety of sources.

Mr. Olson

I want to re-emphasize that our agency is governed by a board of policymakers who represent every component of the criminal justice system. Everything we do, from data collection to planning, is done in that context. We do not focus on specific elements of the system, but rather use data to look at the system as a whole.

I want to present a "laundry list" of two distinct sources of information. One is criminal justice system information and the other is information that lies outside the criminal justice system but has implications for drug and violent crime control planning. I will point out the degree to which this information is available. You will probably be very familiar with some of these data sources, and other examples will offer you new ideas for sources of information.

The criminal justice system data we collect from other agencies, analyze, and use in our program development activities include:

- Illinois Crime Report
- Drug seizures
- Cocaine purity
- Firearms seizures
- Police manpower
- Court filings
- Court dispositions
- Court sentences
- Probation caseloads
- Jail population
- Prison admissions
- DEA domestic drug monitoring
- DEA seizures
- Expenditures for criminal justice activities in the state

Of course, we have some problems with the data. One problem is that much of the data is not timely. For example, the UCR data we are currently using is from 1992. Also, some data comes already automated and some only in hard copy. We have found that, in certain areas, the data is poor or very sketchy.

To overcome these problems, our agency works with other programs to help design better data collection instruments. To supplement and strengthen the data available in the criminal justice system, the following data collection efforts are underway.

- Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program. This provides information on drug use among arrestees in Chicago and from other DUF sites throughout the state. HIV testing is also done at DUF sites.
- Probation Survey. We conducted a survey to document the demographic characteristics and offense characteristics of probationers in Illinois for a one-month period. Data entry and analysis will begin in a few weeks.
- Drug Price and Availability Survey. We sent out a one-page survey to 24 TASC directors in the state and asked them to give the price for drugs for a specific week and to rate the availability of those drugs.

I also want to mention the data we use that is not criminal justice data. Currently we use the following sources:

- Census population data
- Drug treatment admissions
- Drug overdoses
- Drug-exposed births
- Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN)
- Child abuse
- Trauma center admissions
- Community epidemiological work group

- Treatment Alternatives for Special Clients (TASC)
- High school survey
- Drug use survey

We maintain over 200 data sets on our networks and mainframe computer.

Because of the complexity of our data, we have spent a lot of time organizing and indexing the data to make searches easier. Most of the data sets are in spreadsheets. These are generally updated annually, and in some cases, monthly.

We disseminate and use this information in a number of ways.

1. To support county needs assessments prior to the beginning of a program
2. To make presentations at state conferences
3. To assist other agencies in their planning process
4. To respond to information requests
5. To develop county profiles

County profiles have become very popular and beneficial to municipal criminal justice agencies across the state. Profiles for the 102 counties include regional data (for

comparison purposes) and county-specific information on various trends. Reports contain narrative, spreadsheets, and graphics. This has been an excellent way to disseminate the information we collect.

Mr. Przybylski

There will never be a perfect world where you have precise answers. We spend too much time behind our desks playing with data and trying to get data to tell us the answers — that is never going to work. You have think about what is going on, get out into the community, and talk to people in the real world.

If you want your information to be used, you must find a way to reach policymakers. As researchers, if we work with our data for another year to make it perfect or simply present our 400-page report, policymakers will make decisions and go forward without us. That is the reality. We should instead use the best methodology and design and take our best shot. Don't wait to have everything perfect.



Keynote Speakers

Jeremy Travis, Director, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice

Our hope is that this conference will accomplish a number of purposes. In addition to the substantive presentation of research findings, we hope that the annual evaluation conference, starting this year and in the future, will build bridges to other areas of research; will challenge those in the fields of criminal justice, law enforcement, and crime research to think about the perspectives offered by those in other disciplines; and will build bridges to other federal agencies, federal research agencies in particular, and to those federal agencies that disseminate research findings.

We also want an opportunity to challenge our thinking and to make certain that we look at the forest as well as the trees. We want to see some emerging syntheses of research findings in areas that are critical. Yesterday's plenary presentation with Jeffrey Fagan on the criminalization of spouse assault and comments by Wendy Baldwin and Alana Bowman exceeded our high expectations in that regard.

Today we hope to build on what I believe has been a great start to our conference. Today we approach our second theme—the effectiveness of treatment under the criminal justice system.

Peter Edelman, Counselor to the Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

This year's meeting is very timely because we are experiencing a great debate within our country over the future

directions of social policy. I fear for some of the outcomes of this debate, as we go into the substantive process of appropriating funds. In late June, a subcommittee that deals with the U.S. Department of Justice cut almost \$100 million from a \$170 million request for the Byrne formula grants that go out to communities under the Violence Against Women Act. This, of course, is just one area that affects poor children and vulnerable families. If funding is not there, the result will be more misuse of substances and more family and intimate violence.

As researchers and evaluators, our attention to that debate is vital. I believe that better research data will inform the debate and do some good. Certainly the need for a better informed public policy has never been more pressing. We need to redouble our efforts, both on a daily basis and in our research and evaluation, to produce better information to support good public policy.

I'd like to speak briefly about the challenges in research and evaluation in criminal justice, as it bridges out to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and other disciplines. First, we have a desperate need for better numbers and surveillance systems that estimate the problems of violence. Secondly, we need to develop theory, and to clarify the idea of community, the basis for building partnerships for solving criminal justice problems. Community is, in its essence, multivariate. It offers us the challenge of finding multivariate solutions to problems. Thirdly, we need to realize the strength and resiliency of people. We need to focus on development and promotion of productive, healthy citizens and children, rather than focusing on people as

problems. The challenge for research and evaluation is to understand why some people at risk succeed, and what strengths have facilitated that success. Fourthly, there is a challenge to the federal government to work together, to pool resources, and to break down bureaucratic obstacles that make coordination difficult. Finally, if all of our interventions seem to deal with individual problems, then we are still "missing the boat." Stakes are much broader and include lack of economic opportunity for the young, persistent discrimination in employment, and poverty. We have a fundamental responsibility to see that hope is there and that there is a clear pathway to it.

Some of you have heard me talk about a young man I met in a safe haven program in Texas named Murad Anderson. He is 15 years old and is a

poet. One of his poems, which particularly struck me, talked about getting his grandmother away to a safe place, away from the violence. The poem ended by saying that if there could be an end to the violence, "I wouldn't have a wish to wish." I thought that it was tremendously sad that the totality of Murad's wishes was for an end to the violence. It was not even in his world view to receive the same opportunity that many of us have had and that we take for granted for our children.

So, the real challenge is to give all the young people like Murad Anderson the possibility to wish for and achieve full participation in this society. If we can do this, as researchers, evaluators, and citizens, we will really have accomplished something.

Plenary Session: Effectiveness of Treatment Under Criminal Justice Supervision

Douglas S. Lipton, Senior Research Fellow, National Development and Research Institute, Inc., New York, New York

There is no need to tell you about the large number of drug users in custody—the criminal justice system is flooded with them—or about the need to expand drug abuse treatment. For the very first time, the federal crime bill had an extensive amount of money in it for treatment in prisons, but now the amount is up in the air.

The value of treatment is in debate, and that's understandable—it has a checkered history of success, both generally for drug users and especially for drug-using offenders.

Take a look at the Drug Use Forecasting data. Among arrestees, the percentage with drugs in their system has never been less than 60 percent. Most have avoided treatment in the community. In a recent study in New York City, 70 percent of addicts had never been in treatment and never intended to go.

Incarceration gives us a special opportunity to intervene. Successful intervention will help us intervene with gangs and violence, too.

Drug-using offenders are a major source of parole failure. The revolving door analogy surely applies to that population.

A relatively small number of drug-abusing offenders commit a huge number of crimes. They're likely to be in prison sometime, so we can get to them there. Otherwise, they will get out and recidivate.

Recent estimates say that more than 2 million offenders need treatment. But

programs such as Narcotics Anonymous and drug education don't constitute treatment for violent, highly predatory, drug-using criminals.

I have worked with correctional leaders in states that had little or no treatment. With BJA seed money, we got treatment programs started. Many correctional leaders who began with "just deserts" or "nothing works" attitudes came to believe in treatment.

The incredible growth in the prison population from 1980 to 1992 fuels the idea that we need more prison space, not necessarily more treatment. Politicians are unlikely to spend taxpayer dollars on efforts that win no votes and that may have little chance of success.

I admit that I am responsible in part for the cynical idea that "nothing works." Anti-rehabilitation forces seized on reports that rehabilitation had little effect on criminals. The book I co-wrote with Bob Martinson and Judith Wilkes in 1975 did not exactly say that; but it was interpreted that way, and the media seized on it.

The National Academy of Sciences re-analyzed our data and agreed with us that some rehabilitation works for some offenders, but it does not work for all. It certainly does not live up to the hopes we had.

Research now shows that the effectiveness of treatment is directly related to the time spent in treatment. Still, drug abuse is a long-term, recurring problem with much relapse. Treatment is difficult and only moderately successful.

There is a continuum of treatment out there, from none, to casual, to weekly sessions, to treatment at the user's request, to separate treatment facilities, and on up. Treatment requires at least six months.

Even if it can only be started in jail, it can be continued after offenders get out. But it is important to get it started.

I would commend one particular model that has had some remarkable successes. The people at the Amity Right Turn Project run programs in Pima County, Arizona, and at the R.J. Donovan Medium Security Facility near the Mexican border in California. Their method divides treatment into three phases:

1. The first phase or orientation consists of diagnosis, assessment, and clinical observation. It lasts three months. Residents must work to maintain the facility.
2. The second phase consists of counseling, encounter groups, and seminars that teach discipline, self-confidence, and other traits. It lasts five to six months. Residents are given more responsibility as they show sincere efforts.
3. The third phase, directed at community re-entry, requires inmates to design their exit strategy to return to the community. This phase takes three months.

Upon release, former inmates in the California program are offered an opportunity to live in another treatment center in California for up to a year.

Our study analyzed 720 inmates during and after treatment. They were hardcore felons with an average of seven prior convictions. Fifteen percent said they were murderers, 70 percent had violent histories, and most had spent at least half of their adult life in prison.

One year after parole, among the control inmates, 60 percent were reincarcerated. Among those who participated in the treatment program, only 42 percent were reincarcerated. And

among those who participated in both the treatment program and aftercare, only 26 percent were reincarcerated. Even those who dropped out before completing the program recidivated at a rate of only 50 percent.

The model for this program is Staying Out, which began in 1977. We evaluated and followed the graduates of Staying Out for nine years after treatment. We concluded that success increased for those who remained in treatment longer. Nine to 12 months was the optimum duration of treatment.

Another interesting program is called Key Crest, a work-release prison drug program in Delaware. After six months, 94 percent of graduates were drug-free and 97 percent were arrest-free. That compares to the control group, of whom only 38 percent were drug-free and 62 percent arrest-free. After 18 months, some 70 percent of program graduates were still drug-free and arrest-free.

What is the cost of these programs? At Cornerstone in Oregon, the cost was \$8,000 to \$9,000 plus prison costs. In programs that use role models (former prisoners who were drug addicts), the cost is only \$3,000 to \$4,000 plus prison costs. Thus, these programs are very cost-effective. Without intervention, 80 to 90 percent of drug-abusing inmates will be back in custody within three years. But three out of four will succeed if they get the treatment.

I am now compiling the results of 25 years' worth of studies of correctional drug treatment plans from around the world. Data analysis measures will include the offense for which participants were imprisoned.

I am optimistic about treatment. We can obtain substantial reductions in returns to crime, leading to tangible improvements in our quality of life.

**Herbert Kleber, M.D., Director,
Division on Substance Abuse,
College of Physicians and
Surgeons, Columbia
University, New York, New
York**

There is a remarkable consistency across the different treatment programs in their success rates. Treatment is not a conservative or liberal approach—it is simply a cost-effective approach. However, the success data will not necessarily convince the public.

What are some potential objections to the data? First, one may ask, what is treatment? We group together once-a-week meetings with year-long, intensive programs. They are not the same and do not have the same results.

Second, there is little data on *which* inmates do better in treatment.

Third, as the number of programs grows, you get good ones and bad ones. What will happen as we markedly increase the number of treatment centers in prisons? What will happen as less-motivated inmates start joining and staff with less training are used?

Fourth, who pays for the treatment if savings are realized not in the prisons but elsewhere?

Now, if the data is so good, why don't lawmakers and the public act on it? First, they do not trust the messengers. Academics are viewed as liberals who care more about criminals than they do about the public. Second, lawmakers and the public see treatment as coddling of criminals, regardless of the data. Third, treatment is not always effective. Some

programs are not good, there is still a lot of recidivism, and successes are often forgotten.

**Alan Leshner, Director,
National Institute on Drug
Abuse, U.S. Department of
Health and Human Services,
Rockville, Maryland**

I have to praise Dr. Lipton's synthesis of the literature. I share his view that drug abuse treatment can be extremely effective in reducing recidivism. I agree we should increase treatment, since it is cost-effective.

But I must raise the question: Why bother treating anyway? Ninety-eight percent of the world thinks drug abuse is a social issue to be addressed socially and through the criminal justice system. I am a train running the other way, treating it as a health issue. Of course, it is both.

People take drugs because they like them; they like what it does to their brains. After a while, though, a switch is thrown; they are no longer using drugs voluntarily—they are addicted. Should we treat drug addiction among prisoners the same way we would treat skin cancer, and try to treat the person?

Does it matter why treatment is done? If the warden likes treatment only because it keeps prisoners calm, it may not matter. But aftercare is very important for successful results, although it does not particularly help the warden.

We will not succeed in combating drug abuse until we view it as both a social and a health issue.



Concurrent Panels, Tuesday Morning

Drug Abuse Treatment Strategies—Panel 1

Moderator: *James V. Trudeau, Social Science Analyst, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Terence Dunworth, Senior Associate, Abt Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Arnold Waggoner, Administrator of Programs, Oklahoma Department of Corrections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Stephen K. Valle, President, Right Turn, Inc., Lynn, Massachusetts

Dr. Dunworth

I came to think about Moral Reconciliation Therapy (MRT) in particular, and drug treatment in general, through my work with Abt Associates. We had been examining states' decisions regarding the use of Byrne money for treatment programs. About \$96 million of Byrne money has been spent on treatment over the entire nine or so years of the Byrne program, and about 300 treatment programs have received these funds.

Some states emphasize treatment, while others do nothing. That is surprising, since the cost of incarceration is high, and since the number of incarcerations has been rising rapidly. Why not put more effort into keeping people out in the first place and into keeping them from returning once they have been in?

Most state planners believe treatment will not have much effect and that genuinely effective treatment is very expensive.

A few years ago I came across Ken Robinson of Corrections Counseling, Inc. He and Greg Little are the founders of MRT. As I looked into it, MRT seemed effective and inexpensive.

MRT is about 10 years old. In 1985, at the Shelby County Correctional Center, Robinson and Little were providing treatment and found they were having little success. They wondered why. People returning to jail had not changed their way of thinking about their lives, and they just resumed their old ways once they got out. Robinson and Little found that most inmates used primitive forms of decisionmaking—the pleasure/pain principle and dealmaking—rather than moral reasoning.

The two treatment providers organized a 16-step treatment procedure, MRT. The initial results were encouraging. Relapse and recidivism rates were much lower than for a control group, and the participants were using higher moral reasoning.

I personally have been skeptical of treatment in the past. However, MRT seems to cost about one-tenth of what other programs cost: \$200 to \$800 for an inmate to go through the whole program. Moreover, the MRT staff feel the program is producing better results than the more expensive approaches. Rigorous evaluation data is not yet available, but so far it looks good.

Mr. Waggoner

In the past, the Oklahoma Department of Corrections offered treatment programs, but they were not tied to each other, to different facilities, or to the community after inmates left. Without a systems approach, several difficulties arose:

- Offenders could manipulate their way out of a program.
- Offenders who were genuinely involved in treatment often had to leave the program when their status, such as their security level, changed.

However, with a systems approach, the situation improves:

- Offenders can start at any security level and stay in the program even if their level changes.
- Offenders released to the community can stay in the program through contacts with probation and parole officers.

I looked at different treatment systems and vendors around the United States and Canada. I settled on Correctional Counseling, Inc., which provides the MRT program, and decided to make MRT available at all the state's correctional facilities. I set up a quality assurance process to make sure group leaders are implementing the program correctly. Originally, the quality assurance was performed by the MRT founders, but now it is done by the very best Oklahoma Department of Corrections MRT trainers. In addition, we now have post-release treatment available all over the state.

Mr. Valle

Our project in Massachusetts used Byrne formula grant funds to help local jails set up a model for treatment. My group was asked to look at the various treatment programs in place in Massachusetts jails and houses of correction. We found them all at least minimally satisfactory but also made a number of recommendations.

First, we recommended that the Bureau of Substance Abuse develop standards for county jails and houses of corrections programs. We saw the need for a quality assurance program.

Second, county programs should establish a standardized screening and assessment system to identify inmates most likely to benefit from treatment.

Third, the state should offer a range of treatment for more selective placement. Not everyone needs an intensive, 90-day program.

Fourth, the state should develop program manuals to establish a uniform core curriculum.

Fifth, the state should analyze the needs of female substance-abuse offenders and devise a curriculum tailored to them.

Sixth, training of treatment providers should be standardized.

Seventh, for tracking purposes, discharge planning should include what to expect from treated persons.

Eighth, we also suggested that program evaluations be implemented from the beginning of each program and that all the programs set themselves up in a way that permitted evaluations.

Ninth, the use of space for training at facilities should be reviewed. We recommended that treatment providers be consulted for the design of future facilities.

Discussion

Question: Is the goal of MRT abstinence? If so, it may be in conflict with the health-based approach to drugs.

Dr. Dunworth: MRT's purpose is to change the way people think. The goal is for participants no longer to commit any criminal activity.

Drug Courts—Panel 1

Moderator: *Timothy J. Murray, Acting Director, Drug Court Programs Office, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *John S. Goldkamp, Professor of Criminal Justice, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Adele Harrell, Director of the Program on Law and Behavior, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

Barry Mahoney, President, Justice Management Institute, Denver, Colorado

Mr. Murray

On the panel today, we have three experts on drug courts. I am with the Drug Court Programs Office in the Office of Justice Programs. This panel is not about drug court grants. It is about the research and evaluation of drug courts. I was in Miami when the drug court concept started. In Miami, we knew that things weren't working. We didn't quantify or analyze the problems about drugs, but we knew the system was broken.

After the drug court concept was featured on national news, we were inundated with visits by other justice practitioners. To prove success, Janet Reno, who was our local prosecutor at the time, said, "Show me that people in drug court take longer to get rearrested than other drug arrestees." Jurisdictions started to use local funds to create drug courts. Questions about drug courts started coming up as federal funding became an option for the first time. We are now asking important questions that need to be answered.

Dr. Goldkamp

Since the first drug court in 1989, we have seen two or three generations of drug courts. There are between 20 and 40 jurisdictions with experience that we have not yet tapped. A handful of studies are underway, including our study of the Miami drug court. However, the experience of the courts is way ahead of the research. What I'd like to do, rather than tell you about any specific research findings, is to look ahead and talk about what I think research in this area should accomplish.

Since 1989, we have seen many variations of the drug court. I have five statements to make about drug courts that I think capture what these courts are:

1. Drug courts are supposed to be a new way to handle the substance abusing offender in the court system.
2. They are supposed to be a new way to integrate substance abuse treatment and other potential treatment services with criminal case processing.
3. The kind of drug courts that we are talking about today start off by being "treatment" drug courts.
4. Drug courts are supposed to involve a new "hands-on" role for the judge, as well as for prosecution, defense attorneys, and treatment agencies.
5. They also involve alternative processing strategies. These strategies started out as diversion and have since branched out.

The substantive questions we need to ask about drug courts are divided into three categories:

1. Description—we need to form clear models of drug courts.

2. Implementation—this is critical to our knowledge of what's happening, and what could or should happen, in drug courts.
3. Impact—this addresses whether or not drug courts work.

Going back to implementation issues, there are three critical areas that should receive research focus. These are targeting, screening or enrollment, and structuring treatment. With respect to targeting, we need to look at the populations of these courts before we compare them to other courts. In the screening area, we need to find out the extent to which jurisdictions hit their enrollment targets.

The impacts that drug courts have on other systems, resources, offenders, and different treatment services need to be scrutinized. When looking at impact, we have to consider certain assumptions about the drug court model. Some of these assumptions are:

- Isn't it better to intervene early?
- Is there a difference between pretrial and post trial diversion?
- What about the special role of the judge? Does it make a difference?
- What difference do structural arrangements make? Do you need a full, formal assessment right up front?

Here are some emerging issues that I see:

1. What happens when a place like Los Angeles tries to plan a multiple court approach? How do you make a local innovation work on a statewide basis?
2. Can you extend the drug court concept to other populations? This has already happened with courts established for domestic violence, female offenders, and juveniles.

3. How do we integrate the delivery of substance abuse treatment with other social service delivery systems?
4. What are the implications of specialized courts for the larger court system? This is perhaps a continuing issue rather than an emerging issue.

All these questions have implications for the research method or design used to evaluate drug courts. Field experiments seem to offer the strongest method for examining some of the questions relating to the impact of drug courts. We also need to look at multi-jurisdictional research. Finally, there is some concern about the degree of support from the revised Crime Bill. We hope evaluations in the future will consider not only those drug courts that get federal funding but those that have been surviving for four or five years as local initiatives.

Dr. Harrell

The DC Superior Court Intervention Program is funded by the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (CSAT) as a five-year experimental demonstration program. The services are being offered by Pretrial Services Agency.

I want to first talk about what the DC program is. Clients in the program are randomly assigned to one of three dockets. The three dockets offer three different conditions. Those who accept a plea offer stay on the docket through sentencing. Those who choose trial are transferred to other trial calendars. The random assignment provided a setting for testing different kinds of drug court interventions.

The first docket offers a graduated consequences program and is known as the "sanctions docket." The judge monitors these offenders' drug testing record. With each violation or positive

drug test, the offenders are given increasingly stiffer penalties.

The second docket is an enhanced treatment program. The program includes frequent returns to court for progress hearings. Clients attend treatment five days a week, receive daily drug testing, and have detox and acupuncture services available.

The third condition is what we call the "standard docket." This existing treatment model includes urine testing twice a week, referrals to existing programs in the District, and plenty of judicial encouragement.

The evaluation design itself will include both a process and an impact evaluation. It will also include an assessment of the costs and benefits of the drug court.

The impact evaluation is going to focus on 1,200 subjects, 400 from each docket. We will be looking at their exposure to treatment, the subjects' self-reported drug use, their self-reported criminality, and their self-reported social functioning at the end of treatment exposure and again a year later.

We will also look at official records on rearrest and time to failure. The evaluation period is five years.

During the first year, we spent most of our time on four key implementation issues:

1. Early intervention
2. Intensive judicial monitoring
3. Information exchange and immediate access to information for the court
4. Frequent drug testing

We have some preliminary performance data. The treatment docket shows that 100 percent of those who were eligible tested positive at the beginning of treatment. This figure declined to 65 percent one month later. In the sanctions docket we see a decline in positive tests

from 100 percent to 39 percent. The comparison group (standard docket) dropped from 100 percent to 81 percent on the same measure.

The true impact evaluation is just beginning. We have about a year to go before the interviews are completed.

Mr. Mahoney

A question was asked yesterday that I think is especially relevant here. The question was, "Given limited resources, how can we develop useful information about program effectiveness and policy directions?" The reality is that we do have limited, finite resources. That means that we can't always conduct controlled research, which tends to be very expensive.

In some environments, controlled experiments aren't feasible. For example, we have a lot of rural areas that are beginning drug courts. In order to make anything statistically meaningful out of a controlled experiment, you need to have a large "n," which these rural areas don't have.

We should be aware of the strengths as well as the limitations of the experimental model. We need to understand the context of these experiments and to map the "universe" of drug court programs.

This leads to descriptive research, which takes into account the role of other institutions in the equation and the socioeconomic environment in which these courts operate. However, conducting good descriptive research is very hard. It will be a long time before descriptive research allows us to understand what is happening from one court to another. In the meantime, we need to get a sense of what seems to be working.

It is also important to look at both the criminal justice process and the treatment

process. Treatment cannot remain a "black box." We need to look at how the treatment is structured, when the intervention is made, how it's made, what's provided, what the costs are, whether single or multiple providers are involved, and what kind of treatment each of them is providing.

Other issues that need to be addressed in the evaluation are the outcome measures, the rate of recidivism, and the cause of rearrest. On the treatment side, what are we looking for? Are we looking for abstinence? Reduced use? Fewer dirty urines? Or more time before slips?

To look at what we can realistically accomplish, we need to sit down with the program managers. The program managers need to be involved with the research. They should be involved with

the research goals at the outset and should not be surprised by the results.

Since drug courts are both innovative and controversial, it is vital to determine what works and why.

Mr. Murray

Today we have an opportunity to form partnerships as unique as the partnerships in drug courts. Localities continued to embrace the idea of drug courts, through both positive and negative publicity, through both promise and withdrawal of federal funding.

Conferences like this offer an opportunity to network with experts in the field. I encourage you to form partnerships among practitioners, researchers, and policymakers, so we can slow the cycle of addiction and crime.

Crime in Schools—Panel 2

Moderator: *Donna Marie Marlow, Senior Education Program Specialist, Safe and Drug Free Schools Program, U.S. Department of Education*

Presenters: *Dennis J. Kenney, Research Director, Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, D.C.*

James Klopovic, Policy Analyst, Governor's Crime Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina

Michael Vasu, Professor, North Carolina State University, Cary, North Carolina

Steven P. Lab, Associate Professor and Director of Criminal Justice Programs, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio

Dr. Kenney

Public schools are among the primary means by which society transmits skills, values, and self concepts to youth. A safe and secure school environment is a major factor in helping young people develop into productive, law-abiding citizens. Crime and disorder in schools have reached such alarming levels, however, that many young people are unable to learn. This is producing a generation at risk.

Recognizing that the police alone are unable to provide sufficient protection to students, many public school districts have begun to take more active steps—both alone and in concert with local police. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg County School District, responsible for educating the youth of Charlotte, the nation's 35th largest city, began such efforts in 1992. The leadership of that district, aware of the trend toward community policing in many municipal

departments, has designed a School Safety Program (SSP) based on the principle that police must work with the community to co-produce public safety and a better quality of life. The program relies on the creation of a process by which students, teachers, and police officers work together to identify and solve problems on high school campuses. Increased cooperation between police and teachers is also stressed.

The SSP curriculum was implemented in social studies and U.S. history classes. Teachers were involved in designing the curriculum, which included a problem-solving component. This component involved exercises that encouraged students to take responsibility for community problems. All eleventh graders are required to take this course. Eleventh grade is considered optimal for this program because students in this grade have the ability to understand the process of problem solving. Eleventh grade students also have both a history and a future within the school. There was a total of 10 classes.

The problem-solving component is based on the community policing model developed by the Police Executive Research Forum. This model involves scanning, analysis, response, and assessment (SARA) of the problems in a community. The SARA model was modified to apply to students. Teachers facilitated, and students led the exercises.

A team of external evaluators examined both the process by which SSP was implemented and the impact of the program. Under the evaluation design, a matched pair of high schools was selected. One school was assigned to receive the program, while the other was used as a control school. An on-site monitor documented the program's

implementation process. Impact data was collected to measure the program's effect on students' attitudes, victimization, and other measures. In addition, data concerning calls for police service, crime, truancy, misconduct, and other elements from official records were examined. A survey of students was conducted at the start of the school year, at Christmas, and at the end of the school year. Focus groups were held with students, teachers, and administrators. Data on disciplinary actions were also analyzed.

Teachers reported that they spent less time dealing with disruptive students, problems with personal attacks, and threats. Teachers' personal assessment was that safety had improved. Students' perception of fear was reduced by one-third by the second wave of surveys. There was also evidence of behavioral changes, with fights decreasing significantly by the end of the project. Disciplinary action decreased by 40 percent. Other student perceptions also changed. Students felt they had greater impact on policies and rules in the school. Since students felt more responsible and empowered in the school, academic performance was expected to improve as well.

Mr. Klopovic

The national problem of youth violence is pervasive, costly, and growing. This epidemic of youth violence has found its way into schools. The North Carolina Department of Public Instruction's 1991-1992 survey of all school systems in North Carolina revealed that 59 percent of the districts reported an increase in violent behavior over the past five years.

School violence is conceived as an outgrowth of family and community factors. There are more single parent and dual income families, diminished capacity of families for adolescent socialization,

and greater need for communication among community agencies. These factors may be addressed through the "webnet," defined as a "web to catch children who otherwise would fall through the cracks." This is a network of community agencies and a task force. The juvenile task force is a collaborative effort involving the sheriff, police chiefs, court counselors, school services, school board, judiciary, town managers, district attorney, criminologists, citizens, and intervention officers. An outgrowth of this violence prevention strategy is the implementation of the School Resource Officer (SRO) program.

While researchers differ on the causes of youth violence, almost all agree that youth violence is better addressed "upstream" than "downstream." The SRO program represents an upstream approach that attempts to prevent school violence before it happens. The SRO is the foundation of a broader school violence prevention strategy. It reflects a comprehensive policy focus that includes integrating the resource officer's function with the existing social network of the community.

The SRO is a community police officer whose beat is the school. The SRO is integrated into the school community, and this is the officer's stable assignment. With appropriate training, the officer plays three roles in the schools: peace officer, resource teacher, and counselor.

In measuring the SRO's effectiveness, the four "E's" were applied: evaluation, environment, efficiency, and effectiveness. A process evaluation was conducted and an analysis of impact on weapons incidents. In 1992 and 1993, approximately 10 percent of calls to the police were for guns in the schools. In 1994, no weapons incidents involved

guns, and there were fewer weapons incidents overall.

Impact on the environment was measured through a survey of students and teachers. Fifty percent of students indicated that the SRO made school safer, and 80 percent knew the name of the SRO. As the person to whom students would go for help, the SRO ranked third after the principal and teacher (before the school counselor). Among teachers, 100 percent felt that the presence of the SRO reduced violence at school.

In terms of efficiency, SROs are a wise use of resources. Since police are called so often to schools, it makes sense to keep an officer there. The police chief supports the program on the basis that he would normally police a community of 1,500 people anyway, so deploying an officer to a school can be considered both appropriate and necessary.

Effectiveness of the SRO program is evident in the court cases that are avoided, enhanced quality of petitions, and a reduction in reform and training school admissions.

The Bureau of Justice Assistance funded the original six officers. The school board then continued their funding, while the police department has maintained authority over them.

Professor Lab

School crime is a critical concern in contemporary America. High numbers of dropouts, poor academic performance, and a general perception that schools are failing in their tasks may be due to an unhealthy level of crime and disruption in the schools. Attempts to impose discipline and control on the school environment have met with mixed results. This study collected data from schools regarding disciplinary and control measures for victimization in schools. The study considered the neighborhood

context of schools and the fact that schools with different levels of victimization have different methods of discipline and control.

The survey included 44 junior and senior high schools in Lucas County, Ohio. The survey used three instruments for students, teachers, and principals. This survey data formed the core of the analysis. The student survey included a random sample of half of the students in each class, which resulted in 11,085 usable surveys. The questionnaires were closed-ended due to the volume of respondents. One hundred percent of the teachers were asked to complete surveys and 45 percent responded, resulting in 1,000 surveys. All of the principals responded.

Several methods were employed to assess the environmental context. Researchers used census data for a one-quarter-mile radius around the school and crime data from the police department for the smallest geographical boundary available. They also conducted a "windshield survey," which entailed driving around the one-quarter-mile radius and counting broken windows, abandoned cars, vacant buildings, etc.

The surveys measured how school discipline and control methods were used and perceived. Of particular concern was the ability to distinguish between humanistic and coercive discipline and control measures. The study looked at the relationship between these measures and in-school crime and victimization. This was addressed with two types of questions: (1) Most of the time, what happens to a student who is caught violating a particular rule or engaging in objectionable behavior? and (2) What should be the response? If the first question is consistent with the second, then the measure is considered humanistic. The survey also asked

whether teachers have to enforce the discipline and control measures; whether they are enforced; and whether respondents agreed with the measures. The survey measured both teacher and student "humanism."

Researchers also sought to determine whether schools with lower victimization were more humanistic in their discipline and control methods. Some students at all of the schools experienced some type of victimization at school in the past six months, and the range varied significantly. For example, 12 percent of students surveyed were robbery victims at school in the past six months, with a low of 1.7 percent of students at one school to a high of 47 percent at another. The survey also measured vicarious victimization, in which students know someone who has

been victimized. Ninety percent knew of another student who was a victim of theft, 85 percent of students knew of someone who had been assaulted, and 51 percent knew of students involved in gang fights.

Findings indicated that schools where students reported more humanistic discipline and control had lower victimization. High levels of gang membership destroyed the students' perception of humanism. When gangs are present, the level of fear overrides what students see as humanistic.

For future study, researchers encouraged examining the concordance among students, teachers, and principals and the role of the context variables. Researchers also emphasized more student involvement in the evaluation.

Innovations in Drug Testing

Moderator: *Pamela K. Lattimore, Social Science Analyst, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Joanna R. Baker, Professor and Department Head, Information and Decision Sciences, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia*

Rudy Haapanen, Chief, Ward Information and Parole Research Bureau, California Youth Authority, Sacramento, California

Dr. Lattimore

We are going to discuss drug testing strategies and alternatives. The first presentation, by Joanna Baker and myself, will focus on partial testing of selected urine specimens. Rudy Haapanen will present preliminary findings on various levels of drug testing.

Professor Baker

Today, we will present results of a study we have been conducting over the last three years. The model for this study was presented at NIJ's 1993 evaluation conference, here in Washington, D.C. In 1994, we conducted the study in six counties in the state of Illinois. This year, we are implementing this methodology in two more Illinois counties and are developing a decision support system.

I think we can agree that drug testing is widely used across the criminal justice system and in business. One purpose of testing programs is to deter drug use through the threat of detection. The problem at this point is how much testing, how often, and whether it is necessary to test all specimens. We are most concerned about the number of

drug tests to perform and how to select the specimens to be tested.

Acceptance sampling is an old statistical quality control procedure that has been used in manufacturing since the 1930s. It is an inferential estimation of lot quality. From a population (*lot*) of items, inspectors randomly select a sample and test the sample items to see if they are good or bad. If there are many bad items in your sample, you infer that the population has many bad items as well.

In terms of our experiment, the lot was a population of probationers during a particular week. The sample was selected from this population and tested to discover drug use or lack of drug use. Based on the results of this sample testing, a decision would be reached for the rest of the population.

A drug testing program based on acceptance sampling must consider all drug testing program costs, such as collecting specimens, testing specimens, failing to detect a user, and punishing or treating identified users. The approach minimizes the total program costs by decreasing the total number to be tested.

The objective of our model was to minimize the expected total cost of drug testing, while ensuring that the proportion of users in the population did not increase over time. Pam Lattimore will describe how we applied this model in Illinois.

Dr. Lattimore

Thanks to the interest and cooperation of six counties in Illinois, we had an opportunity to test our model. In November 1993, we began baseline data collection using probationers assigned to intensive drug supervision programs in those six counties.

The evaluation began in January 1994. The degree to which probation officers were

given feedback on drug testing results was based on their county's assignment to either the acceptance sampling feedback group, the zero feedback group, or the 100 percent feedback group. Two counties were assigned to each group.

As mentioned earlier, acceptance sampling provides an approach that minimizes costs. We interviewed probation officers, reviewed lab costs, and estimated other various expenses to determine a cost model. We found that the per-sample cost for collecting and testing urine specimens for drugs was \$25. The cost for imposing a sanction and/or providing treatment in response to a positive test was \$1,600, and the cost for failing to identify a positive user at the time of testing was also \$1,600. We were now ready to apply the cost model to our sample data.

We ran the test for about six months. The results suggest that an acceptance sampling approach to drug testing may offer improvements over traditional approaches. The two counties using acceptance sampling did not show an increase in the proportion of the probation populations testing positive for drug use. The two zero feedback counties did show an increase in drug use among probationers. These findings lend support to the idea that drug testing serves as a deterrent.

No differences were observed in the percent of the populations testing positive in the 100 percent feedback counties. Since these counties served as a benchmark representation of the status quo, we had expected no changes.

We are now implementing this model in two other counties in Illinois. Acceptance sampling will free county resources for other uses while deterring drug use in the population. We will make those results available as they are ready.

Dr. Haapanen

We are two and one-half years into what will be a three and one-half to four year study of drug testing levels among parolees in the California Youth Authority (CYA). Drug testing for parolees is a different matter than drug testing for probationers. For probationers, drugs are usually the reason they are in the system. Parolees have a variety of backgrounds and drug use is usually not their main problem. Most of them are drug users, but they are in the system because they were convicted of murder or another serious offense. Controlling their drug use can contribute to better behavior on parole.

When we began this study, we were conducting approximately one test per month on 6,000 young adults on parole. In costs, that translated to about \$600,000 per year. Due to serious fiscal constraints, we were looking for ways to save money. Our goal was to determine the lowest level of testing that could control drug use. Also, we wanted our study results to be useful for policymakers.

It took nearly 10 months to get approximately 2,000 parolees randomly assigned to the following five testing levels:

- No testing
- Testing only during re-entry
- Monthly testing in the first 90 days, then every two months
- Two tests per month, then once per month after 90 days
- Four tests per month, then twice after 90 days

We also collected data from CYA data files, hardcopy master files, rap sheets, parole staff reports, the drug testing laboratory, and interviews with parole agents.

In the planning stages, we were concerned about over-testing. In fact, we set up a requirement that in order to test more than designated by the assigned testing level, officials had to arrest the parolee. In

actuality, we should have been more concerned about the tendency to under-test. Even though we worked hard to get parolees tested at the correct level, it was tough to get parole agents to follow through on testing requirements. We found that it was even harder to discipline the parole agents for not following through.

Our analysis shows that parole agencies could get by with much less drug testing. We were pleased with the sample size in each group and found that drug testing levels were appropriate for each group.

So far, our analysis shows that drug testing levels differ among the five groups, although not as much as predicted. Parole outcomes may not be related to these levels. If these results persist as we continue with our analysis and follow-up, they could have profound implications that would reduce the amount of expensive drug testing currently performed by criminal justice agencies in aftercare supervision. A final report will be completed by February 1996.



Correctional Options

Moderator: *Thomas Albrecht, Branch Chief, Corrections Program, Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *James Austin, Executive Vice President, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Washington, D.C.*

Helen G. Corrothers, Past President, American Correctional Association, Silver Spring, Maryland

Dale G. Parent, Associate, Abt Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts

Ms. Corrothers

The main issues in implementing intermediate sanctions include

- Public safety concerns. We need to achieve more space for the more serious criminals.
- Burden to the taxpayers. There are often excessive costs of prison construction and operation.
- Corrections as a business. Attention must be given to cost effectiveness, partnerships, use of strategic planning, management information systems, etc.
- Net widening. Intermediate sanctions should not be used for offenders who do not require restrictive sanctions.
- Gap or lack of a system between prison and probation. There should be no gap in the continuum, or the court sentencing options will be restricted.
- Principled purposes—not confused goals or doubtful philosophies.
- Exchange rates (trade-offs for conventional incarceration, which

would meet the requirements of sentencing guidelines). Lack of these have been barriers to using intermediate punishments.

Research still needs to look into the impact of an increased number of offenders in the community. Public safety must not be undermined. Using data sources including a literature review, evaluations, national survey results, personal observations, and site visits, my study developed the intermediate punishment system model.

Supervising probation officers and program officers were optimistic concerning use of intermediate sanctions.

Correctional officers need to be trained in a philosophy, with clear goals. A sharper focus on treatment has been seen as useful in reducing recidivism. On-site visits, including public work projects, were impressive. The model has been held in high esteem by the offender participants, and recipient agencies have expressed their gratitude. From the survey highlights, strong support was found in the courts and correctional systems. Among the correctional system respondents, 80 percent were strongly favorable to intermediate sanctions. Four out of five judges also responded that way. Any apprehension expressed was related to program availability, targeting offenders, or feedback subsequent to placements. A barrier to greater use of intermediate sanctions has been the absence of effective exchange rates for conventional incarceration. According to the survey, exchange rates are not permitted in 77 percent of jurisdictions.

There was general agreement on the eligibility criteria:

- Crimes of violence should be excluded.
- There should be a minimum age of 17, with no maximum age.

- Either misdemeanors or nonviolent felonies should be included.
- There should be no detainees.

Regarding criteria for success, the judges and courts differed from program directors. The judges' criteria were that the individual should (1) complete the program, (2) remain crime-free for one year, and (3) maintain a steady job.

In rating for effectiveness, program directors reported that home detention/electronic monitoring has been in existence the shortest period of time and has the highest client/staff ratio. However, it is used less frequently than other sanctions. From the offenders' point of view, it was considered the most punitive of the intermediate sanctions (they often refuse to participate). More than half of home detention programs also required employment and drug/alcohol counseling. Home detention has been reported by the program directors as being the most successful of the intermediate sanctions, using a four outcome criteria continuum (completed program, dropped out, technical violation, committed new offense). It has had the highest completion rate (78 percent of participants).

Intensive supervision probation (ISP) was the option most frequently available in state jurisdictions. It had the highest rate for technical violations. These programs usually required the participant to be employed, to do community service, and to attend counseling for drug or alcohol abuse. ISP, probably the most popular program, was regarded as the least effective intermediate sanction (less effective than traditional parole). Eighty percent of the states have ISP programs. State jurisdictions generally had more correctional options available than federal jurisdictions. Only 66 percent of federal jurisdictions had ISP. Federal judges mentioned sentencing guidelines as a leading barrier to the adoption of correctional options.

Along with home detention, community based residential and non-residential programs were rated well for effectiveness. Ranked from highest to lowest as to effectiveness, the respondents listed:

- Home detention with electronic monitoring
- Community based residential
- Community based nonresidential
- Traditional probation
- Intensive supervision probation

The Intermediate Punishment System Model (see Appendix A) is a mechanism to encourage the use of intermediate sanctions. Offenders should be screened and risk assessment instruments used. Persons convicted of crimes involving weapons, sexual assault, or child molestation, and those who have an escape history should usually be excluded. The model accepts as its general purposes just punishment, deterrence, incapacitation, and rehabilitation. Emphasis may be placed on one or more of these purposes.

The first priority is the protection of the public. As secondary goals, the model must be cost effective and must involve humane care. Flexibility points in the model allow jurisdictions to incorporate their own unique mandates. The model is intended to be multi-purpose, with a focus on partnerships between courts, corrections, prosecutors, defense attorneys, legislators, and other stakeholders. Race, gender, creed, and socio-economic status may not be placement factors. All stakeholders in the model must be involved in the planning and implementation phases. The work ethic, self discipline, and humane treatment are promoted.

There are five levels of severity in the model, varying in the degree of restriction on community mobility imposed on the offender. Offenders may move up or down the continuum of sanctions. Mandatory components include: restrictions on liberty, financial/restorative measures, and risk-

reducing or rehabilitative elements (such as substance abuse treatment). Victims' concerns, community service, restitution, etc., also need to be addressed. Levels of supervision contribute to the systemic use of intermediate sanctions and to eliminating the gap between prison and traditional probation.

Suggested equivalences need to be established between intermediate sanctions and traditional incarceration. This approach is relatively new around the country and there is not much in the literature. Such factors as "degree of liberty" and "level of regimentation" are not understood uniformly and have to be considered. Correctional officers must know the program effects. This can be done with self-audits and built-in evaluation components. Goals should be established for each sanction program. Meetings should be held to establish and monitor change with respect to jurisdictional priorities. Judicial placement decisions should be informed by correctional system input. The expertise of both the courts and the corrections officials is needed. Suggested sanctions, moving from high to low levels of restriction, are: boot camp, community detention centers, treatment centers, work release, home confinement, day reporting, outpatient treatment, restitution fines, day fines, and regular probation. The model promotes partnership, communication, and flexibility among federal, state, and local agencies.

The model addresses all of the issues or problems that I identified at the beginning. Importantly, the model serves as a communication vehicle. A literature review and national survey on attitudes show that past implementation efforts have often met with resource and credibility problems. Increased use of this sound concept of matching the gradation of sanctions to the gradation in criminal conduct can both save money and increase the effectiveness of the correctional system.

Mr. Albrecht

Our next speaker, Jim Austin, has been working with the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the National Institute of Justice since 1992. He has been in a dynamic process of implementation and evaluation for a number of correctional options programs. He will talk about the first phase of that work.

Dr. Austin

NCCD is conducting a process evaluation of a congressionally mandated program that awarded \$10 to \$15 million per year for the launching of innovative correctional options programs. These had to be true alternatives to incarceration, either at the county level or the state prison level. Money was also set aside for technical assistance to help sites develop their programs.

We wanted to know how successfully this effort applied the theory. I know of 10 Round-1 and Round-2 sites. Six were boot camp programs (10 or so more will be added this year), and about 25 sites in total are receiving Bureau of Justice Assistance funding. NCCD is partially responsible for evaluating these.

We do have results on the first wave of sites. There were only four (awarded \$2 to 2.5 million each): Alameda County, California, a pretrial diversion program; the Florida Department of Corrections, targeting felons who were on probation and had been rearrested for a new felony charge; Maryland, with a "back end" program that brought inmates out faster; and New Hampshire, also an early release program. The Alameda and Florida program participants tended to be involved in drug crimes. The other two programs focused on getting inmates out of incarceration faster. Researchers have been directly involved in the programs, actively changing them, helping to make state and local proposals, and trying to set things up well.

Although the process evaluation, under contract, was to document what is happening, we did put some experimental designs in place, some of which involved random assignments. We hope to follow those up over the next year or so.

Right targeting was both difficult and important. Alameda County had difficulty with judges being unwilling to release people. Most of the other sites targeted a tough group, individuals with an average of six or seven prior felonies; a history of drug abuse and failed treatment; unemployment; and poor education, often illiterate. They were predominantly male, about 25 years old, and many had already fathered children.

Florida showed that a high proportion of those arrested while on probation do time in the prison systems. They would have spent a rather substantial amount of time in the Florida prisons.

The Maryland and New Hampshire programs were for in-custody inmates. These programs were targeted well. They exceeded the number of participants they promised to put in the program. The service levels were delivered as proposed. In the aftercare part of the programs, the number of services dropped dramatically. This is an area where the programs really have to improve if they want to have any hope of reducing recidivism.

For two of the four sites, there were substantial savings generated. Cost-benefit analysis in Maryland showed that an individual from the control group (standard incarceration) cost the system \$45,000, while for the experimental case \$35,000 was needed. In Florida, the control group's per person cost of incarceration was \$22,000, while the experimental group cost \$10,000 per participant. In both New Hampshire and Alameda County, the programs broke even.

There are some policy implications. Public agencies have had a hard time operating innovative programs due to many factors. It takes too long to "get up to

speed." There is a high turnover of key staff. Often consultants have written the proposals, but the people who will be running the new program have not been consulted and end up transferred. Signing contracts can be a major problem. A private substance abuse contractor, for example, might take as much as six to nine months to organize. You have to put out an RFP, go through selection processes, etc. It may even be hard to fill the treatment programs after everything has been set up. BJA now gives funding for planning up front in order to help these initiatives.

Suggestions have included moving to a pure "R & D" model as in the 1980s, in which the federal government would develop a prototype model and fund selected sites to launch that model. If it worked, there was the expectation that local and state governments would buy into that model.

There are a number of policy issues to examine. Prison admissions have been declining or leveling off. In Florida, prison admissions have dropped from 45,000 to 26,000 in the last three or four years. Crime has actually been dropping in the District of Columbia (down one-third) and New York. In New York, homicides were reported at the lowest level since the 1970s. Even in Puerto Rico, where I was visiting, homicide rates are going down.

This suggests to me that front-end intermediate sanctions are not so valuable to us for producing cost savings or controlling prison populations. There will continue to be a growth of prison population due to "truth in sentencing" legislation. Early release models will continue to be needed. There could also be a savings in focusing on probation and parole violators. I am less enthusiastic about programs operating at the court level. To answer the resource and credibility problems, to be able to "compete" with traditional incarceration, these programs must demonstrate cost effectiveness.

Mr. Parent

I will be very brief so there is time for interaction. We need a structured process for deciding who gets what kind of sanction.

The research base for determining what correctional options to develop is not strong. Some of the options have been researched well, and some have hardly been researched at all. The quality in some of the research is not high, producing variation in outcome figures. There have not been many tightly designed, experimental studies.

There were some exceptions. The Intensive Supervision Probation (ISP) programs were studied using random assignments; but boot camps, for example, have not had a randomly designed assessment, and it is difficult to draw conclusive statements from the research. The high variation among programs studied, even those that were part of the same national experiment, has made it hard to evaluate. Many had no common design. Often the findings have not been especially encouraging or conclusive, nor has crime been reduced. ISP, for certain categories of cases, lowers recidivism, but the findings have not been strong. The more rigorous correctional options have inflated technical violation rates. This is consistent with more required contacts and conditions that easily lead to nonconformity.

There is no evidence from the ISP or the boot camp studies that surveillance performs a crime control function. Technical violations do not predict tendency for new crimes. But a sentencing structure has to respond systematically to nonconformity. When the response is imprisonment, the program is not so effective. I suggest that there are scores of other responses that might be more cost effective.

Many programs target and recruit the wrong offenders. ISP and electronic monitoring have focused on non-serious, low-risk offenders. This is understandable; but we end up with greatly increased costs if

we imprison such people for technical violations, when they would not otherwise have been incarcerated.

In general, programs often lack conceptual integrity, a framework. In the implementation process, people pick and choose and make the program "hodge-podge." Evolution of ISP is a clear example. In *Controlling Offenders in the Community* (Clear and Leary), a limited risk control model of community supervision was set out. It needed risk assessment, intensive surveillance, needs assessment, rigorous classification, case management, and rigorous treatment. In the majority of the cases, the surveillance part was developed but the treatment and case management part was not developed. The result was not the contemplated model but something easier to sell politically.

We conceive of intermediate sanctions as a diversion from imprisonment. This will fail in terms of targeting the right people, getting positive results, and building political support for these options. In the immense variation in sentencing, there is no way to effectively and accurately identify a prison-bound population. In recidivism studies of boot camps, we have seen that, in order to have a diversionary effect, we would have to have a population that would have been imprisoned 80 percent of the time. The type of person who gets to prison 80 percent of the time is a very "heavy hitting" offender. These would be repeat violent criminals. Boot camps do not typically target them.

If you reconceive the problem, not as diverting from prison, but making sentencing more uniform for persons who predominantly received probation in the past, you would find that this mathematically reduces the use of confinement. It happened in Minnesota, Washington, and every jurisdiction that implemented sentencing guidelines provided that the guidelines did not also greatly

increase durations or rates of imprisonment. Operating on a disparity reduction basis, intermediate sanctions make the use of probation more uniform. This will reduce confinement.

Important features for a sentencing policy including intermediate sanctions would include

- Clear governing purposes, such as *just desert*, but also, *treatment*, *general deterrence*, or *incapacitation*. The proposal should consider the seriousness of conduct and offender culpability.
- Uniformity, with some range of variation and written reasons (with appellate review) for placement.
- Emphasis on procedural fairness, applying rules of evidence, and standards of proof.
- Comprehensive consideration. All criminal sanctions would be covered, not just confinement, but probation, revocation, etc.

Additionally, the system must fit within the limits of available resources.

Distributive choices are involved, and money spent on prisons cannot be spent on schools, hospitals, or highways. Costs and "tradeability" should be considered. Only by imposing workability standards will we get away from the pressure to escalate sanctions.

We need a systematic effort to form second generation models of correctional options based on such limited findings as we have, relying on logic and common sense.

As an example, for boot camps, it could be desirable to have two different kinds of boot camps: a population management boot camp and a treatment oriented boot camp. These would have different selection criteria for offenders, different program durations, and different management performance measures. Some program components and aftercare would be similar.

For the population type, a fairly large number of already confined offenders would be selected from the back end, persons who still had two or three years to serve. This kind of camp I would run on a large scale, even thousands of beds. Serious, violent, repetitive offenders would be excluded. In this early release type program, selected offenders would stay in the boot camp for three to four months. Some treatment services could also be offered in the components. For this group, a larger part of the treatment services would be shifted to the aftercare. They would be scheduled for nine to 15 months of supervised aftercare in the community.

For the treatment boot camp, I would be unconcerned about the amount of time to be served and base the placement on the likelihood that the persons would respond well to the services offered. Size of the camp would be less material. A small identified population of substance abusing offenders would stay long enough for the treatment program to be effective, six to nine months perhaps. Aftercare in the community would be similar; both programs would contain a structured revocation process to avoid losing people at the back end.

In terms of performance measurement, the population bootcamp would be judged in terms of impact on net prison-based confinement. For the treatment bootcamp, the impact on recidivism rates would be measured.

Discussion

Question: What are some outcome measures you would recommend?

Dr. Austin: Cost effectiveness, extent of change in behavior (relative to drug abuse, etc.), equal safety of conditions, and recidivism.

Ms. Corrothers: Measures might vary depending on the design of the model. For a drug treatment program, it might be the

number of participants annually, attendance, or completions per year. If you include education elements, for example, you might measure the percent of GED completions. The corrections program would have to relate the measures to match the goals. The public needs to be shown that the programs work. I've found that often corrections programs are not setting goals. It seems elementary, but it is very basic for program evaluation and outcomes.

Question: There are "capacity based" sentencing guidelines in about 23 states now. What management approach should the states pursue when the state congress is using a "building" approach?

Dr. Austin: In the vast majority of states, judges can still determine the sentencing, although they may use guidelines.

Mr. Parent: Well done sentencing guidelines are cost effective. Implementing them is a long-term process and expensive. But the cost pales in comparison to large scale prison construction. In the five years that I was associated with the commission in Minnesota, we spent a little over \$1 million.

That would not buy even six prison cells. Within 10 years, the corrections system was able to reduce the capacity expansion compared to other states. Properly done, it is far more cost effective.

Remark: I would differ. I don't think there is evidence that sentencing guidelines reduce prison crowding.

Question: Correctional options cannot compete unless they are proven safe. For comparison, what is the quality and amount of documentation on the crime reduction value of prisons?

Dr. Austin: There are misconceptions on the issue of crime reduction. Most people who go to prison do not come back to prison. Pre- and post-term criminality rates for any section of corrections go down. A lot of that is just aging, maturation.

It is a mistake to say that intermediate sanctions can reduce recidivism substantially. People are not proving that. However, it is enough to show that the results of intermediate sanctions are *as safe* as prison sanctions and are more cost effective.



Community Policing: Issues in Problem Solving

Moderator: *Rana Sampson, Founder, Community Policing Associates, San Diego, California*

Presenters: *Gary Corder, Professor, Police Studies Department, Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, Kentucky*

Frank Gajewski, Commander, Planning and Research, Jersey City Police Department, Jersey City, New Jersey

Robert E. Worden, Associate Professor, Criminal Justice and Public Policy, State University of New York, Albany, New York

Ms. Sampson

This panel will review some of NIJ's recently funded studies on problem solving efforts. Gary Corder's study involves mental health emergencies encountered by police in Lexington, Kentucky. Frank Gajewski's study focuses on locations of violent crime in Jersey City, New Jersey. Robert Worden's study looks at serious traffic incidents and street level drug dealing in New York State.

The evolution of problem oriented policing began 15 years ago, when Herman Goldstein advised that police need to shift focus from the traditional incident-driven, reactive mode to a proactive, substantive, problem oriented approach. The concept has significant implications for how police services are provided, police organizations are managed, and line officers do their work. In addition, it means recognizing that calls and complaints are not a series of unconnected, random occurrences. The problem solving approach seeks to understand the conditions and factors that give rise to patterns of crime and to tailor solutions accordingly. Advocates of

community policing have adopted problem solving as one of its key components. Today, problem solving seems to be the most effective tool police have to reduce commonly encountered crime and disorder.

Professor Corder

The problem solving project in Lexington, Kentucky, is a partnership between Eastern Kentucky University and the Lexington Division of Police. The project has two separate, yet complementary, tracks:

- Focus on mental health emergencies with problem solving police strategies.
- Improve the capabilities of the police department as they relate to research, crime analysis, and problem solving.

I will first give background information on the project's efforts to upgrade police capabilities and then focus on the mental health emergencies aspect.

The Lexington Division of Police has 400 sworn officers and serves a population of 225,000. For traditional crime analysis, the department's crime analysis unit has two full-time civilian crime analysts and clerical support staff. The unit has been handicapped by an inability to secure funding for training and difficulty in retrieving data needed for analysis from a mainframe computer.

The project will shift the unit's focus from traditional crime analysis to a problem oriented approach that expands the scope of analysis to include other community problems. Emphasis will also be placed on skills development, training, procuring advanced software, and developing mapping capabilities.

The police department would probably assert that it is currently doing problem-oriented policing. However, there is little

evidence that the department has incorporated a systematic and thorough problem solving approach. Instead, the day-to-day use of problem solving within the department is limited to specific instances when an individual officer or unit takes a special interest in a problem.

The grant provides funding for an assessment of the department's current problem solving approach as well as training to facilitate the move towards a more systematic problem solving approach. The mental health emergencies aspect of the project will serve as a problem solving prototype for this transformation. The experience will build the department's understanding and appreciation of the concept and provide a concrete example of an effective analytical approach.

The mental health emergencies problem was nominated by the police department. I believe it was a good decision to select a non-crime problem because the department's problem solving experience was limited to crime issues and traditional enforcement solutions.

The department's present system for dealing with mental health emergencies is very traditional. Officers are dispatched on an incident-by-incident basis with the assistance of EMS, if warranted. There is no on-scene mental health response. Because the state mental health hospital is located within the City of Lexington, the police do not need to transport subjects far. However, many of the patients released from the hospital tend to remain in the city.

The department does have a detective who follows up on some individuals involved in mental health emergencies referred by officers. However, the referral process is arbitrary and does not represent a systematic sample. In addition, the CAD system does not have a specific code reflecting mental health emergencies. Most incidents do not result in a written report unless the subject is taken to the state mental

health facility. Therefore, the department has virtually no data on the scope, nature, or characteristics of the problem. To secure better data, we will initiate a special data collection form for a period of two to four weeks. The form will document the number of calls, location of mental health emergency incidents, and location of repeat addresses.

The City of Lexington does have a countywide Mental Health Coordinating Council composed of urban, county, and state government representatives, including the police department. Therefore, the police have already begun talking with other agencies delivering related services and are becoming familiar with other key players.

The project has conducted a series of four focus groups to assess how police officers perceive the problem of mental health emergencies. In particular, the officers were asked what elements of handling these situations were most problematic. One focus group consisted of twenty sergeants and the three other groups had ten to fifteen patrol officers each.

The focus group of sergeants indicated two problematic issues. First, the police department's information system does not effectively collect, store, and retrieve data on mental health emergencies. Individual police officers discharged to a mental health related situation were not informed that the individuals at a particular address had a history of violence or mental illness. This information is necessary for the officer's safety and to respond appropriately to the situation. The second issue was the sense that the younger, inexperienced officers had not yet learned to recognize those persons who had a history of mental illness-related behavior. This lack of personal knowledge, coupled with the absence of an adequate information system, set up a situation where officers might be endangered or handle people in inefficient or ineffective ways. The focus groups singled out 14 different issues.

The list of problems identified by the focus groups were developed into a survey and administered to 250 persons within the department. Respondents were asked to rate the seriousness of these problems in dealing with mental health emergencies. Though we are only in the stages of preliminary analysis, we have found that the respondents were least concerned about the following:

- Lack of training to understand mental illness
- Lack of training to handle mentally disturbed subjects
- Lack of training in court and hospital procedures
- Lack of a clear definition of mental illness

The respondents rated the following elements as most serious:

- Officers are sent to the same location to deal with the same subjects over and over again.
- Subjects admitted to the state mental health hospital are released too soon.
- The courts fail to hold the mentally ill subjects responsible for crimes.

In addition to the sergeants' major concerns, the following issues were rated as moderately serious:

- Where to take juveniles who exhibit signals of mental health problems
- How to effectively deal with Alzheimer's patients

Because this survey assessed officers' perceptions, the results may not be objectively valid. We will now try to obtain hard, objective data on the scope and nature of the problem. In addition, we will gather perceptions from others involved in the mental health delivery system. This project is in the identification and analysis stage of a formal problem solving framework. Once we get a good handle on the nature of the problem, we will search for, implement, and assess alternative solutions.

As Goldstein recommends, we value the knowledge police officers have gained from their experience and observations in the identification and analysis stage to augment information from other sources.

Captain Gajewski

The Jersey City Police Department has 858 sworn officers that serve a population of 233,000. The department first became involved in problem solving and community oriented policing in 1990. The initial problem solving venture was the Drug Market Analysis program. Maps of the south, west, and north districts of the city indicated that the areas with drug problems also suffered from violent crime, regardless of the overall level of crime in that district.

To facilitate the move to problem solving and community policing, a small unit of officers was trained in problem solving—the scanning, analysis, response, and assessment (SARA) model—and computer mapping. The first step involved scanning the target areas through police calls and arrest and intelligence data. In addition, the unit interviewed residents, businesses, and other city agencies and conducted physical observations of the area. The problems identified by the citizens as quality of life problems included drug sales in open air markets, drinking in public, disorderly groups, and physical disorder.

After the problems were identified, two squads were each assigned to six areas to analyze the identified problems in those areas. To do this, data sources were collated, underlying common characteristics were identified, and areas of responsibility were determined.

The third step was to design tailored responses to problems in an area's environment. The responses included reducing incivilities, nontraditional enforcement methods, interagency cooperation, and traditional enforcement methods. Examples of each follow.

Reducing Incivilities: Environmental Disorder

- Coordinated improved lighting measures with landlords and public works
- Boarded or demolished troublesome abandoned buildings
- Identified absentee/irresponsible landlords; with cooperation of Building Enforcement Division compelled amelioration of code violations

Reducing Incivilities: Disorderly Behavior

- Kept community informed of actions through crime awareness/crime prevention campaigns, and regular attendance at church and community functions
- Enforced nuisance statutes with summons
- Identified and encouraged alternatives for juveniles

Nontraditional Enforcement Methods

- Parking control
- Building code control
- City ordinance (nuisance) control

Interagency Cooperation

- Department of Public Works
- Department of Housing, Building Inspection Division
- Department of Health and Human Services
- Jersey City Public Schools

Traditional Enforcement Methods

- Park-n-Walk; street pops for drug sales
- Targeted gun recovery
- Mug shot file of area violent offenders

At this point, we are starting the evaluation process. We are evaluating the

process through interviews with residents and businesses, physical observations, police data, analysis of diffusion and displacement, and other agency reports. It is important to remember that unless progress is maintained, an area will go back to the way it was. The following steps will be taken to maintain progress:

- Follow-up patrols
- Continued participation in community meetings or activities
- Continued support to business owners and direct responses to problems
- Monitoring violation levels (alcohol, housing, litter)
- Continued interdepartmental coordination with narcotics, CSOs, DARE officers

In dealing with the agency's move toward community policing, my department is "rock solid" traditional. Some officers are difficult to change, so we try to win them over and convince them that problem solving is a good idea. One lieutenant has probably logged 9,000 arrests. As soon as he saw that the extra problem solving efforts would conflict with these numbers, he grew complacent. The two sergeants under him ended up carrying out the project.

In 1992, our department was involved in the operational component of the DMAP experiment. We had four mayors, three police directors, and two chiefs of police in one year. It is very difficult to implement change in such an environment. I think that it is important in larger departments to first succeed at smaller projects to gain a foothold before moving to department-wide change.

Professor Worden

I am collaborating with Hans Tuck on a study of the application of problem oriented policing by the New York State Police. The project focuses on two problem areas: serious traffic accidents in two counties and

local drug problems in two municipalities. Groups of officers have been formed at each of these four sites. The officers will identify particular problems, collect and analyze data on those problems, formulate interventions, and evaluate the interventions' impact.

We will document the process to better understand the translation of officers' street expertise into problem solving areas. We will also support their efforts to collect data, analyze data, and formulate interventions. We hope to trace the dissemination of problem oriented policing through the New York State Police, based on the expectation that initial success in these pinpointed projects will breed further experimentation.

I will now discuss the composition of the groups and their activities. The Traffic Accident Groups are located in Orange and Delaware Counties. Orange County is largely suburban and Delaware County is rural. These counties were selected by the state police with the expectation that they would offer different types of traffic accident problems. Each group in these counties consists of six to eight people who have been trained on the rationale behind and the application of problem oriented policing.

The groups identified particular problem locations where accidents were concentrated. They also speculated on elements of the nature of the accidents, such as the time or day of the week, speed, weather conditions, lighting, and driver characteristics. We compared data from the state Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) to these suppositions and found that the original expectations of the groups were not confirmed by DMV data.

I have a sense that the information on traffic accidents is usually very good, especially compared to other information routinely available. However, when officers' experienced-based hypotheses about the nature or concentration of accidents were unconfirmed by collected

data, a common response was to find fault with the data set.

The officers hastened to point out that the DMV has only information on reportable incidents. In addition, the officers were skeptical about the judgment or work ethic of the patrol officers who collect the information that forms this DMV database. Information systems need to be improved to support problem solving projects. However, the information would probably improve in quality if those who collect and record data understand that it will be used for analysis.

The Drug Problem Groups were formed in the cities of Poughkeepsie (30,000 population) and Hudson (8,000 population). The Community Narcotics Enforcement Team of the state police consists of state troopers invited by local police departments to do undercover operations. Poughkeepsie has a unit called the Neighborhood Recovery Unit that does street level drug enforcement. Hudson does not have such a unit because its force is so small. Both of these units have recently implemented community oriented policing—consisting of two officers in Hudson and four in Poughkeepsie. These cities have been chosen as sites because the state police have worked repeatedly in those areas.

Based on their studies of drug-related law enforcement, Peter Manning and others identified some working assumptions on drug enforcement practices in the 1970s. The assumptions emphasized the utility of deterrence and incapacitation. Building prosecutable cases against those involved in drug dealing was highlighted. My research in Hudson and Poughkeepsie, and other research, suggest that these assumptions still have an effect. These assumptions discredit and undervalue other efforts police are making, such as analysis and innovative approaches. The persistent idea is that problems will go away once more resources are allocated to drug enforcement, more arrests are made, and the courts and

legislatures make use of more prisons and jails.

Discussion

Question: What was the extent of the community's involvement in these problem solving projects?

Professor Worden: The Poughkeepsie department is in the process of a department-wide transition to community oriented policing. A community-based steering committee was involved in the department's planning of the community policing grant. Though we did not dictate the composition of the groups in Poughkeepsie or Hudson, we encouraged inclusion of the community in identifying problems and setting priorities. In fact, the community selected the drug problem as a focus, to demonstrate the utility of problem solving.

However, in addition to the community's involvement, we wanted the rank and file included in the problem solving process. Undercover drug officers did not want to share their identity with the community members. The question became,

"To what degree could the community be involved without sacrificing the involvement (safety) of the officers?"

To date, the community has been very involved with the community oriented policing program. The community policing officers attend meetings every week in their assigned beat and represent the community in the problem solving process.

Professor Cordner: The Lexington Police Department has a good record of working with the community and soliciting their input on identifying problems and setting priorities. However, different problems raise different levels of community interest and involvement. The mental health issue, for example, directly affects a relatively small proportion of the total population. Though interest groups should be involved, it might be difficult to engage the community in identifying, analyzing, and responding to an issue such as the mental health problem. This raises the question of whether it is necessary to involve the community in each and every problem solving effort.

Luncheon Address

Bonnie J. Campbell, Director, Violence Against Women Office, U.S. Department of Justice

Today I'd like to talk about where we have been, where I think we are, and where I hope we are going in relation to violence against women. I think it is fundamentally impossible to understand what we are attempting without a historical perspective.

I got interested in the victims' movement and very quickly discovered that there is a group of victims who almost never feel like justice is being done—the women victims of domestic and sexual violence. I wanted to understand why this was. I've come to the conclusion that this is because of the distinction in the way we treat "stranger crime" and so called "intimate crime."

To illustrate, if I left this luncheon today, and a stranger came up to me on the street and brutalized me, you all would be horrified to hear that. And if you happened to be outside and you saw the attack, you'd probably offer to testify and help in any way you could. But if, down the road, you learned that it was not a stranger, but was my husband who had assaulted me, how would that affect how you would feel about helping me out? I think it would give rise to a whole host of questions, and indeed police ask victims these questions: What was it you did that made him so angry? Why did he do that to you? Surely you must have done something to provoke him. Those are the wrong questions to be asking and the wrong conclusions to be drawing.

From the perspective of a woman, violence, coupled with the fear of it, changes the way we live, not just once in a while, but every single day. But we just keep adjusting. If it's not safe to walk on the streets at night, I accommodate. If it becomes unsafe for me to walk on the streets

in the daytime, I guess I'll accommodate to that too. If there's violence in my home and I don't seem to have any way to stop it, well, I'll adjust. But there comes a time when we have to stop adjusting our expectations down. I think that time is now. We must demand safety in our homes and safety in our neighborhoods, streets, and communities.

The distinction I made before, between "stranger" and "intimate" crime, is a critically important one, because it has paralyzed the criminal justice system and the public. It represents an ambivalent attitude toward these crimes. The Violence Against Women Act recognizes that these particular types of crime are connected to the larger violence in society.

It is wonderful to be able to pursue my passion and to work with Attorney General Reno and the many people at the U.S. Department of Justice—at NIJ, BJA, OJJDP, and BJS—who are completely committed to finding solutions to violence against women. On Thursday of this week, we are announcing our Advisory Council on Violence Against Women, a joint initiative of the U.S. Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services. It is a very important beginning of our partnerships with the private sector, other agencies, communities, interest groups, law enforcement, and prosecutors. There is also the Byrne formula grants program, which is really designed to work with the states in partnership. It gives states the resources, and in some instances the leadership, acting as a catalyst to build the kind of response to violence against women that is actually effective.

As we implement the Violence Against Women Act and think in terms of charting a course for us to follow as a nation, we need to have the answers to very basic questions:

- How often does sexual violence and assault occur?
- What is the connection between domestic violence and child abuse or youth violence?
- Are there intergenerational connections we should be concerned with?
- Is domestic violence progressive?
- Are children in violent families at greater risk of being perpetrators and victims?

As those who shape policy, we need to know what strategies are effective. We need to consider differences in effectiveness across regions and cultures. It's extraordinarily difficult to make public

policy judgments without having answers to such basic questions. The Violence Against Women Act mandated that we develop a research agenda and an evaluation mechanism. This will give us valuable information, but it also takes time.

Sometimes I feel that people don't see the connections in life, like the connection between your research and the making of a law. But there is a connection. Very few policymakers operate in a vacuum, and those who do, we don't want to emulate. It is far superior to know where you are going and what you are doing. Thank you for the fine work you do. It will make a difference.

Concurrent Panels, Tuesday Afternoon

Drug Abuse Treatment Strategies—Panel 2

Moderator: *Laurie Bright, Program Manager, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Patricia J. Kubie, Program Specialist, Washington Department of Corrections, Kennewick, Washington*

Doris Layton MacKenzie, Associate Professor, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland

Elizabeth A. Peyton, Director, Treatment Access Center, Wilmington, Delaware

Ms. Kubie

I was looking for a cognitive-behavioral approach to drug treatment that could be implemented in the community. Once offenders were out in the community, the Washington (state) Department of Corrections monitored them only to make sure they fulfilled the conditions of probation, but the department did not guide offenders through the process.

I wanted a program that was offender-specific, allowed for open entrance, provided for quality assurance, offered preprinted materials, had been in existence for five or more years, and could show evidence that it worked.

I chose Moral Reconciliation Therapy (MRT). I felt it would fit well with our goal of continuing care. We trained trainers from both the institutions (our own community corrections officers) and the community. We use CCI, which provides the MRT program, to help with quality assurance.

Now the program runs throughout the department, with several benefits:

- Offenders can participate in a systematic program consistent with various security levels.
- Offenders released to the community can continue MRT.
- The institutional and community staffs share a common program language.
- Offenders are held accountable for completing the program because of its widespread availability.
- Offenders have a chance to continue or start the program in limited-resource (that is, rural) areas.

We started the pilot program in January 1994. At that time, there were 30 MRT facilitators. By June 1995, there were 130 of them. The week-long training for MRT is very popular.

We are now conducting an evaluation of MRT, using the Department of Corrections computer to match the test group and control group closely for convictions and other characteristics. We are analyzing the violation rate, new arrest rate, new conviction rate, types of violations and crimes committed, and new sentence lengths. MRT is now also part of the state's inpatient drug abuse program.

Professor MacKenzie

NIJ has funded the University of Maryland to perform a study of the use of MRT in Oklahoma, which started its MRT program in 1993. We are looking at all those incarcerated since then. The study, titled "Substance Abuse Treatment Using Cognitive Behavior Therapy," is currently under way.

We plan to divide inmates into three groups: those who have been in MRT, those who have not been in MRT but have been in

another program, and those who have not been in any qualifying program. We are also collecting recidivism data on any inmates who have been released.

For data collection, we sent instructional videos to various sites in Oklahoma to help inmates complete the evaluation and consent forms. The videos aided respondents who had difficulty reading. Using videos, rather than sending our researchers to the sites, also helped keep our costs down.

Ms. Peyton

Why is it important to work with prisoners on controlling substance abuse? Here are three important reasons:

- Drug Use Forecasting data show that some 75 percent of arrestees in large cities test positive for at least one drug.
- Drug users are many times more likely to commit crimes.
- Compulsory treatment is just as effective as voluntary treatment, if not more so.

What have we, in Delaware, done to manage the drug treatment needs of prisoners? We conducted a study and found that 70 percent of inmates needed at least outpatient drug treatment. We examined many variables, such as employment, number of residences in the last 12 months, treatment within the last five years, degree of risk for HIV/AIDS, and suicide attempts.

In the population we were working with, even people on parole were likely to have drugs in their system during parole meetings. In Delaware, 25 percent of the prison population is confined for drug violations, and 23 percent of inmates are confined for parole violations.

Our immediate goal is to stabilize offenders and keep them in treatment. Our ultimate goal is to reduce drug abuse. We are approaching this goal from a criminal justice standpoint.

People stay in our drug treatment program for at least a year. The program includes frequent sessions, family involvement, structure, sanctions, rules, role models, and relapse prevention measures. We have found that the more drug-involved, more crime-involved persons require a more substantial investment. They need a continuum of treatment services, a continuum of sanctions, close connection to the court, and effective incentives.

Working with this population provides numerous benefits:

- Crime control
- Cost savings
- Improved case processing
- Fewer trials
- More time drug-free
- Greater productivity
- Fewer drug-addicted babies
- Lower health-care costs.

Drug Courts—Panel 2

Moderator: Carolyn M. Peake, Social Science Analyst, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Presenters: Paul Anderson, District Attorney, Payne and Logan Counties, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Susan R. Bolton, Superior Court Judge, Maricopa County Superior Court, Phoenix, Arizona

Henry Weber, District Court Judge, Jefferson District Court, Louisville, Kentucky

Judge Weber

I will provide you with an overview of the rationale and philosophy of the Jefferson County, Kentucky, drug court. After a dramatic increase in the number of crack cocaine arrests and seizures in Jefferson County, a drug court program was enacted.

The philosophy behind the program is based on the recognition that many offenders have a medical problem, addiction, which the criminal justice system has not addressed. Therefore, Jefferson County adopted a program model that combined elements of the criminal justice system (arrest, prosecution, and probation) and the medical method of operation (triage, treatment, diagnosis, and long-term treatment). The drug court model, referred to as therapeutic jurisprudence, includes referral from the criminal justice system, depending on the type of offense, prior record, amount of drugs, support system, and employment; assessment to verify drug addiction; and acceptance in a court supervised program.

Treatment for participants includes intensive drug treatment (both group and individual), frequent urine tests, 12-step or

similar programs, acupuncture and meditation, and continual judicial supervision. Participants also receive a full range of social services, including education and employment.

Evaluation of the program included examining the research design and measuring success. Some researchers questioned the absence of a true control group and one researcher suggested giving a group of participants a placebo instead of drug treatment. Control group experimentation is difficult within the criminal justice system. Because a program is never fully funded, there will usually be a group out there not being treated. This can sometimes be used as a control.

What is success? Those of us implementing the program know that participants are addicted and will be using drugs while in the program. Consequently, I don't believe clean urine tests are an accurate measure of success. My personal opinion is that success is best measured by tracking the criminal records of participants after graduating from the program. If the people are clean five years down the road, then we have done what we aimed to do.

Finally, we must examine the issue of program process and outcome. Most drug courts are run by one judge, making the personality of the judge an important determining factor in the success of the program. Therefore, choosing the right people to participate in the implementation of the program is crucial. Additionally, it is important to conduct evaluations of the process and to determine the more successful methods of conducting drug courts, which can vary from community to community.

Judge Bolton

Late in 1991, Maricopa County began a drug court program initiated by the county

probation chief. We were able to convince RAND to include our program in their National Institute of Justice study on the effects of drug testing on the outcomes of probation. As a result, our program began as a classic experimental design with random assignment. Unlike most, our program did not divert offenders but operated as a post-conviction term of probation. All participants were sentenced to probation and ordered to participate in a first-time drug offender program.

Our program targets first-time drug possession offenders and specifically targets those with minimum substance use history who pose no serious risk to the community and have no mental health problems. The program is based on a reward and sanction model. By signing their contract, participants receive a 60-day deferred jail sentence and can be given jail as a sanction for noncompliance. Components of the minimum seven-month program include mandatory drug treatment, urine testing, drug education, required attendance at a 12-step program, and regular reporting to the probation office and the court.

The RAND follow-up study showed that 12 months after participants had left the program, more than half were successful. Of those participants who had their probation terminated, only 15 percent absconded. About 20 percent were referred for more extensive treatment. RAND did not find any significant differences in re-arrests among the various groups, but of those re-arrested, fewer people participating in the drug court program ended up with a prison disposition after re-arrest.

It is important for judges to know whether drug court programs work so we can continue these programs or make changes to make them work better.

Mr. Anderson

Two years ago, in Payne and Logan counties in Oklahoma, we began experimenting with alternative treatment programs and instituted a drug court program. The success of drug court involves the third principle of parenting—reinforcing positive behavior. Effective corrections encompass the first two principles of parenting: setting clear boundaries, and identifying and enforcing the sanctions imposed when the boundaries are violated. Reinforcement of good behavior seems to be the driving force behind the success of our drug court program. The offender has direct confrontation with the judge, and offenders seem to react very positively to encouragement and positive comments made by the judge.

We offer diversion to drug treatment, education, and employment to the participant who is willing to make a commitment to recovery. If the participant successfully completes the program, his or her offense is stricken and possibly expunged. However, if the participant drops out of the program, he or she will likely be sent to more intensive drug treatment instead of being sent to the penitentiary.

Prosecutors and judges who use diversion may be perceived as not serious about punishing people for crimes. With community involvement, however, leaders and the public better understand the ineffectiveness of current programs, which “recycle” the illegal drug behavior as well as other problems.

If local governments consider many community corrections alternatives and take the time to plan a program carefully, the people will generally accept the program, and it will have a good chance of success.

Community Policing: Field Practices

Moderator: *David Hayeslip, Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Elizabeth Langston, Executive Director, Center for Criminal Justice Studies, National Fraternal Order of Police, Washington, D.C.*

Deborah Lamm Weisel, Senior Research Associate, Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, D.C.

Mary Ann Wycoff, Senior Research Associate, Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, D.C.

Ms. Langston

The Center for Criminal Justice Studies is the research arm of the Fraternal Order of Police. The Fraternal Order of Police is a labor and fraternal organization with a membership of 270,000, most of whom are line-level officers. The advent of community policing brought a lot of changes for line level officers. To assess these changes and measure the reactions of the line level officers, we conducted a small telephone survey of 90 community police officers.

We selected three line-level officers from each of 30 agencies. The selected agencies were actively involved in community policing and included both municipal and sheriff departments with between 50 and 200 officers. We used a survey developed by Mary Ann Wycoff as a framework for our sampling. We selected 10 officers from each agency identified as doing community policing. From these 10, we randomly selected three. We are currently in the middle of the survey process

and have interviewed 44 of the 90 officers. The demographics of these officers reflect a mean age of 36 and an average of twelve years as a sworn officer. In addition, the majority of the respondents are white males with some college experience.

To date, we have found that 93 percent of the community police officers interviewed agree with the statement that in general, officers directly involved in community policing feel positive about it. Seventy-eight percent agree that community policing made them feel more positive about citizens in their area. Fifty-six percent assert that community policing has made them more trusting towards citizens. We also found that 12 percent were not sure whether community policing was more effective than traditional policing.

We are also interested in the nuts and bolts of daily activities of community police officers. The officers work an average of 40 hours per week, and 20 percent have a second job. Twenty-nine percent set their own hours, and 71 percent have assigned hours. Thirty-two percent of the officers work days, 7 percent work afternoons, and about 11 percent work evenings. Thirty-eight percent stated that their shifts change on a regular basis, and almost 7 percent work when needed. We found that 33 percent of the officers thought that the hours worked as community police officers were better than other assignments. In general, respondents reported that they spent half of their time on community policing activities and the other half on traditional policing.

Regarding the officers' professional commitment and community policing, we found that 58 percent felt they were more committed to their job than officers with other assignments were. Sixty-four percent felt that the community policing assignment

would advance their career. Officers reported receiving an average of 39 hours of community policing training. Mandatory in-service training was the most common type of training received. Forty-two percent stated that the majority of this training was received before beginning their assignment.

Before we started the survey, we went to various community policing sites in our area. We discovered that many officers do not know or understand what they are supposed to accomplish under community policing. A slight majority of our survey respondents expressed similar views. We will later look at these responses in terms of demographics and hours of training.

Many of the respondents mentioned problematic interactions between community police officers and non-community police officers. In fact, 44 percent of the respondents characterized the attitude of officers not in their program as negative or very negative towards community policing. Fifty-four percent of the community police officers felt that a community policing assignment was more prestigious than a patrol officer assignment. Thirty-six percent felt that their status as a real police officer is sometimes challenged. Ninety-eight percent stated that their job requires interaction with other patrol officers, and 54 percent asserted that community policing causes misunderstandings between officers who support it and those who do not. In addition, we found that 77 percent stated that older officers in their department are more resistant to community policing than younger officers.

In assessing officer safety, we found that, while on a community policing assignment, only one officer interviewed had ever fired a gun. Four had been fired upon. The officers ranked the drug unit patrol as the most dangerous assignment for officers, followed by vice officer and then community police officer.

We found that 68 percent of the officers stated their supervisor supported community policing completely. Only 16 percent stated that the next-in-command supported community policing completely, and 83 percent felt that their chief supported the effort. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents stated their agency as a whole completely supported community policing. Indicators of support included attitude, scheduling, allocated resources, promotions, and available equipment. Finally, 72 percent stated greater support is needed from the police department management, in order for community policing to be effective.

We expect a much more thorough analysis of the data once all interviews have been completed. The report should be completed by the end of September.

Ms. Weisel

Our report is on organizational strategies in implementing community oriented policing. The data was actually collected in 1991 and 1992, during our case studies of community policing in six different sites: Las Vegas, Nevada; Edmonton in Alberta, Canada; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Santa Barbara, California; Savannah, Georgia; and Newport News, Virginia. Though all cities were geographically different, all defined themselves as engaging in community policing. The methods of implementation and activities of the cities also varied.

Data was collected through case studies, with the assistance of police practitioners who were knowledgeable about community policing. We conducted a survey of line officers. This cross-site comparison demonstrated a clear consensus that community policing implies a change in what an officer does on the street during the course of the day. We attempted to measure what a police department does in order to make an officer do his or her job differently. Most departments do not define their

community policing effort in terms of the patrol officer's activities. However, we believe it is a good intermediate measure. To assess how police departments change police officer behavior, we looked at four primary measures:

- Use of participative management style
- Change in promotional practices
- Change in performance evaluation systems to support community policing
- Informal training

Each of the six sites used different implementation models. However, all personnel were trained and involved in community policing to some extent. The City of Santa Barbara used a special unit for community policing efforts. The Las Vegas Police Department also used a specialized unit, which had sole responsibility for problem solving. Community policing was implemented department-wide in Savannah. The Newport News department took a generalist approach to community policing and used decentralized, dedicated police beats. A key part to the community policing program in Edmonton was a citizen reporting system used throughout the city. In Philadelphia, most of the community policing efforts were done by the captains.

In studying these departments, we did not see any evidence of decentralization by flattening the organizational hierarchy. We did see a lot of emphasis on geographic accountability for all agency personnel and on limiting cross-dispatching. There were only slight modifications in recruitment and selection practices to hire officers who seemed more oriented to the community.

The departments spent the most time on participative management, promotional practices, performance evaluation systems, and informal training. The cities of Newport News and Santa Barbara ranked the highest for their involvement of officers in community policing planning. Training was

one of the most common implementation efforts used by the departments. Ninety-five percent of the officers surveyed in Savannah had received training in community policing.

We also found variation in the use of promotional practices. The majority of officers in Savannah, Edmonton, and Santa Barbara felt their involvement in community policing would increase their opportunities for promotion. Changes in performance evaluation criteria were not widely used as a way to reward officer involvement with the community. In fact, arrest, technical skills, and personal appearance were the most highly rated performance evaluation factors in every studied department. Even in those cities where community involvement was ranked high, arrests were still perceived as important.

The agencies demonstrated a wide range of implementation activities. To assess officer attitudes towards community policing, we asked the officers whether they felt that community policing was here to stay. Regardless of implementation activities, in each agency roughly two-thirds of the surveyed personnel said that community policing would stay, compared to 25 percent who felt that it was only a fad. It is interesting to note that, although Philadelphia had the least positive view of community policing, the majority of officers still felt that community policing was here to stay.

We looked at various characteristics that might affect officers' attitudes towards the future of community policing. We found that years of service does affect the attitudes. The strongest support for community policing comes from those officers with one year or less of service. This supportive view constantly eroded until the tenth year was reached; then it leveled out. However, those officers with over 20 years of service also viewed community policing positively.

Responses according to both race and educational level were consistent. Seventy-five percent of all males and 66 percent of all females surveyed felt positive about the future of community policing.

We concluded that different levels of implementation activity did not seem to have a dramatic effect on the number of personnel who were supportive of community policing. A gradual turnover in personnel, over a long period of time, may be the best way to implement community policing. We would like to conduct further analysis on leadership and motivation for the implementation of community policing.

Ms. Wycoff

We are currently involved in a project that will focus on first-line supervision. We will ask 11 agencies about their community policing activities.

In 1992, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) funded the Police Foundation to do the first national survey on community policing. We conducted a survey that was distributed to a random stratified sample of 2,314 municipal and county police and sheriff's departments. We analyzed 1,606 completed surveys. We did not make any effort to impose a strict definition of community policing. Instead, we stated that our understanding of community policing was the following:

In its most general sense, community policing seeks to increase interaction between police and citizens for the purpose of improving public safety and the quality of life in the community.

We asked the respondents to answer a list of questions in terms of their own understanding of the concept. It is important

to remember that this is self-reported data and is therefore of limited reliability. This type of survey gains in value when it is often replicated. It should be done about every three years.

The survey included questions about executive attitudes, program practices, expectations of officers, and community participation. Regardless of the size and type of agency, between 96 and 100 percent of executive respondents believed that community policing was an effective method of policing. Forty-seven percent of chiefs, however, reported that they do not know what community policing means operationally.

Many people have embraced the concept but do not yet know what the effects on operations should look like. Another 47 percent reported that they have either implemented or are in the process of implementing community policing. By their own definition, 732 departments that stated they had been doing community policing for more than one year. Community policing agencies are more likely to conduct citizen surveys, use neighborhood-based officers, designate community policing officers, use foot patrols, and regularly attend community meetings. Departments involved in community policing are also more likely to report that command or decisionmaking responsibilities are tied to geographic areas, which correspond to beat and neighborhood boundaries; and that they have physically decentralized field services.

This project developed a checklist for each site to record and compare what each community policing department was doing. This product can facilitate communication between departments interested in pursuing community policing programs.

Drug Use Forecasting (DUF): Guns and Arrestees

Moderator: *Thomas E. Feucht,*
Director, Drug Use Forecasting
Program, National Institute of Justice,
U.S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Presenters: *Scott H. Decker,*
Professor, Department of Criminology
and Criminal Justice, University of
Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri

Susan Pennell, Director, Criminal
Justice Research Division, San Diego
Association of Governments, San
Diego, California

Ms. Pennell

The escalating numbers of deaths and injuries due to guns are common knowledge. These numbers provided the impetus for the Attorney General to develop the Juvenile Violence Prevention Initiative. Measures of gun availability can be drawn from a variety of sources. Missing in the current inventory of such data, however, is information from currently active offenders. The NIJ-sponsored Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program is being used to obtain such information.

DUF gathers information on high-risk behavior among criminal justice populations in 23 cities. About 200 arrestees per quarter are interviewed. The firearms addendum was placed in 11 of the DUF sites and now has a sample size of more than 4,000.

The firearms questionnaire asks arrestees how weapons were obtained and asks how and why they were used. It also examines attitudes toward victimization and the use of guns in conflict. This additional data is merged with DUF sociodemographic and criminal data. A report based on a sample of more than 8,000 will be available

by the end of 1995 and will include regional analyses.

Professor Decker

Arrestees from the DUF program in 11 large American cities form the basis for the gun addendum sample. These cities do not represent the best cross-section of regions. However, the sample includes several cities that are typically the highest for rates of homicide, robbery, rape, and sexual assaults. The cities include Washington, D.C., Detroit, New Orleans, Atlanta, Miami, and St. Louis. The preliminary analysis of data examined four characteristics of the illegal firearms market: (1) how firearms are obtained, (2) how easy it is to obtain firearms, (3) motives for their use, and (4) the nature of the illegal firearms market.

Most of the sample (75 percent) are male, a little more than half are black, one quarter are white, and nearly 20 percent are Hispanic. The majority are between ages 15 and 35. Thirty-seven percent tested positive for cocaine, and 28 percent tested positive for marijuana use. Thirty-two percent had been charged with violent crimes. Thirty-one percent had property crime charges against them, and 18 percent had been charged with drug crimes. Seven percent claimed current gang membership, and 19 percent said they had sold illegal drugs in the last year.

Preliminary findings show that adult males ranked the highest (45 percent) among persons ever owning guns. Adult and juvenile males ranked similarly (near 36 percent) among those who had owned guns within the past 30 days. Not many reported owning guns within the past 24 hours. Half of the total reported carrying guns all of the time. Juvenile males were more likely to carry guns than adult males or adult females. More arrestees involved in illegal drug sales

carried guns than juvenile males, and more gang members carried guns than any other group. Arrestees testing positive for drug use were no more likely to report having or using guns than those testing negative. Positive tests for drug use or the existence of violent criminal charges did not affect reported involvement with guns.

The highest proportion of the sample who admitted to using guns for illegal purposes were admitted gang members and those involved in illegal drug sales. These two groups also had the highest proportion of individuals who found it easy to obtain guns illegally and could acquire guns in a week's time or less.

Not surprisingly, gun users are also at an elevated risk for victimization. More than half of the sample reported having been threatened with a gun. Being in a gang or selling illegal drugs increased the likelihood of victimization. Those involved in gangs were most likely to have been shot at, followed by those involved in illegal drug sales.

Forty percent of the sample reported needing a gun for protection in their neighborhood. Again, those involved in gangs and the illegal drug market made up

the highest proportion of this group. Adult females most frequently reported the need for protection in their neighborhood as the reason for carrying a gun. Gang members and illegal drug sellers were most likely to think that carrying a gun brought them respect from their peers and that it was "OK" to shoot someone who disrespected or hurt them.

These findings support the knowledge that guns have become normative for many urban youth who live in communities where guns are plentiful, cheap, easy to obtain, and used with regularity. Young males, especially those involved in gangs and illegal drug sales, are most committed to the values associated with this lifestyle. Many challenges for criminal justice practitioners, policymakers, and researchers are posed by this problem.

The illegal gun market must be better understood. Understanding the illegal firearms market requires resources of the same magnitude as those invested in understanding illegal drug markets. Innovative criminal justice programs that address firearms crime should be supported and encouraged.

Youth Organization Programs

Moderator: Virginia B. Baldau,
Director, Program Development
Division, Office of Development and
Dissemination, National Institute of
Justice, U.S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Presenters: Kathleen Block, Associate
Professor and Chairperson, Division of
Criminology, Criminal Justice, and
Social Policy, University of Baltimore,
Baltimore, Maryland

Marcia R. Chaiken, Director of
Research, LINC, Alexandria, Virginia

Marilyn C. Moses, Social Science
Program Manager, National Institute of
Justice, U.S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Ms. Baldau

I'd like to welcome you to the panel on Youth Organization Programs. This panel proposes to look at programs sponsored for at-risk youngsters by national youth-serving organizations. These programs provide safe activities for youngsters during the non-school hours. We will also talk about a research study sponsored by NIJ on the original Girl Scouts Behind Bars program. This study addresses outcome, process, and basic research questions.

Dr. Chaiken

My study was sponsored by NIJ and the Carnegie Institute. It involved seven national youth organizations: Boys and Girls Clubs of America, Boy Scouts of America, Girls Incorporated, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., National Association of Police Athletic Leagues, National 4-H Council/U.S.D.A. 4-H and Youth Development Service, and YMCA of the U.S.A.

After doing so much research in prisons and visiting so many prisons, I started thinking about the line of children, all dressed up, waiting to visit incarcerated parents on visitors' day. This presentation focuses on preventing crime by involving youth in positive activities during non-school hours.

The study LINC performed, cosponsored by the Carnegie Corporation and NIJ, examines the effects of crime on after-school youth development programs established in disadvantaged areas by the national youth serving organizations. My plan was to look at the problem from the national perspective and from the kids' perspective. What is presently being done? What more should be done?

Based on regional statistics for children in the last decade, there has been a 60 percent increase in juvenile arrests for murder and manslaughter, a 28 percent increase in rape, and a 57 percent increase in aggravated assault. Many more juveniles are also victims. In 1993, one of eight children was a victim of violent crime. There has also been a 72 percent increase in youth injuries due to firearms. In one year, an estimated 15 percent of rape victims, or 17,000 girls, were under the age of 12. Many children are suffering from abuse and neglect. In 1990 alone, 140,000 children were severely disabled from abuse.

A description of the typical child's point of view in disadvantaged areas would be that:

- The world is unsafe; no one can be trusted.
- Violence is normal; it's normal to die young.
- There is no sense in telling someone about being abused at home, because there would be no action.
- The greatest perceived need is a safe place to be after school.

But these children are resilient. They come up with many ways to approach the problem if they have a little help. We could and should make more effort to reach the kids who are at risk of becoming victims or delinquents, children with caretakers who have poor parenting skills and the sexually active adolescents in abusive homes who tend to become tomorrow's abusive parents.

We know that some approaches that we are still funding are counterproductive. Recreation alone, in the nonschool hours, is not enough. Good ideas, theoretically correct, cannot be implemented by people and organizations who do not know how to work with children. Some of the most cost effective prevention efforts were not originally aimed at delinquency. They include improved perinatal prevention and educational development, with *early* recognition for educational attainment among youth considered at risk.

We carried out a stratified random sample of cities with youth serving agencies. Our survey had about 600 responses. The questions were almost identical to the National Victim Survey carried out by BJS. We asked about 1993-1994 crime experiences, prevention approaches, and types of safer and more productive places for children during unstructured time.

Outreach efforts seem to be having an effect. Over 20 percent of the affiliates of after-school youth development programs had formally reported abused or neglected children in the past year. Thirty percent of the organizations reported crimes committed by nonparticipants, but over 20 percent reported at least one offense by a participant. The crimes were primarily committed by other youth who lived in the same area.

Over 100 exemplary community programs were nominated by respondents to the questionnaire. We chose to concentrate on three collaborative efforts for evaluation purposes. These took place in Spokane,

Washington; Arlington, Texas; and Bristol, Connecticut.

Project advisors recommended case studies of two types of approaches, collaborative, relatively comprehensive community efforts and center-based programs with nontraditional staff, hours, or participants. The success of approaches in the selected sites was fostered by many active volunteers. Both Spokane and Arlington had a youth policy board composed of citizens and representatives from public and private agencies to give ongoing sponsorship for youth services. Police departments in these cities were administered by chiefs who were very committed to prevention and who encouraged their officers to volunteer in their non-working hours.

A visible police presence is often all you need from law enforcement when working with at-risk adolescents. For example, teens in the Arlington program are often there until 11:00 p.m. or midnight, and a uniformed patrol officer will regularly swing by just to watch the kids play basketball. The executive officers of the youth programs cooperated with each other and were creative about serving the youth. They set up a teen center in a shopping mall, with games, homework help, a computer center, and GED classes.

Ms. Moses

"Girl Scouts Behind Bars" (GSBB), now known as "Girl Scouts Beyond Bars," is the first public/private partnership between an adult correctional institution and a major youth service organization. The program began as a demonstration project at the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women in November of 1992 and was funded with only \$15,000 by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). Similar programs now have been replicated across the country, including sites in Maryland, Florida, Ohio, Arizona, Delaware, New Jersey, Kentucky,

and California. These are supported with a combination of the local Girl Scout council's operating budget, private donations, and foundation and state grants now in excess of \$500,000.

Not one of the participating correctional institutions had a formal visitation program prior to these partnerships. GSBB can be considered a program of "visitation plus." It is an opportunity for incarcerated mothers to visit with their children within a structured activity (the Girl Scout troop meeting). On alternate Saturdays, the girls have regular Girl Scout meetings. In most sites, a volunteer licensed social worker has been assigned to the mother to help with coping and parenting skills.

The programs are "visitation plus," but they have the potential to become more than that. In some sites, more has already developed. The two Florida programs, which are still evolving, have all the same elements, but include the following enhancements, developed through the Girl Scout organization's initiative:

- Weekly access for the mother to an institutional psychologist to work on parenting issues.
- Partnership with a local church for tutoring and academic help (at the request of the Girl Scouts, the church group also started a program for the sons, a "mentoring" effort).
- Partnership with the school district, to counsel and monitor the girls.
- A partnership with the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitation for the girls to receive individual psychological counseling as requested or referred.
- Partnerships with "Women in Distress" and the Glen Turrell Foundation to provide intensive transitional services for the incarcerated mothers prior to and subsequent to release, lasting up to one year.

- Weekly meetings with a parenting instructor.

Dr. Block will discuss her research at the original demonstration site in Maryland.

Professor Block

The Girl Scouts Behind Bars Research and Evaluation project is an examination of an enhanced visitation program for inmate mothers in the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women. Operated by the Girl Scouts of Central Maryland since 1992, this program is based on a partnership of several private and public agencies and organizations. The staff in Jessup, Maryland, were very open and supportive in providing access to files and databases. We wanted to learn more about the incarcerated mothers and their daughters and to examine:

- the extent to which activities met the stated goals,
- how the program objectives were implemented, and
- the satisfaction of participants.

Research is still in progress. Data collection is 25 percent finished, and we have completed the first wave of interviews. For background and perspective, we should note that the number of incarcerated women nationwide has tripled in the last decade and exceeds 80,000. The majority are young and economically disadvantaged. Those mothers who retained custody of children usually find them placed with a legal guardian, usually relatives but sometimes in a foster home. Most mothers expect to be reunited with their children upon release. Some of the negative effects of the separation are diminished communication with the child; feelings of grief, loss, and helplessness; anxiety over the child; fear of resentment from the child; fear of the child's bonding with an assigned guardian; and anxiety about release and reunification.

Many children experience significant adjustment problems during the mother's incarceration. The child's feelings show:

loss, sadness, or loneliness (particularly with younger children); anger and resentment (with older children); dislike for school and poor performance; dislike for home; behavior problems at school and home; anxiety about prison visits to the parent; and anxiety about reunification with the parent.

The 1991 and 1992 surveys at MCIW at Jessup found that eight of ten inmates were mothers with an average of three children. Three-quarters of them lived with the children before incarceration (not all of them were the primary caretakers). Seven of ten have some personal contact with their children while they are in prison. One-third of them were receiving fewer than one visit per month. Six out of ten had placed the children with grandparents. Two of ten had placed the children with fathers. Six out of ten mothers reported adjustment problems on the part of the children. Almost all (94 percent) planned on reunification with the children.

The increase in the quantity and quality of visits to the incarcerated mothers was the biggest program demand. This involved more than just letting the kids in the prison. Many of them needed transportation. The institution had to arrange the visits in a child-friendly environment, allowing quality communication time and close personal contact. Mother-child bonding was strengthened and there was indication of improved prisoner cooperation.

GSBB was started by concerned individuals within Maryland. A Circuit Court judge had contacted NIJ and discussed programs to ameliorate conditions for women inmates. Sponsorship has expanded to include, in addition to the Girl Scouts of Central Maryland, NIJ, and the Maryland Correctional Institute for Women (MCIW): the Maryland Department of Public Safety, the Maryland Governor's Office of Justice Administration, the State's Attorney's Office of Baltimore City, the United Way Campaign, and the National Association of

Women Judges. These organizations have developed the "Girl Scouts Beyond Bars" (new name) Advisory Council, which involves community leaders and helps with fundraising. The program has juxtaposed the Girl Scouts program to the special situations and problems of these separated mothers and daughters.

The stated objectives for the mothers were: to provide enhanced visitation, to preserve or enhance the mother-daughter bond, to reduce the psychological/social effects of separation, to reduce reunification problems, and to decrease failure following release. The objectives for the daughters were: to enhance visitation, to preserve or enhance the mother-daughter bond, to enhance a positive sense of self, to decrease behavior problems, to reduce reunification problems, and to receive the benefits of the Girl Scouts activities.

In the initial screening of the program, mothers were selected who were Baltimore residents, 30 days infraction-free, with at least 18 months yet to serve on their sentence and no history of child abuse. The mothers could remain in the program until their release, but they could be removed from the program if they committed an infraction. The mothers attended mothers' meetings immediately prior to the Girl Scout meetings twice per month in the institution. They helped their daughters with badges and engaged in other Girl Scout activities. The girls had volunteer Girl Scout leaders to plan meetings and lead the other two meetings outside the facility, held in Corpus Christi Church in Baltimore. The group was small, designed for 30 mothers and daughters. Program length was not fixed, with staggered entrances and exits. In November 1992, the average length of participation was about six months. Most mothers left the program after release from prison.

We collected information from the MCIW visitation logs and conducted structured interviews with mothers,

daughters, and guardians. All who had ever been part of the program were contacted, yielding 80 family units in the study. Currently, 20 mothers are in the Girl Scout program. They are being interviewed in 3- to 5-month intervals. We are using a scale based upon Fessler's study of incarcerated mothers (which measures mothers' worries). For the children, we are looking at school performance and acknowledgment of the bond, and we use the child version of the Hudson scale for the measure of self-esteem. Only three of the mothers declined to participate. Former members of GSBB will have a one-time interview covering their program expectations, why they left, information on their contact with their daughter, on what happened when they got out, and on the reunification process.

There is no control group for the interviewing, but a control group has been set up for the visitation measurement. We are collecting visitation logs on people who are not in the program. Records of program implementation have been provided by the Girl Scouts of Central Maryland. NCIW staff has worked with us to reconstruct the history of and attendance in the program to see if participants take advantage of the opportunity. The volunteers have also been a major source of data on program implementation. From the interviews and data, we will prepare broad profiles of the mothers—prior incarcerations, prior separations, placement of the child, and a number of other variables we need to consider.



Workshop: Conducting Impact Evaluations

Moderator: *Robert A. Kirchner, Chief of Program Evaluation, Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Roger K. Przybylski, Associate Director, Research and Analysis Division, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, Chicago, Illinois*

Douglas Young, Senior Research Associate, Vera Institute of Justice, New York, New York

Dr. Kirchner

For the first time, the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) is trying to institutionalize and integrate evaluation. This affects interagency evaluations and can influence who is going to do the evaluations.

One of the things we found was that a complete evaluation system has to occur in incremental phases. For instance, first there has to be a program brief. This builds on an analysis of the program logic and establishes a linkage between objectives and program activities.

Phase two is a process evaluation. This permits a comparison of objectives and performance measures. It also gives a program manager options for the program design and criteria that may indicate initial success or failure.

After this, a complete impact evaluation can be conducted to examine outcomes and determine causality. This is confirmed through successful program replication.

There are different ways of looking at an evaluation system. Two examples are the applied, policy-oriented approach and the theoretical, research-based approach. On the applied side, we talk about goals and objectives. On the research side, we talk about prior research and expected results.

These are different approaches, but they have common goals.

The applied side involves program logic design, while the research side calls this hypothesis testing. On the research side, we monitor progress in meeting objectives, and we analyze statistical indicators.

In measuring results on the applied policy side, the evaluator asks the question, "Does the program achieve results compared to other alternatives?" The research approach looks for confirmation under all conditions and requires more replication. The result of the policy approach is a promising criminal justice program ready for replication. With the theory-based approach, the result is a model criminal justice program connected to a longitudinal research program.

There are seven steps to a complete evaluation system:

1. Assess the nature and extent of the current situation.
2. Develop a program effectiveness model that looks at the whos, whats, and hows.
3. Look at implementation performance indicators.
4. Analyze the program to compare objectives with actual results.
5. Understand what later outcome indicators should be.
6. Develop an analytical model that answers the whats, wheres, and whys.
7. Confirm the criteria.

Mr. Young

I'm going to be talking about the role of the outside evaluator. There are both good and bad reasons for states and other funders to bring in contractors or outside evaluators.

Expertise and objectivity are the two central reasons to import evaluators for an impact evaluation. Expertise is needed

because impact evaluations tend to be the most technical evaluations. Outside contractors with expertise in a particular substantive area are especially valuable for interpreting findings in light of methodological standards. They do not overstate the results of a particular piece of research. They bring knowledge of the larger policy context to a specific program.

There are some downsides to subcontracting to an outside source. To some extent, outsiders may want to fit a program to a particular methodology. Experts in measurement become wedded to a particular type of measurement and apply it where it does not always belong. In-house staff have political and bureaucratic system knowledge that should not be lost to outside contractors. The best impact evaluations come from well written RFPs and contracts.

There is another factor that makes objectivity difficult. The role of the evaluator can be politically valuable. People like to be associated with evaluators because they can bring more attention to the program. If the evaluator is outside local politics, however, the evaluation results may be ignored by the local population. The credibility of outside evaluators can be overplayed.

In spite of insufficient funding, states are still asked to answer the same questions. It is necessary to do more things in-house. For example, outside evaluators cannot help with the preparation for an impact evaluation. Outsiders are not brought in for the preparatory phase of impact evaluations because it is less technical.

Outsiders can be important in identifying simple program monitoring measures. They can also identify minimal sample sizes and help translate client goals and objectives. Finally, contractors can help identify outcome and interim measurements, and they understand the larger context for the program's replication.

Mr. Przybylski

I am going try to give some insights on evaluations from the state perspective. Working for a state agency means that I have a board of directors who are the state's key policymakers. This provides me with access to the right people. In Illinois, we searched for the expertise and saw that we have experience within the state universities of Illinois. The challenge was to find out how to take advantage of this experience.

In Illinois, we work to develop data and research that provides meaningful information to our policymakers. We work with our program development people and our research experts before any program is even discussed. Jointly, we come up with performance indicators that are meaningful in the context of Illinois. We have a very comprehensive evaluation program. It is a complicated process to send out RFPs and find contractors at universities, so we do not rely on outside experts to evaluate for us.

There are several insights I would like to share. First, impact evaluations should be considered from a systemic, management point of view. The state has a responsibility to encourage an appreciation of the efficacy of evaluation. Evaluation is not disruptive or dangerous. Evaluations should be used to identify problems early and to refine current programs. You cannot go into an evaluation with a "sunset mentality," intending to use the evaluation for shutting down programs.

The state must also impress upon people that putting resources into evaluation is a good long-term investment.

Discussion

Dr. Kirchner: If the objective of the evaluation is program improvement, it should be stated up front. There should be at least two more objectives for evaluation: generation of knowledge and clarification of policy implications.

Mr. Przybylski: From a state's perspective, you need a certain level of

accountability built into the program before you can move on to impact evaluation. Process and implementation also need to be understood. It is also important to consider "training the trainers." Organizations have to find mechanisms to teach program managers to see whether programs are

meeting objectives. There is a need for objectivity, but not for isolation.

The last consideration is how to make use of reports. A gap exists here, and it is incumbent upon both the researcher and the policymaker to bridge that gap in communications.



Drug Abuse Treatment Strategies—Panel 3

Moderator: *James V. Trudeau, Social Science Analyst, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Gregory Falkin, Principal Investigator, National Development and Research Institute, Inc., New York, New York*

Deborah M. Galvin, Project Officer, Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, D.C.

Dennis Rosenbaum, Professor of Criminal Justice, Center for Research in Law and Justice, University of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Falkin

I am working on an evaluation of the drug treatment initiative of the New York City Department of Probation (DOP). Our aims are to study the treatment referral process (contracting versus non-contracting) and the types of supervision.

Among the policy issues are the following:

- The vast majority of persons convicted get probation.
- The vast majority of probationers recidivate.
- Intensive supervision may not make much of a difference in reducing rearrest.
- Mandated drug treatment does seem to work in the community.

We studied the client-treatment match and what keeps people in treatment. Our sample consisted of 19,034 probationers and an additional 1,800 probationers referred to drug treatment through the DOP's Central Placement Unit. The demographics of the sample were these: 87 percent male, 47

percent African American, 38 percent Latino, and average age 29 years.

We found that treatment, on average, reduced the number of arrests by about one per person. Complete treatment is defined by the DOP as completion of 12 months of treatment, but hardly anyone does that. The average is two to three months, and people attend only about half the hours they are scheduled for.

We analyzed the recidivism rates for persons who spent three months or less in treatment and for persons who spent more than three months. Those with more treatment had a rearrest rate less than half of the others over a period of several years. So even though the treatment is not extensive, it does affect recidivism.

Dr. Galvin

The Center for Substance Abuse and Prevention (CSAP) has funded many programs. I find that many of the strategies used in violence prevention apply also to drug prevention.

In the early days of evaluating drug prevention programs, local staff thought evaluators were there to see what the locals were doing wrong. Program grants were for demonstration projects, not research. The program staff did not trust the evaluators. On the other hand, the evaluators felt the program staff were obstinate in not recognizing the necessity of evaluation.

CSAP supports individual program evaluations and also cross-site evaluations. We have sponsored conferences at which both evaluators and program staff were present.

CSAP has begun to require that all grantees use a logic model and an evaluation plan. That is a good way for program people to uncover any discrepancy between what the program was supposed to do and what the evaluators uncover in the design.

The programs were all required to collect baseline data and to have a control group for comparison.

Out of 364 high-risk youth program grants, 107 developed evaluation criteria to be included in the findings. Fifty-nine of the 107 documented their findings, and only 21 had documented findings that met evaluators' standards. Those standards required an experimental or quasi-experimental design with pre- and post-testing and the use of reliable, valid instruments with appropriate statistical techniques.

We found that increased knowledge of the dangers of alcohol and drug abuse did succeed in reducing the use of those substances among program participants. Other successful interventions included school bonding, school achievement, early intervention, parental intervention, and school interventions, which can help bridge cultural differences.

Professor Rosenbaum

The Community Responses to Drug Abuse National Demonstration Program was funded by BJA to create and test "effective community-wide strategies that local groups can implement to reduce drug abuse and fear and to improve the quality of life" in neighborhoods around the country. NIJ then funded a process and impact evaluation of the 10-site demonstration program. The evaluation was conducted by the University

of Illinois at Chicago with assistance from the Northwestern University Survey Laboratory. The process evaluation revealed that local community organizations, with technical assistance from the National Crime Prevention Council and the National Training and Information Center, were able to successfully develop and implement a wide variety of anti-drug activities with limited funding.

As part of the evaluation, we looked at what local groups at the demonstration sites did to attack drug dealing and drug use in their neighborhoods. Some programs were formal, involving a lot of paperwork, while others wanted to get out into the streets right away.

We studied the effects of their various efforts on people's perception of crime. The target area residents were more aware of and involved in drug prevention than persons in control areas. We also found a dramatic improvement in how residents viewed the police. Even though people's perceptions of the problem did not change, nor did their victimization rates, people in the target areas were less likely to move out than people in control areas.

One point we discovered is that cracking down on drug markets can actually increase violent crime. Why? It causes much scrambling to refill the shoes of arrested dealers and fighting over the supply of drugs and continued business.

Community Policing: Rural Environments

Moderator: *Steven Edwards, Senior Social Scientist, Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Gary Cordner, Professor, Police Studies Department, Eastern Kentucky University*

Harvey L. McMurray, Associate Professor, Criminal Justice Department, North Carolina Central University

Ralph A. Weisheit, Professor of Criminal Justice, Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois

Professor Weisheit

I want to start by saying that I am discouraged by the extent to which rural areas have been ignored. There is a lot of rich information that is not only valuable to the rural areas, but can also help urban areas by comparison. People do not appreciate how much of the United States is categorized as rural.

The definition of rural is an issue in itself. One way to define "rural" is to make a distinction between metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties. A non-metropolitan county is one that has fewer than 50,000 people. Of the 3,106 counties in America, 80 percent qualify as rural counties.

There are three issues that tie into community policing in rural areas. The first issue is that of geography. Distances, particularly in the West, can be enormous within a county. In one county in Arizona, there are 150 officers in a police department that is responsible for 800,000 square miles. The closest backup is often two hours away. It is not unusual for people such as game wardens to serve as backups. Sheriffs become more important in the policing of rural areas.

A second issue is the rural culture. There is a stronger emphasis on informal control. This raises many issues on how to measure good police work. The number of arrests is irrelevant in rural areas; it is not a criteria of being a good officer. There is a mistrust of government that does not usually spill over to local police and sheriffs. It does, however, create an air of hostility toward FBI and DEA.

There is also something that I call "density of acquaintanceship." This is an atmosphere in which everybody knows everybody. It affects police work. Officers may not be able to arrest someone because of friendship with the person and his whole family.

Police organizations are smaller in rural areas. Ninety percent of all police departments have fewer than 50 officers. Community policing is affected by the small size of some departments. With only three officers in some departments, there is not a high level of bureaucracy.

There are several qualities of community policing that apply to rural areas. One, the police have to be accountable. Officers have to be answerable for what they do in the community. Elected officials, such as sheriffs, are held extremely accountable in the rural community.

Another important issue is the idea of connectedness between the police and the community. Rural officers are likely to come from and live in the areas that they police. There is pressure from the community to join civic clubs such as the Elks and the Kiwanis.

Surveys show that rural citizens are more positive about their police and less likely to believe that their officers engage in brutality. In rural counties, the clearance rate for offenses is much higher than in urban areas.

One of the limits to community policing in rural areas is officers' lack of privacy. Officers live under a microscope. Also, there is less discretion in policing because things are more informal.

The local community in some rural areas may be tolerant of corruption. If rural police are supposed to be responsible to the community, what happens when the values of the local police are corrupt (partial to certain interests)?

Professor McMurray

I would like to talk about a project in Beaufort County, North Carolina. It is a four-phase process assessment of the initiation of community policing in the county.

The first phase was a survey to find out how people felt about the police. The goal was to assess and respond to factors dividing the police and the community. We conducted the survey through phone calls and personal interviews. Since the original survey did not involve young people, we developed a supplemental youth survey, using school focus groups.

Responses from the youth survey pointed out that there was nothing for young people to do. This is often an indicator for delinquency problems.

Next, we looked at the Washington Police Department in Beaufort County. When initiating community policing, the first thing the department did was to flatten its organizational structure. It is now a "diamond organization." Decisionmaking occurs at the lowest level and networking is a daily necessity. Officer responsibility focuses on creativity and innovation. The department was divided into 28 beats, with one officer per beat. Every 28 days, officers spend 140 hours in their cars and 20 hours on their beats without their cars.

After the change to community policing, 56 percent of the officers at the

Washington department reported an increase in enthusiasm.

Officers were also asked to assess their training in community policing. All but two officers received some form of orientation. The most frequently mentioned areas in which training was needed were public speaking, multicultural sensitivity, and public relations. Also, 74 percent of officers were satisfied with their current work schedule.

Professor Cordner

I want to speculate about the applicability of community policing in rural environments. This will be a nonempirical consideration, not constrained by data.

It seems that the idea of community policing in rural environments is tricky for two reasons. Community policing and rural environments vary extensively.

Our popular culture has different ideas of what rural policing is. Some think of "Andy of Mayberry," and others think of "In the Heat of the Night" or "High Noon."

We have to remember that a lot of the policing in rural areas is done by the state police. The stereotype of the state trooper is the opposite of the stereotypical community policing officer. I'm reflecting on some of the conflicting experiences and examples that we have concerning small town policing in our country and in our history. The bottom line is that there are a lot of empirical questions with regard to policing in the rural areas.

We have to think about three different kinds of rural policing environments. There are small towns away from metropolitan areas, rural sheriffs, and rural state police. We should look at the reasons why these groups would or would not do community policing.

Perhaps in the small towns (the "Mayberry" towns), community policing would happen naturally. The size of the departments removes bureaucratic

impediments. However, police in small towns want to be like the urban police. There is a cultural push for them to be crimefighters.

Rural sheriffs are different from small town police. First, they are elected. This leads to a customer orientation and an eagerness to receive citizen input. In most places, sheriffs have a broader range of functions, including civil duties and control of the jail. Sheriffs' departments are traditionally more diverse in terms of gender hiring. They are also more likely to hire locals.

Finally, the state police seem to be ignored when we talk about community

policing. The vast majority of state police are assigned to rural areas. There is no obvious way to get citizen input about the troopers, because they are spread out so widely and their function is narrowly defined. They also have less diversity than any other policing agency. Geographical deployment is really the only thing on the state police's side as far as applying community policing.

To conclude, I would say that the local police seem to be most inclined to community policing, sheriffs are most influenced by political factors, and state troopers are positioned well to cover rural areas.



Issues in Boot Camps

Moderator: *Thomas C. Castellano, Visiting Fellow, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Ernest L. Cowles, Director, Center for Legal Studies, University of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois*

Daniel B. Felker, Senior Research Fellow, American Institutes for Research, Washington, D.C.

Doris Layton MacKenzie, Associate Professor, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland

Professor Cowles

I will give you an overview of an 18-month study funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to identify and describe the nature and extent of drug treatment and education programs that exist in adult correctional boot camps around the country. Additional objectives of the study were to identify the programs' common elements, synthesize recommendations for improving drug treatment for boot camp offenders, and identify and describe innovative and effective drug treatments in boot camp prisons and in aftercare programs.

Findings indicated that a vast majority of correctional boot camps provide some type of substance abuse programming. The programs consisted of either substance abuse education, a combination of education and substance abuse treatment, or treatment only. The most common types of treatment were group counseling, 12-step programs, and individual counseling. Particularly noteworthy was the absence of therapeutic community approaches, which have been identified as one of the more successful drug treatment approaches and would seem to fit

well with the general philosophy of boot camp programs. Additionally, most programs provided some type of substance abuse program assessment for inmates entering the programs. However, placement in treatment and education programs seemed to be driven by statutory or policy directives rather than the offenders' needs.

The most troubling findings were the lack of continuity between the incarceration portion of the boot camp experience and community release and the general underdevelopment of the aftercare portion of the sanction. Overall, correctional boot camps that matched individual inmates with appropriate programs and provided linkage between the boot camp program and aftercare showed the most comprehensive approach.

Dr. Felker

The American Institutes for Research (AIR) conducted an 18-month study funded by OJJDP to evaluate implementation of three demonstration boot camp projects in Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile. The study examined the feasibility and appropriateness of the military model. Each site developed a three-month residential boot camp phase and a 6- to 9-month aftercare phase. Offenders were screened, selected, and randomly assigned to the program. Designated information was collected on participants by program staff and evaluators during the first year.

Although the boot camp programs were very similar in mixing customs and procedures with traditional rehabilitative components, their aftercare programs broke abruptly from military discipline and varied in scope and degree of centralized services provided. All programs experimented with different mixes of discipline, treatment, and appropriate sanctions.

Evaluation findings showed short-term gains for participants in educational performance, physical fitness, and behavior during boot camp. Program staff ratings of participant performance in areas of attitude, self-discipline, and respect for authority improved in boot camp. Attrition rates for boot camp were relatively low (6 to 20 percent), but attrition rates for aftercare were much higher (28 to 70 percent). Overall, coherent residential boot camp models that combined military aspects and treatment services showed positive short-term effects. Aftercare strategies, however, were less effective and need to be improved.

Recommendations for future programs include:

- Programs should clarify cause and effect rationales, explaining how they expect to change participant behavior.
- Programs should carefully define and select their target population in light of the program goals.
- Aftercare phases need to be structured to develop clear sets of disciplinary rules and expectations and to smooth participants' transition from boot camp.
- Responsibilities of multiple agencies should be spelled out in detail.
- More staff training is needed.

Professor MacKenzie

I will present information on research from a National Institute of Justice multi-site study to determine the difference in impact on individual offenders between boot camps and traditional prisons. The eight boot camp programs varied in many ways, but they maintained core values of military style and separated participants from the general prison population. All required rigorous schedules and hard labor. Measurements were made of participant attitudes, behavior, recidivism, and social adjustment.

Findings showed a lack of consistency among programs, indicating that the boot camp atmosphere was ineffective. The exceptions were voluntary programs that offered three or more hours each day of therapy (education, counseling, group meetings, and drug treatment) and aftercare or intensive monitoring. This indicated that these components have an effect in a boot camp program but the question remains whether the boot camp atmosphere itself is actually necessary.

Obviously, much more information is needed on the boot camp atmosphere. Perhaps future research and evaluation should focus on the effectiveness of military structure and discipline in boot camp programs.

Revitalizing Communities—Panel 2

Moderator: Cheryl Crawford, Program Manager, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Presenters: Gavin W. McCluskey, Senior Program Specialist, Office of the Governor, Office of Criminal Justice Planning, Sacramento, California

James T. Nunnally, Program Administrator, Community Backed Anti-Drug Program, Kansas City, Missouri

Stan J. Orchowsky, Evaluation Section Chief, Department of Criminal Justice Services, Richmond, Virginia

Mr. McCluskey

Operation Revitalization is the California model of the federal Weed and Seed program. As you may know, some of the Weed and Seed programs in other communities have been assailed politically and criticized by the media. Residents sometimes feel as if the program has been foisted upon their community.

Realizing these pitfalls, we developed a four-part strategy to make sure that our program was acceptable to the community. First, any Weed and Seed effort must include suppression. In addition, it is necessary to bridge to community-oriented policing and to have the police executive's full support for its implementation. A third component emphasizes seeding through prevention, intervention, and treatment. The fourth aspect is revitalization and reclamation.

The prevention, intervention, and treatment strategy was funded by the Drug-Free Schools Act. The Act mandates services to be provided in or around schools with a high risk status. We also encouraged projects that developed, augmented, or

added any other objectives or activities related to this strategy. In addition, we strongly encouraged community residents to become involved in the revitalization and reclamation aspect. This included code enforcement, civil abatement, and public housing. It is the revitalization effort that sustains the program once the funding has ended. We also looked for complimentary sources of funding.

It was very important for us to develop a very strong steering committee process. We made site visits and asked those who had committed their time on paper to reaffirm their intention verbally. We also required that they have operational agreements and that they meet regularly as a committee. Those persons involved in the actual application were also required to meet frequently.

The original project supported by Operation Revitalization was the Tenderloin project in San Francisco. Two of the other five projects were located in areas with a population of over 500,000; two were located in areas with a population between 100,000 and 500,000; and the fifth project had a population of under 100,000.

The Stockton project targeted an area that had a multicultural mix and high calls for service. The project had a very strong graffiti abatement program. Judges frequently sanctioned youths to a work detail that included painting over graffiti. Many probation officers donated their time to supervising the youths. Interestingly, some of the youths actually brought their parents to the areas they had cleaned. This demonstrated their sense of pride in their efforts and represented a consequent victory for the project.

The Roosevelt project has a small population of under 100,000. The target area had a high rate of calls for service, and 45 percent of these calls came out of one

housing complex. The project sponsored Police Athletic League activities, clean-up efforts, and drug- and gang-free zones.

Another community had a lot of drug dealing. Residents were able to obtain high intensity and vaporized lighting. The vaporized lighting caused headaches to persons standing too long under its light and was influential in removing drug dealers.

The Tenderloin area in San Francisco did not have any schools, but it had an enormous amount of drug dealing. The rapid transit system brought drug dealers and buyers from all over the city to this area. Wrought iron fences were erected around a particularly problematic park where drug activity was common. The park was patrolled and locked up at night. In addition, the project steam-cleaned an alley known for drug activity and established motion-activated sprinklers. These efforts succeeded in reducing the amount of drug dealing, brought the residents back out into the community, and helped to reestablish businesses in the area.

Our prevention, intervention, and treatment programs accomplished many things. One example included the use of youth liaison officers in an early intervention and probation effort. If a youth was cited for an offense, he or she was referred to the program the next day. If the youth did not show up at the program, a youth liaison officer went to the youth's house and met with the family. The officers worked with kids and demonstrated their willingness to put their time and effort into helping them.

Mr. Nunnally

Our project is the Community Backed Anti-Drug Tax (COMBAT), which is a multi-disciplinary, comprehensive, community based approach to fighting substance abuse. It is unique because it was developed and supported by a county through passage of a tax.

In 1989, Jackson County experienced a soaring murder rate and a high number of reported crack addicts. A prosecutor suggested to the concerned community that residents might be willing to pass a tax to generate the money needed to control these problems. A loose-knit plan was developed to fight violence and drugs through law enforcement, prevention, and treatment. Sixty-five percent of the community voted to pass the sales tax. We became the envy of other counties because we obtained \$14 million in dedicated resources to fight illegal drugs. Because the ordinance put the prosecutor in charge of \$7 million of the \$14 million, the prosecutor became the leader of this effort against drugs.

The allocation of funds raised through sales taxes to various agencies predated the county ordinance. As a result, the money was allocated to individual agencies before COMBAT had developed its overall approach to fighting substance abuse. This budgetary lock-in did not allow the necessary flexibility for shifting the focus and resources to adapt to the changing needs of the program and the community. The tax will be brought up for another vote in November, and we hope to change this aspect of the ordinance. We must convince people of the need for the program, but we must also convince them to be open to an array of possible ways to fulfill the program's objectives.

The strategies of COMBAT were threefold: jail dangerous criminals, treat nonviolent treatable offenders, and prevent children from using drugs. Twenty-eight treatment agencies and 28 prevention agencies received funding to accomplish these goals. The remainder of the funding went to law enforcement, with half a million dollars dedicated to community policing efforts. The programs that worked best had law enforcement, prevention, and treatment elements included in their approach.

The Prevention Network targets youth about to become or already involved in drugs. This year, the program has made 80,000 contacts with youth throughout the county and has provided education, counseling, and referrals. Other program examples include:

- 49/63 Neighborhood Coalition
- Ad Hoc Group Against Crime
- Community policing
- Drug Abatement Response Team (DART)
- Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE)
- Drug court
- Drugs Don't Work
- Family court
- Treatment network
- Addiction training center
- Treatment in public housing

When this program began, we did not have a vision of how we were going to accomplish our goals. We "built an airplane while it was flying in the air." We are now ready to step back and begin to plan our future. Planning will be much more meaningful at this stage because we know more about our strengths, limitations, and abilities; and we can be more realistic about our expectations. We are also ready to evaluate the program in order to see what we have accomplished and how we have done it.

Dr. Orchowsky

I will be talking about some evaluation findings from our study on an anti-crime partnership program in Virginia. This program was initiated by the Commonwealth of Virginia's Department of Criminal Justice Services. The purpose of the program was to "foster a collaborative, multi-agency approach to developing community-based solutions to the problems of crime and fear of crime."

The City of Newport News was selected as a site, and it targeted a single high crime

area located downtown. This area accounted for 20 percent of all violent crime in the city. The state contributed funding, six state troopers, and a supervisor for law enforcement. The City of Newport News contributed ten officers and two supervisors for law enforcement, as well as funding. In addition, seventeen local agencies provided services to the project, ten of which were funded. A total of about \$10 million was allocated to this effort.

A Citizens Oversight Committee consisted of representatives from the 17 agencies and citizens' groups. The committee met monthly, discussed the status of current efforts, and identified problems in need of further attention. In addition, the committee formed four teams: enforcement, prevention, information, and support and skill enhancement. The teams worked on special projects. We put an evaluator on site and looked at four different areas: enforcement, service providers, collaboration, and impact.

The enforcement component could serve as a model for how *not* to implement a program. The police department management was not able to achieve a department-wide commitment to community policing. A task force, which was formed in the first year of the program, engaged in traditional enforcement activities for that year. The task force shifted its focus the second year and implemented a block-by-block approach to problem solving.

During this time, one of the department's undercover officers was shot and killed. Although the officer was not on the task force, his death had an adverse impact on the effort. One of the supervising sergeants had to sit on a disciplinary committee for five months, and another was placed on administrative leave for two months. As a result, the task force had no supervision for two months. Eventually, the captain in charge of the effort was dismissed, and the chief resigned.

The state police also had problems. The governor was enthusiastic about the project and sent the troopers to Newport News two months before the locality had hired its police officers and set up the organization. The state troopers ended up performing undercover work. Once the organization was established and ready to begin, the troopers were asked to assume their role as a visible deterrent. The troopers resisted the shift and tension resulted. Tension was further increased because one of the supervising sergeants supported a more traditional approach, resisting the other's more community oriented approach.

The state troopers were assigned for six months at a time to the project. It was soon discovered that six months was not an adequate amount of time for the officers to become familiar with the program or the community. Another problem was the lack of money to compensate officers for overtime. The use of comp time severely limited the amount of time the officers actually spent on the job.

We looked at the job satisfaction of officers and state troopers and found that job satisfaction was very good. The officers were very positive about the project, working conditions, and their roles. Attitudes toward community policing were positive. However, if given the choice, the officers preferred a mix of traditional and community policing activities. Half of the officers stated that it was easy to find and develop contacts with the community. Ninety percent of the local police officers felt that their problem solving was effective. However, only 40 percent of the state troopers felt that their problem solving was successful. Overall, the officers stated that they were discouraged by the lack of community involvement.

The neighborhood housed a lot of abandoned buildings. An assessment was done of the buildings, and it was discovered that two-thirds of the open structures had

some sort of criminal activity associated with them. Two years after the project was implemented, about half of the buildings had been demolished.

There were 15 programs administered by 12 different agencies participating in the program. Many of these programs served the entire city in addition to the targeted area. It was very difficult to make firm conclusions on their impact. However, I will mention a few of my favorite programs.

The fire department conducted many fire safety programs. One of the programs included teaching 2,000 preschoolers how to escape from a fire in a house. A substance abuse counselor who was hired for the local jail developed an education program for inmates. The public schools hired two student assistant counselors who served four middle schools in the target areas and saw 570 students for disciplinary or family problems over one year. The Peninsula Health Center offered over 300 HIV education programs. Operation "Breaking Through" was a literacy training program.

The evaluation asked 21 citizens and practitioners to assess the results of this partnership. Using a procedure known as concept mapping, the group identified 14 categories of benefits of collaboration.

These include the following:

- Crime reduction through increased police presence
- Improved police-community relations
- Improvements in physical environment
- Increased citizen support for police
- Increased mutual respect and cooperation between citizens and police
- Improved service delivery by agencies
- Community empowerment

We noted that the clusters for city and agency interaction, and citizen and police interaction, were included as benefits.

However, we did not see an increase in police and other agency interaction.

We also conducted block-by-block interviews with 55 residents to assess their perceptions. We found that 65 percent of the citizens felt safer on their block after the interventions than they had the year before. Sixty-six percent felt that living conditions

had improved. In addition, 79 percent felt safer in their homes, and 61 percent felt safer outside their homes. A time series analysis demonstrated that there was no change in the total number of arrests or police and fire dispatch calls before or after project implementation in the target area.



Juvenile Waivers to Adult Proceedings

Moderator: *Howard Snyder, Director of Systems Research, National Center for Juvenile Justice, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

Presenters: *Leona Lee, Assistant Professor, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, New York*

Neal Miller, Principal Associate, Institute for Law and Justice, Alexandria, Virginia

Simon I. Singer, Associate Professor of Sociology, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York

Dr. Snyder

I am with the National Center for Juvenile Justice and will moderate this panel on juvenile transfers. Twenty states have changed their transfer provisions; more and more of them are transferring juveniles to the adult system. There are more and more clever legislative ways to get them there. The General Accounting Office is doing a study on what happens when juveniles are transferred into the adult system. They have been unable to find good quality information on this activity. The collected data from adult courts and prosecutors' offices is spotty. People assume that "the hammer falls," when the juvenile goes to adult court, but there is not much clear knowledge.

Professor Lee

Waivers have developed in the juvenile justice system as part of a national "get tough" movement. I will discuss recent research on determinants of waiver. The juvenile court has evolved from one that considered child offenders as "in need," to bifurcated and trifurcated systems, with different rules and policies for status offenders and serious delinquents. In the late 1960s and 1970s, rising crime rates

caused public concern, and published reports indicated that rehabilitation programs were not working. The cohort study in Philadelphia by Wolfgang and his colleagues showed that a small proportion of youth (about 6 percent of the cohort) was responsible for a large part of the serious crimes. The implication is that some delinquents are likely to become career criminals. Across the country, prosecution programs such as selective incapacitation began to be implemented.

Although there is the public perception that juvenile violent crime has skyrocketed, the statistics do not support that picture too well. Data on delinquency rates between 1975 and 1992 showed that the greatest increase was in property offenses. Around 1990, offenses against persons exceeded public order offenses, but increasing delinquency rates mainly consisted of increasing property crime.

General perceptions of violent crime led to a movement to change the "lenient" juvenile justice system. Boland, Wilson, and their colleagues even suggested abolishing the system. At the same time, Supreme Court decisions made due process rights more applicable to juveniles. In 1989, the Supreme Court upheld the death penalty for juveniles over 16. Laws governing mandatory minimum sentences and disclosure of juvenile records were also part of the "get tough" approach.

Waiver always has been an option, but it has become increasingly popular in recent years. Charts showing selected statistical results of the study are in Appendix B. There are more juvenile cases being petitioned. In absolute numbers since 1988, there has been a 68 percent increase in waivers to criminal court, rising to 11,700 to 1992. There are legislative, judicial, and prosecutorial waivers. Legislative waiver excludes from juvenile court youth above a

certain age charged with certain offenses. For a judicial waiver, a hearing must be held, and prosecutor's guidelines are usually considered. Prosecutor's waiver either involves charging for offenses that are excluded from the juvenile court's jurisdiction or, where there is concurrent jurisdiction, simply deciding which court will hear the charges. No hearings are required for prosecutorial waiver, in contrast to judicial waiver.

There are major criticisms of waiver based on the discretionary implications. Judicial waiver is usually based on a lengthy list of criteria including seriousness of offense, delinquent history of the youth, experience with juvenile corrections, social background, threat to public safety, and history and qualities of the particular juvenile court. Waiver decisions vary greatly among jurisdictions, even within the same state. Prosecutors are pleased with the new laws because they give them more power.

Research on the determinants of waiver has focused on two groups of variables, legal and extra-legal. Professor Singer's research from 1993 showed that juveniles from single parent families were more likely to be waived. Juveniles who are near the juvenile court's ceiling age are more likely to be waived. Most were above the age of 16 (for judicial waiver).

A controversial finding is that more minority juveniles are waived, particularly blacks. Black juveniles are also more likely to be charged with offenses against persons. White juveniles were most likely to be charged with (1) property offenses, (2) public order offenses, and (3) offenses against persons. For black juveniles charged, the order was (1) property offenses, (2) offenses against persons, and (3) public order offenses.

Juveniles being waived are not always charged with a violent offense. Legal variables are important in determining

waiver. The nature of the charge for a waived juvenile offender, in order of frequency of occurrence, was property offense, offense against a person, drug offense, and public order offense. Prior convictions and criminal records were always important relative to waiver decisions.

Regardless of the seriousness of the offense, if a charged juvenile has been waived before, he or she will be waived again. This is related in part to organizational and political factors as well as large caseloads in the juvenile courts. Waiver is used as a plea bargaining tactic. Contextual variables have to be considered too, such as youth arrest rate, general crime rate, judicial caseload, and urban or suburban environment. Such variables have been found to affect dispositions.

The results of waiver are debated. More serious sentences do not always result. A 1981 study of waived juveniles indicated they received more severe sentences. However, more of the juveniles in criminal court are able to plea-bargain for lesser charges, and they may be less frequently convicted because the criminal court does not always use the juveniles' records.

There is a lack of facilities for juveniles, and the adult facilities are overcrowded. Studies done in New York and Idaho on the general deterrent effects of waiver found no impact on the juvenile crime rate. Fagan's research indicated that juveniles sentenced in juvenile court had lower recidivism rates than those sentenced in criminal court.

Some juveniles are incarcerated and even receive long prison sentences. We need research on the effects of confinement on juveniles and the relationship between age and peak of criminal activity. Confinement may cause adaptation to prison culture and greater delinquency. If this proves true, waiver should be used only for very serious offenses, not to "get rid" of those close to the ceiling age. Better

coordination between the criminal and juvenile court systems is needed.

Practitioners from the adult systems should assist in developing waiver policies.

Optional programs for serious offenders who are near the ceiling age may be a good option. There are some special programs for offenders between 16 and 21, for example in Wisconsin. This would better assure opportunities for treatment of juvenile offenders.

Mr. Miller

My topic is the use of juvenile records in criminal court. There are three ways the use of the juvenile record in criminal court is significant:

- The threat that juvenile dispositions may be used later can act as a deterrent.
- A "real" first offender can be distinguished from a youthful offender who has an extensive juvenile record.
- The recidivist adult offender, or "career criminal," as discussed by Wolfgang and his colleagues, can be more quickly incapacitated with help of the juvenile record.

In California there is currently a three-strikes law. The juvenile record (felony disposition) counts as a strike under this law. One prosecutor with whom I spoke had a policy of waiving all juveniles charged with more serious crimes; he thought it was fairer, because it was too easy to get a conviction in juvenile court.

The Institute for Law and Justice undertook this study with an NIJ grant. Phase I of the study involved a nationwide analysis of laws and practices. Phase II looked closely at two jurisdictions.

Every state has a law (or laws) permitting use of juvenile records in one way or another. For a bare majority, it is part of the probation pre-sentence report. For 24 of the states, there is more structure.

In 11 of the states, the juvenile record was counted as part of a criminal history score used to set the presumptive sentence. Some states consider the record to determine whether prison or probation will be set. It may also be an aggravating factor.

Although all the states allow this use of the juvenile record, many, including some who mandate its use, effectively prohibit the use. In some states, the record is purged at 21 (which may explicitly undermine sentencing laws). The review of the state laws will soon be published by NIJ as a Research In Brief.

The second phase of the study was a survey of prosecutors in large jurisdictions (comprising 50 percent of reported crime in the United States). Prosecutors in 22 states said they routinely use juvenile records. In 17 states, the juvenile records are used for case screening. The record is often used for prosecutor recommendations at sentencing. The prosecutors' own files were usually the most complete source of information on a juvenile criminal history. Only a few prosecutors responded that their juvenile system had particularly good records which they used for bail or pre-sentencing decisions.

We did another survey of the criminal record repositories. Twenty-one states authorized the repository to hold juvenile records. Some go back as far as the 1950s, but most were fairly new. Five states' centralized youth authorities had computerized juvenile records. Four states still prohibit juvenile record collection at the state level, but two other states have repealed that prohibition within the last year. This shows the direction of public interest.

We called the state sentencing guidelines commissions and asked them what proportions of convicted defendants had juvenile records. Among states with that information available, from 6 percent to 33 percent of convicted defendants had juvenile records in their backgrounds. The

actual proportion of defendants with juvenile records is probably more like 40 to 50 percent.

The third phase involved intensive field analysis of two specific sites: Wichita, Kansas (a jurisdiction of about 300,000, primarily urban, with ghetto and manufacturing areas), and Montgomery County, Maryland (about 750,000, affluent, a suburban area adjacent to Washington, D.C.).

We identified all serious crime cases filed in a one-year period (violent crime, burglaries, and drug dealing).

In Wichita, we identified 647 serious felony cases. This involved 592 defendants. There were 477 felony convictions, 46 misdemeanors, 25 diversions, and 94 dismissals. This is a fairly high conviction rate compared to national figures. Of the defendants, 64 percent had a prior adult conviction (higher than the national norm) and 136 had juvenile records. I discovered that if someone is convicted and sentenced to prison in Kansas, he or she is usually paroled to Wichita. Wichita is the only jurisdiction in the state where there are job possibilities for ex-felons.

Individuals under the age of 26 were much more likely to have a juvenile record (43 percent vs. 5 percent). This occurred because, until the present District Attorney took office in 1989, they had been purging the files at age 21. The proportion of defendants with juvenile records was greatest among those with extensive violent crime records. For defendants under 26 who had more than three violent crime convictions, 70 percent had juvenile adjudications. But only one quarter of those who had juvenile adjudications had been adjudicated for violent crime. The progression from minor crimes to property crimes and then violent crimes would seem to be the pattern.

In 74 cases, the juvenile record had a significant impact on sentencing. This is

about 10 percent of the total convictions. Typically the juvenile record added at least one year to the prison sentence. Using the juvenile record to incapacitate serious offenders, the added incarceration was as high as 5 years in several cases. With 39 of the defendants, the juvenile record had only limited impact.

Kansas has now adopted its own version of a three-strikes law. Had this law been in effect at the time of the study, there would have been six defendants caught under the three-strikes law. As much as 11 years would have been added to their respective sentences.

In Montgomery County, in contrast, 788 cases were identified with 708 defendants. There were 562 convictions, 42 post-conviction diversions, and generally a higher than average conviction rate. The information systems in Montgomery County were not as good as in Kansas. We could not get record information except for those who were convicted. We had information for only 354 defendants. About half of these had criminal records, but only 37 had juvenile adjudication records. All but two of those with juvenile records were under the age of 25. Here again, the youth record agency purged the records at age 21.

The impact of juvenile records on sentences was calculated for 31 defendants. Of those, the presumptive sentence was increased for 21 defendants.

In summary, we found that the use of the juvenile record was highly significant in sentencing. Both jurisdictions had high conviction rates. Whether it was an adult record or a juvenile record was irrelevant to charging. Decisions were made on the evidence, a convictability standard. Neither jurisdiction plea-bargained very much.

The field studies and the national survey showed that there have been dramatic changes in the use of the juvenile record in the past 15 years. In the early 1980s, RAND did a series of studies on the use of juvenile

records. Clearly, we now use the records more, with a good deal more impact.

In prior research in Florida, prosecutors delayed the use of juvenile waiver to build a juvenile record, since convictions were easier to get in juvenile court. When the waiver to adult court was finally used, the offender would be hit with two to three juvenile adjudications and be guaranteed prison time.

We are starting a new OJJDP-funded study of waivers that will look at the effect of correctional system capacities upon the waiver decision. How will improved juvenile justice system capacities affect prosecutors' filings in criminal court? We will do a national analysis and interview prosecutors and judges.

Professor Singer

The New York juvenile offender law is a legislative waiver, a waiver by exclusion, sometimes called "automatic waiver." Very little is automatic about it. Waiver shifts the traditional source of discretion. To dichotomize, criminal justice officials have the discretion in one set of waiver regulations, while juvenile justice officials have discretion in the other type of system. In systems of legislative or automatic waiver, as in New York, discretion is given to criminal justice officials, starting with the police. They decide where to bring the kid. If the police book the kid as an adult, the case goes through the criminal court system.

In 1986, I found data on cases of about 10,000 juvenile offenders, defined as juvenile offenders at the arrest stage. "Juvenile offender" defined in New York as someone who is arrested for a designated felony offense and is within the age bounds of 14-15, for C and B offenses, and 13-15, for murder.

The age of responsibility in New York is 16, relatively low. The "youthful offender" status for 16- to 18-year-olds ameliorates some of the severity of the

sentences. Appendix C shows some of the violent crimes and related sentences for which 13- to 15-year-olds can be excluded from the juvenile justice system. In Class C, which includes burglary with a weapon, exclusion could also occur.

Waiver is simply another legal avenue, very dependent on the rest of the juvenile justice system. Criminal court sentencing of juveniles can be less severe than in juvenile court.

Another interesting point is whether extra-legal factors influence the decision to waive. In implementing changes, there is concern about the degree to which waiver may be unfair. Legislative waiver is considered "offense based" and has been criticized for not giving juvenile justice officials sufficient discretion. Black male offenders are more likely to be arrested for C-type felonies than white or Hispanic juveniles. I think the police are making a decision at the arrest stage to book black juveniles more frequently as juvenile offenders. White juvenile offenders are less likely to come into the system unless the offense is more serious, such as an A felony.

When we classify offense seriousness, there are substantial differences in jurisdictions. If you look at Erie County, New York, where the City of Buffalo is located, police were defining the juvenile offender at a mean age of 24; while in Albany, the capital, police were defining juvenile offenders at a mean age of 17. In Buffalo, the juvenile would have had to commit a more serious (A or B) felony to be defined as a juvenile offender at arrest.

The next stage involves the prosecutors' decisions in juveniles cases. They may charge in criminal court, dismiss, or initiate "reverse waiver" procedures. The vast majority of arrests are ending up back in the juvenile justice system. Instead of calling it "robbery second degree," the prosecutor may decide to call it "robbery third degree." In that instance, the offense would no longer

connect to the same criminal responsibility and would not go into the criminal court. Only 25 percent of the 10,000 cases ended up as convictions in criminal court. Most of those received youthful offender status (YO), which involves sealing of records and makes the juvenile eligible for probation.

C felonies are most likely to be dismissed or removed. As we would hope, the convicted category is highest for the A felonies. White juveniles were more likely than non-white juveniles to have their cases dismissed, even though the white juveniles were more likely to be in court for more serious offenses. The small number of juveniles who are convicted still usually get probation as first- or second-time offenders. Non-white juveniles receive a more serious disposition; they are more likely to be incarcerated.

Jurisdictional differences also had a bearing. In Albany, of the kids brought to criminal court (the 25 percent being defined as juvenile offenders), only 39 percent were convicted. Only 7 percent of the juvenile offenders in Erie County are being convicted in criminal court. (Remember, in that county they only bring to the criminal court juveniles who have the most serious offenses.) At the next stage, after conviction, the judges incarcerate 91 percent in Albany, compared to Erie County, which incarcerates 63 percent.

By year as well as by jurisdiction, we see variation. Incarceration rates in the states started to drop in 1983. The drop is progressive. The reason is that in 1982, the state law changed. For juveniles, counties now have to chip in up to 50 percent of the cost of incarcerating juvenile offenders. It costs them more to define arrested youth as "juvenile offenders."

I'll end with what I think is a crucial point. The real reason for waiver has diverged from legal reasons to the particular jurisdictional and temporal concerns of

officials working in juvenile and criminal justice systems.

Discussion

Comment: In August, GAO will be coming out with a report on juvenile waivers, with data from ten states. Summaries of the laws will be included.

Question: If a police officer picks up a juvenile for a Class B burglary, how can he or she just charge the juvenile as an adult?

Professor Singer: Prosecutors have discretion. They may move forward with a case or not. The decision whether it is a "youthful offender" or "juvenile offender" actually comes at the prosecutorial stage. With an A felony, the prosecutor would have to have the agreement of the judge to send it back to the juvenile system. There would be a list of mitigating circumstances, etc. With B and C felonies, the prosecutor simply has to put it in writing: "The kid had a minor role in the offense or is not responsible; presents no threat to the community, etc."

Dr. Snyder: BJS does a biennial national survey of prosecutors. The new survey is focusing on juvenile transfers. Prosecutors will be asked what mechanism they use, how often, and with what results. Differences between prosecutorial discretion and legislative exclusion will be explored. This is part of an ongoing national data collection on juvenile transfers. We are trying to fill in the gaps.

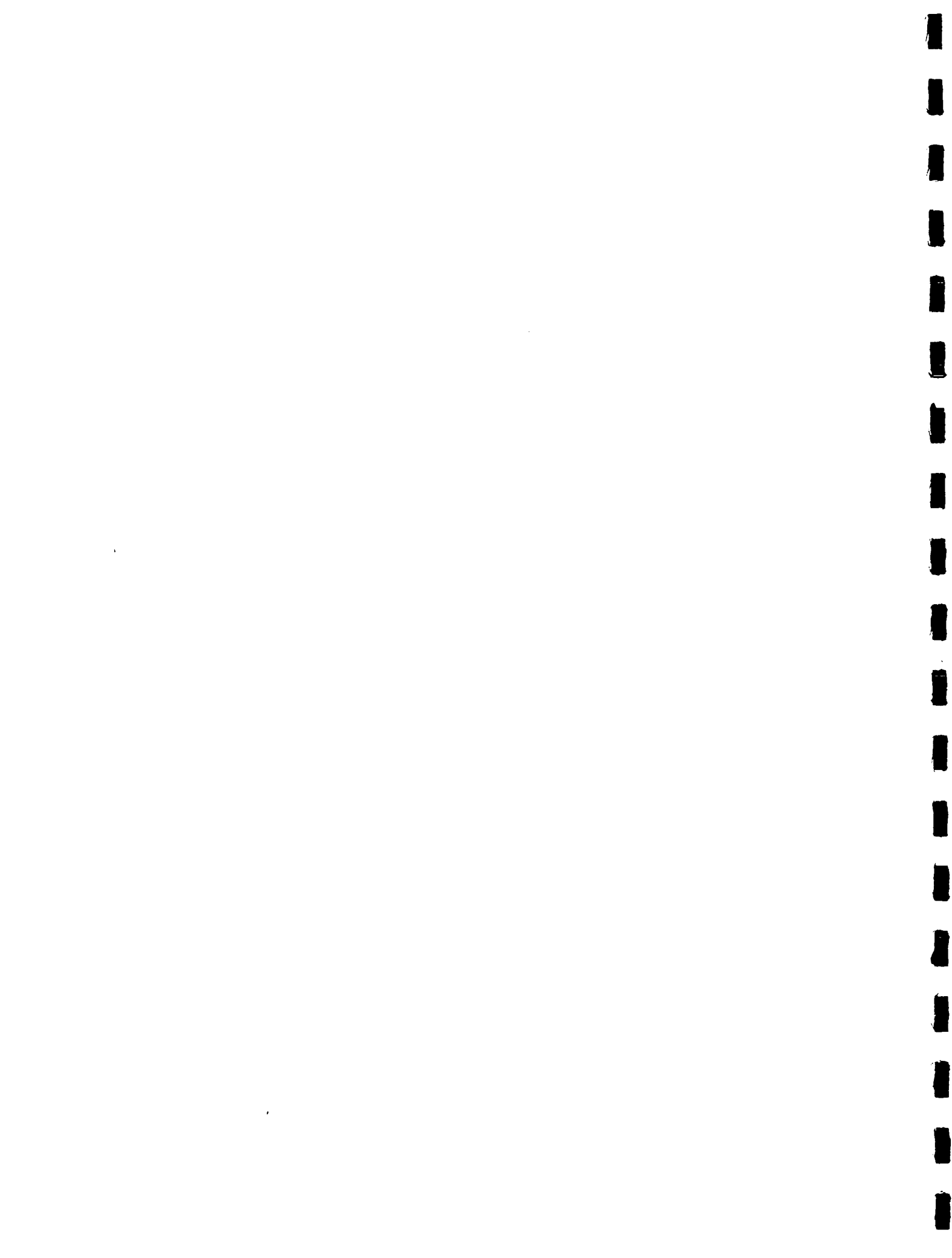
Question: What is being done about the obvious inequities in the systems or inequities of transfer?

Professor Singer: Much can be said in favor of the use of waiver. Offenders may receive better due process. Among the unstated reasons, one practical one is that waiver begins the tracking of seriously violent juveniles sooner. Information transfer is also better.

Question: Is there recidivism data on those transferred?

Professor Singer: Utah recently made the prosecutorial discretion statute unconstitutional. There was concern about a lack of oversight for prosecutorial discretion. This was an administrative act

that has had a dramatic effect for kids. At the end of 1992, 18 states had waiver mechanisms. The public has been in favor of tougher judges. There is also more police review of arrest charges.



Workshop: Evaluating Collaborative Criminal Justice System Treatment Programming: The Process is the Outcome

Moderator: Robert A. Kirchner, Chief of Program Evaluation, Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Presenters: Jerry M. Hatfield, President, Systems Development Associates, Cranston, Rhode Island

Daniel J. Hurley, Clinical Psychologist, Systems Development Associates, Cranston, Rhode Island

Dr. Kirchner

To put this workshop in context, the Bureau of Justice Assistance is attempting to establish an ability, with local agencies in collaborative programs, to understand the intentions of such programs and to form a better basis for later, more extensive evaluation.

Mr. Hatfield and Mr. Hurley

Systems Development Associates was contracted to perform a process evaluation of a Colorado program known as Standardized Substance Abuse Assessment for all drug defendants entering the criminal justice system. Treatment agencies were required to collaborate in the development and implementation of a standardized assessment of criminal defendants who had a high likelihood of conviction. The methodology included surveys and on-site interviews focused on key informants across the systems, archival record analysis, and critical incident analysis.

The keys to this project were process and collaboration. Process evaluation is very different from an outcome evaluation. The evaluators were interested in making nonjudgmental observations of the process and were not interested in outcomes or

impacts. The evaluators considered themselves to be "watching nature take its course." More involvement than this would manipulate the process. Process is also important in outcome evaluation, because the processes will shape every outcome.

As this project required numerous criminal justice and treatment agencies to collectively develop and implement a standardized substance abuse assessment, collaboration in decisionmaking was the cornerstone for success. While it was required that this assessment be produced, the agencies had no authoritative reason to collaborate. Collaborative decisionmaking either reinforces or extinguishes further collaboration. How this project managed collaboration was important.

As a foundation for facilitating effective collaboration, the group's diverse interests, sources of authority, and values had to be identified. Participating agencies included law enforcement, prosecution, defense, judiciary, probation and parole, corrections, community corrections, treatment and health, other levels and divisions of government, and funding sources. The project had to make accommodations for agencies' varied areas of focus, missions, clients, hierarchies, loyalties, etc.

The vantage points of agencies were influenced by whether they had local or state autonomy and control, an individualized or standardized approach, a public safety or treatment focus, hierarchical or collaborative structure, organizational or interpersonal style, and individual or system responsibility, to mention a few of the variations. All collaboration is voluntary. A particular agency could not be expected to accept another's value system and abandon its own. Each agency's value system had to be respected. Identifying a mutual value

system is part of the method for collaboration, vital to the success of this effort. We believe in the importance of balance, as offered by different elements of the criminal justice system.

Using four pilot units in the Denver area, the project identified four major goals: (1) to assess, in a standardized way, drug offenders' needs for supervision, control, and treatment services; (2) to provide accountability measures to substance abuse programs, with a good understanding of what could be expected from available treatment services; (3) to provide a range of quality programs to meet offenders' control, supervision, and rehabilitation needs; and (4) to establish data linkages to assure effective communication across the entire system. The evaluation examined two years of grant activity.

We wanted an evaluation that would highlight the knowledge that existed. The missing element was a loop for sharing knowledge. The evaluation itself served as such a loop. Survey data were collected and compared to the project's goals and objectives. Archival record data was used to compare proposed activities with actual reported activities. Interviews focused on key informants' perceptions of the project's process and asked for more general impressions and analyses. Critical events that had a demonstrable and important impact on the process of the project were identified. A collaborative committee with 44 representative members was started in the beginning of the project. Surveys of administrators and line staff were conducted. About half of those surveyed did not return the survey, and in some cases there was "no known address," indicating that half of the potential collaborators had no motivation to even fill out the questionnaire.

Evaluation results were reported within a cultural context, which had been identified as an important determinant of project process and outcome. Comments on the

surveys were critical. Other important factors included the history of relationships between the criminal justice and treatment systems; inherent assumptions made about the project, its goals, and the systems involved; program design and methodologies; and economic and political limitations found in Colorado. We reviewed all the quarterly or annual reports we could obtain. These often had discrepancies and, in the process of trying to protect their grant funding, had undermined the availability of real information.

We worked with a very open-ended interview. During the site visit, we held 30 to 40 interviews per week. In every one of them, we heard something new. A judge told us it was helpful to have recommendations for treatment from probation and parole, as long as they would respect his autonomy for making a sentence decision. The treatment people saw the project as a leap forward, but the judiciary saw it as a threat to their decisionmaking. In the treatment versus public safety debate, there was a subtle socialization effort on the part of interviewees to win us to their point of view.

The evaluators opted not to include a recommendations section in the final report. Within the report, we presented the data and "wisdom" of all the participants and wanted to inspire a collaborative discussion. As observers, not participants, we felt that making recommendations would be partial, since that is the section where blame for failings is often cast or a desired outcome is formulated. Instead, we included a chapter on alternative pathways. Alternative pathways are a list of options that the collaborators could consider. Alternative pathways were identified as a means of offering analyses of the project's process, possibly modifying the process, and noting outcome variance under different assumptions, considerations, and methodologies. Newly developed models of

collaboration, developed by the evaluators, were presented as potentially effective alternatives to the standard methods of collaboration. These aimed at providing a

new means of increasing the collaborative project's success and new methods of evaluation and self evaluation for such projects.



Concurrent Panels, Wednesday Morning

Youth Delinquency Prevention Evaluation

Moderator: James C. Howell,
Consultant, Office of Juvenile Justice
and Delinquency Prevention, U.S.
Department of Justice, Washington,
D.C.

Presenters: Richard F. Catalano, Co-
Founder, Developmental Research and
Programs, Inc., Seattle, Washington

Barry Krisberg, President, National
Council on Crime and Delinquency, San
Francisco, California

Dr. Howell

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) sponsored research that led to the recently released *Comprehensive Strategy for Chronic, Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders*. Juveniles are actually responsible for only a small percentage of the total violence in America. Since 1985, however, there has been a dramatic increase in arrests of juveniles for violent crimes including assault, murder, and violations involving weapons. People are concerned about this dramatic increase and have given it much attention.

Research in the field has identified a number of risk factors linked to juvenile crime and has identified protective factors that work to overcome risk factors and help keep kids from delinquent behavior. Some lessons learned from this research include the following:

- A comprehensive strategy is necessary to effectively deal with serious, violent, and chronic delinquency.
- Intervention programs must be comprehensive, address multiple

risk factors, and be available on a long-term basis.

- The juvenile justice system must collaborate with welfare and mental health systems to provide comprehensive treatment to juvenile offenders.
- Intervention programs must target career juvenile offenders early.
- Prevention and early intervention programs are more likely to be successful than offering only intervention programs that target older youth.

Dr. Catalano

As co-developer of OJJDP's *Comprehensive Strategy for Chronic, Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders*, I will describe the knowledge base for the preventive component of this strategy and the Communities That Care planning and implementation strategy. The knowledge base was developed to apply effective intervention and prevention programs to juvenile delinquency problems. Thirty years of longitudinal research shows that dealing with adolescent problem behavior must take place throughout the community and must involve family, school, and peers. In short, juvenile delinquency is everybody's business, and all must be involved in its solution.

In order to prevent juvenile delinquent behavior, the comprehensive strategy recommends that programs (1) focus on reducing known risk factors; (2) increase protective factors; (3) address risk factors at appropriate developmental stages; (4) intervene early, before behavior stabilizes; (5) target individuals and communities exposed to high risk; (6) meet multiple risks

with multiple strategies; and (7) address the racial, cultural, and economical diversity of the community.

Communities That Care offers step-by-step processes to mobilize communities and develop and implement prevention programs. The essential elements of the process are three-fold. First, introduce and involve a broad coalition of community members in the planning process. This helps to coordinate efforts across the community. Second, use the coalition of community members to do a thorough assessment of community risks and available resources. It is important to have some consensus on problems and views of prevention. Members' ability to work together in the coalition must be assessed. Finally, promising prevention strategies based on the information gathered in assessment should be planned and implemented.

Dr. Krisberg

I'll review a six-point plan for "fixing" a juvenile justice system and briefly discuss the comprehensive strategy's continuum of graduated sanctions for juvenile offenders.

For making the juvenile justice system effective, responsible coalitions need to:

- Pull in key leaders and players in the community and form a task force on juvenile justice.

- As a group, review and adopt objective risk assessment instruments, noting the importance of separating the different types of offenders.
- Introduce objective risk assessment criteria into the juvenile justice system.
- Find appropriate types of programs and match them with collected assessments, making a program "wish list."
- Match programs with available resources, to map out what the community needs. Be sure programs address high, middle, and low-level offenders separately, and that programs include critical aftercare services.

The graduated sanctions portion of the comprehensive strategy employs the same risk and protective factors as Communities That Care in establishing effective juvenile justice sanctioning programs. The continuum of sanctions includes immediate sanctions for first-time and minor offenders, intermediate sanctions for serious and repeat offenders, and secure care for the violent few.

Gangs and Criminal Behavior

Moderator: *Winifred L. Reed, Program Manager, Office of Research and Evaluation, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *G. David Curry, Associate Professor, Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri*

Cheryl Maxson, Research Associate, Social Science Research Institute, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California

Irving A. Spergel, Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

Professor Curry

In 1992, I conducted a survey that gathered information from the 79 largest U.S. cities and 43 smaller cities which had been included in the OJJDP/University of Chicago national survey in 1988. This project was extended in 1994, to update information from the 122 municipalities and eight counties included in the 1992 survey. We expanded the survey geographically to include data on all U.S. cities ranging in population from 150,000 to 200,000 and a random sample of 284 municipalities, ranging in population from 25,000 to 200,000. (See Appendix D.)

Currently, the primary sources of national data on gangs are the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and a limited number of surveys from academic institutions. The UCR data has widespread participation from law enforcement agencies throughout the country, has uniform definitions, and is centralized. Compared with UCR data, other national statistics are not controlled, do not use uniform

definitions, and are limited to a few departments at universities. This survey represents the largest and most comprehensive national survey of gangs to date.

The NIJ survey included any jurisdiction that had groups referred to by police as gangs. These organizations were involved in criminal activity and had youth participation. The limited national findings from the 1992 and 1994 surveys indicated an increase in gangs in all of the cities surveyed. Proliferation of gangs was indicated by a higher number of gangs, more cities reporting gangs, and a higher amount of gang-related crime.

In 1994, for the largest U.S. municipal jurisdictions (with populations of 150,000 or greater), 89.5 percent of law enforcement agencies reported gang crime problems. Of all cities with populations greater than 25,000, 57.8 percent reported the presence of a gang crime problem.

We should have considered areas with an even lower population. There were some decreases too. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which had had a long-term gang problem, reported that the gangs were no longer active. However, a very conservative estimate of the national-level gang problem (based only on numbers that were officially reported) is 8,625 gangs, 403,670 gang members, and 439,535 gang-related crimes for 1993. Reporting is problematic in the smaller cities. A more reasonable, statistical estimate of the national-level gang problem, based on data that we have gathered in the survey process and including more cities, would be 16,643 gangs, 555,181 gang members, and 580,331 gang-related crimes for 1993.

Dr. Maxson

My NIJ-funded study of gang migration began in 1992. It examined the proliferation

of gangs. We were able to identify 790 cities and towns that had local gang problems. We looked at the role of gang migrants from urban gangs in the emergence of gangs in mid- and small-sized cities. The study focused on the franchising, mainly by Los Angeles and Chicago gang members, of crack cocaine distribution operations. This study looked at the national scope of gang migration, the nature of such migration, the profile of gang migrants, the impact of gang migration on destination cities, and the local response to gang migration. The study sought to answer the question: Do gangs which have migrated require different prevention or intervention strategies than indigenous gangs?

Our first task was to identify cities which had gang migration. We constructed a census of 1,100 cities with populations over 100,000, together with some smaller cities. Law enforcement agencies were surveyed regarding gang problems. The response rate was about 95 percent, and we received quite a bit of information about gang migration in those cities. A street gang was defined, for our study purposes, specifically in connection with drug activities. We also considered gang members' migration for any reason, either temporary or permanent. As a general definition, gangs could be called groups of adolescents or young adults who both see themselves and are seen as a group, and who have been involved in enough crime to be of considerable concern to law enforcement and the community. Drug gangs may be separate subgroups of street gangs, or they may develop independently.

When gang members from other cities visit an area for at least a few days or move permanently to a given city, gang migration has occurred. Migration can be from neighboring cities or from across the country and can occur for any number of reasons. Although gang migrants necessarily were gang-involved while living elsewhere, they

did not have to continue gang activity in their new location to fit this definition.

Migration patterns from 1985 show some clustering in the California and New York areas. By 1987, there were more than twice as many cities reporting gang migrants. Dispersion escalated so that by 1992, there were gangs present in 710 cities throughout the country. Researchers found gangs to be present in 155 cities with populations of at least 100,000 (over 80 percent of all cities that size); 159 cities with populations of 50,000 to 100,000; 306 cities with populations of 10,000 to 50,000; and 90 cities with populations of 10,000 or less.

Although most of the surveyed cities had experienced some gang migrants, very few had experienced many of them. We think of this as a broad but shallow phenomenon. Using a random sample of 200 cities, drawn from cities that had reported at least 10 gang migrants, we did further surveys and interviews of law enforcement. Black gang members were somewhat more likely to migrate than Asian, Latin, or white. Survey findings from responding law enforcement indicated that two-thirds of gang migrants came from the Los Angeles area and 13 percent from Chicago. Most traveled less than 100 miles and stayed at the destination city for three months or more. There was frequent social contact between migrated gang members and the gang in their city of origin. Migrants have similar profiles to gang members in general, and one type of gang member is not more likely to migrate than another.

As to why the migrants came, most gang members migrated for social reasons (57 percent) that included family, relatives, or friends. The second most important reason for the move was drug market expansion. Thirty-two percent migrated due to "pulls," or extralegal incentives like drugs and opportunities to commit other crimes. Eleven percent migrated due to "pushes,"

which refer to local pressures like police crackdowns, court orders, or problems in the gangs. Cities considered "pull" cities had certain characteristics in common. They were more likely to be large, southern cities, for example. Gang members migrating to such areas were also likely to be older. "Pull" cities would be good targets for heightened law enforcement activity, while cities where gang movement related primarily to social reasons would probably be better targets for social and early intervention efforts.

Law enforcement agencies report that migrants had an impact on local gang structure and rivalries and that gang migrants had a substantial influence on crime in the destination communities. In particular, thefts, robberies, and assaults increased. In interviews, however, gang members who have migrated report that their criminal activity decreased, that they commit fewer crimes when they migrate.

Researchers conclude that migration is not usually the cause of gangs in cities. Most cities had gang troubles before any migration occurred. Law enforcement officials reported that their cities would have had gangs even without migration of gang members. There is quite a bit of clustering of gang migration, with migrants having gone a relatively short distance. In that respect, researchers noted that regional gang databases would really be more useful than a national one. Los Angeles already has quite an extensive information exchange among law enforcement agencies. Up to 90 percent of respondents said they had at least some information sharing within their state, but most did not consider this to have any impact on gang migration. There was no evidence in our data that migration was the cause of gang proliferation.

Professor Spergel

I am directing the Little Village Gang Violence Reduction program, a collaborative

effort of the Chicago Police Department, Cook County Adult Probation, the Social Services Administration of the University of Chicago, and a host of local community organizations. The purpose of the program is to reduce the prevalence and incidence of gang-related crime and violence in Little Village, a low income, primarily Mexican-American district of Chicago, which has been plagued by gang violence.

We are at the end of the third year of a four-year demonstration and research project, supported by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) and the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority. The project is administered by the Research and Development Division of the Chicago Police Department, with subcontracts to the University of Chicago and the Cooke County Probation Department for various components of the project. Many other community, youth, court, and church organizations have also been involved with the project. It focuses on older (17 to 24 years of age) hardcore gang youth. Suppression, social intervention, provision of opportunities, and community mobilization strategies are employed interactively.

Competition for resources within participating organizations and limited economic and employment opportunities for gang youth have been obstacles. Lack of local resident involvement in the community is typical in areas where gang crime is prevalent.

Data have been collected at the police district level, through interviews in the community with residents, businesses, and 108 gang members. Information about worker efforts and community perceptions was obtained; aggregate police statistics were gathered; and numerous research procedures were employed to evaluate the program. A key element for evaluation was our Gang Violence Index, which was developed to assess serious gang-related

incidents or arrests (homicide, aggravated battery with firearm, etc.).

For district-level analysis, findings were compared with information on beats in six other police districts, which were similar in population and gang activity to Little Village. There is no clear evidence of increase or decrease in gang violence comparing one district with another in the pre-program period. Incident data indicate that the seven districts have all had increases in gang violence. Our program did have an impact, lowering the *rate of increase* of gang violence in Little Village. Offender data indicated, for 187 hardcore shooters and influentials of the Latin Kings and Two Six gangs, a relative decline in gang violence for the Little Village district. Data also indicate a decline in the presence of certain "outsider" gangs. Offender data represented exclusively males. In the targeted six police beats, less than 2 percent of gang crime offenders had been female.

The surveys of community organizations and interviews with residents indicated that residents *perceived* a reduction in gang crime, property and violent crime, and drug dealing (for drug dealing, police records contradict this perception). Gang members reported in interviews that they were less involved in violence and drive-by shootings.

The findings show certain significant predictors of gang violence, particularly the easy opportunity for illegal activity (idle time, unemployment) and prior criminal record. Gang members who were heavily involved in street-level drug dealing were also likely to be most involved in violent crime. Age was not found to be an adequate predictor of violent crime. Greater involvement of youth in prevention and intervention programs was found to be a predictor of less gang violence.

Predicting Offender Recidivism

Moderator: *John Hepburn, Professor,
School of Justice Studies, Arizona State
University, Tempe, Arizona*

Presenters: *Pamela K. Lattimore,
Social Science Analyst, National
Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of
Justice, Washington, D.C.*

*Kenneth Robinson, President,
Correctional Counseling, Inc., Memphis,
Tennessee*

*Norman Skonovd, Research Manager,
California Youth Authority, Sacramento,
California*

*Rudy Haapanen, Chief, Ward
Information and Parole Research
Bureau, California Youth Authority,
Sacramento, California*

Dr. Lattimore

This morning I will be talking about some work in progress at the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The study is a collaborative effort of Visiting Fellow Richard Linster; William Bales, Director of Research and Statistics; Harry Dodd, Director of Probation at the Florida Department of Corrections (FDOC); and myself. This project started about five years ago and has proceeded at a glacial pace. We are very excited that we will finally be able to begin implementation in the fall of 1995.

The purpose of the study is to determine whether it is possible to use data from management information systems and statistical models to "automatically" classify probationers as minimum, medium, or maximum recidivism risks. Then we want to use outputs from the model for another system, which would provide local or regional level information.

We became interested in doing this project for many reasons. Due to a lack of

resources, the FDOC currently has no classification system for probation. Their system is calendar-based and does not provide for risk assessment. Probationers spend a certain amount of time in each classification (maximum, medium, and minimum) before being moved to the next level. Populations of people on probation are growing and changing. These demands are stressing the system.

FDOC is providing data for model development and funding the reprogramming of its computer system to generate model-based classifications from MIS data. We will work together to pilot-test the program.

The approach we have taken estimates the probabilities of various kinds of outcomes during a given period of time for probationers. The things that could happen include:

- Revocation for new arrest,
- Revocation for technical violations,
- Absconding,
- Release, and
- Active probation.

If FDOC had a model that would allow estimating the probability of these actions, it could then classify probationers as either maximum, medium, or minimum risk and make better use of its resources.

Information system inputs for offenders are readily available in the Florida system. Researchers know that when doing research in the criminal justice system, the biggest problem is missing variables. We tried to minimize missing values by concentrating on basic values, such as age, gender, current offense, number of prior prison commitments, and number of prior probation sentences.

We began a demonstration model after testing our initial model on a random sample. The sample test clearly showed that we had underestimated the role of

correctional and judicial policy in our model. After making the appropriate adjustments, we developed a demonstration model based on approximately 45,000 probation cases. We used logit analysis models for six-month outcomes for revoke (arrest), revoke (technical), abscond, release, and still active.

The model looked at 500 randomly selected cases, representing a one-month probation enrollment in Florida. The aggregate results show a good fit. Not only do these results give an overview of the expected fit, but they also show the office-level statistics that you can get and use for comparison purposes. These are measures a supervisor can use to gauge office performance.

Next, we randomly selected ten cases to see how individual profiles looked. We wanted to see what the model told us about individual behavior. We found that in terms of predicting probation outcome, we can distinguish individuals based on fairly limited demographic information. This kind of information could help probation officers determine or predict potential problems with their cases.

We are currently working with data from 1991 through 1994 in Florida. We plan to replicate the model using this data. Florida will then field-test the method in selected probation offices. We will evaluate the implementation and impact of the field tests and develop workload models.

Mr. Robinson

Let me begin by telling you a little bit about myself. Since 1987, I have been working on a cognitive behavioral program, which we began implementing in a local correctional institution in Memphis, Tennessee. As a psychology graduate assistant in 1975, I was assigned to the mental health unit of a local detention facility. This was one of the first LEAA-funded facilities in the country. At that

time, I became interested in understanding offender recidivism.

After working with offenders for over ten years, we began evaluating repeat offenders. We found that our program was not making a substantial difference in recidivism rates. We reviewed our therapeutic community model to see (1) if there were better ways to address specific problems of the individual offender, and (2) if we could improve our concept of how the peer hierarchical system worked. We came up with Moral Reconciliation Therapy™ (MRT) training.

MRT is a cognitive-behavioral treatment system now utilized with offenders, substance abusers, juveniles, and others with resistant personalities. Developed in 1985, the system has a beneficial impact on the personality and decisionmaking skills of participants. There are seven program components:

1. Confrontational assessment of self
2. Assessment of current relationships
3. Reinforcement of positive behavior and habits
4. Positive identity formation
5. Decrease of hedonism
6. Ability to do something for someone else without the expectation of gain
7. Development of higher stages of moral reasoning

Since 1988, we have been collecting reincarceration and rearrest data on MRT-treated offenders. I will briefly summarize rearrest and reincarceration results on a group of felon offenders and a group of DWI offenders, six years after MRT treatment and offender release.

The study was conducted in December 1994 at the Shelby County Correctional Center (SCCC) in Memphis, Tennessee (a 3,500 bed facility housing both felons and misdemeanants). A computer search of participants' arrest records was used. Participants in the felons' study included 70

male felons treated with MRT and released between 1987 and 1988 from the SCCC. The treated group was compared to a control group of 82 felons who applied for MRT treatment and were released during the same time period. Both the control group and the treated group were randomly selected, as the number of treatment slots was limited. Subjects' ages in both treatment and control groups averaged 24.5 years, and their average sentence length was 2.9 years.

Participants in the DWI study were a group of 115 MRT-treated multiple DWI offenders, with an average age of 36.6 and an average of 4.4 prior DWI convictions. They were treated and released from the SCCC in 1988. These were compared to a randomly formed control group of 65 multiple DWI offenders who applied for MRT treatment during the same time span but did not enter due to limited bed space.

After analysis, we found that the MRT-treated felons showed a six-year reincarceration rate of 42.9 percent as compared to 58.5 percent for nontreated felony controls. Subsequent one-way chi-squared analysis showed that the MRT-treated felon offenders had significantly lower reincarceration than controls. MRT-treated felons' recidivism rate was 27 percent less than nontreated controls.

The MRT-treated DWI offenders showed a 40 percent reincarceration rate six years after release, compared to 52.3 percent for nontreated controls. Sixty-one percent of treated DWI offenders were rearrested at least once during the six years after release, compared to 73.8 percent of nontreated DWI controls. Subsequent analysis showed little difference between the felon and DWI groups. Overall, MRT treatment resulted in a recidivism rate nearly 24 percent less than nontreated controls.

In January 1995, the Tennessee Department of Correction released its first two-year recidivism study of all released felons. The data show that, after two years

of release, 39.2 percent of Tennessee felons are already reincarcerated as compared to only 22 percent of MRT-treated felons and 32 percent of nontreated controls. Even nontreated controls have a substantially lower reincarceration rate than the general inmate population. Nontreated controls are typically more highly motivated to reform than the the general inmate population.

In summary, MRT treatment results in lower reincarceration and rearrest rates for all offenders, even six years after release. MRT does not appear to lower DWI rearrests specifically; however, in all other categories of rearrest and reincarceration, MRT treatment results in fewer arrests and lower reincarceration rates.

Mr. Skonovd

In this two-part presentation, I will present some background on our recidivism study and Rudy Haapanen will present an overview of our analysis in progress.

Basically, this is the second phase of a major project that looks at two release cohorts of California Youth Authority (CYA) institutional releases. The first phase of the project began almost ten years ago when, in conjunction with the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, we assembled a large data set on 2,000 releases in fiscal year 1981-1982. We developed two risk prediction instruments. One predicted violence and one predicted the general risk of recidivism. The instruments were presented to our Youthful Offender Parole Board and the CYA for use in making release decisions. Both groups decided not to use the instruments. The CYA considered using the instruments, but finally decided that it was not clear whether the instruments were predictive. They were not sure it would be worth expending scarce resources. The bottom line was that our population was changing considerably. By the end of the decade, we would need to look again at risk prediction.

At that point, we collected data on another 2,000 wards released in 1986-87. We discovered considerable changes. The length of stay went from 14 to 21 months. The institutional population increased 48 percent. This corresponded to increasing violence, drug use, and gangs on the streets and in institutions in California.

We were very interested to see if earlier instruments could still predict recidivism in the most serious cases and over a longer period of time. So, in addition to the new data on 1986-1987 releases, we went back and collected seven years of data on the 1982 cases so that we had ten years of data on the original cases.

We are also examining increased length of stay. Does it make a difference in recidivism rates, and is the public better protected? In other words, are the policies developed in California during the 1980s resulting in greater public protection? As the length of stay increased, the parole board also increased rates of parole revocation from 64 percent to 70 percent over a two-year period. What was happening? Parole success was definitely decreasing, but was the public better protected?

Unfortunately, most released offenders are only tracked while on parole—generally less than 24 months. So we looked at rap sheets to complete our data. By doing this, we found that arrests went down from 73 percent in 1981 to 71 percent in 1987. It looked as if we were seeing less criminal activity. We are in the middle of our risk prediction analysis; but it appears that our 1981 instrument does predict very well on the 1986-1987 data, as well as for the ten-year follow-up data.

We are working on improving the instrument. Part of that improvement includes examining the impact of mortality. We found an increasing rate of death three years following release for the 1981-1982 wards and the 1986-1987 wards. The earlier group's death rate contained 12 homicides, compared to 48 in the later group. We are finding that the homicide rate for this group increased dramatically in the later 1980s and early 1990s.

Rudy Haapanen will introduce some of our preliminary findings.

Dr. Haapanen

We wanted to consider possible differences in our second sample. Even though we have just scratched the surface of our analysis, I want to give you a quick picture of the differences in these two groups.

The groups looked very similar coming in and out of the system. Due to the changes in California policy, the 1986-1987 wards served sentences that were six to eight months longer. We are trying to determine if there is value in this increased incarceration time. Because so many other factors are involved, it is difficult to determine the accumulated impact of longer incarceration. It looks like the 1986-1987 sample has fewer overall arrests. That group also has a much higher arrest rate for drugs, but it has a lower arrest rate for property offenses. Among other fascinating leads for future research, our analysis reflects the influence of drug use in criminal careers. A draft report of our findings should be available in a few months.

Innovative Prosecution Programs—Panel 1

Moderator: *Ann Taylor, Visiting Fellow,
National Institute of Justice, U.S.
Department of Justice, Washington,
D.C.*

Presenters: *Michele Sviridoff,
Research Director, Midtown Community
Court, New York, New York*

*Jay M. Cohen, First Assistant District
Attorney and Counsel, Kings County
District Attorney's Office, Brooklyn, New
York*

*Barbara Boland, Visiting Fellow,
National Institute of Justice, U.S.
Department of Justice, Washington,
D.C.*

Ms. Sviridoff

The Midtown Community Court (MCC), which opened in October 1993, was designed in response to problems that are common in large urban jurisdictions: crowded chaotic conditions, community dissatisfaction with the court's response to quality-of-life offenses, a limited range of intermediate sanctions for low-level offenders, and the need for constructive responses to the problems of defendants. The MCC is an effort to turn a court of limited jurisdiction into a community-focused, problem-solving court.

Building on the principles of community policing, the MCC works with community groups and social service providers to develop an array of constructive responses—such as local community service projects and court-based drug treatment—to low-level offenses arising in Times Square and the surrounding residential neighborhoods. The MCC combines court processing, immediate imposition of community service sanctions, and social services under one roof.

Research by MCC staff and the National Center for State Courts, with funding by NIJ and the State Justice Institute, is examining the implementation and effects of the MCC during its first 18 months.

In the old, centralized court, judges were frustrated by a poor range of options: guilty parties would either walk or go to jail. The police, too, were frustrated because of the length of time it took to process a misdemeanor. In many court situations like that, the process itself is a punishment.

The goals of the MCC are these:

- Community restitution
- Using the moment of arrest to assess need for treatment
- Making justice faster and more visible in neighborhoods where the crimes took place
- Establishing a wide array of alternative sanctions
- Using new technology to speed and track the process

Our research into the working of the court is designed to measure the attitudes of the community, the use of different sentences, the reduction in community disorder, and the effects on defendants. The final analysis of court outcomes is still under way.

The biggest implementation problem is the size of caseloads. The current load is about 58 arraignments per day. The arrest-to-arraignment time is way down, about 18 hours in the MCC versus about 35 hours in the downtown, centralized court.

One technological improvement is a detailed computer file on each arrestee. Employing a user-friendly interface, the system shows an arrestee's record, prior appearances at the MCC, drug test results, attendance at treatment meetings, and treatment options available. Among other

uses, judges can pull up this information to assist them in reaching dispositions.

About 75 percent of all cases are disposed at arraignment; of those dispositions, about 80 percent are alternative sanctions, such as community service. Community groups suggest specific work that should be done.

Every defendant meets with a health representative and is made aware of access to such court-based services as health, education, and employment assistance.

The police formerly complained about a lack of feedback on cases they brought in; now they get monthly reports from the court. The community has been pleased with the court's impact: reduced graffiti, cleaner streets, and less disorder.

Mr. Cohen

I am going to describe community justice programs in Brooklyn, where we are establishing public safety partnerships that include public housing.

Why establish such partnerships? Despite massive increases in law enforcement resources, prosecutors know that we still have tremendous amounts of crime. No legal system can succeed without the support of the community.

We have instituted three partnership programs: zone prosecution, Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison (DTAP), and the Legal Lives project.

In zone prosecution, we have divided Brooklyn into five zones, each with its own prosecution team. That cuts a city of 2.5 million people into five communities of about 500,000. Prosecutors must spend free time in their zone and get to know its people and problems. We are trying to make our zone prosecutors into problem-solvers instead of individual case processors. Since we went to the zone system, we have cut our case backlog in half, and our trial conviction rate has gone from 71 percent in 1989 to over 80 percent today. At the same time,

reported index crimes in Brooklyn have fallen each year.

DTAP is a 15- to 24-month residential drug treatment program with about 60 percent retention. The program is limited to nonviolent, drug-addicted offenders. Those who successfully complete treatment have the charges against them dropped. Those who do not complete treatment are arrested by a special warrant team that we have established and are prosecuted to the full extent of the state's second-felony offender law. On conviction, they go to state prison. DTAP graduates have a rearrest rate less than one-third that of other offenders who went to prison for the same crime.

In project Legal Lives, prosecutors spend 10 hours a month working with young students to help them learn right from wrong. Not only do the youths benefit, but their parents see that our office and our staff have a commitment to their community that goes beyond just arrests and prosecutions.

Why do we try community justice in public housing? Public housing areas usually seem like places of lawlessness. Residents of public housing are 20 percent more likely to be murdered than the general population of New York. If we could solve the problems in public housing, it would make a great difference in general public order.

At the Redhook public housing development, many of the 10,000 residents are afraid to go out after dark, and gunfire is common. We ran a series of focus groups and found a great fear of crime and a profound lack of faith in the criminal justice system. Residents lamented revolving-door justice, and they wanted to get to know the police.

Our response has been to listen to the community; obtain its opinions; and help with regular meetings, task forces, and other measures. We have also developed a public housing prosecutorial team for forging a relationship with the area. We hope to put

prosecutors in Redhook soon—we are putting a community court and justice center right in a satellite office in Redhook.

Tough law enforcement is still important, but we are convinced that these programs are vital if we are to reduce crime.

Ms. Boland

I am working on a project on community prosecution. Prosecutors all over are moving outside their offices and beyond their traditional case-processing roles. This is a grassroots response to community demands, to citizen complaints about disorder and crimes that do not get attacked properly at downtown prosecutorial offices.

As a Visiting Fellow for NIJ, I have been studying this subject in both Portland and New York. Disorder used to be primarily panhandling, prostitution, and noise. Now it is gangs, drugs, graffiti, and large numbers of homeless people.

In Portland, crime is not high by East Coast standards; but it exists, often in the form of drug markets. It is a nice city, and the law-abiding residents want to keep it that way.

Not long ago, a large district there was redeveloped into an entertainment and convention area. Just before the convention center was to open, crack cocaine hit an area just north of there. Business people did not want the area to be unsafe for visitors, so locals got together and asked both for more police and their own prosecutor.

However, with public disorder, the criminal justice system tends to resemble the use of a sledgehammer against thousands of

ants. There are many people in the area known as “illegal campers,” people who live in a nearby gulch, mostly able-bodied homeless persons, illegal aliens, and others. The locals felt this group might be responsible for much of the public disorder, such as fighting and theft.

In response, the police asked the illegal campers to leave. Next the locals were asked to drive by, look for illegal campers, and fax a precise description of the camper and his location to the prosecutor, who would send police down to ask the camper to leave. After a while, citizens themselves began asking campers to leave and to clean up after themselves.

Also in Portland, the North-Northeast area, a poor and minority district, had a great number of crack houses. Local groups asked for more police, the FBI, the National Guard, and any other help they could get. That was not feasible, but the police began to knock on the doors of drug houses and let occupants know the police were watching. Police also obtained a transfer of trespass rights from absentee landlords so they could go after trespassers. Police got local residents to track the comings and goings of people in drug houses in such a way that judges would then issue search warrants over the phone.

The involvement of the district attorney was essential to the local effort, because he had the leverage to bring the necessary players, such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to the table.

This is a new approach to solving public order problems that are not effectively handled by a downtown system of justice.



Workshop: Developing Surveys

Moderator: *Kellie Dressler, Assistant Director for Special Projects, Justice Research and Statistics Association, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Steven K. Smith, Chief, Law Enforcement and Adjudication Unit, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Daniel R. Storkamp, Director, Criminal Justice Center at Minnesota Planning, St. Paul, Minnesota

Ms. Dressler

Let me provide an overview for this session. In its continuing effort to help the states assess their drug control and violent crimes programs, the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) asked the states where they needed help. One recurring theme BJA has heard over the last few years is "survey." In response, BJA agreed with the Justice Research and Statistics Association (JRSA) to create a handbook series. One of these handbooks, which should be available soon, is going to be on surveys.

Dan Storkamp is going to show you how to conduct surveys at the state level. Steve Smith is going to talk about surveys at the national level.

Mr. Storkamp

First, I am going to go over some key concepts about surveys. Second, I have nine examples of surveys that we have done in the state of Minnesota. I will try to give you a little insight on what we did and how we did it.

Why do we want to do surveys? Surveys strive to systematically gather individuals' perceptions, opinions, or experiences to give insights to problems. We need information to identify what the

problem is, to determine how to solve the problem, and to determine if what we did actually worked. Surveys can be used as a tool to gather the needed information.

When I think of surveys, I think of a continuum. On one end, you have simple surveys, with one or two questions that you ask a few people, perhaps informally. This is a quick survey for getting information easily. On the other end of the continuum is the complex survey, in which thousands of individuals respond to hundreds of questions over a set time period. This type of survey is expensive to conduct and is very time consuming.

Two situations have come up in this conference where I think surveys fit well. First, as the Attorney General said, we need to ask participants and practitioners what they see as problems within particular programs. Second, every state can supplement its own database of information with surveys. They also suggest new sources for data.

In a simple survey that I did, I contacted 15 to 20 people and asked them three questions. What are the hot topics in criminal justice? What will the hot topics be in five years? Did the person have any suggestions for projects that we could do? The results were consistent, four years ago, with the hot topics of today.

Even if we do a survey of a population of 120 and only receive 30 responses, we are still getting some information that we did not have before. All surveys do not have to be scientific.

A survey that we just completed with the JRSA membership is an informal example. The point of the survey was to get background information and input from members. We wanted to know who the members were, what benefits they received from the organization, and how we could better serve them.

Our agency monitors the money from the federal Byrne block grant program. Each year we do a survey on crime. This year, we took a different approach. We sent a survey to 1,000 different practitioners, from law enforcement officers to judges and legislators. It was a simple survey that asked where they thought the Byrne money should be spent. The responses helped us set our priorities for the money. Prevention came up as the number one issue for monetary support.

Ms. Dressler

JRSA has a clearinghouse of surveys from the states. We have the actual instruments, and sometimes we have the results. We can also put you in contact with someone who can talk about the survey procedures. We encourage replication—it makes information gathering less expensive and less repetitive.

Mr. Storkamp

I want to talk about a couple of other surveys. We did a survey of the inmate population in Minnesota and asked them about their childhood experiences. We took these results and compared them to a student survey. Another survey asked probation officers what treatment programs were available within their area and recorded how many offenders were in their caseload.

I also want to add that the handbook will contain a glossary of terms and will contain methodologies for beginners.

Dr. Smith

For over 20 years, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has been conducting a wide variety of surveys and censuses to track information on crime and the operation of the criminal justice system. Our surveys range from very large, for example the National Crime Victimization Survey, to smaller surveys, such as agency surveys.

Sometimes surveys gather information, but the objectives are unclear. One technique that may be useful is to ask those who want the survey what kind of charts they want.

There are several problems in developing and distributing a national survey. One problem is determining the sample frame. You may not know how many agencies exist of the variety you wish to sample. Building this sample frame and making sure you are covering all of the relevant agencies are important in a national survey. Local universities and state legislatures are good resources for designing and augmenting your sampling frame.

Another area of interest for BJS is developing the survey instrument. We work very closely with professional organizations to accomplish this. For example, if we are doing a survey of prosecutors, we make sure to get information from the National District Attorneys Association.

Pretesting the survey instrument and collecting the data are also important. With regard to pretesting, you need to find out if you are asking questions that will tell you what you want to know. Data collection has gotten very expensive. With the advances of PCs and software, it is more practical, many times, to collect the data in-house.

Follow-up is necessary to achieve a high response rate. The first 50 percent might come in painlessly, but you are going to spend a lot of time and energy trying to get the rest of the responses. Response rates are down nationally, and people think this is due to the proliferation of surveys. Our response rates are generally 90 to 95 percent, if not higher. This is due largely to our follow-up efforts. We have some data collections where we can provide statewide information. However, most of our samples are drawn to represent the nation as a whole.

We also rely on other sources for data. These include the census data and some data collection that is done by professional

associations. In terms of data analysis and reporting, the computer can really help. The key here is to know your audience. The

questions, as well as the reports, can be tailored to fit their needs.



Workshop: Community Policing Research and Evaluation

Moderator: Wesley G. Skogan,
Professor, Northwestern University,
Evanston, Illinois

Professor Skogan

Instead of talking "at you" today, I would like to get all of you involved in a discussion. What are you doing in the area of community policing research and evaluation? What are you interested in? I will attempt to summarize the discussion.

Question: Is there a clear-cut definition of community policing?

Comments: Community policing seems to embody the following aspects:

- Administrative decentralization. Discretion, authority, and responsibility is moved down to the beat officer level.
- An opening of a new channel, which allows the citizens to reach out to officers who provide services.
- Calls are not assigned on a first-available car basis. Instead, community policing officers are responsible for a particular area and should be the first to react to a call in their area.
- Community involvement in identifying, defining, and responding to problems.
- An expanded police mandate to deal with a much broader set of problems.
- Community policing is not "all things to all people," but can be different things to different people

Question: Community policing evaluations need to consist of more than numbers. What is a proper evaluation component for evaluating community policing?

Professor Skogan: Many people are searching for ways to conduct evaluations.

Herman Goldstein pointed out that much of what the police have used in the past to monitor their performance is activity counting. The activity may have nothing to do with the outcome. In fact, the outcome sometimes gets worse as the activity becomes more efficient. Goldstein asserted that we need to restore the focus of police away from law enforcement and toward a much broader concept of policing. One of the biggest challenges in policing is discovering new activities and outcome measures to evaluate this effort.

Comment: We conducted evaluations in Delaware on community policing efforts. Initially, the number of citizen complaints increased. We attributed this to the fact that the citizens had become more comfortable with the community policing officers and were more inclined to report suspicious activity.

Comment: Perhaps it is easier to state what community policing is not, rather than what it is. An agency that still counts widgets is incident driven. It does not involve the community and is not doing community policing. If a kiosk is established without the input of the community in the planning and development stages, it is only a storefront substation. It is not an example of community policing. If officers are uncomfortable in talking with the public and still have the traditional law enforcement mentality, they are not community police officers. A department that puts absolute pressure on officers to handle calls, instead of finding and resolving the issues that generate the calls, is not committed to community policing.

Evaluations of community policing departments will find that calls for service and crime will increase. Response time will become longer. However, in addition, community policing agencies will also see a

rise in customer satisfaction. Customer satisfaction will be measured by a survey instrument or other feedback mechanism.

Community policing involves arrests, crime prevention, problem solving, and quality of life. Some chiefs would include the aspects in that order. However, community policing chiefs would reverse the list to have quality of life and problem solving as the top issues.

Question: What was the quality of problem solving efforts in the five prototype districts in Chicago?

Professor Skogan: During the first 17 months of Chicago's program, problem solving was not an everyday routine for beat officers. Getting problem solving underway at the grassroots level was very difficult. Many of the successes experienced by Chicago's first year program came from the successful integration of service agencies, which caused a decline in physical decay. In addition, there was extensive activity by community activists and professional organizers who came to Chicago to be involved in the program. I am not sure if the this success can be sustained unless the problem solving gets going.

Question: Why is problem solving so critical to the success of community policing?

Professor Skogan: Partly because the community has been promised that the police are going to have a much broader mandate, with citizen participation.

Question: How do you motivate police officers to get them interested in revitalization? What incentives can be used to encourage their participation?

Comment: Many older police officers will state that when they first became officers, they were motivated by the desire to serve the community. Incident-driven policing and the focus on enforcement removed them from the community. Today, these same officers are remotivated by the opportunity to again serve the community.

Professor Skogan: Before the program started in Chicago, 1,500 officers from the five prototype districts were surveyed. A series of questions was asked about their expectations of community policing. We found that 69 percent of patrol officers did not think there would be better police relations with members of minority groups once community policing was implemented. Fifty-six percent felt that citizens would not be more willing to cooperate with the police. More than half of the respondents did not believe community policing would induce the effective use of crime information.

We will continue to track these and other measures, as the project progresses. We also found that the respondents were deeply divided by race. For example, 55 percent of black patrol officers, compared to 77 percent of white respondents, felt that community policing would not improve race relations with minorities. Another divider was rank. We found that field officers were more pessimistic about the benefits of community policing than their supervisors.

Chicago is trying to overcome this pessimism through changing the officers' jobs, training, vision, and leadership, and by continued recognition of good solid police work. Changing the officer's job is important because what an officer does every day and the officer's responsibilities shape his or her behavior. Chicago has divided its patrol force into beat teams and rapid response teams. There is differential dispatching. However, there are no permanent assignments. The officers rotate their assignments. The exposure to different activities, supervision, and responsibilities will shape the officers' behavior and ultimately their attitudes.

Question: If community policing entails collaboration with other service agencies, what happens if they do not do their part?

Professor Skogan: The Vera Institute studied the integration of services in eight

cities involved in neighborhood oriented policing. The researchers found that there was a lack of integration and identified several explanations. One reason among many was that the other agencies viewed community policing as just for the police. They have their own budget, rules, and agenda. They do not provide a mechanism for the police to facilitate a referral or delivery of service.

Coordinating services is difficult but needed. Community members will tell you they are most concerned about problems that fall out of the traditional police mandate. We went to 146 community meetings and found that the most frequently occurring problems include the following, in order of frequency: drug dealing, youth problems, traffic enforcement, police disregard for residents, abandoned cars, curfew, litter, and loud music. Gunfire and burglary were further down the list. Police officers have the option of doing something about these problems or ignoring them. Most community policing efforts still have failed to respond to these community needs.

Comment: Richmond, Virginia, has a very high crime and homicide rate. The public wants greater police involvement. However, as the crime rate steadily increases, the police budget decreases by \$1 million each year. The only way to meet these budgetary demands is to cut salary,

overtime, and the number of positions. This limits the ability to implement community policing.

Professor Skogan: It is not easy, or free. A consultant firm calculated that in order to free between 30 and 40 percent of officers' time for community policing, to implement differential dispatching, and to continue an acceptable response to 911 calls, a department may have to make significant staff increases.

Comment: Community policing comes from the community. It is defined by community norms that dictate the community's level of tolerance toward certain activities. The police can inspire a change in these norms, but it is a mistake for the police themselves to try and change them.

Professor Skogan: We conducted 2,500 interviews with citizens in the five prototype areas in Chicago, as well as their comparison areas, before the community policing project was implemented. We found that there was a significant difference in public dissatisfaction between the black or Hispanic population and the white population. In addition, crime victims were very dissatisfied. After the project was implemented, there was a positive overall change in the community's view of police responsiveness.



Community Policing: Community Aspects

Moderator: *Sam McQuade, Social Science Program Manager, Law Enforcement Specialist, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *George L. Kelling, Professor, College of Criminal Justice, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts*

Justine H. Lovig, Project Manager, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Don Quire, Major, St. Petersburg Police Department, St. Petersburg, Florida

Mr. McQuade

Prior to joining the National Institute of Justice, I was a police officer for 17 years in Washington and Arizona. It is my privilege to moderate this panel featuring Dr. George Kelling, Ms. Justine Lovig, and Major Don Quire. The panelists will address both pure research and applied research as it relates to the community aspect of community policing.

Ms. Lovig

Most people agree the key ingredient to successful community policing is a strong partnership between the police and community. Though a great deal of research already exists regarding the role of the police in community policing, few studies have focused on the community's role. The Organizational Involvement in Community Policing study examined the role of community organizations in the implementation of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS).

We conducted 472 interviews with representatives of 250 organizations

throughout five prototype districts one year after the implementation of CAPS. Respondents were asked about the role of their organizations in the community policing program.

Our survey was designed to capture the differences in CAPS involvement and attitudes between various types of community organizations. The organizational survey revealed variation in the levels of involvement in CAPS-related activities as well as the impressions of organizational activists regarding the impact of CAPS in their communities. We found that the level of CAPS involvement related to many organizational factors. We also found that the five districts featured varying mixes of organizational life which either facilitated or inhibited involvement in CAPS.

We clustered 14 of 18 involvement items into three major categories of organizational involvement in CAPS activities: use of CAPS, promotion of CAPS, and involvement in turf-based CAPS activity. Organizations were designated as using CAPS if they were engaged in two of the following activities: working with beat officers, encouraging service requests, attending meetings, encouraging attendance at meetings, hosting or holding meetings, and distributing flyers. Organizations were identified as promoting CAPS if they reported involvement in one of the following: performing training, forming groups or programs, procuring funding, or contacting the media. Organizations were engaged in turf-based CAPS activities if they were involved in either neighborhood patrol or neighborhood block watch. Picketing was an indicator of both promoting CAPS and turf-based CAPS activities.

We found that 77 percent of the organizations used CAPS, 40 percent

promoted CAPS, and 44 percent were involved in turf-based CAPS activities. There was consistent variation among systemic organizational factors that affected levels of involvement in CAPS across the prototype districts.

We developed 12 basic characteristics of an organization's mission, structure, and geographic focus. We found that organizations likely to have a high level of involvement with CAPS tend to be proactive in their mission and have a grassroots orientation. They are informally organized, locally oriented, and membership based. These organizations tend to take on locally oriented missions such as crime prevention, neighborhood development, or expanding economic opportunities. In most cases, their mission is to serve the community as a whole. Organizations that tended to have less investment in CAPS were reactive in their missions, bureaucratic in their organization style, and focused on the needs of individuals (cultural, family services, religious needs).

There was considerable variation in the profile of organizations active in the different districts. However, the districts revealed patterns. In two of the five districts, the distribution of characteristics was consistent and showed a high level of CAPS involvement. Two other districts featured a mixed pattern of involvement, and another district was dominated by organizations consistently linked with low levels of CAPS involvement. It appears that some prototype districts already possessed an organizational life that meshed with the structure and mission of CAPS. These organizations found CAPS easy to support because it fell in line with the agenda they already had.

Overall, we found that almost 72 percent of those interviewed indicated that CAPS improved the relationship between the community and the police. Forty-seven percent felt that CAPS caused a decrease in

crime. We found the level of CAPs involvement to be positively correlated with organizations' assessment of the impact of CAPS.

Major Quire

I will attempt to temper the methodological research with some "reality research" from the viewpoint of a practitioner. Imagine you were a new chief of police or sheriff challenged with the transition of your department to community policing. How would you do it? What steps would you take toward organizational change?

In 1990, the St. Petersburg Police Department had a unique opportunity to explore these questions when a new chief of police, Curt Curtsinger, brought his vision of community policing to our department. As an outsider, Chief Curtsinger had to overcome the difficulty of inspiring the department to believe in him and share his vision.

To do this, he picked four officers, including myself, to go around the nation and conduct "reality research." The officers spent a total of 45 days at the police departments in Houston, Los Angeles, Portland, Reno, Aurora, Lansing, Madison, Newport News, Baltimore, and New York. The chief's goal was for us to discover community policing as a promising approach through our own experiences, to come back as champions of the concept, and to educate the rest of the department.

This journey demonstrated to me that police are continuing to do the same things, but expecting different results. The community has been telling us that we are not doing things the right way, but we have responded only with methods driven by traditional thinking. We discovered that there is a need to do policing in a different way. Because of this, I see a value in *community* as a philosophy.

When we came back from doing our research, we asked ourselves, "If you believe you need to have a change in the philosophical approach behind the way you do policing, should you do it with the entire department or through a specialized unit? Should you do it in conjunction with the community? We found that we had an ideal community to make this transition, because it had a stabilized population with a lot of service groups and activism. The community had inherent strength to build upon.

We conducted a comprehensive analysis of what was going on in the community as it related to calls for service and community concerns. We learned that many of the concerns of the community dealt with quality of life issues and fear of crime. Our survey also told us that there were many parts of the city that had no sense of community, the majority of which were high crime areas. Using CAD data, we created a matrix system to score our city, based on information such as number of neighborhood associations, crime watch groups, calls for service, and geographical size.

This information enabled us to establish and prioritize policing areas. We found that we did need a specialized officer in some places to establish trust and create a bond between the police and the community. Community police officers were encouraged to be innovative and proactive in their community policing efforts. They were instructed that they could do anything that was not unconstitutional, illegal, immoral, unethical, or against department rules and policies. In addition, the officers set their own hours, selected their own mode of transportation, and determined their own priorities.

Chief Curtsinger succeeded in mobilizing the community and getting the community to believe in a shared vision of community policing. Eighteen months later

he was fired. This is an example of a political reality that can hinder the success of organizational change. With all the turmoil this situation caused, the officers never lost faith in community policing. It was the first time many had bonded with the community, worked as a team, and achieved high job satisfaction. This bond between the community and police can be very powerful in effecting organizational change.

We are continuing to expand community policing through geographic accountability and sector command. We are measuring the impact of these approaches through a cluster approach with variables such as number of citizen contacts, number of hours on bike patrol, and number of citizen meetings attended. We have also created a computer system that enables us to measure our community policing efforts. In addition, it allows us to share strategies, internal and external resources, and lessons learned.

When we examined our community policing projects over a two-year period, we found that over 60 percent of the problems were resolved by resources other than the police department. Police officers acted only as facilitators. If we can mobilize the community, teach the citizens how to solve problems, and show them how to use the available resources, they can learn to solve their community's problems with little help from the police.

Professor Kelling

Although this is a discussion on community, I am going to talk about police discretion as it links to the community.

The American Bar Foundation conducted research in the 1950s on criminal justice agencies and discovered the presence of discretion at all levels of the system. Powerful government officials exercised enormous discretion, despite the widely held belief that they operated without any.

During the 1950s and 1960s, chiefs of police would assert that their departments enforced the law without any discretion. However, I believe these chiefs knew that the police department operated with a lot of discretion. They were content to let the general population believe they did not. Police were operating with discretion at the ground level as well as the higher levels. For example, the New York City Transit Police decided in the 1980s not to enforce the rules and regulations of the transit system, but instead to enforce laws against serious crime. This is discretion.

Since the 1950s, police departments have established systems for setting priorities that may or may not have anything to do with what citizens want. Police are just now beginning to listen to the community, but only in exceptional ways. The primary data gathering mechanism remains the traditional CAD system which is linked to 911 calls. The 911 systems are linked to categories of seriousness, and ultimately these drive police operations. Despite the shift towards community policing, departments are still organized around 911 in terms of their beat structure, definition of serious problems, use of traditional means of reporting (UCR), and allocation of police shifts. Police departments hold a substantial part of their police services in reserve for 911 activity.

One view of 911 is that it is a tactical means of dealing with serious crime. 911 serves two purposes. First, it gives police control over the definition of serious problems. Second, 911 provides a control mechanism for police officers themselves, because the 911 calls shape the kinds of situations to which they respond.

If you take 911 research seriously, the tactical value of 911 is nil. It contributes virtually nothing to the safety of the community, sequesters too many of the police resources needed to address the needs

of the community, and keeps the vast majority of police resources unaccountable to the demands of the public. Despite the shift to the community policing model, administrative discretion still exists to control and funnel demand. Police can still determine priorities without being responsive to the community. As a powerful ideological and political tool, 911 frees the police from being accountable to neighborhoods.

History shows the police department as an administrative agency. Laws and policies cannot be written so precisely that police do not retain enormous residual discretion. They are accountable for how they use that discretion. Administrative agencies with discretion are bound to make public declarations of their priorities in critical areas of public safety.

Community members have to think about participatory determination of police policies in public areas. Those determinations have to be made publicly, because the only way to control agencies with discretion is to make policymaking a public process. To move community policing forward, we must insist that the police enter into contracts with the public—contracts which are essentially the result of public policymaking processes.

Discussion

Question: Do police officers like to be community policing officers?

Major Quire: Unequivocally, yes. Police officers like working as community police officers because the work is more value-driven versus rule-driven. It also allows them to interact with the citizens and see how their work benefits the community. The definition of community policing has long been debated. However, I believe that community policing is policing as if the community were your family.

Firearms and Crime Control—Panel 2

Moderator: *Lois Mock, Program Manager, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *David Kennedy, Research Fellow, Program in Criminal Justice, Harvard School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts*

James Mercy, Acting Director, Division of Violence Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Atlanta, Georgia

Richard Rosenfeld, Associate Professor, Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri

Ms. Mock

First, we are going to hear about two National Institute of Justice (NIJ) demonstration evaluation programs that deal with juveniles and gun violence. One of these is in Boston, and the other is in St. Louis. Then we will hear about a project by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC).

Mr. Kennedy

The Boston project is a problem-solving policing approach to juvenile gun violence. We are trying to base interventions on analysis. We spent six months working with interagency groups. The primary agencies were the Boston Police Department; the regional office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF); the state probation office; both the U.S. and the Suffolk County Attorneys' offices; the mayor's office; and the Department of Public Health.

We proceeded with two major assumptions. One was that the majority of

guns in the hands of juveniles were from the black market. The other was that self-defense and fear are the biggest reasons for juveniles to purchase guns.

We found that the problem is very highly concentrated. Juvenile gun violence occurs in the minority areas, representing about 30 percent of the city's population. It is also very highly concentrated among known offenders. Twenty-five percent of those juveniles who have killed other juveniles were on probation at the time. The percent of victims known to the criminal justice system is similar, but lower.

The kids are members, for the most part, of gangs or "crews." In three neighborhoods, we have identified about 60 violent groups. The violence is not primarily about drugs or territory. It is personal, almost familial. Sixty-five to 80 percent of the juvenile killings can be assigned to these groups. The total population of these groups is about 1,200. This accounts for 4 percent of the juvenile population in these neighborhoods.

The average gun dealer is a fence. Surprisingly, many of the kids only want new guns. We are not seeing a lot of guns from burglaries, but rather guns that are only a step or two from retail stores. The consumer preference for new guns seems similar to the desire for flashy cars and flashy sneakers.

I would say that less than half of the guns supplied to juveniles are from "professional" gun dealers. Many guns are purchased with drugs, sometimes out of state. The access to ammunition can be harder. Usually, family or crew members provide this. Also, there is no rental market for guns in Boston because sharing guns is extremely common.

The typical black market gun dealer is a recently unemployed security guard. Such a person receives a Massachusetts carry

permit when he passes the test. He may have lost his job or had money problems, and the security business has put him in touch with people who are in the market for guns. The permit goes with him when he loses his job, and he begins to buy guns from retail outlets and turns them around on the street.

One last thing we found is that there is a gross information deficit about rules and sanctions. Most kids do not know about gun laws. They do not know the difference between state and federal laws or the recent changes in Massachusetts law.

We are drafting a composite intervention program that will contain coerced demand reduction. The Boston Police Department "gets tough" with a neighborhood by serving warrants and checking up on kids on probation.

We need more leads on the supply side. We are going to solicit information from arrestees on gun dealers and the gun market as part of their debriefing. The ATF is interested in doing stings around identified violent offenders and high-volume gun dealers. Kids want particular makes of guns, such as Glock and IntraTec. This consumer information is going to make more powerful stings possible.

Finally, we've been talking with the state about creating a new license category for security guards. This would be a "to, from, and at work" permit. It would allow the employee to possess only one gun.

Professor Rosenfeld

I want to do two things. I would like to highlight for you the basic themes of the intervention program in St. Louis. Then I want to show you some of the results from the initial monitoring activities in this project.

The intent in St. Louis is to create a multi-faceted set of interventions across a variety of settings. This would involve three types of interventions to learn more about,

and ultimately reduce, violence. Our objectives involve monitoring and mentoring.

The monitoring activity builds a rich and reliable data inventory on violent acts and actors. The data sources include police records on crime, calls for service, and other community-based indicators of gun violence.

Secondly, we want to carefully select young men and teenagers for the purposes of the mentoring program. We have joined with our local Americorps group to establish a pilot mentoring project that will involve the assignment of two full-time Americorps volunteers. The mentoring will be relatively conventional. It will have a high level of adult supervision, skill enrichment, and empowerment. This program differs only in its targeting of older adolescents.

Finally, we have assault crisis teams. The teams will be composed of law enforcement personnel, a probation and parole officer, a local health official, a local school representative, a social service representative, and members of the community. The teams will organize and monitor many of the crisis intervention activities. After training in conflict mediation and resolution, they will select incidents in which to prevent escalation of violence.

I now want to highlight some results from the data gathered on homicide and other violent crime in St. Louis by age of victim and suspect. The city of St. Louis appears to reflect the national picture. When violent crime is up nationwide, it is also up in St. Louis. The same is true for periods of decline.

There is an intriguing correspondence across age and over time in the number of homicide victims in the city. The lowest frequencies are associated with the youngest age groups.

If we look at the periods of 1980 to 1982 and 1990 to 1992, we see a particular

increase in the suspect category. The percent of juveniles who were suspects in the first period is 4.9. That number jumps to 15.1 percent in the 1990-1992 period. The percent of juvenile victims rose from 6.6 percent to 11.6 percent of all victims of homicides in St. Louis. The growth in juvenile violence is not a simple function of age changes.

Homicides in St. Louis are very highly concentrated among young black males. This is true for both the late teen and young adult years. In the 15- to 19-year-old category, 350 black males per 100,000 population are homicide victims. The number jumps to 600 per 100,000 in the 20 to 24 age category. In any given year, there is between 0.5 and one percent risk for homicide victimization in the young, black male population.

Virtually all of the homicides in St. Louis among young black males are committed with guns. Among adults, about 70 percent of homicides are committed with guns.

All these data show that if we could reduce gun activity even slightly and understand it a little better, we might be able to diminish gun violence.

Dr. Mercy

I have two objectives today. First, I will give you a rationale of why the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) are interested in gun violence. Second, I want to lay out a framework of the work we are doing in that area. We are looking not only at firearms in relation to violence, but also at a variety of factors.

Why is CDC looking into firearm injuries? CDC's mission is to improve the quality of life for all Americans by preventing unnecessary disease, disability, and premature death, and by promoting healthy lifestyles. A few years ago, CDC established a national center for the prevention and control of injury. Injury, all

types of injury, constitutes a tremendous public health problem. It is the leading cause of death for persons under 45 in this country. Injury by firearms, then, clearly falls within our mission.

How important is firearm injury as a public health problem? In 1991, if you took firearm homicides, firearm suicides, and firearm accidents and counted them as one group, firearm-related deaths was the eighth leading cause of death over all age groups. When you break this down, firearm injury is the second leading cause of death for people between 10 and 24 years old.

Another way to express the impact of firearm injuries is in terms of years of potential life. Here, each death is weighted by the number of years of lost life. The cut-off is age 65, so if you died at age 40, you lose a potential of 25 years of life. When you rank causes of death in this method, firearms rank as the fourth leading cause of death.

Another reason we're looking at firearm injury is the trend in the number of firearm deaths. We compared the trends of motor vehicle-related deaths to firearm-related deaths from 1968 to 1991. Motor vehicles are still the leading cause of injury death, but the time is fast approaching when firearms will surpass that as a cause of injury death.

As of 1991, the majority of firearm-related deaths were not homicides, but suicides. Forty-eight percent of firearm deaths were from suicide and 47 percent were from homicide, with accidents being a small percent of the total (4 percent).

We are collaborating with the National Electronic Injury Survey System to do a stratified sample of hospital emergency rooms in this country. The initial results cover the time period from June 1992 to May 1993. We estimate that, in that year, 100,000 nonfatal gunshot wounds were treated at hospital emergency rooms. In addition, another 32,000 injuries were treated that resulted from pellet and beebee

guns. Another 20,000 gun injuries fall into an "other" category.

We also looked at a youth risk survey of high school students. The data showed a steady increase in the percentage of students who reported carrying a gun in the 30 days prior to the survey. In 1990, it was a little over 4 percent; in 1991, it was 5.5 percent; and in 1993, it was 7.5 percent.

We have cooperative agreements to undertake data collection at the state level.

These state survey projects are using a variety of data sources, including medical and police organizations. A good example is the Weapon Related Injury Surveillance System in Massachusetts. It incorporates all of the state's relevant data systems.

Without proper knowledge, right action is impossible. We are trying to develop the proper knowledge, so that policymakers can make informed judgments on critical issues related to firearms.

Police Use of Force

Moderator: *Lawrence A. Greenfeld, Deputy Director for Statistical Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Geoffrey P. Alpert, Professor of Criminology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina*

William A. Geller, Associate Director, Police Executive Research Forum, Wilmette, Illinois

Mr. Greenfeld

Let me give you some information about the Bureau of Justice Statistics' role in law enforcement data collection. The 1994 Crime Act requires the Attorney General to maintain for research purposes a regular statistical series on the excessive use of force by law enforcement agencies. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has been given the lead responsibility for implementing this requirement within the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ). BJS recently assembled a panel of experts to provide suggestions on alternative ways to collect national data on the use of force. The suggestions included collecting sample data from police trial boards, civilian complaint review boards, internal affairs divisions, prison inmate interviews, agency administrative data on training and policies on use of force, reported incidents, police officer interviews, and civil court records on cases involving judgments against agencies for use of force.

Currently, DOJ collects data on excessive force primarily through the FBI and the Civil Rights Division. The FBI advises BJS that every allegation of law enforcement misconduct reported from field offices, media, or citizen complaints results

in some form of federal intervention, ranging from monitoring of agency actions to a full field investigation. In addition, BJS conducts a national survey in about 50,000 households twice a year, in which all family members 12 years or older are interviewed about their experiences with crime, consequences of crime, and interactions with law enforcement officers.

We collect a wide variety of data from about 17,000 local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies. Information collected from these agencies shows that virtually all departments with at least 100 sworn officers have a code of conduct and written policies on the use of force, the use of deadly force, and pursuit driving. Moreover, agency training for recruits varies from about 400 hours to 1,000 hours. Data shows that the size of the agency is directly linked to the number of preservice training hours required—the larger the agency, the more preservice hours.

At BJS, we are looking for suggestions and ideas on this challenging data requirement in the Crime Act.

Professor Alpert

I have researched the use of force after police high-speed pursuits. I will summarize some findings from a recent study I conducted in the area of excessive force.

Pursuit driving has become one of the most controversial and litigated topics in policing. We see the dangers and tragic results of these pursuits every day. High-speed pursuits create adrenalin-driven, "pumped-up" situations for officers, requiring them to apprehend the suspect in a very emotional atmosphere. The need to apprehend violators and enforce the laws must be balanced against the public safety risk. This calls for a balance in law enforcement agency policy and training.

Our research, funded by NIJ, collected and analyzed data on pursuit driving from law enforcement agencies in Miami, Florida; Omaha, Nebraska; and Aiken County, South Carolina. Care was taken to balance the size of the agency and the type of existing pursuit policy. The data came from official department records and policy, interviews with supervisors and officers, interviews with recruits before and after training, public surveys, and interviews with suspects who ran from the police.

Findings showed that about 51 percent of all arrests involved use of force, but that there was a significant difference between use of force reported in interviews (40 to 50 percent) and use of force listed in departmental reports (13 to 14 percent). Differences among the agencies could be explained by differences in agency policy, supervision, and training. However, overall differences between the interview data and use of force data in official reports may be due to underreporting by those involved in the incidents.

The study suggests that officer reactions in emotional situations can be controlled through proper agency policy, training, supervision, and accountability. Incidents of excessive force can be reduced if officers not involved in the original pursuit apprehend and take the suspect into custody.

Mr. Geller

I am co-editor of the Police Executive Research Forum publication, *And Justice For All: Understanding and Controlling Police Abuse of Force* (1995). I would like to discuss how law enforcement agencies can reduce the mixed messages they send to the public about the core values governing police activity.

If we, as law enforcement professionals, are serious about community values, safety, controlling use of force, and reducing public misunderstandings about these issues, we must pay special attention to the following important elements:

- Clear communication concerning police business
- Recruitment of officers and personnel
- Relationships with the community
- Agency training and education on violence reduction
- Intervention training and skills development
- Guided peer intervention training
- Responsive supervision
- Civilian overview and contributions to department investigations

Police departments' core values have to be consistently applied to all manner of police work, including use of force issues.

Innovative Prosecution Programs—Panel 2

Moderator: *Charles M. Hollis, Branch Chief, Prosecution Program, Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Donald J. Rebovich, Director of Research, American Prosecutors Research Institute, Alexandria, Virginia*

Wayne F. Steel, Director of Research and Grants, County of Maui, Wailuku, Hawaii

Susan Turner, Senior Researcher, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California

Dr. Turner

As a concept, "day fines" have been around for a while. RAND's evaluation of the structured fines demonstration projects examines effectiveness of fines. There is little research to guide jurisdictions, and current knowledge is mostly descriptive and based on a few programs. Given current policy interest, we wanted to be able to document outcomes. Poor evaluations have hindered past innovations. If programs document what they do, at what cost, and to what effect, they will likely gain support and funding.

Day fines attempt to bring structural gradation to the fines imposed, based on both the degree of the offense and the offender's means. The demonstration project is a multi-site collaborative effort. In 1991, BJA funded jurisdictions in Connecticut, Iowa, Arizona, and Oregon to implement means-based day fines. NIJ funded the evaluation of the day fines demonstration projects in Bridgeport, Connecticut; Des Moines, Iowa; Phoenix, Arizona; and Marion, Malheur, Josephine, and Coos Counties, Oregon. RAND's

evaluation grant was intended to look at the whole effort.

Structured fines can be used as an intermediate sanction. Results from the implementation analysis suggest differential success in implementing the program. Benchmarks specify numbers or ranges of penalty units for specific offenses, and an offender's daily income is calculated. The penalty units are multiplied by the daily income factor to establish the amount of the structured fine.

Each of the sites varied in their administration of the fines programs, target groups, and fine structure. As an example, I will highlight Phoenix's FARE program in this presentation. The FARE program has been administered by the county's probation department and targets low-risk, low-need offenders. Eight judges could impose fines, and other judges who could not impose fines in their programs served as comparison groups. For the study sample, researchers obtained sentencing tapes and selected defendants who were eligible for day fines. During the study period (1991 to 1992), there were 200 experimental and 200 control group subjects.

Sociodemographic profiles of the FARE and control groups were virtually identical. The FARE group had a lower rate of felonies (72 percent) and higher rate of misdemeanors (28 percent) as current convictions than the control group (82 percent and 18 percent respectively). Fifty-nine percent of the FARE group had no prior arrests, compared with 40 percent of the control group. Twenty-two percent of the FARE group were considered low risk, compared with 10 percent of the control group. Forty-nine percent in each of the groups were considered moderate risks. Twenty-four percent of the FARE group and 26 percent of the control group were considered high risks.

Fines were used most frequently for offenders charged with theft (50 percent), drugs (32 percent), and other offenses (11 percent). About half of the offenders in the FARE group had full-time employment, 13 percent were employed part-time; and the average income was about \$1,000 per month. Living expenses consumed the majority of an offender's income. Most FARE offenders would have received probation had they not been in the structured fines program.

The objective of the demonstration project was to reduce the workload for routine probation. The evaluation of the program showed that this objective was met. There had been concern that FARE program participants might be associated with increases in criminal behavior because they were under little to no probation supervision. Findings showed that 9 percent of FARE and 21 percent of control group participants had technical violations. Failure to report and drug violations were also significantly lower among FARE program participants. There was no significant difference between the two groups in the number of arrests. The evaluation findings indicated no adverse impact on public safety due to the fines program.

Dr. Steele

After a 61 percent increase in child sexual assault cases between 1991 and 1993, the Violent Crime Prosecution Unit of the County of Maui, Department of the Prosecuting Attorney, felt it was imperative to reduce the processing time of child sexual assault cases. Elapsed time between the receipt of the police report and the charging decision was reduced through a three-step improvement plan. This included (1) implementation of a rating system for prioritizing the handling of cases, (2) regular weekly team meetings, and (3) modification of the vertical prosecution model used in child sexual assault cases. Through the

Violent Crime Prosecution Unit, the department sought to reduce processing time in child sexual assault cases by 25 percent and eliminate backlog.

During the second grant year, which is still in progress, the department implemented a "clearinghouse" prosecution model. The unit prioritized the processing of cases by assigning categories. The initial category A, B, or C is assigned by the police detective conducting the investigation. A screening deputy working at the police station also reviews cases and determines a category rating in conjunction with detectives. If this rating differs from that of the police detective, it is discussed at the weekly team meetings.

Category A cases are judged to have a high chance for successful prosecution. These cases are likely to include confessions, physical corroboration, cooperative eye witnesses, multiple victims, etc. Category B cases include those judged to need development and which present problems for the prosecutor, such as one-on-one victim versus defendant situations, custody battles, sexually active victims, and other factors making successful case prosecution questionable. This category has the fewest cases. Category C cases are considered to have a very low chance of successful prosecution. These cases include statute of limitation problems, recanting by witnesses, very young victims with no physical corroboration, and other miscellaneous problems. These cases are immediately removed from the system as *nolle prosequi* cases. The rating system determines which deputies receive cases, and in which order cases will be reviewed. Prioritizing prevents attorneys from being preoccupied with category C cases, allowing other category A and B cases to deteriorate and quickly turn into category C cases.

The hallmark of the County of Maui's continuing Violent Crime Prosecution program is its open and consistent team

management approach. One improvement involved convening regular weekly meetings with members of the Maui Police Department child sexual assault team, victim/witness counselors, and the three deputy counselors in the Violent Crime Prosecution Unit. At these meetings, current cases and cases under investigation are discussed and information is exchanged. This results in a cooperative and coordinated approach to developing cases, improved communication among the involved parties, reduction in workload associated with exchanging information through letters and telephone calls, and accountability among the agencies.

Those who prosecute child sexual assault cases agree that the vertical prosecution model is most effective. Vertical prosecution occurs when one attorney handles a case from receipt of the report through final disposition. This model provides continuity of contact for the victim and attorney, eliminating the need for multiple interviews of the victim by different attorneys handling different stages of the prosecution. The Violent Crime Prosecution Unit modified this model slightly by delegating two unit deputies to perform screening duties, including making initial contact with the victim under the supervision of the unit supervisor. The senior deputy in the unit is the designated trial attorney in all cases that cannot be settled, and approves all plea agreements and nolle prosequi decisions.

Screening deputy prosecutors meet with the victims and their families during the pre-indictment and immediate post-indictment phases. Because the majority of cases settle

prior to trial, the child has usually been contacted by only one deputy, thus preserving victim and prosecutor continuity. For the few cases that proceed to trial, the senior supervisor is designated as trial attorney. The screening deputy is designated as "second chair," thereby maintaining continuity with the child. This system has encouraged a great majority of cases to settle prior to trial. If defense attorneys know they will face senior trial attorneys, plea agreements are more likely.

These improvements in the Violent Crime Prosecution Unit resulted in the reduction of processing time from 8.5 months to 3.9 months, the elimination of the department's backlog in child sexual assault cases, and higher conviction rates.

Dr. Rebovich

The American Prosecutors Research Institute developed and implemented a national mail survey of local prosecutors' offices, in order to gather information on the prosecution of bias motivated offenses and the use of sentence enhancements for these types of cases. The survey explored the policies and procedures essential to effective bias crime case preparation and prosecution. The survey collected data on bias crime sentence enhancement statutes, their frequency of use by local prosecutors, common obstacles to employment of the statutes, and how such obstacles can be overcome. This kind of sentence enhancement legislation has potential for local prosecutors throughout the United States.



Public Housing

Moderator: *Rosemary N. Murphy, Program Manager, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *Kenneth J. Finlayson, Principal Associate, Institute for Law and Justice, Alexandria, Virginia*

Susan J. Popkin, Associate, Abt Associates, Inc., Bethesda, Maryland

Margery Austin Turner, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Ms. Murphy

Welcome to the public housing panel. As you know, crime, drug, and gang activities have plagued public housing tenants for a number of years in the United States. Researchers and practitioners alike have been faced with the question: What can we do about the quality of life issues in public housing dwellings? Today we have a distinguished panel of experts who will present some current and past studies on public housing issues. Our first presenter will be Kenneth Finlayson.

Mr. Finlayson

I plan to talk about reducing crime by managing norms in the public housing environment. In particular, I will use the Jacksonville, Florida, Housing Authority demonstration we did last year to show how we shifted responsibility for crime reduction from the police to the management of public housing, how we re-engineered the focus of the agency to support that shift, how we targeted the status quo residents as the original motivators of change, and how we worked collaboratively with the community policing unit to reduce crime.

The demonstration tested the following hypotheses:

1. The primary responsibility for crime reduction and crime prevention rested with housing management, rather than the police.
2. Crime is not inherent in low-income communities. It is socialized into the community; therefore, it can be socialized out of the community.
3. The level of tolerance to crime is modulated by the people supporting the status quo, which represents over 80 percent of any population. Solutions to crime reduction originate with that group, rather than the small number of pro-social residents.
4. Public housing managers offer a broader range of solutions to crime management than the police, and therefore are more effective.
5. Community watch or resident patrol programs, operated as a single program, are ineffective.
6. UCR data, even by reporting area, is not useful information for managing crime reduction programs.

The Jacksonville Housing Authority has 3,300 units in 16 communities spread over 40 miles. We estimated that the resident population included approximately 80 percent status quo residents, 10 percent problem residents (the bad guys), and 10 percent pro-social residents, who typically try to work for the betterment of the community.

The resident association president in every community represented the status quo. We found that, in a high crime community, when we attempted to negotiate a crime reduction program, the resident association president would not negotiate beyond the high fear level manifested in the population. Rather than address crime, they would

invariably push for social programs for the community.

At the beginning of the program, it became clear from observation that the greater the level of tolerance to crime articulated by the status quo, the less pro-social behavior would be exhibited by that small percentage of residents. In other words, the higher the crime, the less visible the pro-social resident. The lower the level of tolerance to crime, the more the community exhibited pro-social behavior. So in designing a crime reduction program, we found it unrealistic to target the pro-social resident as a vehicle for change.

The solution lay in the realization that the status quo resident mirrored the housing authority status quo. In other words, drug dealers trafficked drugs in public housing because they were allowed to. I knew that by changing the status quo management of public housing, I would automatically engage the resident status quo.

We did this through classic re-engineering theory:

- Start with a sense of urgency
- Create a collective mission statement
- Change the policies and organizational structure to support the goal, and
- Demand accountability for the results.

The sense of urgency was obvious. We merely needed to state it in a positive planning context, rather than as a reaction to a shooting. The process we chose to articulate the mission statement was the Admissions and Occupancy policy.

We started with confirming the sense of urgency, which was easy. No one wanted to publicly state they favored crime. For several weeks, we negotiated the management procedures for reducing crime in public housing. They were tough, but because of the negotiated process with the status quo residents, they were fair. The

most effective part of the policy change was requiring managers, when hearing rumors of criminal behavior, to call in the family, confirm the problem, and work on a solution, rather than calling the police.

Because the manager was required first to try to work with the residents to solve the problem, the process of "snitching on your neighbor" gradually took on a more positive framework. The residents knew if someone in their family was doing something wrong, they would want a chance to learn about it and discuss it with management, rather than finding their son handcuffed in the back of a patrol car after a sweep, and then getting an eviction notice. The new norm of the community stated, "I'm not going to lose my home," and tolerance to crime plummeted.

To accomplish this we had to change management's frame of reference. This wasn't easy. On-site managers are just as afraid as the status quo residents. To a person, they insisted that the management of crime was a police responsibility. To test this belief, we identified some of the variables that contributed to crime in public housing. We found the following:

1. The more problem residents move into public housing, the more the status quo tolerates crime.
2. The more problem residents act out behavior that is tolerant of crime, the more the status quo population mimic the behavior to appear compliant.
3. The longer minor, anti-social behavior remains unchecked, the quicker it becomes major, anti-social behavior. This progressive increase affects the status quo population who mirror the increase in anti-social behavior.
4. The higher the tolerance to crime and the more the problems, the more the pro-social residents will refrain from pro-social behavior.

5. The higher the tolerance to crime, the more problem families will move in and the more pro-social families will move out.
6. Persons arrested for crime in public housing typically return to the community the same day and continue the behavior.

It became abundantly clear that addressing these variables was a management responsibility, not a police responsibility. Managers now saw the importance of addressing minor problems quickly, encouraging pro-social behavior, taking action on the problem families, and demanding that the application process include adequate screening.

As the tolerances to crime decreased, the pro-social residents became more active and, most importantly, the status quo supported the movement toward zero tolerance and a more healthy community. The 80 percent, by sheer numbers, began to create strong momentum toward zero-tolerance norms.

Now bring in the police! The community policing efforts were critical to the improvements. Rather than taking a primary role for crime reduction, the police supported management's efforts. Managers were now getting great information from the status quo on who "the bad guys" were. We would sit together and do what I called "triage" the community. We identified the top problem families. Through surveillance, undercover buys, bike patrols, and other interdiction tactics we confirmed the information. These problem families were then evicted. Importantly, the process conformed with the policies and procedures of the mission statement, with which the status quo residents agreed.

The police kept extensive records. However, the best crime data was the feedback from residents on the perceived reduction of the level of crime and the decrease in fear of crime. A periodic

resident survey on perception of crime and fear levels, in my opinion, is the only useful data for managing crime in public housing.

What we found with the demonstration in Jacksonville was:

1. Crime reduction and prevention is primarily the responsibility of management, not the police.
2. Crime, while socialized in public housing, is not inherent in the population.
3. Crime is modulated by the status quo population.

Ms. Poplin

The evaluation of the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA) anti-drug initiative started in 1993. We are about half-way through collecting data. The reason for interest in this study was the focus on violence in the inner city and in severely distressed public housing communities. The debate continues over how to improve conditions in the worst developments and how to address both the management issues and the violence.

The question we were looking at in the evaluation was: Will a law enforcement-community empowerment model work in a situation where the housing is so distressed? Because the CHA manages some of the most troubled communities in the country, we felt that if the model could work here, it could work anywhere.

The CHA has been at the center of the debate on what to do about public housing. It is the third largest public housing authority in the nation and includes a large number of high-rise buildings. Poorly constructed in the 1950s and 1960s, these high-rise buildings have elevators and hallways on the outside of the buildings. Grates cover the hallways and make the buildings look like prisons. The original entrances were completely open and offered no security to residents.

Over the years, the buildings have seriously deteriorated. The Henry Horner Homes (10 minutes from downtown Chicago) are unlivable. They are covered with graffiti, the bricks are deteriorating, the elevators do not work, and the hallways are filled with urine, blood, feces, and garbage. Little greenery surrounds the high-rises, but there are plenty of abandoned cars and garbage.

About two years ago, there was an incident in the largest CHA development, the Robert Taylor Homes. This is the largest development in the world and includes 28 high-rises that run along a two-mile stretch. The incident started when children began falling out of windows. When CHA sent workers to install window guards, the workers were shot at by snipers. In response, CHA initiated an emergency sweep. They essentially raided the development. Consequently, the residents filed a law suit, which led to the establishment of a national policy on doing sweeps in public housing.

CHA's efforts to revitalize its developments have also received national attention. Some of the developments are scheduled to be torn down and redeveloped using a mixed-income model. Most recently, HUD has taken over the management of the CHA. This guarantees that activities in the CHA will be carefully watched.

I want to give you an overview of the program we have been working on and to introduce some of our preliminary results. In our study, we are using multiple methods to assess the anti-drug initiative. The study methods include:

- Door-to-door surveys
- In-depth interviews
- Analysis of crime statistics
- Ethnography
- Robert Taylor Homes intervention assessment

Door-to-door surveys are being conducted in three sites (Horner, Ickes, and Rockwell) at six-month intervals. We are tracking three buildings at each site and attempting to interview one resident from each unit in each wave. To date, we have completed three waves of the survey. It includes about 550 residents each time. We are getting an 80 percent response rate.

We are also conducting in-depth interviews with key informants at each development at three-month intervals. These include building presidents and other activist residents as well as selected staff. We have been interviewing some of the same residents since 1993. Interviews are taped, transcribed, and analyzed.

We will also be conducting a time-series analysis of incidence and calls-for-service data for the nine buildings in the sample from 1986 to 1996. As part of this effort, we are constructing a chronology of major events at CHA over this period.

Recently, we have added an ethnographic component to the study. We have an ethnographer who began working in all three developments in April 1995. The purpose of his observations is both to explain the differences between developments and to obtain the perspectives of a wider range of residents.

Finally, we are just beginning an assessment of the intervention that occurred in 1994, after the incident in the Robert Taylor Homes. At that time, the CHA instituted intensive police patrols in the Robert Taylor Homes. We will be using analysis of crime statistics, in-depth interviews, and ethnographic observations to describe the impact of these patrols one year after the intervention.

The CHA anti-drug program includes law enforcement programs such as "swarms" (sweeps that conform to the law), intensive patrols for all developments, the CHA police force, and the CHA security force. There are also drug prevention and

intervention programs that provide referrals to various treatment and counseling programs for family members. Mentoring programs for teen mothers and fathers are also available. Tenant patrols have been introduced. A new victim's services program has been started in two of the developments.

To give you an idea of the magnitude of this program, the cost during 1994 was \$77 million. The money came out of the CHA modernization fund and has been an obvious drain on their resources.

Since the wave three analysis of our evaluation is incomplete, I want to share with you some of the results of our wave two analysis. We looked at residents' perceptions of the following:

- Crime inside buildings
- Crime outside buildings
- Disorder inside buildings
- Disorder outside buildings
- Victimization on CHA property
- Residents' fear of crime
- Residents' view of sweeps
- General satisfaction with buildings
- Guards' effectiveness at preventing crime

We found consistent differences between the three developments. Residents reported the most problems in the Horner homes. Rockwell home residents reported the second highest level of concern, and residents of Ickes homes had the fewest negative responses. Overall, we found large drops in fear and dissatisfaction since the first survey.

There have been a few successes in the program. One is the tenant patrol that has been operating in two developments for two years. Members of the tenant patrols are very proud of it and feel that they are making a difference. Second, tenants are turning one of the buildings in Rockwell Gardens into a resident management building. Third, tenants are very pleased

with the centers that provide counseling services.

The biggest failures of this program relate to the CHA police, CHA security guards, and CHA security force. We don't have survey data on this, because it is not a good question to ask people at their doors; but through qualitative interviews, we know that law enforcement has been committing a tremendous amount of brutality. In fact, many residents feel safer with the gang members running the building. Residents feel that, at this point, the police are just "the best armed gang" in the developments.

While we have seen some short-term success in two developments, the risk of quick deterioration is there. Despite the enormous investment the CHA has made in this program, the results seem very modest. It will be interesting to see, with the HUD takeover, if things improve.

Ms. Turner

Certainly Chicago is the most extreme case of everything going wrong in a public housing program. When you hear the kind of evidence presented by Susan Popkin, you can understand why HUD took the rather drastic step of taking over. We wonder, is this a situation that can be turned around?

The work I am going to talk about today is a survey that HUD conducted a year ago, in response to the controversial CHA sweeps. The idea was to ask residents of public housing, nationally, about their perceptions of crime and violence in their communities and their attitudes toward various crime prevention and response strategies.

This was a national opinion survey conducted by phone. We selected 1,500 households, drawn from our database. We submitted these addresses to a commercial firm that matches phone numbers to addresses. We had a 40 percent match. There is some reason to suspect that the families with phones are more stable than

those without phones. National phone surveys are instructive, but there are tradeoffs. You may not be getting a representative sample.

We had a 75 percent response rate to the calls we made. This is not bad for a fairly long survey instrument. The results were weighted to get a fair representation of family-oriented households in the large and very large public housing developments.

I am going to focus on the issue of high-rises as the potential source or cause of problems. There is an accumulating sense that high-rises are a bad idea in public housing. Clearly, there is evidence that this concern is warranted. What we have done in this analysis is break down the housing authorities by size, and the developments by size. High-rises themselves may not be the problem; it may be that the big developments are poorly managed.

In our survey, we found that residents in the largest public housing authorities and the largest developments reported the most problems with gunshots and drug dealers. However, an ambiguous pattern emerges when you look at problems based on building type (i.e., scattered sites, townhouses, low-rise, and high-rise). There is a stronger relationship to the size of the development than to the architecture. There is no clear linear relationship, when looking at the prevalence of drug dealers and gunshots, by building type.

We would like to develop better variables, reflecting not only crime patterns surrounding public housing neighborhoods, but also more direct evidence about the quality of management. I think these data from the national sample give us the opportunity to begin to pursue questions about relationships between management

competence, neighborhood conditions, architecture, and size of development.

Let me add a couple of points about where this project fits into HUD's public housing crime and violence research. When I came to HUD a few years ago, there was no program of research on crime and violence. Now we have put together a comprehensive program of research. We are developing a survey instrument that will provide a methodology and tools for measuring victimization in public housing. This will improve on simple questions about attitudes and perceptions of crime or violence. It will take a formal victimization survey and adapt it for use in public housing. We are experimenting with these instruments now in a Washington, D.C., public housing development and a high-rise development in Baltimore. We are testing the extent to which you can do surveys by phone, rather than in person. How much does it affect the results to use the phone? To what extent can you get good, reliable victimization data from one member of a household? Do you need to interview each member of the household?

We are experimenting with administering this instrument in four ways: by phone, in person, addressed to one person, and to the whole household. In this way, we can see what it is going to take to generate reliable victimization numbers for public housing projects and other low income developments. We hope that the next time interventions like that of the CHA are put in place, we will have a methodology ready for doing a baseline and time series analysis to assess how well the programs are working. If we are spending \$77 million a year in Chicago, we need to know if we are doing any good.

Pathways to Delinquency and Crime: Longitudinal Studies

Moderator: *Christy A. Visher, Science Advisor, Office of the Director, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

Presenters: *James R. Coldren, Jr., Deputy Director, Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, Chicago, Illinois*

David Huizinga, Senior Research Associate, Institute of Behavioral Sciences, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado

Rolf Loeber, Professor of Psychiatry, Psychology, and Epidemiology, Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dr. Coldren

The Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) is a longitudinal study of people in some 80 neighborhoods in Chicago. We are now putting together our sample, which consists of 11,000 individuals plus their primary caregivers. We will interview and test them once per year over the next eight years.

We are performing a parallel survey of community changes in the first, fourth, and eighth years of the study. We will examine social, cultural, and organizational structure; formal and informal social control; and social cohesion. This survey will cover about 9,000 households. We will also interview key stakeholders in those communities: religious and political leaders, police, and others. This is a large, complicated, long-term study.

We will use existing official data, such as expulsion rates and social service and police agency records. Regarding school

data, we will examine both public and private school measures. In Chicago, 25 to 30 percent of children attend Catholic schools, and they must be studied too.

Our main data collection challenge presently lies in boundary issues. We must wrestle with different boundaries for census tracts (the boundaries we are using), school districts, and police beats.

Dr. Huizinga

The Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Delinquency started in 1986, with support from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. It consists of three coordinated longitudinal research projects: the Denver Youth Survey, the Pittsburgh Youth Study, and the Rochester Youth Development Study. The program of research is broadly based, designed to look at a variety of risk and causal factors associated with delinquency, violence, and drug use. Included are psychological factors and indicators of psychopathology, family structure and dynamics, school commitment and performance, peer relations and influence, and neighborhood or community effects. The goal of the program is to provide a comprehensive view of the development and course of delinquent and criminal careers and to use this information to develop new and better programs to prevent and treat juvenile delinquency.

The subparts of the program are designed to use many identical measures so that data may be compared across the three sites. The program has so far selected 6,000 inner-city youths, representing children who were in first through eighth grade in 1988 when the study began. We interview them and their primary caregivers annually or semiannually, depending on the particular study, and we have retained over 88 percent

of respondents after nine waves of interviews.

Violent crime seems to start with children about age 10, and the percentage of incidence increases and stays high (about 20 percent of boys) all the way up to age 19. For girls, participation in violent crime is low at ages 10 and 11, jumps up for ages 12 to 15, and declines from age 16 to 19.

Self-reported data has taught us about chronic violent offenders. In Denver, 14 percent of children commit 82 percent of the violent crime for their age group. In Pittsburgh, 19 percent of children commit 77 percent of the violent crime for their age group. And in Rochester, 15 percent of children commit 75 percent of the violent crime for their age group.

We think it is important to emphasize prevention activities. We have a small group of offenders who start out young. The younger they start showing violent behavior, such as injurious fighting or robbing classmates, the more likely they are to become chronic, violent offenders.

People tend to dismiss these early offenses because the kids are only seven or eight years old; but these are signs leading to chronic, violent offenses when the children become teenagers or older. In many cases, it is a long time after kids begin committing violent offenses that they first encounter the criminal justice system. By that time, their offending behaviors are already ingrained. Moreover, at least one-fourth of these kids *never* get caught by the criminal justice system.

We possess good information on only three prevention programs that work:

- Healthy Start in Hawaii, which starts with prenatal or immediate postnatal regular visits by nurses.
- Head Start or other enhanced education programs at early ages, which also involve home visitation to help parents.
- Marital, family, or home therapy.

But what kinds of preventive activities really work? We do not know, because evaluations have not been done on most of the programs out there.

Professor Loeber

I am the principal investigator in the longitudinal Pittsburgh Youth Study mentioned above. To know how to intervene early, we need to know when problem behavior begins to accelerate and intervene before that. I will offer a long-term perspective on serious delinquency and marijuana use.

The study covered 500 children in each of three groups: first graders, fourth graders, and seventh graders. We defined five levels of delinquency for comparative purposes. We also established five levels of substance abuse: beer or wine, tobacco, hard liquor, marijuana, and other drugs. We found a large amount of preparatory use of substances, even in elementary school. We also found that poor supervision becomes more common as children reach about age 12—precisely when some kids' problem behaviors are escalating.

We used a multilevel growth-curve analysis to track change within an individual, between individuals, within neighborhoods, and between neighborhoods.

Comparing the age cohorts, the youngest cohort has been the worst-behaved. That finding matches other measures that suggest the neighborhoods being studied are getting worse. However, marijuana use is more a feature of the oldest cohort (for boys, compared at similar ages).

Among our findings are these:

- On average, the stability of delinquency increases between ages six and 18.
- Much of the early development of delinquency and substance abuse takes place during the elementary school years.

- Growth-wave analyses are a powerful tool to describe changes in delinquency and substance abuse over time.
- Growth-wave analyses can be used to predict later delinquency and substance abuse development. Not every generation is at risk to the same degree.
- Cohort differences shed light on significant secular (age) differences.

Discussion

Question: Has the age at which youths first get involved in delinquency been creeping down?

Professor Loeber: Almost certainly, yes. This is demonstrable in the recent past.

Dr. Huizinga: We do not have the data from the 1950s and 1960s to do the comparison.

Question: If children at very young ages are at risk, what can we do for them?

Dr. Huizinga: Basically, we can provide home visitation and parent instruction, and we can give kids encouragement to develop the ability to do well in school. Putting them in a competitive environment where they cannot succeed sets them up for failure—a bad start.

Question: Did anybody collect body samples, such as hair, to check for levels of lead or other substances that could lead to lower IQs or similar problems?

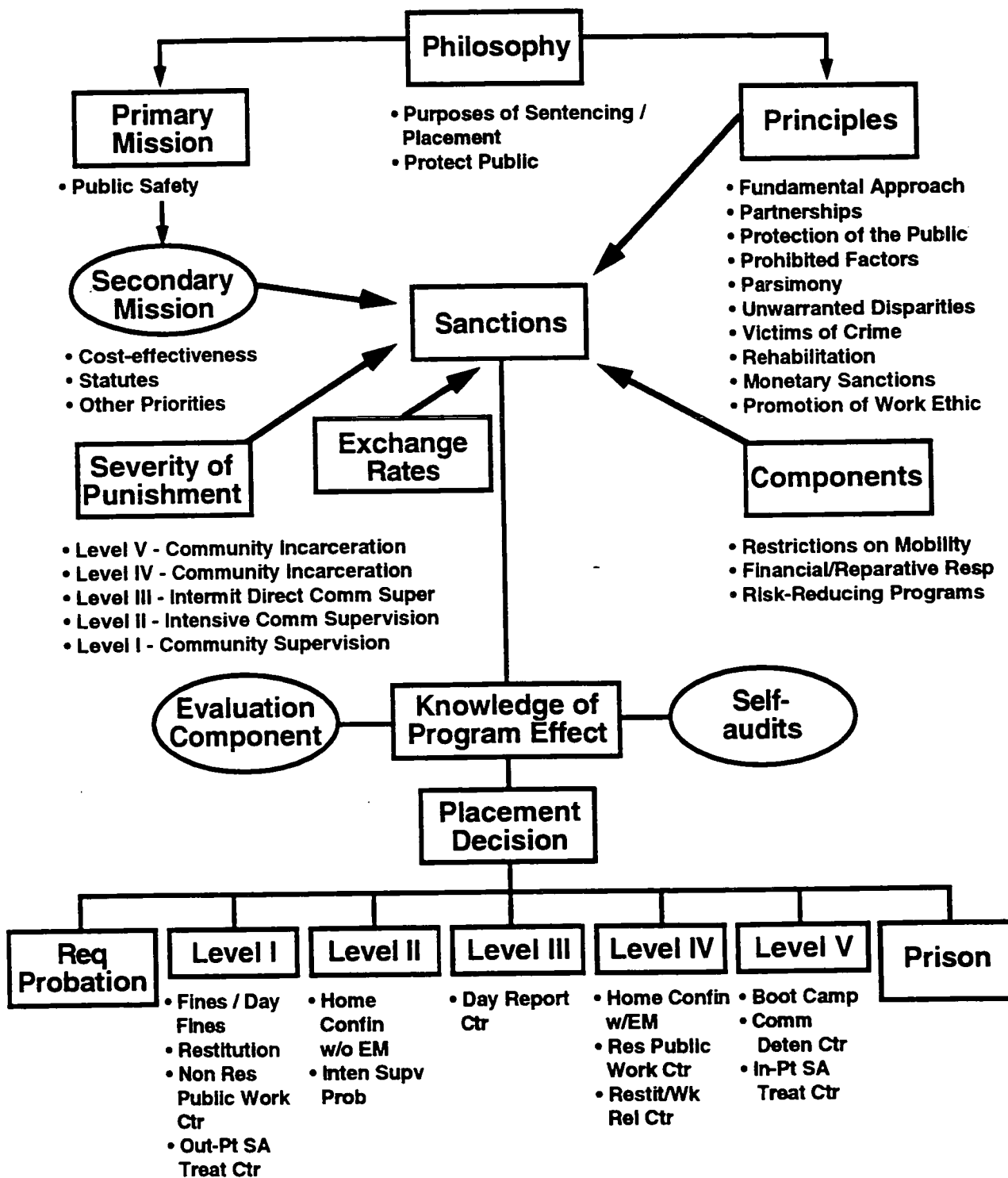
Dr. Huizinga: Other studies are doing that to better understand the interplay between biology and behavior. That is something very important to understand.



Appendix A



Intermediate Punishment System Model



(Courtesy of Commissioner Helen G. Corrothers)

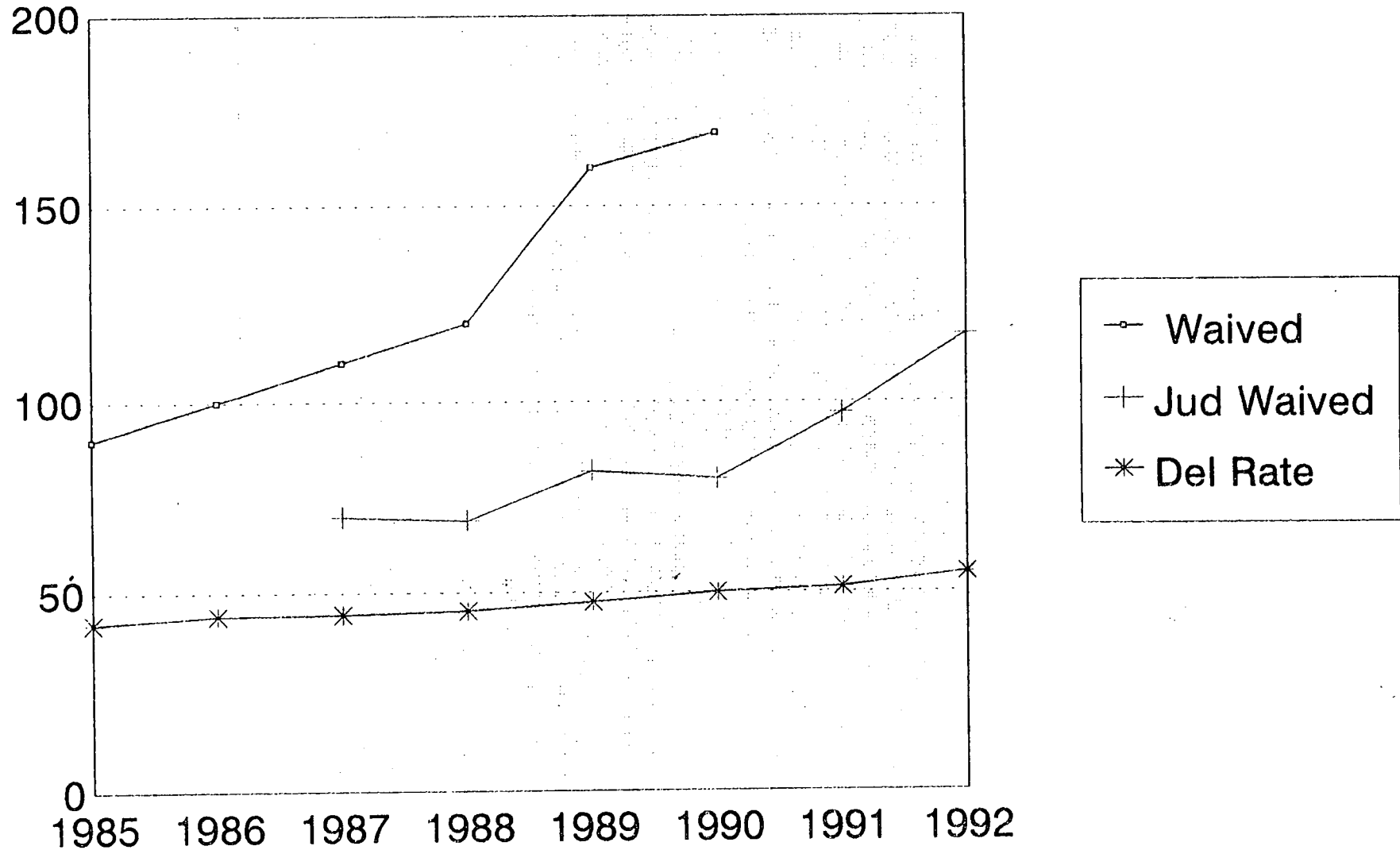


Appendix B



Delinquency Rates and Number of Waived Cases

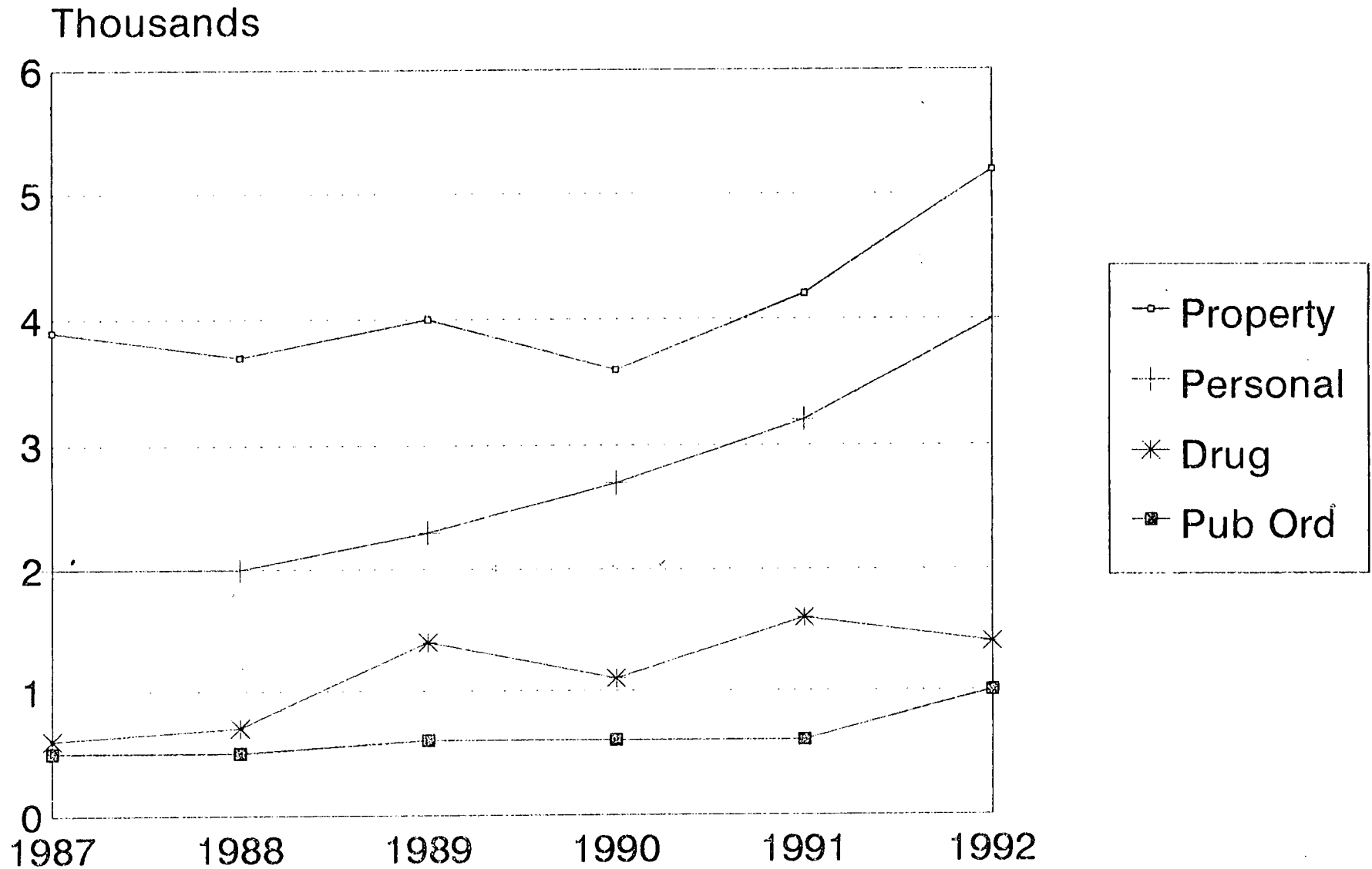
Source: Juvenile Court Statistics, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991; Offenders in Juvenile Court, 1992
National Estimates of Juvenile Court Delinquency Cases, 1987-1991



Waived cases in 100, Delinquency Rates/1000 youth at risk

(Courtesy of Dr. Leona Lee, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, New York)

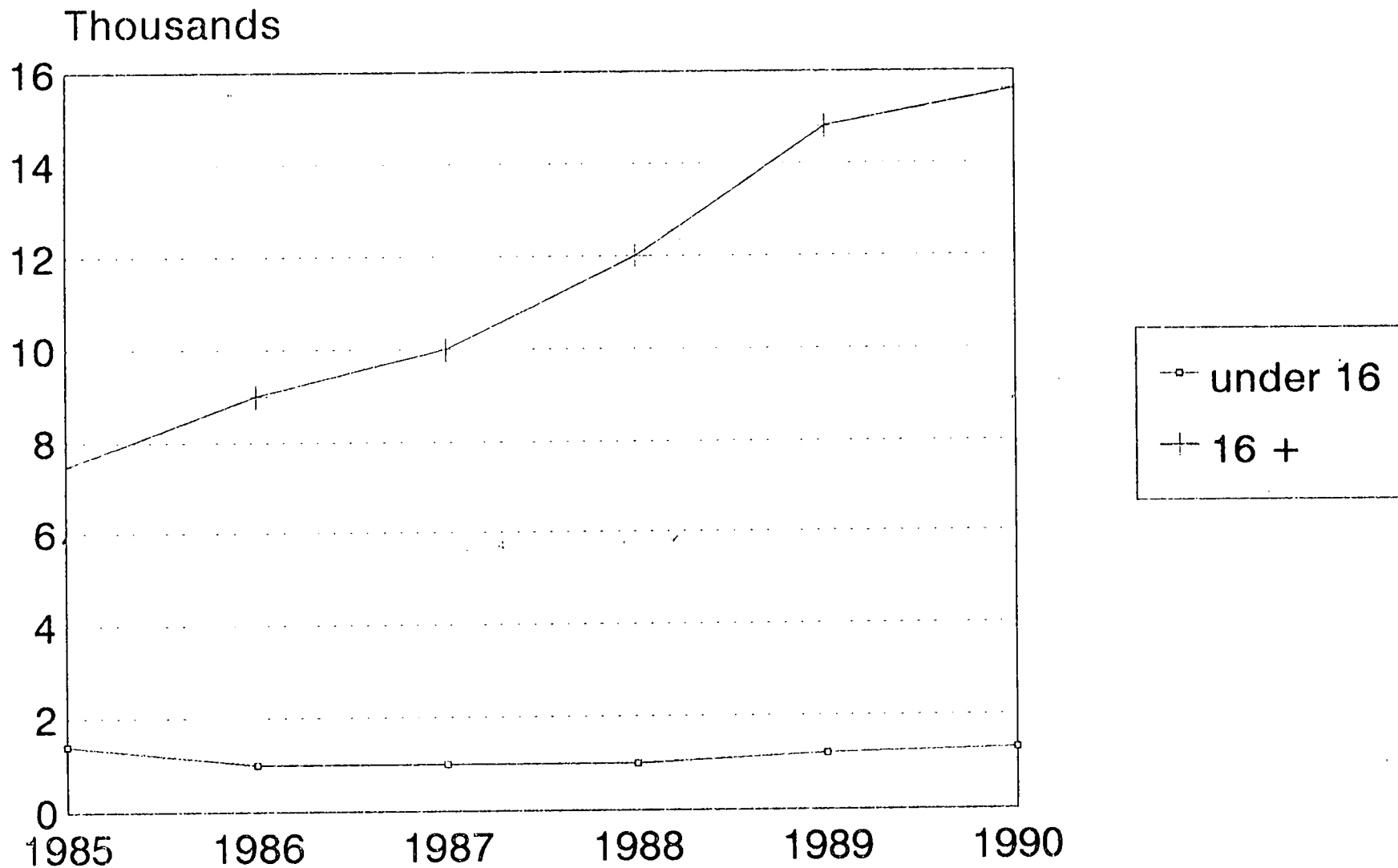
Types of Offenses Transferred by Judicial Waiver



Source: National Estimates of Juvenile Court Delinquency Cases 1987 to 1991 [Machine readable data]

(Courtesy of Dr. Leona Lee, John Jay College of Criminal Justice)

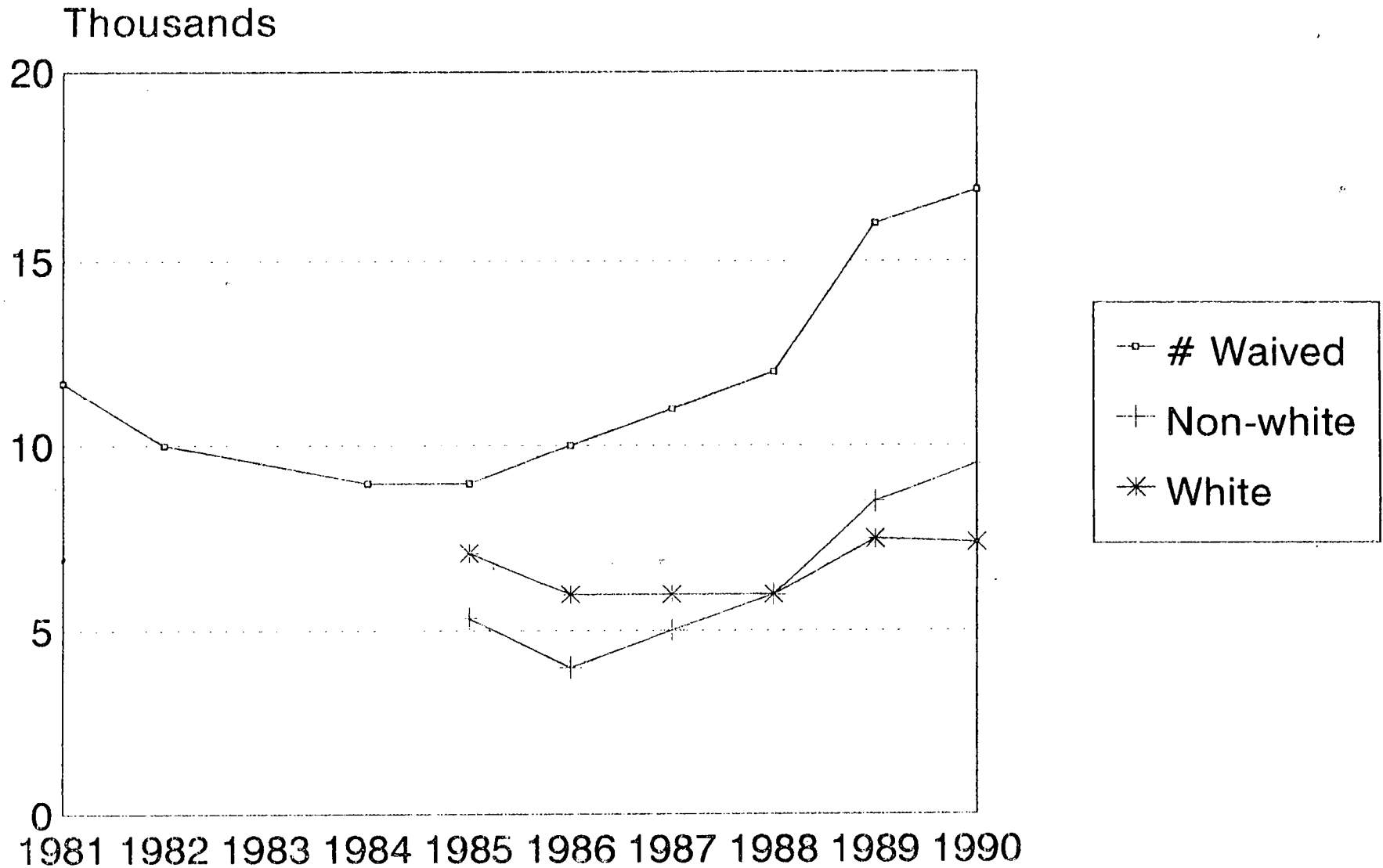
Ages of Waived Juveniles



Source: Juvenile Court Statistics, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990

(Courtesy of Dr. Leona Lee, John Jay College of Criminal Justice)

Racial Composition of Waived Cases



Source: Juvenile Court Statistics, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1990

Appendix C

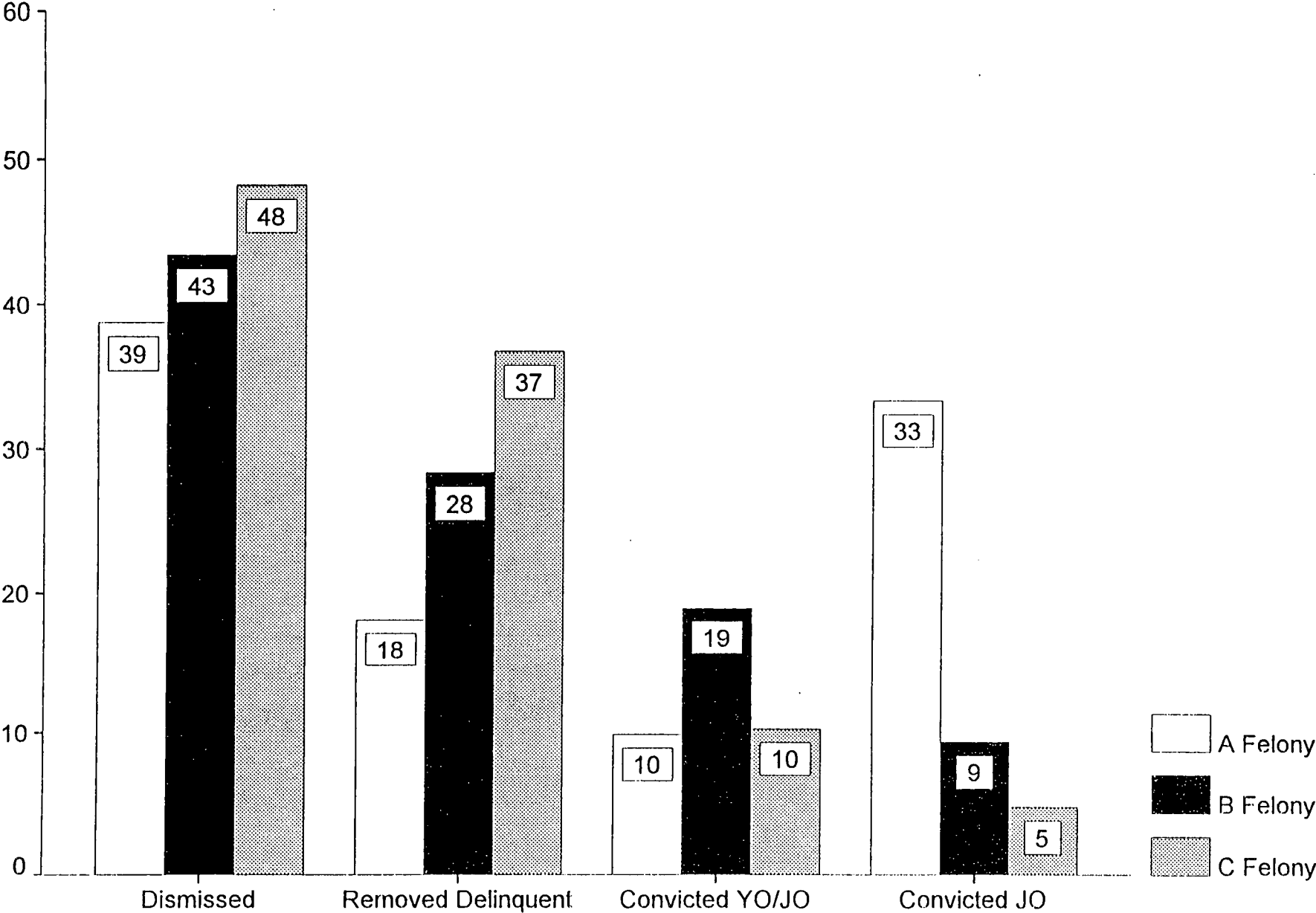


JUVENILE OFFENDER LAW: OFFENSES AND PENALTIES

Designated Felony	Sentence Length	
	Minimum	Maximum
<i>Class A</i>		
Murder	5-9 years	life
Arson, Kidnapping	4-6 years	12-15 years
 <i>Class B</i>		
Manslaughter 1		
Rape 1, Robbery 1, Sodomy 1, Burglary 1, Arson 2, Attempted Murder 2, Attempted Kidnapping 1, Aggravated Sexual Abuse	1/3 of Max.	3-10 years.
 <i>Class C</i>		
Burglary 2, Robbery 2 Assault 1	1/3 of Max.	3 to 7 years.

(Courtesy of Dr. Simon I. Singer, State University of New York, Buffalo)

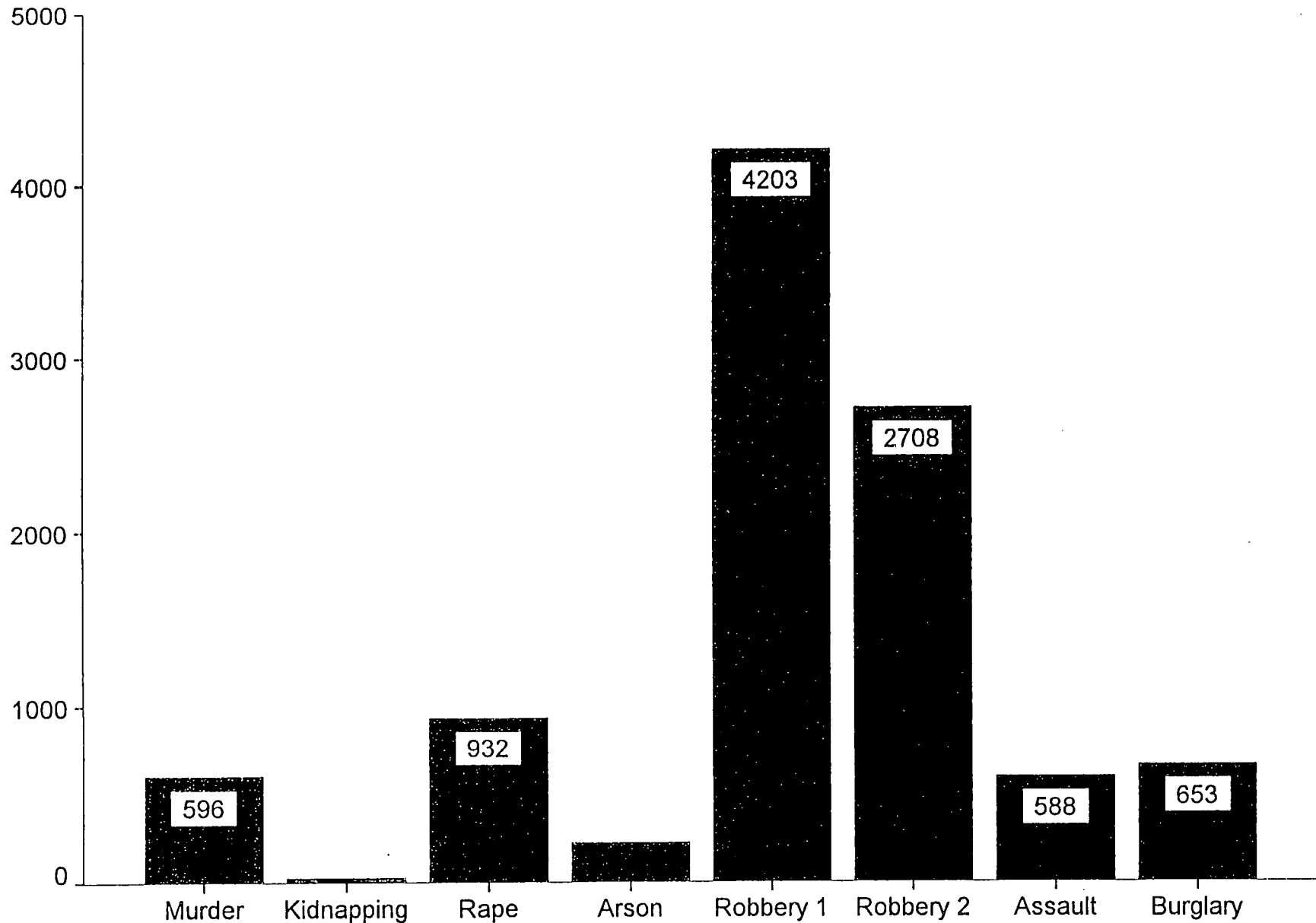
ADJUDICATION BY FELONY TYPE IN PERCENTS



(N = 9,937)

(Courtesy of Dr. Simon Singer, University of New York, Buffalo)

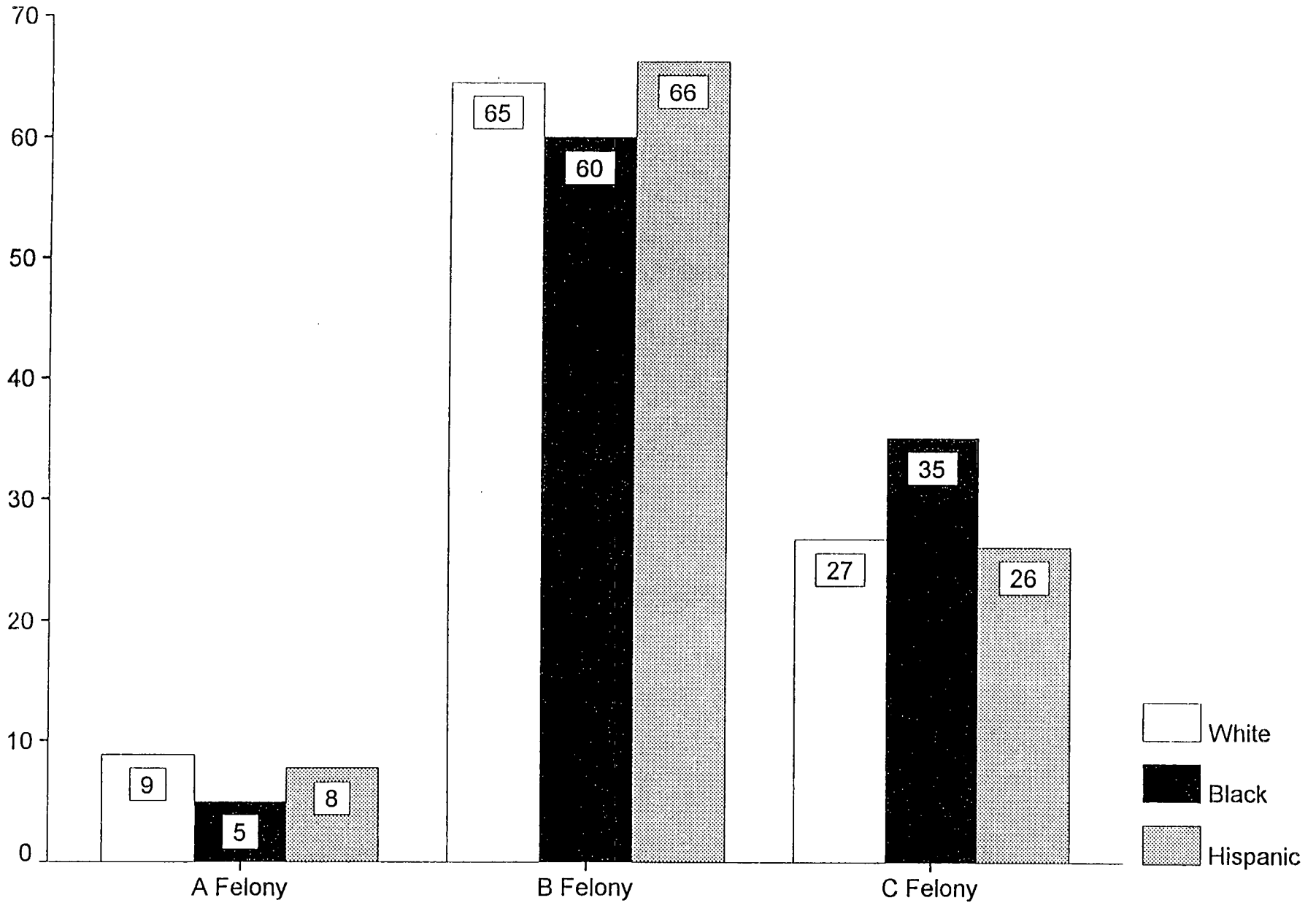
ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR OFFENSE CATEGORIES



(N = 9,937)

(Courtesy of Dr. Simon Singer, University of New York, Buffalo)

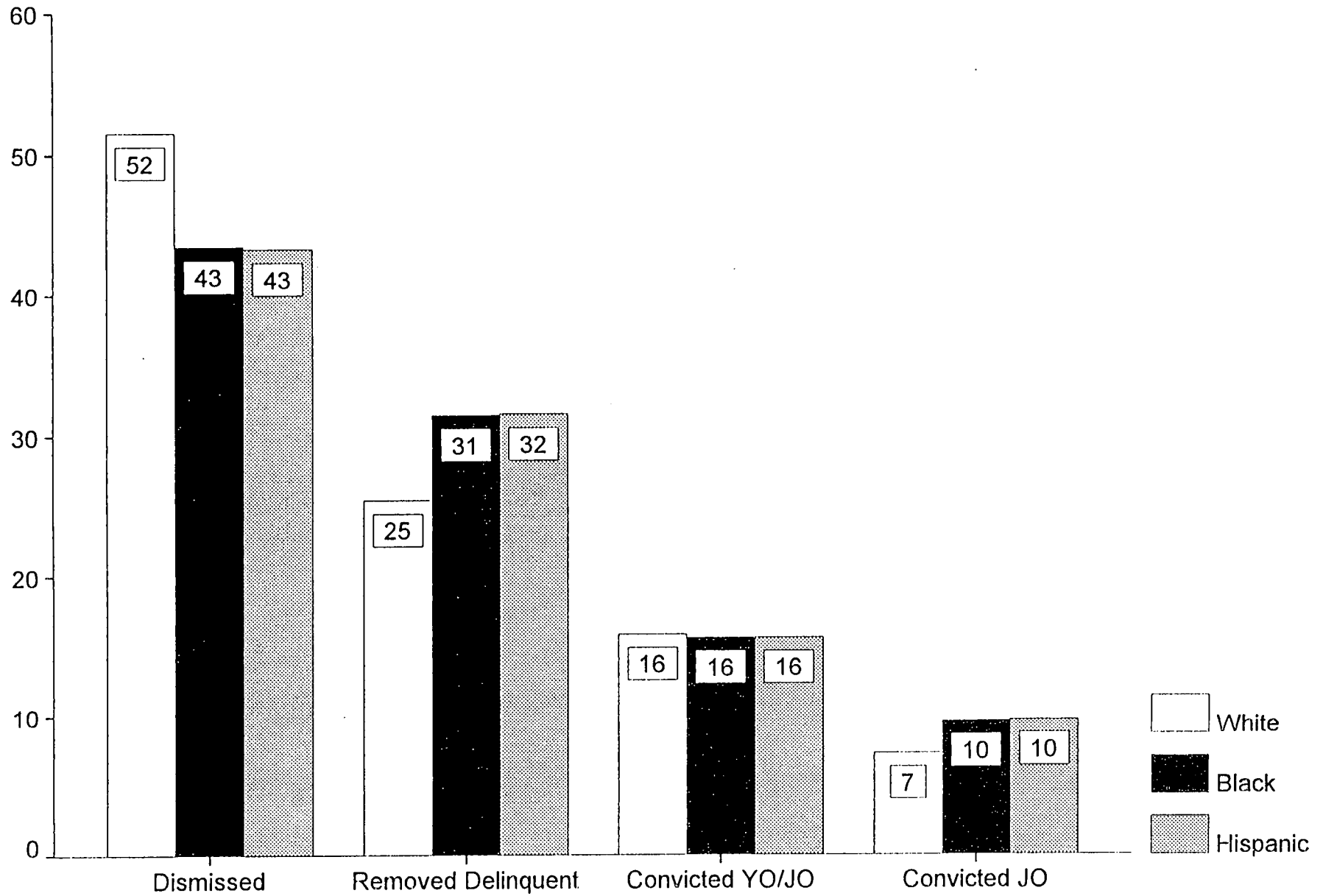
FELONY TYPE BY RACE IN PERCENTS



(N = 9,862)

(Courtesy of Dr. Simon Singer, University of New York, Buffalo)

ADJUDICATION BY RACE IN PERCENTS



(N = 9,862)

(Courtesy of Dr. Simon Singer, University of New York, Buffalo)



Appendix D



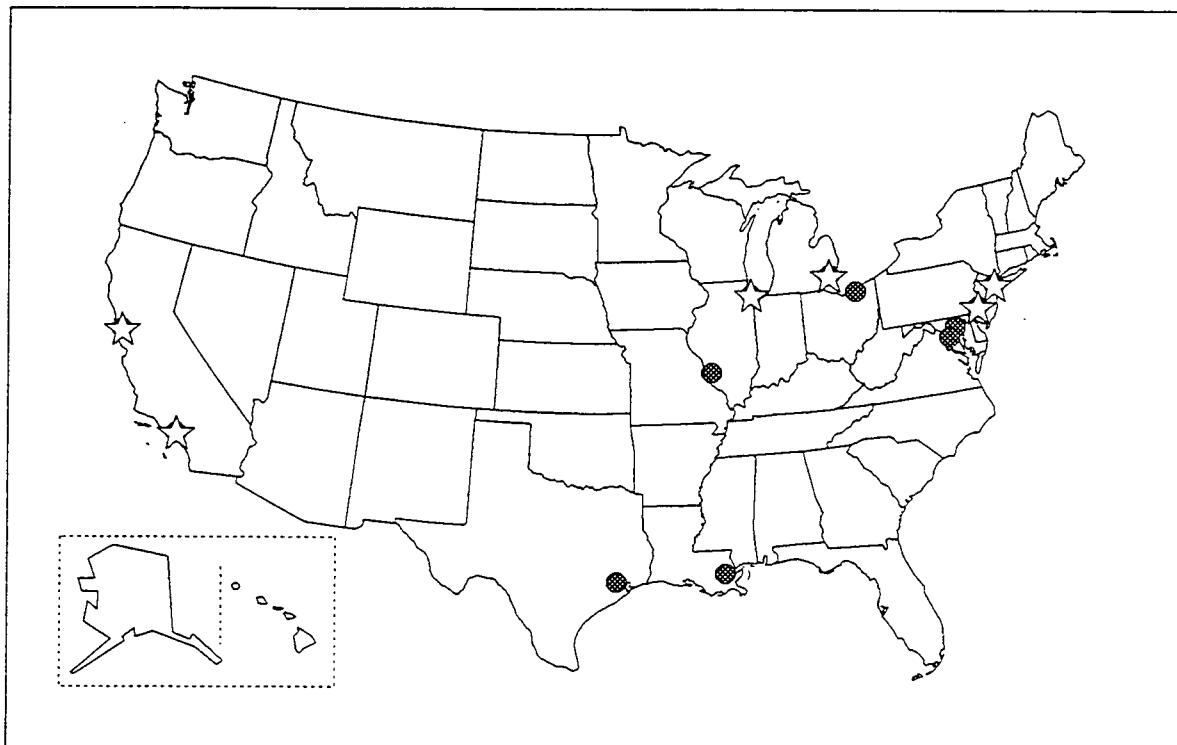
**Table 2. "Reasonable" Estimate of National Gang Problem
from NIJ 1994 Extended Survey**

Jurisdiction Size	Gangs 1993	Members 1993	Crimes 1993
Cities Over 200,000 ^a	4,722	246,431	51,155
Cities 150,000-200,000 ^a	788	19,478	46,616
Cities 25,000-150,000 ^b	8,964	122,508	89,232
1992 Smaller Cities	251 ^a	31,498 ^a	3,156 ^c
Selected Counties ^d	1,918	135,266	390,172
National Total	16,643	555,181	580,331

- a** 5% Trimmed means substituted for jurisdictions with reported gang crime problems but not reporting annual statistics.
- b** Estimated from 25.2% random sample with 5% Trimmed means substituted for jurisdictions with reported gang crime problems but not reporting annual statistics.
- c** Minimum number of incidents substituted for jurisdictions with reported gang crime problems but not reporting annual statistics. (Insufficient cases to compute trimmed means.)
- d** Tabulated from official reports from smaller cities included in Spergel & Curry (1992) and Curry, Ball, & Fox (1994). Members for Los Angeles County reduced 25% (Reiner, 1992).

(Courtesy of Dr. G. David Curry, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri)

Miller's 1975 Survey Sites



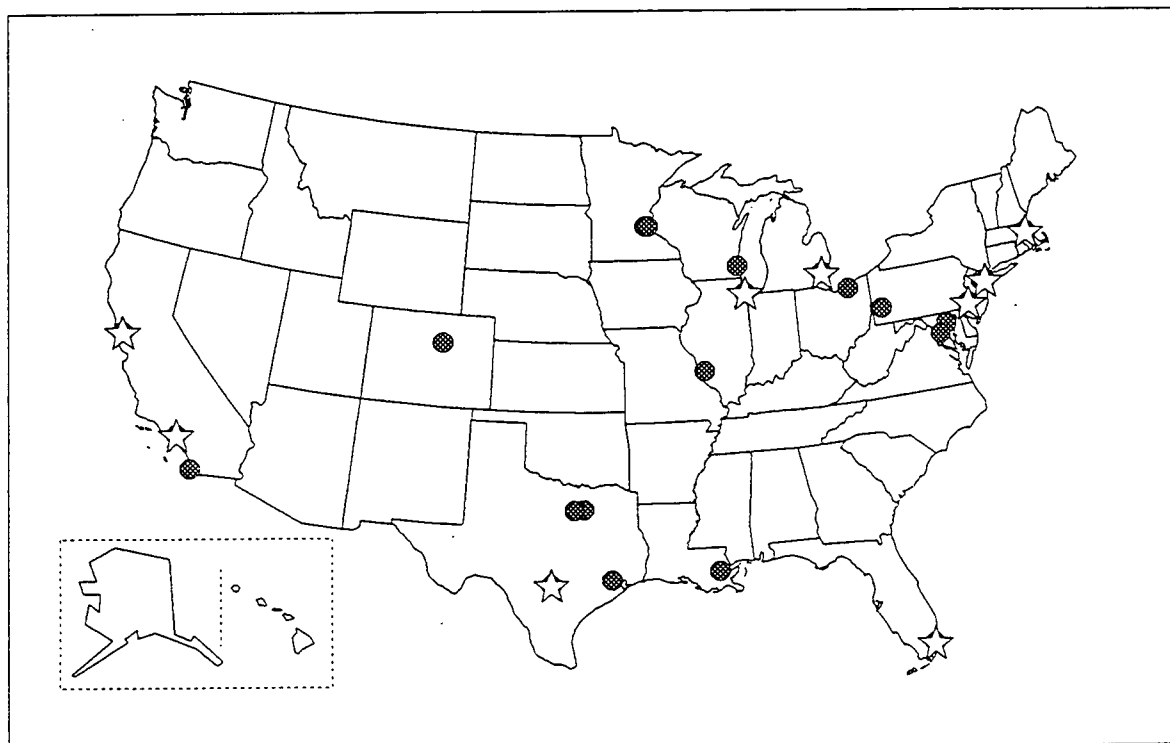
6 of 12 (50%) Gang Problems

760-2700 Gangs

28,500-81,500 Gang Members

*Source: Walter B. Miller, Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups
as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities, OJJDP, 1975*

Miller's 1982 Survey Sites



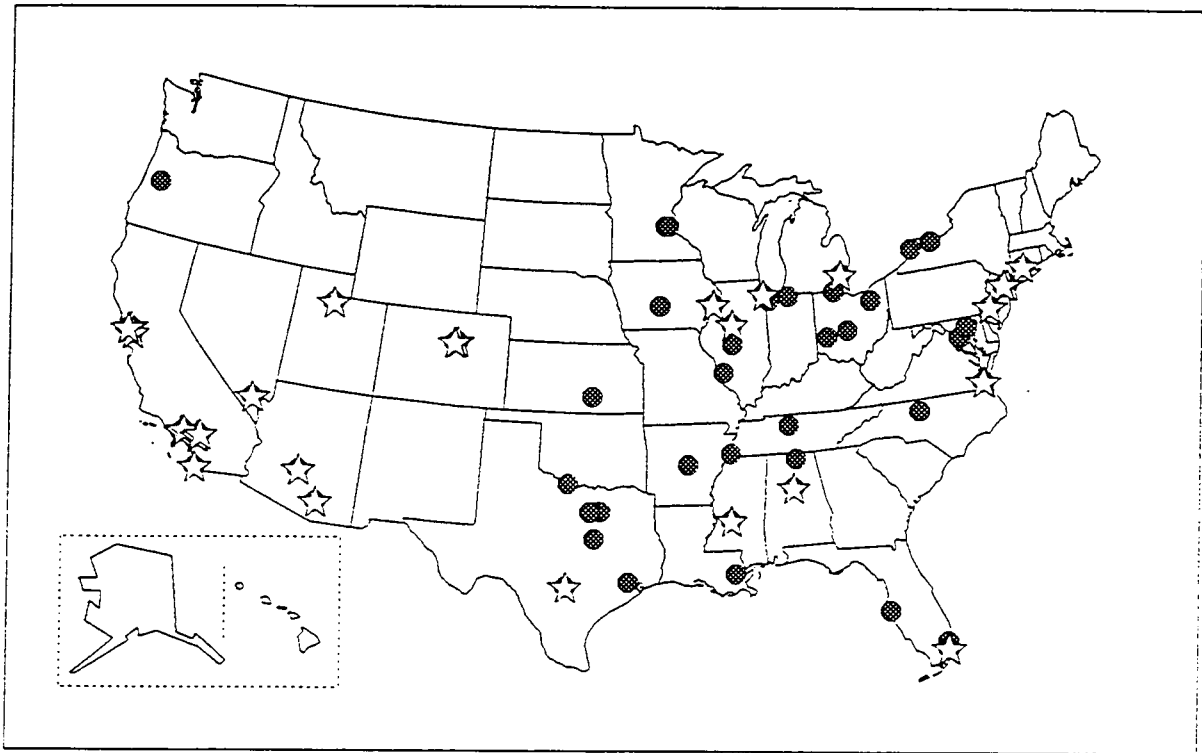
9 of 26 (37.5%) Gang Problems

2,285 Gangs (286 cities)

97,940 Gang Members (286 cities)

*Source: Walter B. Miller, Crime by Youth Gangs and Groups
in the United States, OJJDP, 1982*

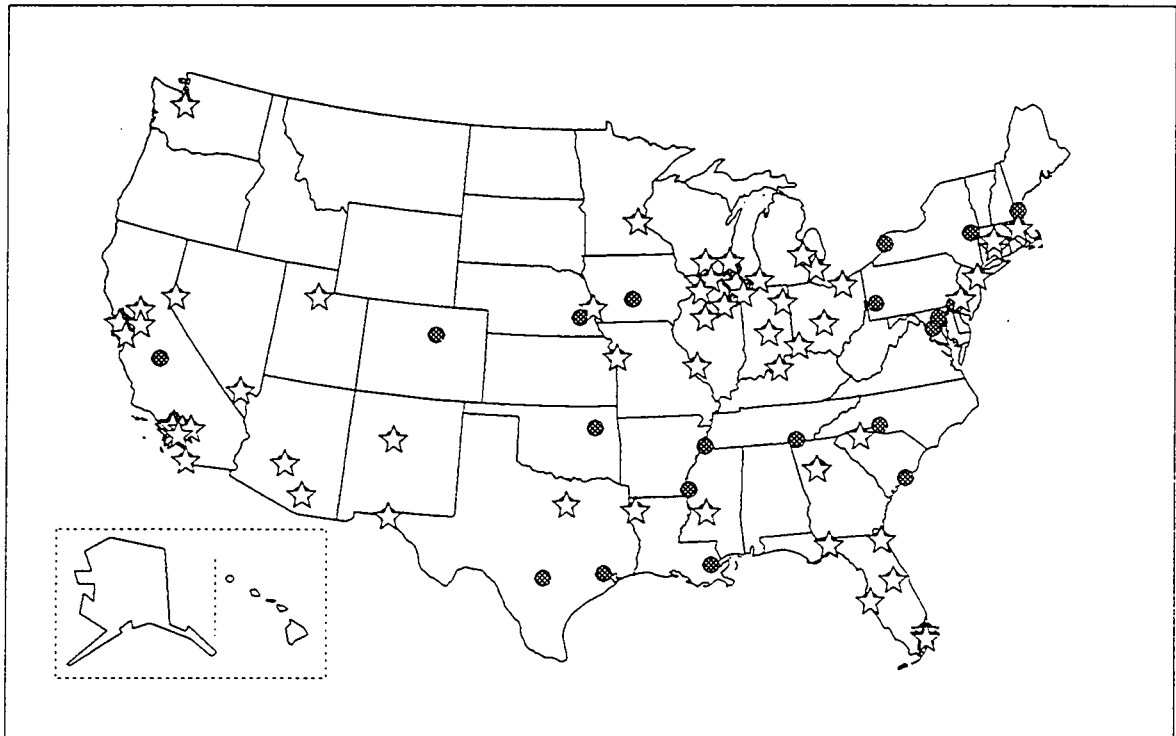
Needle & Stapleton's 1983 Survey Sites



27 of 60 (45%) Gang Problems
No estimates of gangs or members

Source: Jerome A. Needle & Wm. V. Stapleton, Police Handling of Youth Gangs, OJJDP, 1983

Spergel's 1987 Survey Sites



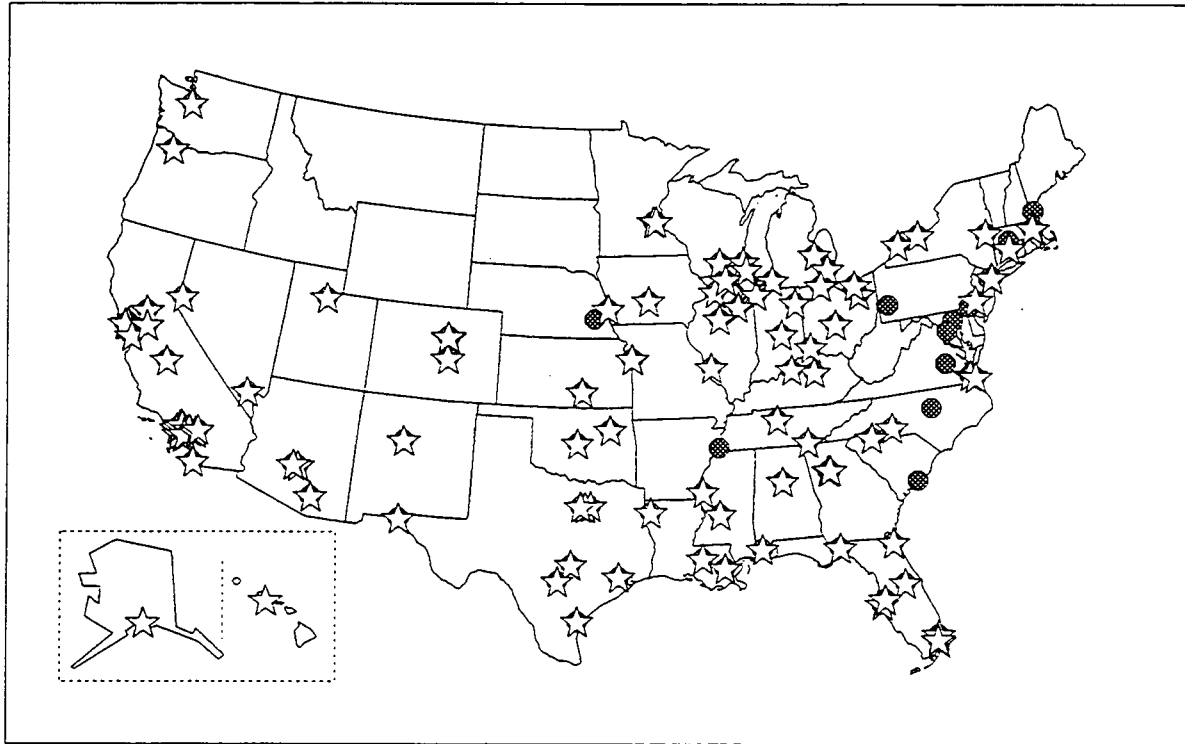
68 of 94 (72.3%) Gang Problems

1,439 Gangs (35 sites)

120,636 Gang Members (35 sites)

Source: Irving A. Spergel & G. David Curry, The National Youth Gang Survey: a Research & Development Process, in Goldstein & Huff, The Gang. Intervention Handbook, Research Press, 1992

NIJ 1992 Survey Sites



121 of 133 (91.0%) Gang Problems

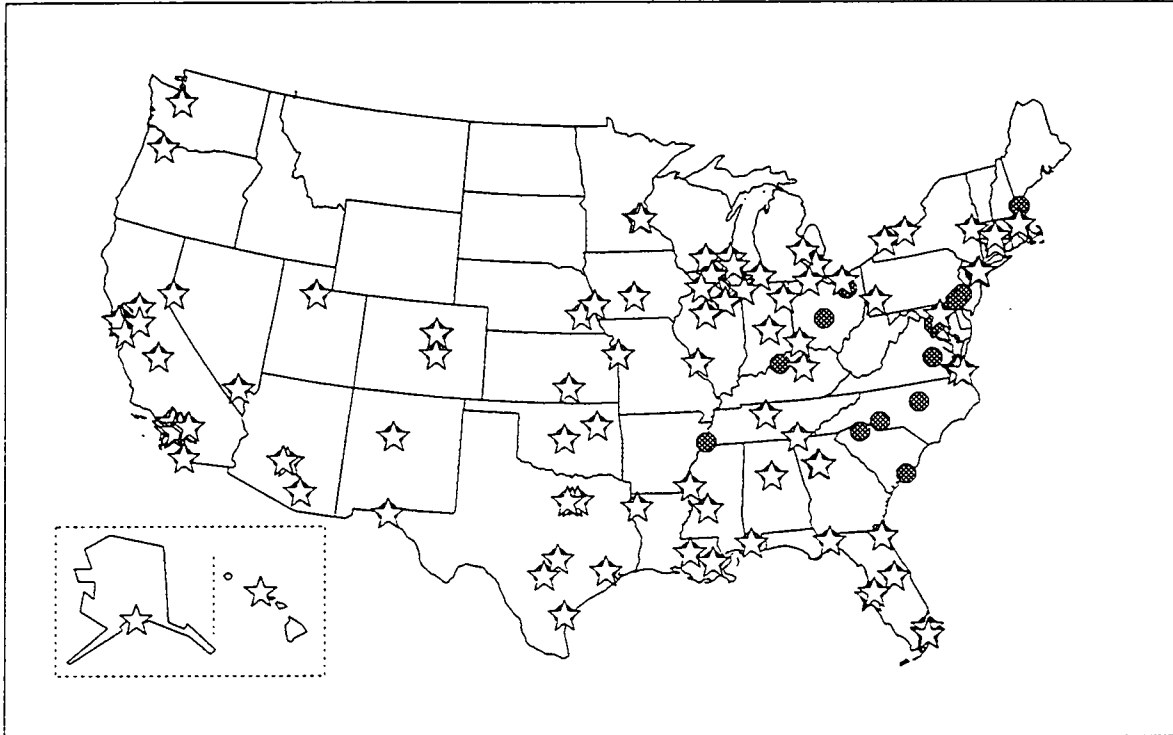
4,881 Gangs (97 sites)

249,324 Gang Members (97 sites)

46,359 Gang-Related Crimes (59 sites)

*Source: G. David Curry, Richard A. Ball, & R.J. Fox,
Gang Crime and Law Enforcement Recordkeeping
NIJ Research in Brief, 1994*

NIJ 1994 Survey of 1992 Sites



119 of 133 (89.5%) Gang Problems

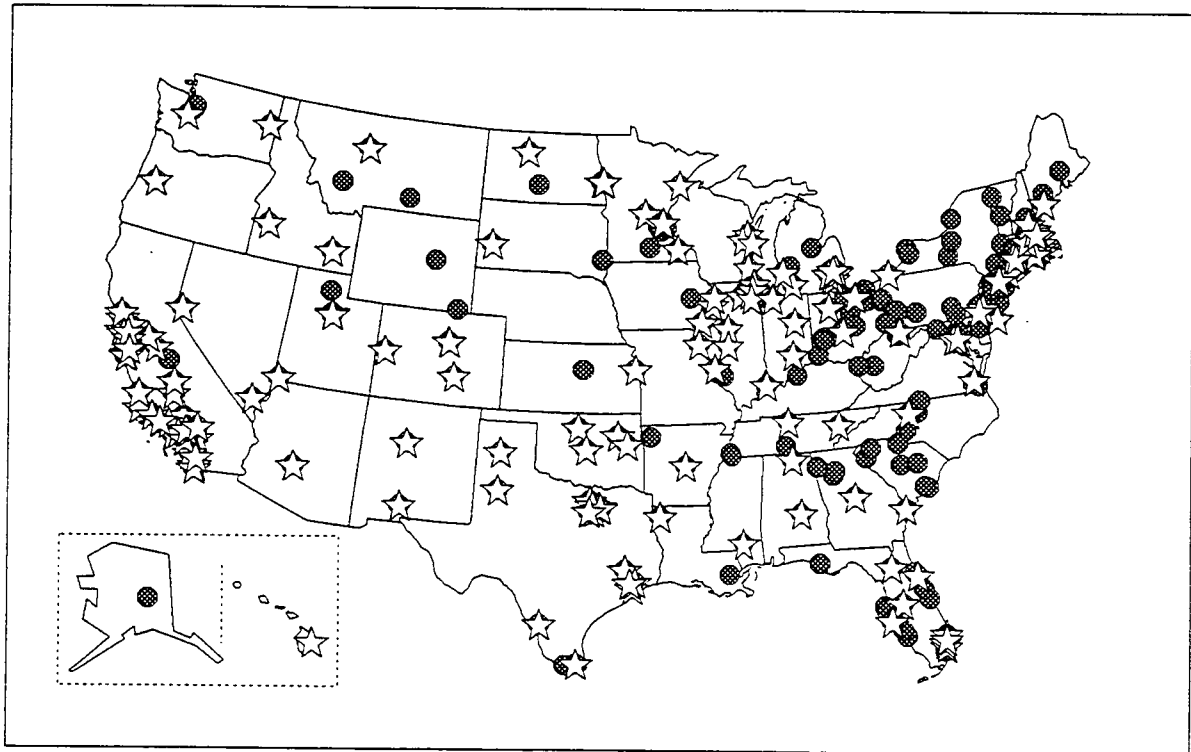
6,222 Gangs (87 sites)

349,038 Gang Members (73 sites)

426,658 Gang-Related Crimes (36 sites)

Source: G. David Curry, Preliminary Results: NIJ 1994 Extended Survey of Law Enforcement, ASC Annual Meetings, 1994

NIJ 1994 Extended Survey Sites



165 of 300 (55.0%) Gang Problems

675 Gangs (38 sites)

8,677 Gang Members (33 sites)

3,915 Gang-Related Crimes (18 sites)

Source: G. David Curry, Preliminary Results: NIJ 1994 Extended Survey of Law Enforcement, ASC Annual Meetings, 1994

Appendix E



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