POLICE AND COMMUNITIES TOGETHER AGAINST DRUGS
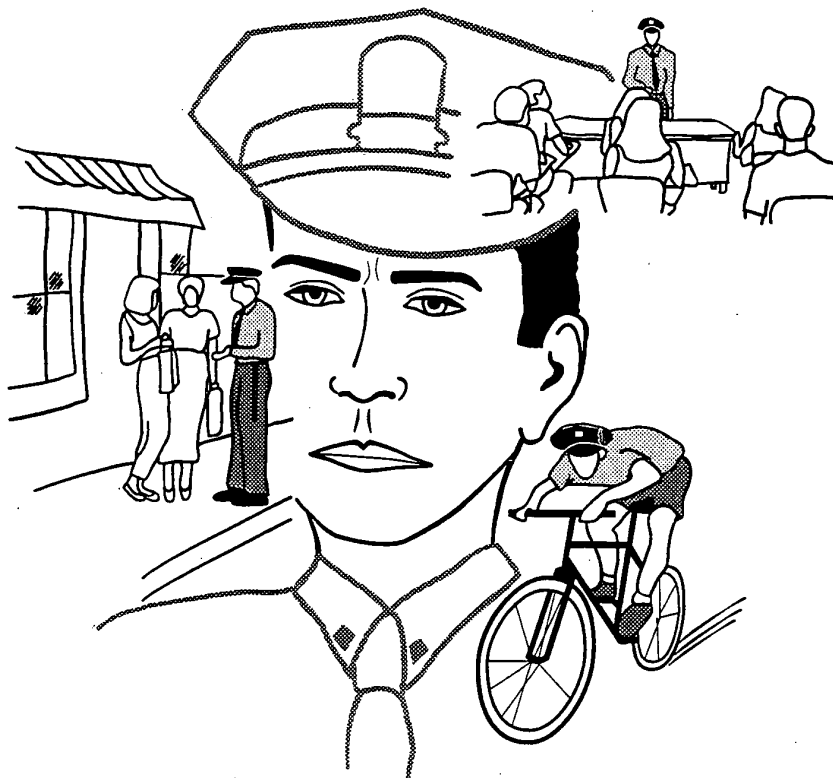
A Community Policing Guide for Police Administrators and Local Government Officials

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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A Community Policing Guide for Police Administrators
and Local Government Officials

by
Heike P. Gramckow, Ph.D.
CSR, Incorporated

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COMMUNITY POLICING: A POWERFUL TOOL FOR BUILDING DRUG-FREE NEIGHBORHOODS

As police administrator, I learned long ago that police alone cannot provide the sole solution to the drug problems our communities face. The community, other local government agencies, State and Federal agencies, and the private sector all have to be involved. Since cooperation and coordination lie at the heart of community policing, it is much more powerful in reducing drug problems in the long run than the isolated efforts of traditional drug enforcement.
—Dr. Lee Brown, Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy

Crime and drugs remain two of the most important problems for the American public. Drug use among youth is increasing again, and underage drinking and smoking remain constant problems. Furthermore, the number and use patterns of chronic, hard-core drug addicts—who are responsible for large portions of drug-related crimes and for keeping the drug trafficking market lucrative—have not changed.

Police officials know that traditional law enforcement responses are insufficient to achieve long-term results in reducing drug problems. Open-air drug markets and crack houses that have been closed in one area quickly pop up in another, and arrested dealers are soon replaced by others. Police also know that they alone cannot create and maintain the environment in which communities can successfully stand against illicit drugs over time. The community and other local government agencies must be active partners in these efforts.

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Many jurisdictions around the country have experienced the difference community policing can make in turning around drug-ridden neighborhoods. These jurisdictions also realized that community policing is an important component of local efforts to prevent young people from using illicit drugs. Police departments located in all types of jurisdictions—rural, suburban, and urban—have developed their own community policing concepts and are working in close cooperation with communities and local government agencies to counter drug-related crime. For example, these jurisdictions have succeeded in closing crack houses and open-air drug markets permanently; they have been able to establish close interactive relationships between community members and police to ensure that interventions occur at the earliest sign of recurring drug activities; many have developed a broad range of alternative youth activities that prevent youth involvement in illicit drugs; and they have coordinated the work of criminal justice and local government agencies with police departments to ensure that drug offenders are held responsible, that treatment is available to those in need, and that safer environments are created to foster drug-free communities.

President Clinton's promise to place 100,000 police officers on the Nation's streets aims to help police departments and their communities create safer neighborhoods and stronger communities that can combat the drug problems they face. Realizing that police departments and their jurisdictions need help in building a community policing concept that fits their needs, addresses their problems, and is sustainable over time, the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) developed this monograph.

Developing a community-oriented approach to policing is not an easy process. It requires major changes in a police department's organization, management, and procedures. It requires fundamental changes in police culture and how police define their roles. It takes time and significant effort to actively involve the community, and local government agencies need to restructure their work to support community policing. Although setbacks and successes are a part of the evolution of community policing, the positive results achieved by several police departments attest to how useful and instrumental community policing can be in reducing drug use and drug-related crime and its associated problems.

The information presented in this publication is based on the efforts and approaches tested and implemented by jurisdictions around the country. Community policing has to vary from department to department, and local law enforcement agencies gener-

ally know what will work best in their communities; have many already developed a broad range of creative changes.

This monograph is designed to assist police administrators and other local officials in institutionalizing community policing and using its full potential to address the problems of illicit drugs; crime; and violence, including alcohol-related violence. Because the development and implementation of community policing are complex processes, no one guide can fully cover all related issues. Therefore, this monograph focuses on (1) highlighting the power of community policing to counter drug problems at the local level and (2) addressing key elements needed to create the organizational and management structure that supports community policing. The last section provides an overview of where additional information or further assistance may be obtained for implementing community policing to fight illicit drugs.

Building safer and more viable communities in this country is one of the President's most prominent concerns and an issue that has always been the focus of the ONDCP Director. This monograph will serve as an important resource for police administrators, local government officials, and their communities in their efforts to build neighborhoods that are strong enough to counter and resist illicit drug trafficking and use.

USING COMMUNITY POLICING AS A CRIME-FIGHTING TOOL AGAINST DRUGS

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

In early 1990, the Portland, Oregon, Police Department received an average of 70 calls for service per 8-hour shift from Columbia Village, a low-income, public housing area on the outskirts of Portland with a population of 1,500. Most of the approximately 1,000 arrests made annually were alcohol and drug related. In late 1990, the Multnomah County Sheriff's office, in a combined effort with the Portland Police Department and the District Attorney's office, focused part of their community-oriented work on this area. While the police department took responsibility for regular patrol services, the Sheriff's Office opened a substation in Columbia Village staffed by four deputies and one community service officer. At the same time, 27 social service agencies placed employees in a nearby building to provide various social services.

The main focus of the deputies' work was drug and crime prevention, especially during night shifts, when most problems surfaced. After analyzing calls for police service and arrest data, the deputies found—in cooperation with residents—that most drug-related incidents were caused by outsiders, often "boyfriends" of single mothers who used the women's apartments to sell illicit drugs. The women tolerated this activity because they relied on the money they received in return to support themselves and their children. In close cooperation with the District Attorney's office, the deputies targeted nonresident suspects and kept them away, often by filing simple trespassing charges. Eviction and prosecution of the women residents were deferred on the conditions that drug selling cease, they find jobs, or they participate in drug treatment. Job placement and child care also were arranged to assist these women.

During the next year, the number of calls from the Columbia Village neighborhood decreased to a low of four to five calls per shift.

Although both implementing community policing and reducing the demand for illicit drugs have been central elements of police agendas in many jurisdictions, they have not always been linked. Community policing frequently is seen as a special program conducted by a limited number of specially assigned officers to improve communication between the police and the community. Community policing also has been criticized as being soft on crime, and community policing officers have been compared to social workers who are not engaged in real police work. Neither could be further from the truth.

Those who still are unfamiliar with community policing often are astonished to hear that community policing officers arrest suspects at rates similar to their traditional police counterparts. Community policing is, however, a more comprehensive approach to reducing crime than is traditional law enforcement. The following three characteristics of community policing are particularly well suited to addressing drug problems: (1) it emphasizes places, not just individuals; (2) it relies on community institutions to control behavior, and (3), of special importance, it focuses on finding long-term solutions, rather than just making arrests and delivering citations.

The focus of traditional policing on individuals and events meant that street-level officers responded to calls reporting drug trafficking, searched for described suspects, and possibly made an arrest. Detectives observed known drug dealers, gathered sufficient evidence, and possibly made an arrest. It meant that SWAT teams cracked down on known open-air drug markets or crack houses and made several arrests. This approach resulted in possibly one or several dealers fewer on the streets who were quickly replaced by others. Police officers of all ranks know this outcome, and many accept it as a frustrating reality in their line of work.

The benefit of community policing focusing more on places and less on individuals than traditional policing can be seen when police are concerned with reducing drug-related problems in specific areas, such as a neighborhood block that attracts open-air drug trafficking. For example, the place-oriented approach will combine law enforcement strategies that focus on discouraging illicit activities in an area by increasing community responsibility and area safety through enhanced officer visibility and by enforcing violations, including those that may be precursors to drug crimes, such as loitering or trespassing. This place-oriented approach has proven to be more successful because it focuses on all illicit activities occurring and potentially developing in a specific area. As the Portland, Oregon, example shows, targeting individual offenders

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and using traditional drug enforcement strategies remain important components of police activities, but they are only part of a more comprehensive approach to keeping drugs and its drug-related problems out of neighborhoods.

Further, the fact that community policing relies on community institutions, such as schools or other community members, to control individual behavior fundamentally differs from traditional policing. Until recently, police defined themselves, and have been identified by others, as the primary social agent for controlling deviant behavior. Parents, neighbors, teachers, friends, clergy, business owners, and other community members have come to rely almost exclusively on the police to keep their neighborhoods safe. This reliance grew not only because community members were reluctant to get involved, but because police too often felt that no one else could be trusted with the responsibility of maintaining order.

However, when it comes to impacting neighborhoods and effecting change, police crackdowns alone cannot result in permanent solutions to the drug problem. The police alone cannot manufacture conditions in a neighborhood to sustain permanent change; only partnership efforts between police, other agencies, and the community can have long-term impacts. Most drug enforcement efforts still use only police resources, but there is a role for other individuals, especially community members, to play in combating drug use and trafficking.

Of specific importance to any effort to curb drug problems is that community policing is more concerned with finding long-term solutions to neighborhood problems than the traditional reactive approach of concentrating on individual arrests or citations. For drug enforcement, this means not only arresting drug traffickers but also developing a strategy that holds illicit drug users and drug traffickers accountable for their behavior, allows for intervention at the earliest signs of a problem, and creates an environment that prevents recurrence of the problem. This search for a long-term solution also speaks of the need to involve others in police work and transfer responsibility for drug control efforts to communities and other agencies.

The following section outlines how these characteristics of community policing translate into changes in traditional drug enforcement strategies to create comprehensive drug and crime control efforts.

DRUG ENFORCEMENT STRATEGIES UNDER COMMUNITY POLICING

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

In 1992 the Mazatlan Circle, a low-income residential area in Colorado Springs, Colorado, became the testing site for a comprehensive community policing program. The large number of calls for service, the fear of crime among residents, and the high level of drug trafficking and other criminal activity made Mazatlan Circle a prime location to test this program. Directed police activities—an approach in which police target specific crimes (e.g., drug dealing, loitering, or gang activity by increased police presence, arrests, and targeted sweeps)—placed constant pressure on drug dealers and buyers. A newly designed computer database aided the identification of problems by distinguishing problem locations and assessing the types of calls. The police department developed a close working relationship with residents and undertook house-to-house surveys to identify local views of the primary crime problems. The department provided training and assistance to the Mazatlan Owners/Property Managers Association for screening tenants, evicting those involved in drug trafficking, recognizing criminal activity, and problemsolving. Furthermore, Mazatlan residents, with the assistance of city agencies, planted trees and shrubs and undertook other projects to improve the physical appearance of the neighborhood. This experiment yielded remarkable results. The calls for service alone decreased by nearly 17 percent during the first year.

Community policing is not intended nor allowed to be soft on crime. On the contrary, community policing requires strict law enforcement where crime is evident. Traditionally, police officers considered arrest to be their prime tool for fighting

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drugs. For the community, however, even extensive police efforts to intercept a truck-load of cocaine and arrest high-level drug traffickers is often of less concern than what is happening in their own neighborhoods—drug sales and drug users on their block. Community policing, on the other hand, is drug enforcement not just through isolated drug arrests but also through coordinated crime control that addresses the underlying causes so that the problem does not resurface.

A police department committed to community policing will apply all traditional, well-proven drug enforcement strategies, such as buy-and-busts, sting operations, and con-centrated crackdowns. The difference, however, is that these strategies and tactics are planned and targeted to achieve long-term effects. As a result they must be applicable to the individual neighborhood and be reinforced by other activities to allow early intervention to prevent recurrence of problems. The following sections outline some changes that community policing introduces to drug enforcement strategies.

Problem Identification for Different Neighborhoods

To develop the most effective responses to drug problems in a jurisdiction, the actual extent and type of problem situations existing in a neighborhood must be identified and analyzed. While problem identification as the first step in developing appropriate police responses is not specific to community policing, the place-oriented approach of community policing emphasizes not only identifying patterns of criminal activity of indi-vidual traffickers but also determining the current drug activity and related problems in a neighborhood. Because drug problems can significantly differ from one area to another, strategies for combating these problems also must differ from one neighbor-hood to another, depending on the existing problem and the resources available to counter these problems, including all resources, not just police resources. The above-mentioned effort in Colorado Springs was successful because the problems the neigh-borhood was experiencing were identified by the police and residents of the area, and the appropriate solutions were developed as a combined effort. Solutions were devel-oped that were acceptable and possible in this neighborhood. They may not have been appropriate for other areas, where residents may have had different perceptions, differ-ent needs, and a different level of involvement.

Solving Problems

To achieve long-term solutions to community problems, many departments combine community-oriented policing with problem-oriented policing. Problem-oriented polic-ing is the vehicle to translate community-oriented policing into practice. To develop

community policing as the standard approach to policing, departments committed to community policing will train all officers and other police personnel in problemsolving techniques, such as the SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment) model, a four-step decisionmaking model that aids officers in determining problems and creating solutions. These problemsolving techniques become the tools to work with the community in identifying problems and developing and coordinating responses to counter drug problems.

Community policing is an excellent vehicle for implementing a comprehensive problem-oriented drug control strategy on the community level. Since community policing is a combination of enforcement and prevention efforts, those engaged in community policing are better able to recognize the underlying problems of drug use and trafficking and to seek and develop long-term solutions. As a result of the combined effort, community members increasingly are not interested only in strict enforcement activities but also in breaking the cycle by treating the addicted offenders, who are often their neighbors. While traditional policing focuses on supply reduction and increasing the cost of drug use, community policing can embrace a broader, more effective approach that links supply and demand reduction by including prevention and treatment efforts. For example, the eight jurisdictions funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance to create Innovative Neighborhood-Oriented Policing efforts focused on supplementing traditional enforcement approaches (e.g., drug sweeps; street-level buy-busts; and periodic, intensive drug enforcement in target areas) with long-term, community-based prevention, education, and treatment referral.

Involving Others in Strategic Planning

Community policing translates into a joint responsibility for identifying and responding to problems. Traditional police departments normally respond to drug and related crime problems by developing a specific police strategy and, perhaps, holding a press conference to announce this strategy. Because community policing requires individuals and agencies outside the police department to cooperate, everyone affected should be included in developing response strategies. Unlike traditional drug enforcement, which often involves only special drug units in the planning stage, community policing includes patrol, crime analysis, other relevant parts of a police department, community organizations, and other agencies at the beginning of strategic planning.

Although strategically planned drug enforcement requires some confidentiality to be effective, the need to include others is not just a reflection of a more participatory approach but is essential because the drug unit is no longer the only actor. Police patrol becomes the primary agent for surveillance activities in neighborhoods; crime

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analysis becomes an important source of information for planning activities; and community members, other government agencies, and the police become partners in identifying and tracking problems and developing police responses and other responses to solve these problems in the long term. As a result, each of these components should be part of the strategic planning process.

Mobilizing Community Resources

In narcotics enforcement especially, many police departments have realized that their resources are insufficient to address and impact community drug problems in the long term. The community must be part of any effort to impact drug and other crime problems in the neighborhood. One reason community policing can be effective in reducing drug-related problems is that the police department is often the one local government agency that can effectively mobilize a community around an issue such as drug-related crime. A police department that is committed to community policing can rally the community around the drug problems in their neighborhoods and can be a catalyst for change by providing assistance and helping the community enlist the assistance of other organizations, such as schools, human service agencies, justice agencies, and churches. This change means the police are not the only entity to provide solutions to the problems at hand. In community policing, the police recognize that other organizations and entities in the community have the expertise to respond.

Increasing Police Presence

Some of the most effective drug control strategies involve increasing police presence in problem areas. While this sounds like a traditional police response, it is exactly what community policing provides since it emphasizes the work of uniformed patrol officers in neighborhoods. Three years before the police in Austin, Texas, developed into a community policing department, there were three times as many open-area drug markets operating as there are today. The Austin police department sent 70 uniformed officers to patrol drug market areas and successfully disrupted the markets so that they were unable to remain in business. In addition, officers worked closely with individual community members and groups to emphasize that the community has a responsibility to keep the area free of drugs. Close cooperation between police and the community was established, which ensured that police were informed immediately if and when drug traffickers resurfaced, which allowed police to intervene at the earliest time possible and prevent dealers from reestablishing business. Community members also had to take specific responsibility for keeping dealers out. Landlords,

for example, received training to screen tenants and to intervene immediately after receiving information that drug trafficking was happening on their property.

Using Alternative Responses

Community policing encourages police to realize that there are more mechanisms available for responding to problems than just the criminal code. For example, residential and commercial property codes are useful tools to hold people accountable when they are not good neighbors. Enforcing such codes can, for example, be a critical tool for closing down a crack house. Licensing bicycles has been a useful mechanism for disrupting bike trafficking in jurisdictions such as Fort Myers, Florida, and Framingham, Massachusetts. Methods to keep traffickers out of housing units include filing trespassing charges against them, evicting drug traffickers, and training landlords to identify problem renters and take appropriate measures to curb drug dealing on their properties. The use of forfeitures to disrupt trafficking networks has benefited many communities around the country. In the case of the Village of Columbus, New Mexico, the city became the owner of a bar that had been forfeited from a drug trafficker and money launderer and converted the property into a public library. To support officers in their community-oriented work, the police department in Boulder, Colorado, created a departmental fund of forfeited drug money that could be used by line officers for community work, such as conducting afterschool activities in low-income areas.

The development and implementation of these different drug control strategies within a community-oriented policing concept requires more than cooperation with the community and other agencies and flexibility and creativity in responding to different and changing drug problems. It requires that police departments build the internal capacity to support such efforts. The following sections address the main organizational and management components that should be considered by a department intent on becoming truly community oriented and responsive to drug problems with a comprehensive, long-term approach.

FIGHTING DRUGS WITH COMMUNITY POLICING AND WHAT IT TAKES

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

By the late 1980s, Norfolk, Virginia, began to see disturbing signs of increased illicit drug use and drug trafficking. In response to this problem, the Norfolk Police Department began their first community policing efforts in two neighborhoods that were especially affected by drugs. Police Assisted Community Enforcement (PACE)—the local name for community policing— consists of several committees and staff working at various interconnected organizations. A Support Services Committee, for example, provides a forum for information sharing, policy decisionmaking, and problemsolving; committee members include representatives of more than one dozen city agencies, neighborhood groups, and the business and religious communities. A Neighborhood Environmental Assessment Team comprised of city agencies and community representatives identifies and responds to environmental concerns in the target neighborhoods, such as vacant buildings, abandoned vehicles, trash, and overgrown lots. Family Assessment Services Teams, located in each target neighborhood, address the needs of families with problems and serve as a vehicle for information sharing and problemsolving at the neighborhood level. Norfolk police work encompasses traditional law enforcement tactics, such as undercover drug operations, increased patrol, and sweeps; assignment of additional target area police officers to neighborhoods; bicycle patrols; and collaboration with landlords and property managers. As a result of these combined efforts, crime rates in the target areas have declined by 29 percent, street-level drug trafficking has decreased significantly, and city-wide violent crime rates have dropped.

No one expects miracles from community policing or assumes that it is the road to a crime-free society. However, community policing can make the difference in turning neighborhoods around and fighting drug-related crime. Applying problem-oriented community-specific drug strategies is one of two parts of this concept; developing the internal and external support structures for these efforts is the other part necessary for successful community police work against drugs.

Any police administrator or local government official who wants to change a police department into a community-oriented agency should be aware that it is a complex undertaking. The reason is that, unlike special programs, community policing aims at slowly changing the entire police organization, reviewing and reforming all the police processes, changing organizational patterns of accountability, and developing linkages and coordinated responses to neighborhood problems with a wide range of community groups and agencies.

Police departments that have successfully institutionalized community policing know that this is not just another fad or confusing specialty, but a different, very sound approach to policing—an approach that realizes that police do not and cannot function in isolation, that they are a part of a community and, as such, are more effective and efficient when they work with the community (e.g., citizens, private business, and other government agencies) toward long-term solutions. Community policing is good policing that is appropriate for a modern democratic society.

If the concept of community policing is so simple, then why have so many law enforcement agencies struggled to develop community-oriented departments? One reason is that most police departments represent agencies that still work in isolation with their own cultures and structures focused on reacting efficiently to crime. Changing this approach, and with it the police culture, is difficult because it requires even more than changing the organizational structure or applying a new enforcement strategy. It involves a fundamental change in addressing crime, by taking even lesser violations seriously and as the core responsibility of police. It also requires that crime prevention becomes a cornerstone of policing anti-crime and anti-drug activities. A departmental structure has to be created that focuses on neighborhood organization and action rather than on centralized control of police operations. This requires that every member of a police department, as well as citizens and other agencies, become proactive, take responsibility, and cooperate to implement community-oriented efforts to identify neighborhood drug problems and to develop coordinated responses.

Such fundamental change is not easy to achieve. Even the many police officers who understand that traditional police responses have done little to impact the crime

situation in their jurisdictions often resist community policing when they do not understand what it means and what it actually requires of them. Especially when community policing is limited to a special unit, regular beat officers are often left with a greater workload since the special community policing unit often does not respond to calls and is not involved in most of the traditional policing activities. In response, police officers are often skeptical of community policing and believe that the energy required to implement this change will not have a positive impact on their own work and that community members and others will not be willing and able to do their part to create more livable communities. On the other hand, most line officers support policing strategies that maximize resources in neighborhoods, increase their flexibility, and ensure accountability, which is what community policing represents.

The experiences of police departments that have already developed, implemented, and institutionalized community policing show that a number of key issues must be addressed to implement community policing in a jurisdiction, some of which are especially important to effectively reducing drug crimes and related problems.

Working With the Community and Other Agencies

Since the police alone cannot create safe, drug-free neighborhoods, they must work closely with the community and other agencies that can help enforce violations of the law, hold drug users and drug traffickers accountable for their actions, assist those who need help to cease their involvement with drugs, and create environments that prevent drug use and drug trafficking. The structure developed by the Norfolk Police Department mentioned above includes several different organizational models to involve the community and other agencies.

Restructuring the Police Department

Often, to fully implement community policing, the police department needs to be completely restructured. If a department is determined to address crime and drug problems at the neighborhood level, its organization must be flexible enough to respond to various neighborhood needs. That is, officers must be able to work closely with the neighborhoods they are assigned to, and the decisionmaking process must begin at the neighborhood level. This requires first, some form of decentralization in the police department and second, a refocusing of all department operations into a support mechanism for those working at the neighborhood level—namely the street-level officer.

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Redefining the Role of Police Officers and Managers

The role and work of street-level officers must be redefined to reflect their central position in carrying out the police department's mission. Community policing at its core is serving the community by striving to build safe neighborhoods, which is a much broader mission than just fighting crime. Street-level officers need to have the power to make day-to-day decisions required by their work. This means they must have not just the knowledge and resources needed to work with the community in identifying problems and developing appropriate solutions but also the freedom to make the appropriate decisions and choices alone, or as part of a police-community problemsolving team. As a result, the main function of police managers changes from supervisor to team leader who builds a support structure that facilitates the work of those working at the neighborhood level.

Building a Support Structure for Community Policing Within the Police Department

When the community policing officer on the street becomes the focal point of police work, the work of the entire department must be rearranged. Supervisors must serve as a source of support for community policing officers, and training and performance evaluations must reflect the various focuses of community policing. Any remaining specialized units (e.g., homicide, sex offenses) must also become sources of support for community policing officers, and the flow of information within the police department must be streamlined and channeled to assist the officers in their work in communities.

Finding Resources for Community Policing

Community policing requires police officers to devote considerable time and resources to develop partnerships in which they work side by side with community members and other agencies to identify problems and develop long-term solutions. This requires time and resources that otherwise would have been used in responding to calls for services and possibly other enforcement activities, such as long-term surveillance. Since police departments cannot afford to ignore incoming calls and have to gain information to pursue criminals, resources must be reallocated to allow police officers to spend time in communities, develop multiple partnerships, and develop nontraditional solutions in addition to searches, seizures, surveillance, and arrests.

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Institutionalizing Community Policing

Implementing community policing takes time and requires fundamental changes to the police organization, its management, and the procedures it follows. Community members, institutions, and service providers must become partners with the police to create safe and viable neighborhoods. Only when community policing becomes part of daily community life will it truly be effective. Since developing this partnership takes time and requires considerable commitment and effort from all involved parties, it is particularly important that all planning and development efforts aim at institutionalizing community policing. Any reversal to traditional policing would only result in wasted resources and discourage police officers whose efforts would become another discarded fad. It would be especially disillusioning for the community to see the implementation of community policing reversed. A loss of trust between the community and the police as a result of this kind of reversal could be detrimental, especially in the area of drug enforcement, because police can do little without the help of the community.

The following sections outline how police departments that have implemented community policing have addressed these issues and provide considerations for police administrators and local government officials that may want to implement community policing and use it as a tool against drug problems.

WORKING WITH COMMUNITIES

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

The Sunset Acres block in Shreveport, Louisiana, comprises 42 residences, a church, and a business. A number of residents are retirees and some are widows. Most of them describe themselves as blue-collar workers chasing the American Dream. They were content and felt relatively secure until a new family moved into a rental house and began having lots of visitors at all hours, most of whom did not stay long. It did not take long for the residents to realize what was going on and to take action. Flyers were distributed to the neighborhood urging action, and neighbors coordinated to watch the house and document license numbers, car descriptions, time of day, and how long people stayed. On some occasions, they hid notepads behind books they pretended to read on their front porches. On other occasions, they took photos or used videotape cameras. After the residents had gathered a few facts, they contacted what they call "the best friend a neighborhood can have"—their neighborhood police officer. He had helped them in the past with such things as broken street lights, drainage problems, sidewalk repair, loud music, street repair, and speeders. The officer connected them with the police department's narcotics division, which from then on received information from the community every few days. Soon neighbors realized that unmarked police vehicles began to frequent the area. It took only a few weeks of information sharing until the crack house was gone.

To create a working relationship between the police and the community, the Shreveport Police Department created a Leadership Council for Community Oriented Policing. The council meets monthly and develops strategic plans for identifying community problems

and finding realistic solutions; it is comprised of community leaders, politicians, police and fire department officers, and citizen volunteers. It is broken down into several working committees, and a citizen volunteer facilitates the organization and administration of the council meetings and tasks. In carrying out its function, the council has (1) identified patrol needs and organized a citizen patrol to support police surveillance, (2) provided emotional and moral support to victims, and (3) established a citizen information network for crime and surveillance information exchange. In addition, the council holds annual fundraisers to benefit special community policing projects.

Long recognized as a key community policing ingredient is an agency code of conduct that promotes trust within a community. It requires time and effort for a police officer to develop this trust, especially since communities are not just homogeneous blocks of people but are composed of many groups and individuals. A community may consist of individuals from all types of backgrounds, ages, races, and cultures. It may include a broad range of community institutions including families, schools, neighborhood associations, and merchants groups that may become key partners with police in creating safe, secure communities. However, to develop real partnerships with the public, police must move to empower two groups: the public and the police who serve it. Only when the public has a real voice in setting police priorities will its needs be taken seriously, and only when street officers have the operational latitude and support to take on the problems they encounter will those needs readily be addressed.

The concept of community policing asks police to think about their constituency as people, not simply as cases. It demands that the entire community come together to develop an atmosphere of cooperation, where community members become accepted players in the decisionmaking process and not just informants. Community policing requires that police officers and community members take a different attitude toward one another. In many jurisdictions this means that for the first time police and the community work together, and the community actually has a role in identifying and responding to community problems. This gives police officers an opportunity to explain why problems cannot be changed overnight and for the community to experience a new way of how law enforcement services are delivered. Unlike traditional policing, in which the police are the answer to the crime problem, community policing assigns the community an important role in solving crime problems.

Involving All Parts of the Community

To build a comprehensive approach to identifying and resolving neighborhood problems, all parts of a community must participate. Initially, police often will be able to gain the cooperation and interest of a few groups and individuals who already are

active in the neighborhood. While their support is vital, police nevertheless must strive to draw in as many partners from various backgrounds as possible. The ability of the police to work with a broader base of community members increases the availability of resources to develop safer neighborhoods. It is important to note that the more vocal community members may not always represent the majority of the residents in a neighborhood and often only reflect one side of a problem.

Developing incentives for cooperation is important to gaining broader community participation in community policing. This can include outlining the benefits of involvement to individual groups, such as landlords or tenants of apartment buildings that are used by drug traffickers, or by offering youth the opportunity to participate in activities of a Police Athletic League.

The business community is an important resource for identifying and solving neighborhood problems and can be a central catalyst for community development and improving the quality of life. One reason many inner-city neighborhoods are so desolate is that businesses are moving their offices from the inner city to more prosperous, suburban neighborhoods. When stores close that are essential to everyday needs—such as grocery stores—many law-abiding citizens leave the area. Police departments working with the business community owners generally do not have to remind them of their role in a neighborhood. The future and existence of a business often is linked to the safety of an area. Business owners have a vital interest in the quality of life of the neighborhood, which makes them a willing and much needed partner in community-oriented work.

To encourage broad community participation, the Colorado Springs Police Department appointed a citizen's advisory committee for each district consisting of approximately 24 members who meet approximately 4 times per year. Advisory committee members attend seminars conducted at the training academy 1 night per week for 2 months. They advise the police on neighborhood issues and have direct access to the district commander should emergencies occur. The advisory committee supports individual police officers in their work and serves as a liaison to other community members. Together with the community police officers, advisory committee members become an important partner in reaching out to all community members.

Balancing Community Needs and Departmental Requirements

Working in cooperation with the community requires the needs of a community to be balanced against what the police department can deliver and against general departmental requirements. What a community identifies as its prime concerns does

not always coincide with the police department's concerns. Community surveys often indicate that the community is more concerned with the appearance of their neighborhood and wants abandoned cars towed or deteriorating buildings demolished. On the other hand, police may want to concentrate on reducing drug trafficking.

In some cases, both interests can be served at the same time. For example, if abandoned cars or houses are used for drug trafficking or provide hiding places for drug dealers and users, both interests can be served by removing the abandoned cars or demolishing the houses. But these interests do not always agree. For example, the community is often interested only in actions against street-level trafficking. On the other hand, the police department may see the need to allocate resources to pursue drug kingpins and money launderers.

In other cases, the community may want a problem solved for which the police may not be authorized to respond or are unable to deliver a service. To implement community policing, the public must be aware of what police can deliver, when and how police will and can respond, and what the limitations of police work are. Encouraging community members to use drug hotlines, for example, will be effective in the long run only if such calls actually make a difference. If someone calls with information about drug deals in a neighborhood and the police do not respond, it is unlikely that the person will bother to call again. However, police might have a specific reason for not intervening at a certain point because the illegal activity is part of a larger operation, and these reasons have to be communicated to the public.

Educating the Public

Educating the public about what police can do within legal and budgetary limits becomes important to developing trust and working relationships between communities and the police. Community meetings educate the public about the reasons behind police actions and provide feedback to the police regarding response methods. By educating the public about criminal activity and other problems as well as the police department's ability to respond, unrealistic community expectations and demands can be avoided.

The police department can implement a broad range of measures, such as frequent meetings, special working groups, and newsletters to inform and enlist community members to create safer neighborhoods. This approach helps community members understand what police can deliver and why they themselves need to take responsibility for their neighborhoods.

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Building a Working Relationship Between Police and the Community

While mobilization of communities and understanding between police and communities are the basis for cooperation and shared responsibilities, specific mechanisms have to be established to ensure that communities have input in the decisionmaking process and take some responsibility for their neighborhoods. To facilitate this process, special working groups can be developed that include community members, police, and representatives from other agencies to address special community problems. Neighborhood watch groups can be created as another vehicle for community members to take responsibility for their neighborhood. Training can be provided to introduce community members to police work and to provide information about promising ways to address problems. Gaining support from community stakeholders is important for reaching a broad range of community members, building trust, and building working relationships that represent more than a mechanism for exchanging information. Powerful and vocal stakeholders often are key to maintaining these working groups, obtaining cooperation from agencies, and attracting alternative resources.

Changing the Flow of Information

To ensure that the community has input into police activities and that its needs are met, the flow of information between the community and the police department must be adjusted.

First, while the work of community policing officers increases the information exchange between the police and the community, this information must be collected more systematically and analyzed to ensure that it becomes a basis for police decisions. Information from the community can be gathered, for example, through annual community surveys, frequent community meetings, regular informal contact, or special working groups. The information gained from these sources along with data from other sources then must be analyzed regularly to distinguish problems from perceptions and to identify progress.

Second, information developed by the police department, such as variations and shifts among different drug hot spots, must be regularly shared with the community to correct wrong perceptions and to assist the community in generating more targeted responses to drug problems.

Third, the information community police officers and the community provide must drive the work of the police department. That is, reports of street-level drug traffick-

ing, trafficking that seems to be occurring in an apartment, and juvenile drug use in a park have to be responded to promptly. If the department cannot respond, it must communicate to the public and street-level officer why no action can take place at a given time or in a given fashion. This information then can become the basis for coordinated efforts between the community, street-level officers, and other agencies to take responsibility for the condition in a specific area and develop alternative responses to solve these problems.

Developing a System of Accountability

To ensure that community problems are not only identified and discussed but are acted on, a system of accountability that divides responsibilities, assigns specific tasks, and reviews outcomes must be developed for the police department, the community, and other agencies involved. For example, when a community policing officer, in cooperation with a community group, embarks on abolishing drug trafficking from an apartment building and adjacent areas, everyone involved should have a clear understanding of what the expected outcome should be (e.g., no drug trafficking will be tolerated regardless of who will be affected); estimated timelines for achieving the desired results; individual responsibilities and limitations (e.g., reporting drug traffickers, evicting tenants, changes in the physical environment, patrolling the area, and arresting suspects); and possible consequences (e.g., restricted access to buildings, added security costs, eviction of friends, and arrests of children).

The process and outcome of such an effort must be documented to assess how far efforts have gone and where and why they may have fallen short. Newsletters and other means of communication can provide the police and the community with a vehicle to share information and document procedures and outcomes. Unless specific statutes and regulations provide the police and others with a legal tool to enforce commitments and responsibilities, publicizing outcomes and shortcomings is probably the most promising tool to establish accountability.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

The neighborhood police officer operating in the Magnolia-Badger area in the South District of Madison, Wisconsin, shares his office, located in a three-bedroom, ground-level apartment, with social workers from the Dane County Intervention Project. They are part of the Joining Forces for America neighborhood teams. Other participants in this effort are the Madison Metropolitan Schools and the Madison Public Health Department. The office serves as a center for team-planned activities; it provides a place for public and private service providers to exchange information and is a focal point for residents of the area.

The team assesses the strengths, opportunities, and goals of the neighborhood and works with residents to help them meet their goals. Much of the team's work focuses on helping families experiencing problems achieve self-sufficiency. The team's work is driven by the needs of the community. Team members meet twice per month with the neighborhood advisory board and use open-house events, block parties, and health clinics to get to know community residents. Team members also go door-to-door to inform citizens about assistance available through the team. Being located with other service providers increases the amount of information exchanged and the generation of comprehensive support mechanisms. For neighborhood officers, this location also means that citizens are more likely to report drug trafficking and suspicious activities because residents contact the team and enter the office for many different reasons, and reporting criminal activity is not an obvious reason.

Since they have been working in the neighborhood, police officers have created a new picture of the police department in the minds of local citizens, especially among the youth. Community trust in the police is growing. Area residents know that the officers will help them in difficult situations, but they also know that the law will be enforced. Neighborhood officers work closely with patrol officers and generally are at the scene of a crime when arrests occur and during searches. Targeted drug enforcement activities and the efforts to involve the community in this area have significantly reduced street-level drug trafficking, and citizens feel much safer.

Community policing is a comprehensive approach requiring cooperation and commitment from many people in the community, and representatives of various law enforcement and criminal justice agencies, the educational system, the treatment field, housing and zoning offices, parks and recreation offices, and other service providers, to respond to neighborhood problems. All these elements must come together, adapt, and respond to new situations, as well as be proactive to prevent the occurrence of problems. Proactive, coordinated police and local government responses and a strong emphasis on prevention signify the difference between community policing and traditional policing.

Every Government Agency is a Potential Partner

Cooperation between a police department and other agencies is important to the success of community policing. Even the combined resources and authority of the police and the community may not be enough to respond to and reduce the recurrence of neighborhood problems. For example, when the community and the police department identify the need for better lighting to increase safety in an area, they often have to rely on an appropriate city or county agency to provide more street lights.

The cooperation of other agencies is important because it can be discouraging for police officers when other agencies do not respond to identified needs. For example, when a local prosecutor maintains a policy of not filing charges for certain minor crimes, such as loitering, it may be difficult for police to disrupt drug trafficking in areas where youth gather as lookouts for drug traffickers if no alternative intervention is created. Appropriate and timely responses to identified needs are critical, especially in vicinities where community policing is new to the public; the police department may lose some of its credibility when the identification of safety issues is not followed by action.

One issue that demonstrates the need for cooperation and understanding between a police department and other agencies is the issue of keeping businesses in a neigh-

borhood or enticing them to return after they have left. Because new businesses are not likely to be established in unsafe areas, the police can play a major role in creating an environment that attracts or keeps businesses in a community. To make this happen, tax incentives are often needed to develop new business in an area, which requires that the city or county government become involved.

Gaining the Commitment of Local Government Agency Executives

Developing solutions to community problems through community policing requires rethinking current modes of communication and cooperation with government agencies that provide community services. Police departments around the country have used various approaches to gain their cooperation. Some are fortunate enough to be located in jurisdictions where intergovernmental cooperation has long been a tradition and where the mayor and city council understand the financial and political benefits of coordination, cooperation, and community involvement and are ready to embrace and support community policing. Smaller cities and towns may have an advantage over larger jurisdictions when it comes to gaining the support of other parts of the local government. Their government structure often is less complex, different agencies are more likely to be located in one building or at least in close proximity to each other, and members of different government entities are more likely to know each other and be familiar with each other's work. In many small jurisdictions, positions in different parts of the local government are either part-time or volunteer, and people holding these positions can more easily identify with the community than can their full-time counterparts in large city administrations.

Having the commitment of local government agency executives is crucial to promoting cooperation for community policing because they determine the extent to which work can be combined and resources can be shifted within their agencies. Police departments often use community support to convince local governments and other agencies to cooperate; they also can build on existing cooperative relationships with at least some agencies such as prosecutor's offices, city attorney's offices, fire departments, or housing and zoning commissions. In some jurisdictions, other criminal justice and local government agencies have reoriented their own offices to become community oriented.

Identifying the Benefits of Cooperation

Police departments that have successfully created good working relationships with other agencies generally were able to do so because they demonstrated the benefits

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of cooperation. For example, one area where cooperation can make a significant difference in a community involves supervising offenders under conditional release from jail or prison. Traditionally, law enforcement officers do not have close partnerships with correctional systems, and when offenders are released from State correctional facilities, local police chiefs usually are provided with only their names. Local police usually have no information on the conditions of release and no mechanism to coordinate exchange of information with parole and probation officers. Because a large percentage of offenders continue to commit crimes—especially drug offenders who are prone to relapse and continue their illegal behavior—improving control mechanisms and assisting offenders in adhering to release conditions has a high potential for reducing recidivism rates. For example, in Prince George's County, Maryland, the police work with the corrections department chief to ensure that a drug testing program is conducted and that probationers stay out of trouble. This is a worthwhile approach that fits well with community policing's effort to focus on problemsolving.

Coordination allows programs and processes to be further streamlined and likely will reduce duplication of effort, thereby saving resources. Coordination may allow sharing of scarce resources. For example, the Fort Myers Police Department in Florida entered into an agreement with the juvenile corrections department. Juvenile offenders who reside within the community and their families receive regular visits from the community policing officer working in the area. This activity added little extra work to the community policing officer's schedule and provided a welcome opportunity to interact with the youth and their families and friends. The corrections department reimbursed the police department for the time officers spent on this activity, which was less costly than sending corrections' staff to the various neighborhoods. Everyone benefited from this arrangement.

Coordination of Planning, Budgeting, and Policies

Criminal justice and local government agencies often are surprised by the different workload created for them when community policing is implemented. To ensure that community policing efforts are effective, other agencies need to be informed of the level of effort required beforehand to allow them to be prepared. If these agencies are included in the planning stages, and if budgeting for these efforts addresses their needs and situations, community policing responses are more likely to gain the support they need. At the same time, police departments should work with other agencies to develop response policies that complement each other.

Coordination of planning, budgeting, and policy development before agencies are impacted is critical to avoiding difficulties in implementing community policing. A housing

agency, for example, may not want the police to dictate its processes and priorities any more than the police want to be managed by a citizens' league. Community policing and the changed workload it may imply for other agencies also suggest the need for municipal leaders to mandate common interagency goals and chart a new path for agencies to work in teams.

Establishing Regular Communication

Since community policing is not just a one-time effort, regular communication with other agencies that resolve neighborhood problems must be established. Channels of communication must be developed among all levels of the police department and all agencies involved.

Because street-level officers are at the center of community policing, they must have access to their counterparts working in other agencies. For this reason, a police department must establish protocols for communicating and coordinating community policing efforts and assign a liaison with the authority to either request needed services or activate response processes. Frequent meetings at all levels must be established to ensure continued interaction and cooperation. It also is important to develop a system of accountability within cooperating agencies to ensure that requests for support are acted on and not just noted.

To avoid problems and misunderstandings, protocols for communications and cooperation should be developed along with memoranda of agreements that outline the responsibilities of the cooperating parties. Mechanisms of communication need to be established and individuals have to be assigned as liaisons or for specific tasks, to create a system of accountability for both parties.

RESTRUCTURING THE POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MANAGING INTERNAL CHANGE

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

As part of its community policing efforts, the Colorado Springs, Colorado, Police Department decentralized not only its patrol unit but also its crime analysis unit and parts of its detective unit. Crime analysts are located in all five district substations and work directly with patrol officers to identify neighborhood-specific crime problems. In one of the five police districts, the combined Sand Creek Patrol/Investigations Unit handles burglary, robbery, and other property crimes occurring in its district. The unit includes five detectives that formed a Problemsolving Committee. They use the crime location database developed by the crime analysts to work in close cooperation with patrol officers to target neighborhood problems.

Community policing is rooted in the valued, century-old tradition of policing neighborhoods by close, cooperative, and personal contact with citizens. However, this form of policing diverges considerably from the "professional," highly technological form of policing many departments practice today. Technology and automation have helped law enforcement agencies advance their work and keep up with criminals; they also have led to highly efficient but less effective measures that alienated the department from the community and did little to solve problems in the long run.

Similarly, a highly structured departmental organization may improve administrative functions but do little to link all members of the organization. Many police officers have felt the alienation that professionalization and technology have brought but nevertheless appreciate their advantages and are proud of their accomplishments in

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applying them. This is an important factor for every police chief and local government official to consider when seeking to change a police department and other agencies into more community-oriented organizations.

Decisions about the approach to implement community policing should be based on what the police department can accomplish and what works best. While, in the end, community policing must be a departmentwide concept, evolution into a department that operates fully under this approach is long and involved. As a result, not all of the required changes can be implemented at once.

Many police departments have learned the hard way that community policing must be carefully introduced. While a comprehensive, departmentwide approach to community policing may be the goal, it does not have to be the aim from the very beginning. For example, a police department could begin with a community policing unit as a demonstration program within the agency. However, police chiefs should keep in mind that creating special assignments or units often leads to friction within a department. Therefore, it is important to foster cooperation between those assigned to community policing and those who operate under a more traditional policing mode, to balance the workloads, and especially to share the responsibility for responding to calls for service. Rotating new officers and others through a special community policing unit, at least for limited time periods, fosters understanding of the type of work required and, at the same time, serves as an effective hands-on training mechanism.

Starting small and expanding slowly may be the best strategy. That way, the department can adjust to the initiative while its benefits are being demonstrated. Especially when a number of police officers within a department have a negative attitude toward community policing, it may be wise to take small steps toward implementation. The wisdom of this approach is demonstrated by the example of Thomas Koby, Chief of Police in Boulder, Colorado. When Mr. Koby became the Chief of Police, he knew that many in the department expected to be pressured into implementing community policing. Instead, he made it clear that the police officers themselves would determine what the community needed, a move that relieved much tension. When the concept of community policing is not understood, police personnel may fear that it will fail. This fear is reduced and community policing is easier to accept when everyone understands that the basic goals are to work with the community to identify its problems and determine its needs.

The main goal of the initial steps for implementing community policing should be to involve police officers from all ranks, as well as others outside the police department that may be affected, early in the development and planning process. Only then can

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they have input into the implementation process, become part of the effort, gain ownership of changes, and feel comfortable with what they have created.

Establishing a Planning Team

Change in itself is never an easy task, but trying to change government systems by refocusing the basics without giving up the advantages of modern technology and professionalism is especially difficult. Changing toward community policing requires acknowledging the benefits of communication and coordination, assessing requirements for change, and gaining support from all stakeholders who are affected and whose participation is needed for change. To accomplish this, a broad range of organizational and management issues must be determined: the impact of community policing on promotions, how problemsolving will be managed or monitored, and how the work of police officers and managers will be evaluated.

Police chiefs alone cannot accomplish everything that is required for a department to change. To develop the necessary structure and support for community policing, police chiefs must have the assistance of interdepartmental teams that believe in and work toward this vision. In addition, resources from other government agencies, citizens, and the business community must be involved to create proactive partnerships. Police departments need to practice community policing internally by involving everyone in the department in the planning and decisionmaking processes.

Developing a Clear Vision and Mission Statement

To implement the complex changes community policing requires, police chiefs must have a clear and realistic vision for their police departments and jurisdictions—a vision that will help them overcome obstacles, especially when there is resistance to change within the department. This vision must be pursued consistently. The experience of several police departments in implementing community policing demonstrates that it takes 3 to 5 years at a minimum for community policing to be implemented. Police chiefs must recognize that obstacles must be faced, that the process will be long term, and that they must maintain a strong commitment to community policing.

Planning for Change

To develop a realistic community policing approach that is appropriate for a police department and its community, the following must be assessed: the community's situation, the resources available, and the needs of the police department. For example,

to effectively fight drugs, officers must not only know where drug markets are located, how they behave, and what types of drug traffickers and drug users operate in various locations, but information must be gathered on (1) resources available and those needed for tactical operations; (2) police access to information from the community; (3) possibilities for and any impediments to coordinating patrol and detective work; (4) agencies that could provide assistance such as housing and zoning to close crack houses; (5) other resources, such as substance abuse treatment and self-help groups; and especially (6) cooperation from community groups and members.

To ensure that everyone who needs to be involved in community policing will be given the opportunity to cooperate, the police department must reach out to the community and other agencies and include them in the planning process. Open lines of communication within the department and to those outside the department are important to ensuring that everyone has a mechanism to voice concerns and ideas and is heard.

Providing Incentives for Change and Promoting Early Success Stories

Police officers, the community, and other agencies must have incentives to cooperate with community policing. For example, when a police department seeks to shift the responsibility for keeping neighborhoods drug-free to the community level, it means that street-level officers must have up-to-date access to information about drug trafficking in their beat, a broad range of potential response mechanisms, and a vehicle to follow up on previous efforts. The community must get involved and take responsibility for keeping drug dealers away and preventing other citizens from being involved with drugs.

Access to up-to-date or real-time information about trafficking activities requires that the officers working in a neighborhood must be able to either quickly develop their own daily statistical overviews of drug activities and related problems occurring within geographic areas or work closely with crime analysis units to receive this information. They may want to track known offenders and may need access to information about special release conditions. Police officers must develop close ties with communities to obtain their support and access other agencies that can assist them in closing crack houses, referring addicts for treatment, or developing prevention efforts.

Most street-level officers are willing to engage in this broad spectrum of activities because it gives them more control over their work, provides better understanding of the outcomes of their work, and allows them to develop solutions to recurring

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problems. As a result, community policing officers generally are more satisfied with their jobs than patrol officers working under traditional policing because they are able to see that their work makes a difference. If their police departments assist them in gaining the skills they need and provide them with support structures for community policing, including an evaluation and promotion system that rewards community oriented work, officers will be more likely to embrace community policing.

Police departments that have implemented community policing have learned that it helps to show and publicize—both internally and externally—the early successes of community policing to gain broader support. Numerous departments have developed regular newsletters to report community policing achievements, provide examples of successful work, and acknowledge those who have accomplished the results. Some departments have developed their newsletters into highly effective tools for exchanging information, providing hands-on examples, communicating with citizens and other agencies, and publicizing their accomplishments.

Decentralization

Another change essential to implementing community policing is the decentralization of police department personnel, functions, and decisionmaking. Police officers located in substations are more accessible to and knowledgeable about their communities; as a result, they usually are better able to understand the situational contexts of community problems than officers located at police headquarters. A community policing officer quickly recognizes drug dealers operating in his or her policing area, where they come from, and who their customers are. Community policing officers know the area well enough to recommend changes in the physical environment, such as street barriers to disrupt open-air drug markets.

Decentralization that supports community policing also includes the decisionmaking process. Centralized policymaking often cannot reflect the needs of individual neighborhoods. Accordingly, police officers must have flexibility in selecting appropriate responses to community problems, and the teams working in different geographic areas must be able to develop overall response policies that reflect the needs of their neighborhoods.

When a police department opts for geographic decentralization, it is vital that the personnel working in substations have access to the same organizational support structures available at the police headquarters, from access to information to maintenance and janitorial services.

Dissolving Special Units

The central focus of community policing is close cooperation with the community. This is true not only for patrol officers but also for detectives and other special units. Several police departments have experimented with decentralizing detective and crime analysis units and integrating detectives and crime analysts into patrol units working in specific geographic areas.

These experiments show that a team approach can be more effective than isolated approaches; drug enforcement cannot be effective when it involves the work of an isolated narcotics division. Furthermore, combining the creative problemsolving of the community and its street-level officers can have a significant and positive impact on the community. Police departments also have realized that patrol officers, narcotics specialists, and other community organizations have roles to play in a combined response to local drug problems.

Community policing can develop many more resources than traditional policing. The community police officer plays an important role not only in gaining information but also in accessing community resources to support drug control efforts. The community can apply pressure on drug users and be influential in gaining access to Government resources to develop alternative responses.

Shift and Beat Arrangements

Although police departments are organized similarly in jurisdictions throughout the United States, most departments also show distinct organizational variations. These variations should be taken into consideration as a department implements community policing because some organizational characteristics are more compatible with community policing than others. For example, police departments with fixed-shift arrangements generally have more success in implementing community policing. In any neighborhood, the visible population and the kind of problems that occur change throughout the day, making it difficult for officers rotating shifts to establish a working relationship with the community. Similarly, permanent beat assignments are more compatible with community policing because officers who are familiar with the neighborhood can better identify and analyze persistent problems.

This issue gains special importance for developing effective drug enforcement strategies. The volume and frequency of drug trafficking in individual areas fluctuate significantly, and traffickers quickly relocate to other areas when police pressure increases. Police officers assigned to permanent beats and steady shifts have a better overview

of who is operating when and where and are able to recognize new patterns of crime more quickly. To create effective responses, the information gained on one beat and shift must be continuously shared with officers on other beats and shifts.

Flattening the Organizational Structure

Another recommendation frequently made to police departments that want to implement community policing is to flatten the organizational structure. While this makes sense for any agency that strives for efficiency, increased officer participation, and empowerment, eliminating most mid-level management positions is not always advisable. Mid-level management plays a vital role in maintaining the administrative functions of an agency and assisting first-line officers, supervisors, and police chiefs by coordinating departmental efforts from both ends of the agency.

The decision to reduce management layers must be based on a thorough assessment of the department's needs. Many changes required to implement community policing in Austin, Texas, for example, resulted from the police department's top-heavy management structure. The existing bureaucracy had been based on a semimilitary notion of bureaus and chains of command, which contributed to the fact that members of the police department, especially managers, lost sight of what was important to the community.

To reduce layers of management, Chief Elizabeth Watson enlisted the help of 16 people from every rank, bureau, and ethnicity in the police department to develop a new organizational model. This model had to be flexible enough to adjust to situational changes and allow for immediate responses to problems, and it had to work within a limited budget. Naturally, the plan met resistance, especially because the reduction in the number of ranks in the management structure would reduce opportunities for promotion. This planning effort resulted in a sleeker and more responsive organization. The team concluded that only 31 of the 38 lieutenants were needed, only 6 of the 13 captains were required, and no ranks higher than captain were needed. Consequently, the new structure no longer included any deputy chiefs or assistant chiefs. Despite the fact that promotional opportunities were curtailed, the officers supported this new structure because it was their own model. The officers knew exactly why there was no need for additional ranks and recognized the benefits of a flatter organization.

Reviewing the Flow of Information

Increasing the ability of officers to work closely with the community often means increasing the distance between those that work in the community, their headquarters, units located in other geographic areas, and other criminal justice and local government agencies that remained centralized. Because information exchange and coordination is one of the most important features of community policing, the information flow between different geographic locations, shifts, beats, units, and agencies becomes a central issue. Officers and other agency staff must have access to information and be able to meet and communicate frequently. Many police departments know that community orientation and geographic specialization increase the need for information technology and types of databases other than those traditionally used. Any technological update, however, must be introduced with careful planning and caution, not only because of the considerable financial investment involved but also to ensure that officers are not overwhelmed with information.

Reducing the Call for Service Dependency

Reallocating workloads and resources is another key element to implementing community policing. Police work traditionally is driven by calls for service. Police officers must respond quickly, sometimes to one call after another, leaving officers very little time to interact with members of the community, thoroughly analyze nonemergency situations, and conduct prevention work. The police officer's margin of discretion on how to respond to situations becomes very narrow when there is no time for anything but first-aid type responses to calls for service.

For many departments, increasing the number of police officers available to respond to calls may not be an option, but there are alternatives for streamlining police response mechanisms and allowing officers to become more efficient and effective, as well as spending time with community members and developing long-term solutions to problems. These alternatives include (1) educating the public about using the 911 system (or any other contact system); (2) reviewing response responsibilities of local law enforcement agencies, fire departments, ambulance, and other emergency systems; (3) reviewing response priorities; (4) introducing alternative response modes (e.g., by telephone only and by nonsworn personnel or auxiliary forces); and (5) providing officers with some discretion regarding the need for immediate responses.

REDEFINING THE ROLES
OF POLICE OFFICERS
AND MANAGERS

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

Community policing in St. Petersburg, Florida, has provided police officers broad latitude to deal with whatever problems they and local residents believe are priorities. Their efforts can range from making life difficult for drug dealers to establishing a program for identifying and keeping track of elderly residents with Alzheimer's disease. Here the work of police officers is limited only by their own creativity, the confines of the law, and the department's values. The department ensures that line officers feel comfortable about making their own decisions and using problemsolving techniques.

To assist police officers in their efforts to solve neighborhood problems, the Colorado Springs Police Department issued a simple "empowerment statement," which is a list of questions an officer should consider when making a decision. The list included the following questions: Is the decision ethical? Is the decision legal? Is the decision right for the community? Is the decision right for the police department? Is the decision within the police department's policies and values? Is the decision something the officer can take responsibility for and be proud of? If police officers can answer "yes" to all these questions, they do not need to ask for permission to make a decision. They can "just do it!"

With community policing, the entire police department focuses on delivering police services to the community, and the officer working in the neighborhood becomes responsible for delivering these services. Accordingly, the decisionmaking responsibility and initiative within a police department must be shifted to the street officers who

assume the responsibility for working with the community. This work includes both traditional patrol work and prevention-oriented interventions. The enhanced role of these officers requires that the entire police organization be structured and managed to support their work on the street. It is the role of the police chief to create the environment and support structure that allow these officers to work in close cooperation with the community to identify and solve neighborhood problems.

When the focus of the police department shifts toward building a support structure for delivering services, the functions and roles of managers and supervisors change accordingly. Supervisors and managers now must guide and support rather than direct and control street-level officers. Mid-level supervisors are no longer overseers but managers, which means they must view their responsibilities differently. Their task is not just to be more knowledgeable and ensure that instructions are followed; rather it is to develop personnel who will be free to innovate and adapt.

Thus, the core competency of managers is presenting themselves as models, teaching, and creating an organizational climate in which personnel can experiment. They tolerate well-intended mistakes, coach, lead, protect, inspire, and understand. Police officers of all ranks gain increased control over their work because they—in concert with their counterparts in the community, other units, and agencies—define their own scope of work. This means that by giving up part of the authority ingrained in the traditional command structure, supervisors gain the power of responsibility for their own work as well as their teams' work.

Shifting the Decisionmaking Process to the Lowest Level Possible

With community policing, line officers play a much more important role in the community than traditional police officers and, as a result, can make a difference in the neighborhoods in which they work. They must be free to work with the community to create coordinated alternative responses to community problems. Therefore, it is critical to implement a bottom-up approach to structuring police responses and to prevent departmental infrastructure and command structures from stifling the creativity of line officers. The organization must be restructured to allow officers to work toward solutions without having to proceed through the ranks to the city council to obtain the cooperation of city agencies.

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Expanding the Role of Street-Level Officers

One example of the expanded role of line officers in narcotics enforcement is that community policing officers are encouraged to communicate. In meeting with the community and speaking to different citizens' groups, beat officers soon develop a sense of where drug hot spots are developing. However, if the police department is still organized in a traditional way, they will pass this information on to special investigations, and the beat officer will rarely hear about further actions. By allowing patrol officers to coordinate directly with special investigations (e.g., serving arrest warrants directly), they are involved in solutions. As a result, the whole process becomes more efficient, and police officers are able to track what happens after a problem is identified.

Redefining the Role of First-Line Supervisors

Since the main focus of community policing is shifted to the street-level officer, the work of first-line supervisors takes on a new importance. They become the main source of support for line officers. In Colorado Springs, Colorado, for example, the main task of sergeants is to serve as a resource for the community policing work of the line officers working in their section. Line officers, in cooperation with crime analysts, detectives, and the community, identify drug and other crime problems in their area and develop possible responses. The sergeants help identify resources to address these problems, provide needed support during off hours, or reallocate workloads to free the officers for community policing projects.

The Role of Mid-Level Managers

Community policing's emphasis on problemsolving requires mid-level managers to secure, maintain, and use their authority to empower their subordinates. The goal is to help police officers actively and creatively confront and solve problems. While some situations may require some form of strict top-down operational control, the responsibility of mid-level managers generally shifts from controlling others to coaching and from ruling by rules to leading by reason. Without abdicating responsibility, they must delegate authority to lower-level officers to enable them to make decisions and act on their own.

Mid-level managers are the backbone of the administrative side of a police department. As such, they must focus on creating an administration that supports line officers in their work. They are the ones that can ensure cooperation and coordination among police districts. They must be able to devise coordinated drug control strate-

gies for the entire police department and modify operations and procedures to support multishift, multibeat team approaches that include patrols, special drug units, and crime analysis to reduce drug trafficking and devise prevention measures.

Supervising and Managing by Values Instead of by Rules and Regulations

Community problems vary from one area to another and change constantly, so police must be flexible enough to adjust their responses. However, the traditional use of rules and regulations to control police officer activities is generally too inflexible and does not allow street-level officers the broad margin of discretion required to respond to various neighborhood problems. Therefore, police departments that implement community policing use a frame of rules that outlines the limits of an officer's discretion and the department's value system to guide officer activities. The department's value system should be reflected in all the published procedures, and managers and supervisors should be charged with imbuing their officers with these values.

Backing Line Officers and Supervisors Who Make Well-Intended Mistakes

Responsible creativity and innovation must be promoted to generate police responses that foster long-term solutions to problems. Community policing requires making decisions different from those made for traditional policing practices; it requires a great deal of creativity and flexibility from line officers and their supervisors. Giving patrol officers latitude and discretion is an integral part of community policing, which also requires that supervisors allow a reasonable margin of error. Police officers must be certain that their decisions will be backed by their supervisors and the department. Police chiefs must be prepared to risk letting line officers make their own decisions and reversing command from time to time, letting decisions about department work come from the officer instead of from supervisors. Mid-level managers must be prepared to learn that community policing precludes controlling as well as hands-off management styles. What is needed is a balanced approach that coaches officers to make their own decisions that reflect the department's values.

Supervisors will no longer be the sole decisionmakers; rather, they will serve as team managers, ensuring that the overall departmental mission is followed. Furthermore, mid-level managers no longer determine how the departmental mission is accomplished. They no longer just delegate activities and no longer act simply as processors of reports; they play a key role in ensuring that street-level officers can work effectively.

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DEVELOPING INTERNAL
SUPPORT STRUCTURES FOR
COMMUNITY POLICING

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

The Hartfort, Connecticut, Police Department, in cooperation with the City of Hartfort and with funding from the State and the National Institute of Justice, established a Cartographic Oriented Management Program for the Abatement of Street Sales (COMPASS) program. The purpose of this program was to enhance the quality of life in areas that were continuously confronted by drugs and crime. This program used a computer-based mapping system to iden-tify drug-trafficking areas by tracking and clustering information on (1) drug arrests, (2) hot-line complaints, (3) drug overdose calls for service, (4) loitering calls for service, (5) gun calls for service, and (6) moral turpitude calls for service. After problem areas were identified, tradi-tional law enforcement strategies were applied in these areas to remove drug dealers from the streets. This was followed by combined efforts of the police, the community, and other city agencies to reclaim and stabilize the neighborhoods. The information gained from the mapping system continues to enable early detection of problem recurrence and monitoring of progress.

Traditional policing shifts the emphasis of policing away from patrolling. Community policing steps back to the beat—back to an even older tradition of serving the community in which patrolling is the backbone of policing. Community policing restruc-tures the police organization around line officers. Therefore, questions central to developing the concept of community policing include the following: How are logis-tics and personnel arranged to increase the effectiveness of police officers? and How is a support structure for line officers developed?

Community Policing Training

Community policing requires line officers and supervisors that are flexible and think independently and creatively. For many departments, such as the Seattle Police Department, recruitment, selection, and training had to be modified to develop officers with the initiative and instinct to work with the community and other government agencies.

Training must be reconstructed and integrated into all classes taught at police academies so that the basic, traditional training courses are taught with a community-oriented focus. Community Policing cannot be just a special subject. For example, when drug enforcement strategies are discussed, trainees should not only learn the procedures to implement such strategies but also recognize the long-term impact of such an effort on a community. The meaning of long-term impacts is exemplified by the Fort Myers, Florida, Police Department decision to enforce bicycle safety codes as a way to apprehend drug traffickers that conducted business by bicycle in area inaccessible to cars. Police officers working in the area deemed this approach promising since they knew that the traffickers rarely kept their bicycles up to code. To avoid arresting other individuals, especially the youth who lived in the area, officers provided the residents with detailed information about the code requirements, assisted them in fixing their bicycles, and were even able to receive a donation of needed bicycle parts.

Empowering officers requires providing them with the skills and resources to make informed decisions that are in line with departmental values and community needs. Working on community problems requires communication and problemsolving skills and requires officers to be sensitive and responsive to the cultural differences of the population they are working with. Cultural sensitivity is a necessary requisite for police officers to effectively communicate with community members. The cultural composition of a neighborhood may translate into different views of individual community problems, different opinions about response priorities, and different ideas about the types of responses needed. These are all important factors that should drive the police work in a specific neighborhood.

Community policing training also must show officers how to manage the different type of workload community policing creates. Traditional patrol responses are only reactive, one-time events. Individual community problems, however, are to community policing officers what specific criminal cases are to detectives. Responses to community problems must be developed, planned, and organized. Officers need support from their supervisors to handle the community policing cases. They must be trained in

long-term case management, they need time to work on problem solutions, and they need access to resources.

The training needs to convey to officers the benefit of community policing: that the more involved community policing approach is more effective and efficient than the traditional response. It is also important to note that the skills needed for community policing must be developed for all levels and type of personnel, not just for street-level officers.

Coordinating Training With the Community and Other Agencies

Community policing is based on building relationships with people who have never been involved in police work. As a result, community policing creates the need for a training program that involves the community and other criminal justice and local government agencies. For community policing to be successful, community members, police officers, and other agencies who work in the communities should meet on a regular basis and receive training about the goals and limitations of police and the role of the community.

The Pasadena, California, Police Department as part of its ongoing training effort, began holding roll calls and short training sessions for police personnel within the community. These sessions addressed special community problems, such as juveniles loitering in public places. By including the community in these sessions, the police department not only provided for additional opportunity for communication between officers and citizens but also educated the public about law enforcement and policing limitations.

Field Training

Since community policing relies on the officer's ability to communicate, build partnerships, know the neighborhood, recognize problem situations, and develop long-term solutions, hands-on training takes on a central role. For example, the Colorado Springs, Colorado, Police Department assigns smaller community problems to trainees to teach them how to handle a community policing case. In this way, new officers gain hands-on experience in case management, learn what is involved in working with the community to develop long-term solutions, get closer to community members, learn about the work of other agencies, and experience the positive side of achieving long-lasting results.

The Houston, Texas, Police Department requires probationary police officers (PPOs) to perform a practical exercise that applies their law enforcement knowledge to the

needs and expectations of the community. The practicum consists of four major sections designed to help guide the PPO through the process of solving neighborhood problems: identification of physical, social, ethnic, and economic neighborhood characteristics; identification of neighborhood problems and recognition of which problems merit law enforcement attention; acquisition of information on the selected problem and of the resources relevant to the problem; and development of a problem-solving plan, which involves setting goals and objectives and estimating costs.

To be able to convey the meaning of community policing to new officers and those who have not applied this concept before, it is important that the field training officers are committed to community policing. These officers serve as role models and as a resource for the officers and trainees who embark on their own first project. As such, field training officers must be well trained, able to demonstrate the benefit of community policing, and able to show their trainees how to use discretion, having the police department value system as a guide.

Ongoing In-House Training

Community policing differs depending on the location and situation to which it is applied. As a result, officers have an increased need for in-house training that is specific to individual jurisdictions and neighborhoods. The Fort Myers, Florida, Police Department, for example, encourages officers to identify their needs for place-specific, in-house training and involves them in the development of such sessions. Other jurisdictions use community policing newsletters that report about the successful application of community policing to neighborhood problems. These reports not only give recognition to the individual officers but can also serve as a training tool.

In-house training must address department-specific issues, such as values, organization of and procedures for coordinated efforts, and availability of community resources. The training also needs to explain police department and community expectations. For example, officers must understand that while the community may expect them to eradicate drug crime and related problems, the police department may also want them to communicate the need for community involvement and serve as a catalyst for coordinated efforts that lead to long-term solutions.

Providing Workload Management Support

As opposed to the traditional police response, community policing requires officers to seek cooperation from others and focuses on long-term solutions in their daily

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work. As a result, street-level officers are not only engaged in one-time responses but also must plan, develop, and manage efforts to build cooperation with others and to establish more long-term initiatives. They must have some control over the time they can spend on these efforts, and they need access to additional equipment (e.g., cellular phones or beepers for community members to report drug trafficking) and, possibly, other staff or volunteers. To keep track of the status and current outcome of each project, officers must have access to some kind of tracking system. In many cases, officers must have some backup and assistance to make followup contacts during their off hours or to take over when the circumstances require it.

The decentralized and participatory nature of community policing also requires that officers have more opportunities to meet and exchange information. Frequent staff meetings provide officers with an opportunity to express their needs and concerns.

Developing a System of Accountability

Community policing aims at reducing crime and related problems in defined neighborhoods and assigns the responsibility for this outcome to both the community and the police. The community policing officer becomes the catalyst for a change that can be achieved only through the cooperation of many players, both within the police department and externally. For example, to rid a neighborhood of drugs, patrol officers and a special drug unit must target certain areas for surveillance, drug sweeps, and increased police visibility. Community members must observe more intensely what is happening in their neighborhood and inform police. Landlords may have to screen tenants for drug dealing and evict traffickers. Code enforcement units may have to examine and close dwellings that are used as crack houses.

With several entities involved in an effort that is not achieved by simply making a number of arrests, it is important that the police department develop a system of accountability internally and externally. Everyone involved needs to know what their responsibilities are and when they are expected to complete their assignments. Holding frequent meetings of all involved is a dependable mechanism for this purpose.

In their biweekly crime control meetings, New York City Police Department precinct commanders, for example, present and discuss a broad range of information about their precincts, such as, index crime rates over time, arrest data, shooting victims and incidents, lists of precinct residents on parole or with outstanding felony or parole warrants, and data on summonses for quality-of-life violations, such as drinking or urinating in public. These data are displayed on a map to show the geographic distribution and clustering of these incidents. Meeting participants are provided with a

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printout of data about citizen complaints, overtime worked, and the proportion of calls for service that prove unfounded. A picture of the precinct commander, along with background information, appears in the printout, making it clear who must answer for what happens in the precinct.

Updating Information Access and Exchange Mechanisms

Information has always been the main tool of police work, but the need for information increases when a police department implements community policing. Information sharing is an integral part of community policing. No one can be a real partner in this effort or make creative decisions if the information on which decisions are based is not available. Two issues are vital to community policing: information sharing and access to real-time information for street-level officers. Police officers need information to respond quickly to developing problems and to monitor advances in their efforts to reduce drug problems. Neighborhood-based information becomes an important communication and education tool in working with the community.

With community policing, police can learn more about the sources and the extent of local drug problems from the community than they could with traditional policing. Police officers learn that building a trusting relationship with community members is a more effective way to fight drugs. Community policing is effective because residents are more willing to share information with someone they trust and because community support for long-term solutions is an asset.

In addition to increased information from the community, data from other agencies, such as parole, probation, and other social services, become available when coordinated efforts are established. To handle this influx of information, new technologies are used in combination with community policing efforts to assist police in fighting drugs. The Drug Market Analysis Program funded by the National Institute of Justice, for example, has been applied in five cities to more effectively target the drug markets. The San Diego, California, Police Department used this mapping system to identify properties where drug trafficking occurs. The police strategy targeted property owners rather than drug dealers. This strategy was relatively inexpensive and showed promising results. A high percentage of property owners wanted to cooperate with the police to evict drug dealers to eliminate problems in the long run rather than settle for the traditional one-shot police responses.

Technology is also needed to assess how community policing impacts the flow, quantity, and quality of information both internally and externally; allow street-level officers

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access to up-to-date geo-based crime and neighborhood information; and conduct continuous crime analysis to monitor progress.

Frequent information sharing among different units, beats, shifts, and agencies and with members of the community becomes a prime necessity to ensure that everyone has the latest available information. Only when every participant receives the information they need can they be real partners in cooperative efforts.

Developing Performance Measures

With community policing, the traditional methods of measuring police responses and activities are no longer useful for evaluating officer and agency performance and progress. Instead of counting numbers of function outcomes, the officer's quality of work and behavior regarding police departmental values and community needs must be measured. While some traditional measures may continue to be used, they cannot be the only devices for capturing performance data. Other measurement tools, such as citizen surveys, calls for service trends, and data that identify reduction of neighborhood problems, become more important.

A number of police departments have responded to the inadequacy of traditional performance measures to assess the work of individual officers and the police department by abolishing the use of all performance measures and relying solely on supervisor judgment. This approach, however, is problematic because it is too subjective and ignores the most basic features of community policing, community orientation, and geographic diversity. Without detailed, community-based measures, officers and other law enforcement personnel do not receive the feedback they need to assess their effectiveness and to identify areas in which they must improve and in which they have excelled.

For example, with regard to drug enforcement, high numbers of drug arrests traditionally indicated successful police operations. While arrests are still an important tool to fight drug crime, they constitute only one measure of success under community policing. More important than arrest figures is how combined police and community efforts impact the drug problem in a given neighborhood and areas adjacent to it.

Police departments are experimenting with different models to capture these measures in a timely and useful way across a variety of communities. They use surveys; focus groups; observations by members of the community, other agencies, and police from different ranks; operational data; logs; actions taken; case records; and case management evaluation. Since community policing recognizes the importance of par-

ticipation, dialogue, and trust-building, officers and the community should have adequate input in this process.

Ensuring Police Integrity

Police executives and policymakers sometimes fear that certain features of community policing (e.g., decentralization, increased close interaction between officers and residents, citizen-driven demand for services, and officer-driven provision of services) threaten police integrity. This concern arises because community policing officers are more involved with the community, have more freedom to react, and are under less stringent control. While police and city managers must continue to be vigilant regarding police corruption, the notion that the less hierarchical supervision style of community policing leads to more corruption is misleading. As history and recent experiences show, traditional policing practices, including centralization, standardization, and remoteness have not always succeeded in curbing corruption. What traditional policing does, however, is preclude more effective policing. For example, street-level cocaine and heroin enforcement by patrol officers is now known to have a considerable crime reduction value, but it has been banned under traditional policing for fear of corruption. Instead of curtailing essentially effective police work, police departments must face the risk of potential corruption and learn to manage the risk through careful officer selection. They must also develope a communication system that detects when officers become so close to the community that they lose their perspective about what is acceptable behavior.

It is important to note that traditional supervision has not eliminated corruption. Actually, the less controlling but more involved supervisor typical to community policing may be better able to detect corruption than the traditional supervisor. Community policing clarifies the officer's expectations and defines accountability not just by rules but also by values. Furthermore, community policing officers are more involved with every part of the community. This provides a set of checks and balances throughout the community. Corruption is neither more nor less of an issue simply because there is a broader role for officers. Corruption can be avoided by ensuring that everyone within a police department shares and accepts the established values and by instituting regular community reporting mechanisms, rather than using centralized command and control systems.

FINDING THE RESOURCES
FOR COMMUNITY POLICING

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

Of the 18,000 calls for burglar alarms received annually by the Colorado Springs, Colorado, Police Department, about 95 percent were false. Response time translated into 280 wasted man-days per year. Based on the geo-based information collected by the police department, it was determined that high schools had the highest incidence of calls. The police department met with school officials and formed a committee to identify the causes of false alarms and devise an alternative. As a result, the problem of false burglar alarms was reduced by 44 percent.

The cost of community policing is a hotly contended issue that may ultimately have a considerable impact on the future of community policing. Several cities have hired additional patrol officers to replace officers assigned to neighborhood detail, while other cities, including St. Petersburg, Florida, and Colorado Springs, Colorado, have managed to avoid that expense. While these police departments recognize that officers need more free time to work with the community to develop long-term solutions to neighborhood problems, they also recognize that additional local, State, or Federal funding for officers is either limited or unavailable. As a result, other community policing activities have been devised for officers to engage in. Police departments require additional officers for community policing only if the department already is understaffed. Restructuring the police department and developing internal and external support systems is the key to offsetting staffing needs for community policing.

Restructuring Calls for Services

Changing response criteria for service calls is one approach to create more time for officers to spend with community members, identify problems, and develop solutions. This can mean reassessing response priorities or developing a system in which certain low-level crimes are responded to only by phone or officers are allowed to respond at a later time. A number of police departments have implemented screening programs to redirect those calls for service that do not need a police response. Other police departments have initiated a voice mail system for all officers, which enables the public to directly access officers without calling 911. Reassessing response duties among different agencies (e.g., police and fire departments, hospitals, and ambulance services) and channeling emergency calls accordingly is another way to reduce the burden of too many calls.

Educating the Public

Community policing expands the role of police to include maintaining order and quality of life. This expansion of the police function does invite additional work, however, especially when other Government services are reduced as a result of budget cutbacks. Police departments that apply community policing often can do more to satisfy citizens' needs than other city or county agencies that apply traditional approaches. However, to avoid overwhelming officers by the demand for services and to avoid disillusioning citizens when their needs are not fulfilled, it is vital that communities learn about the capacities and limits of the police department. Several police departments have, for example, begun to reeducate the public about the use of 911 services and other alternatives. By decreasing the public's dependence on 911, officers will be able to devote more patrol time to problemsolving.

Sharing Personnel and Resources With Other Agencies

One benefit of working with other agencies in the community is that well-planned cooperation can streamline work, reduce duplication of efforts, and allow agencies to share personnel and resources, all of which are more cost-effective than traditional ways of working. Coordinated drug enforcement can make a marked difference on a community. The National Guard is, for example, a tremendous resource for special surveillance equipment and is often willing to provide its services to police. Drug task forces combining several law enforcement agencies, including prosecutors' offices, have proven beneficial to police agencies throughout the country.

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Recently, police departments have learned that a task-force approach also may include social service agencies and citizens to increase the information base and develop more prevention-oriented approaches. For example, the Drug and Gang Task Force in Springfield, Missouri, is a combined effort that includes the police department, the Sheriff's office, the prosecutor's office, several city agencies, and representatives from the community and local businesses. The task force exchanges information, educates all participants about current gang activities in the city, develops alternative responses to support gang members who want to leave a gang, and creates activities to prevent other youth from joining gangs.

Reassigning Resources and Identifying Other Funding Sources

By limiting specialization, flattening agency management, and shifting responsibilities to street-level officers, resources can be reassigned to support the officer on the beat. Many police departments also have begun to seek out grants and other funding sources to augment their budgets. Local businesses may be able to donate equipment (e.g., cellular phones and beepers) or space that may be used as a neighborhood police office. Coordination with private security services is another way to increase the police department's surveillance and information base. By using more civilian personnel, partial automation, volunteers, and auxiliary forces, police departments have reduced costs and made time for officers to work in the community.

The Fort Myers, Florida, Police Department took advantage of the fact that a high number of former police officers moved to the city after retirement. The police department developed the POPS program for retirees to serve as part-time liaison officers in schools.

Shifting Responsibilities to the Community, Private Business, and Other Agencies

Because community policing requires community members, private businesses, and other agencies to actively involve themselves in fighting drug-related crime and other neighborhood problems, some responsibilities that previously resided with the police department may be shifted to other agencies and community members, which reduces the burden for the police department.

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Conducting Problem Analysis

Even traditionally oriented police departments collect and compile data and statistics for a broad range of crime-related topics. However, a community oriented police department will use the data it collects in a different way. Data can be analyzed to locate neighborhood problems, to inform the community, and to track progress. Data can also be used to focus the department's work and thereby help develop less costly solutions to crime problems. For example, identifying and targeting problems that consume disproportionately high proportions of police resources, such as the false burglary calls in Colorado Springs, can result in a considerable reduction in calls for service and subsequent additional time for officers to work with the community on other problems.

INSTITUTIONALIZING COMMUNITY POLICING

A CASE TO CONSIDER:

The Portland, Oregon, Police Department has developed its approach to community policing over more than a decade, working under various police chiefs and mayors. Most police officers have found that they can make more of a difference when they work in coordination with the community and other agencies. Officers have become accustomed to developing their own creative responses to neighborhood problems and find little benefit in traditional policing structures. At the same time, community members that have found that they too have an impact and can play a role in ensuring safe and resilient neighborhoods; they have become accustomed to a responsive police force, realizing that any other approach is a disadvantage. It is difficult to overturn such success. One community member stated, "I have a voice in what is happening in my neighborhood and what is being done. Community policing brings us together. I would not want to live in a city that did not have community policing."

Developing and implementing community policing in a jurisdiction takes time. Many police departments have learned that careful planning and the initial implementation stages alone may require more than 1 or 2 years. Police must consider this when planning and managing the shift to community policing. In fact, the police chief who begins the process may no longer be with the department to see the culmination of these efforts. Therefore, it is important to develop and set this process on the right track and make it difficult for a successor to completely reverse the course.

Many innovations, projects, and experiments have been introduced to police departments during the past few decades, but few have thrived or even survived, and fewer still have received enough careful scrutiny to judge their merits or to learn from the experience. As a result, a noticeable positive impact of these experiments on police work has been rare; their lack of staying power has contributed to the perception that changing police agencies is inordinately difficult and that officers should not get involved to any great extent because any change is just another fad that will vanish with the next police chief. Communities with high expectations for innovation have been discouraged, and good ideas and scarce resources have been wasted. Previous failures to adequately plan, implement, and finally institutionalize a new approach to policing has detracted from potential benefits.

The continuation of a community policing approach may be difficult if a highly publicized community policing concept is implemented and then the chief leaves the post with many initial promises unfulfilled and without the concept being firmly established in the department. In that case, it is quite likely that the police department will return to a more traditional approach. This can undermine the initial trust gained within the police department and the community and fuel even greater levels of mistrust and isolation than existed before community policing was implemented.

Conducting Careful Long-Term Planning

The examples of jurisdictions where community policing has evolved into more than just an add-on program provide insight into how institutionalization of community policing can be successful. Community policing has been carefully planned in partnership with the communities and other agencies in jurisdictions such as Colorado Springs, Colorado; Norfolk, Virginia; Madison, Wisconsin; Portland, Oregon; San Diego, California; St. Petersburg, Florida; and Tempe, Arizona. These efforts have attracted lasting and growing involvement both within and outside the police department. Additional resources have been provided by the community. Community policing has acquired sufficient presence and importance that police personnel and community members are no longer interested in the traditional style of police work.

Involving All Parts of the Police Department and the Community in Continuous Planning

Agencies that successfully sustain community policing despite changes in leadership learned that involving all parts of the police department in the planning and development stages is one way to secure broad-based, long-term internal support for

community policing. For the needed external support, community and agency partnerships were formed and continued support throughout the entire decision-making process.

These agencies further avoided some of the pitfalls of community policing by establishing and communicating realistic goals for themselves and others included in their efforts. Building strong community support and integrating their efforts with those of other agencies was a central focus of their work.

Showcasing Successes

Successful community policing agencies showcased their successes through newsletters, meetings, and intensive media coverage. The public and all participants learned about the success of the new approach. For example, the Madison, Wisconsin, Police Department uses a city cable channel to provide weekly broadcasts concerning its work in individual neighborhoods. Footage of a formerly drug-ridden neighborhood is shown, contrasted by footage of how this neighborhood has changed since community policing officers in coordination with a special drug task force dramatically reduced drug trafficking. This televised success story demonstrates how police and social service agencies, together with community members, have taken responsibility for keeping drug dealers out of the community and for developing new opportunities for the residents of this area. The program encourages others to become involved, gives credit to all participants, and instills a sense of pride in the community.

Considering the Politics of Community Policing

Community policing aims to build a strong connection between the police department and the community. Police departments throughout the country have begun to realize that a strong police-citizen connection can translate into a strong political power base. When agencies were threatened by budget cuts, their communities rallied together. Citizens have supported police as part of a strong partnership in efforts to introduce new local ordinances against drunk driving, drug dealing, prostitution, loitering, and many other community problems.

Community policing can provide chiefs of police with a political power base that is usually reserved for elected officials—the support of their constituency. Community policing has the potential to change the political power structure in a jurisdiction, a development other power bases may not welcome. As a result, cooperation with other agencies and department heads becomes even more important so that political

conflicts can be avoided and the political support needed to institutionalize communi-ty policing is ensured.

Problems and political conflicts may also arise when the combined power of the com-munity and the police demand different responses from a local government agency. Citizens realize that many problems in their neighborhoods cannot be solved by the police; they require action from other government agencies. Soon these citizens will demand the same kind of responsiveness they receive from the police department from other agencies. For example, in Seattle, Washington, this politicking became a double-edged sword. Police officers were in the position to mobilize action by the community to produce a particular response from the agency; however, if the agency perceived that the police played such a role, interagency conflict resulted.

Another example of the political implications of community policing comes from St. Petersburg, Florida, where the former Chief of Police, for the first time in the history of the city, had given the neighborhoods a voice in what went on within their bound-aries. When he was dismissed by an acting city manager, citizens rallied around him and placed an initiative on the ballot to replace the council-manager system with a mayor system. The strong-mayor initiative won, with a candidate who ran on a pro-neighborhood platform. When the new mayor took office, he required full commit-ment to community orientation from all city department heads. City teams were created to bring together staff responsible for a particular neighborhood from the planning, coding, housing, police, and public works departments.

The Boulder, Colorado, Police Department has found that when different agencies share the same values, the process of building a concerted effort and gaining political support for community policing is easier. Boulder's city manager and other govern-ment officials agreed with the police department's values. Local officials did not ques-tion the police chief's operations, but they may have questioned his values. A shared value system is key to maintaining political support for community policing as well as maintaining access to external resources.

Frequent interagency meetings that ensure open lines of communication are required to avoid political problems. Inclusion of all agencies that will be impacted by the development process is another necessity. Identifying the benefits of cooperation is the best way to get the support of others. When social service agencies realize that the increased police presence and close working relationship with the community may decrease the need to send their staff into the various neighborhoods and may

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also provide them with better access to problem families, they will be more likely to share information and coordinate efforts.

Sharing credit for success is not just a matter of courtesy; it is essential to any partnership. The community and other agencies will be less inclined to commit themselves to activities against drugs when the newspaper headlines declare that the police department was the agency that eradicated drug trafficking in the neighborhood.

WHERE TO FIND ADDITIONAL HELP

The following organizations and clearinghouses provide assistance and information to police departments and local government officials interested in developing community policing in their jurisdictions. A list of audiovisual material is provided, followed by publications arranged in the same order as the chapters in this monograph.

ORGANIZATIONS

American Probation and Parole Association, (606) 231–1917

Boys and Girls Clubs of America, (404) 815–5700

Community Matters, (707) 823–6159

Community Policing Consortium, (202) 833–3305

International Association of Chiefs of Police, (703) 836–6767

International City/County Manager Association, (202) 962–3575

National Center for Community Policing, (517) 355–2197

National Center for State Courts, (703) 841–0200

National Council on Crime and Delinquency, (415) 896–6223

National Crime Prevention Council, (202) 347–4900

National District Attorneys Association, (703) 549–9222

National League of Cities, (202) 626–3181

National Organization for Victim Assistance, (800) TRY–NOVA

National School Safety Center, (805) 373–9977

National Teens, Crime, and the Community Program Center, (202) 546–6644

National Training and Information Center, (312) 243–3035

Office of Community Policing Services (COPS), (800) 421–6770

Police Executive Research Forum, (202) 466–7820

CLEARINGHOUSES

National Criminal Justice Reference Service, (800) 851–3420

Resident Initiatives Clearinghouse, (800) 922–2232

AUDIOVISUAL MATERIAL

The following videotapes are available for $19 each from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, (800) 851–3420

"Community Policing in Chicago: Fact or Fiction?" Research in Progress Videotape Series, National Institute of Justice, 1995. No. NCJ 153273.

"Crime and Public Housing." Crime File Videotape, National Institute of Justice, 1990. No. NCJ 123675.

"Drugs: Youth Crime." Crime File Videotape, National Institute of Justice, 1990. No. NCJ 123674.

"Drugs: Treating Offenders." Crime File Videotape, National Institute of Justice, 1990. No. NCJ 123673.

"Drugs: Addiction." Crime File Videotape, National Institute of Justice, 1990. No. NCJ 123671.

"Foot Patrol." Crime File Videotape, National Institute of Justice, 1990. No. NCJ 097223.

"Neighborhood Safety." Crime File Videotape, National Institute of Justice, 1985. No. NCJ 097227.

"Reducing Gun Violence: Community Policing Against Gun Crime." Research in Progress Videotape Series, National Institute of Justice, 1994. No. NCJ 153730.

The following videotape is available from the Crime Prevention Center in the Office of the Attorney General of California:

"Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving," 1993. A brief videotape of field experts who describe community-oriented policing and problemsolving in conceptual and practical terms. Appropriate for both police and community audiences.

The following videotapes are available from the Law Enforcement Television Network, (800) 535–5386:

"Community-Oriented Policing 1 and 2," $250 each, Nos. 197–0132 and 197–0133.

"Starting a Citizen Police Academy," $250, No. 197–0194.

The following videotape is available from Films for the Humanities and Sciences, (800) 257–5126:

"Crackdown on Crime: Taking Back Our Neighborhoods." Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1995. Purchase price—$149; rental price—$75, No. AAT5308.

The following videotapes are available for 2-week loans from the U.S. Department of Education, (800) USA–LEARN:

"Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free Schools." Satellite Town Meeting No. 5, U.S. Department of Education, 1993.

"Safe Schools: Providing Our Children with a Disciplined and Drug-Free Learning Environment." Satellite Town Meeting No. 19, U.S. Department of Education, 1995.

The following videotape is available from the National Crime Prevention Council, (800) NCPC–911:

"Partner With the Media To Build Safer Communities." An action kit containing suggestions for media work. Price—$19.85; order item K20.

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