179935
179940

Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving

NOW AND

BEYOND

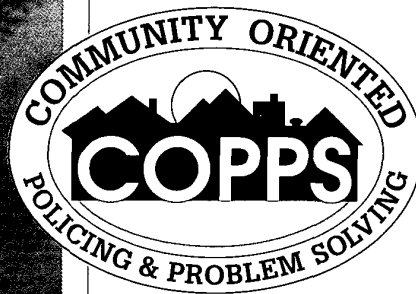**COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING & PROBLEM SOLVING**
COPPS

Crime and Violence Prevention Center
California Attorney General's Office
Bill Lockyer, Attorney General

COPPS

Community Oriented Policing
and Problem Solving

NOW AND

BEYOND

Crime and Violence Prevention Center
Office of the Attorney General
California Department of Justice
Bill Lockyer, Attorney General

July 1999

Introduction

A major contributor to the dramatic decrease in crime rates in California and throughout the nation is Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving (COPPS). Under this strategy, police-community partnerships have helped reclaim our communities and keep our streets safe.

Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving: Now and Beyond is a collection of articles designed to serve as a road map for those who want to start or strengthen community policing in their neighborhoods. Community policing acknowledges that the whole community—not just the police—is responsible for public safety. It is not "soft" on crime. It is tougher, because it harnesses the knowledge and energies of the community, working with law enforcement, to identify and respond to patterns of crime and develop prevention strategies.

This book builds on *Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving,* published in 1992, which presented the underlying principles and early design issues of community policing. *COPPS: Now and Beyond* focuses on implementation and evaluation issues. It includes a broad range of perspectives—from law enforcement leaders who discuss management practices during their organizations' transition to COPPS, to veterans of community policing who have refined their implementation methods, to academic researchers discussing evaluation tools. It includes the ideas and experiences of practitioners from the inner city to rural communities.

This collection includes how to use "community mapping," which captures the energies of positive resources in a community; how to recruit, train, and evaluate community policing officers; how to deal with sensitive multicultural issues; and how to strengthen the community's role. It also presents ideas for using community policing to deal with special problems, such as domestic violence, racial tensions, and juvenile crime. A separate article features the most recent developments and best community policing practices of five diverse California communities, and additional selections profile examples from other parts of the nation.

Through COPPS, law enforcement, local government officials, educators, businesses, other community leaders, and residents can help solve issues that erode our society's safety and well-being. Our hope is that this book will be a useful tool for all to create safe, secure, and healthy communities through the effective use of Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving.

Crime and Violence Prevention Center
California Office of the Attorney General

Table of Contents

Section III: Creating a Dynamic Community Policing Organization

Section IV: Strengthening the Community's Role

Section V: Building Bonds in Culturally Diverse Communities

Section VI: Reaching Beyond the Police

Section VII: Community Policing: A Key Role in Violence Prevention

Section VIII: Producing Cutting-Edge Research and Evaluation

Section I

COPPS
COMMUNITY ORIENTED
POLICING & PROBLEM SOLVING

Cornerstones of Community Policing

Community-Oriented Policing & Problem Solving

Definition & Principles

Crime, violence, drugs, gang warfare, and burgeoning prison populations continue to drain community, state, and national resources. It has become clear that police agencies alone, employing traditional law enforcement methods, cannot turn this tide. We need an approach that addresses the causes of crime, encourages community participation, and makes better use of existing resources.

We call this approach **Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving (COPPS)**. Is it a new approach? Some community oriented policing strategies, such as foot patrol, resemble policing of years past. But COPPS is not just another "tack on" program that requires new resources. It is a *philosophy, a management style, and an organizational design that promotes police-community partnerships and proactive problem-solving strategies.* It is a different way of looking at policing.

Fundamental to the community policing philosophy is *the hope for a better tomorrow.* It focuses on building and sustaining healthy communities and provides a framework to examine and proactively respond to changing demographics, general social disorder, and physical decay. It advances community-based, creative, and comprehensive interventions for insidious social epidemics such as gangs, violence, drugs, and hate crimes. Most importantly, community policing is tough on crime; it provides a more comprehensive and creative, thus more effective, approach to policing.

The California Attorney General appointed a Statewide Violence Prevention Policy Council—a representative group of law enforcement officials, health care professionals, educators, community leaders, and others—to develop a COPPS statewide initiative. The committee developed the following definition and principles to bring clarity and understanding to the issue. While community policing and problem solving applications, by nature, are designed and adapted to fit the specific needs of each community, the following general principles are critical to any successful comprehensive COPPS effort.

Definition

Community Policing is a philosophy, management style, and organizational design that promotes proactive problem solving and police-community partnerships to address the causes of crime and fear as well as other community issues.

Problem solving refers to a process of identifying problems and priorities through coordinated community /police needs assessments; collecting and analyzing information concerning the problem in a thorough, though not necessarily complicated, manner; developing or facilitating responses that are innovative and tailor-made with the best potential for eliminating or reducing the problem and, finally, evaluating the response to determine its effectiveness and modifying it as necessary.

Community partnership is a flexible term referring to any given combination of neighborhood residents, schools, churches, businesses, community-based organizations, and government agencies who are working cooperatively with the police to resolve identified problems that impact or interest them.

Principles

COPPS as a Philosophy

- Reassesses who is responsible for public safety and redefines the roles and relationships between the police and the community to require shared ownership, shared decision-making, and shared accountability.

- Increases understanding and trust between police and community members.

- Strengthens and empowers community-based efforts.

- Shifts the focus of police work from a solely reactive mode by supplementing traditional law enforcement methods with proactive problem-solving approaches that involve the community as well as the police.

- Requires a sustained commitment from the police and the community to develop long-term and pro-active programs and strategies that address the underlying conditions causing community problems.

- Establishes new public expectations of and measurement standards for police effectiveness.

COPPS as a Management Style

- Requires the buy-in of top management of the police and other local government agencies, as well as a new value-driven leadership style that makes the most effective use of human resources within a department and community.

- Requires constant flexibility to respond to all emerging issues.

- Requires knowledge of available community resources and how to access and mobilize them, as well as the ability to develop new resources within the community.

COPPS as an Organizational Design

- Decentralizes and de-specializes police services/ operations/management, where possible; relaxes the traditional "chain of command" and encourages innovation and creative problem solving by all.

- Requires new recruitment/hiring/promotion practices and policies.

- Requires commitment to developing new skills through training, including problem solving, networking, mediation, facilitation, conflict resolution, and cultural competency/ literacy.

Discussion of Principles

The COPPS Philosophy

Reassesses who is responsible for public safety and redefines the roles and relationships between the police and the community to require shared ownership, shared decision-making, and shared accountability.

COPPS redefines the roles and relationships between the community and the police by recognizing that the community shares responsibility with the police for social order. Both must work cooperatively to identify problems and develop proactive community-wide solutions.

The police must acknowledge that they cannot do the job of public safety alone and recognize that they have valuable resources available to them in their communities. COPPS requires the police to share their power and decision-making by inviting diverse public input and feedback regarding community problems and policing priorities and policies.

In turn, the community—neighborhoods, families, individuals, schools, elected officials, local government agencies, organizations, churches, and businesses—must become empowered to accept the challenge and responsibility to assume ownership of their community's safety and well-being. Police-community partnerships are essential to the maintenance of social order.

Shared ownership does *not* mean that the community *takes the law into their own hands;* but, rather, that the community works with the police to identify and prioritize problems, develop and implement creative and effective responses, determine resource allocations, and evaluate and modify approaches as necessary.

This approach does not diminish the role of the police who are in a unique position to *facilitate*

problem solving. They are available and visible; they witness the causes and outcomes of social disorder; they are sworn to protect the community and they know *who to bring to the table* to develop and implement solutions.

Strengthens and empowers community-based efforts.

A new view of community is emerging in society—a view that advances the importance of using an asset- or strength-based model. This asset-based model recognizes that communities are naturally resilient and have the ability to identify and solve their own problems. Community policing challenges police and civic officials to provide the leadership and develop the partnerships necessary to empower communities to be healthy and safe.

Community *empowerment* occurs when individuals or groups have a sustained commitment, appropriate information and skills, and the influence necessary to affect policies and share accountability for outcomes. The community policing approach provides the ingredients necessary for community members to become empowered by enlisting them in their own defense and assisting them in taking charge of their own destiny.

A mobilized community accepts responsibility for enforcing community norms. Community members can send messages about how people are to behave that are more powerful in constraining ill-considered, abusive, and criminal behavior than anything the police can do on their own. A strong community is the most effective deterrent to crime and violence.

Increases understanding and trust between police and community members.

Inherent in any successful partnership is a sense of equality, mutual respect and trust. Assigning officers to one beat for extended time periods *(beat integrity)* and promoting ongoing daily,

direct and positive contact—including partnership efforts—between the police and the community fosters understanding and trust. These actions also develop mutual ownership and support. Residents become more willing to cooperate with the police and provide the information necessary to resolve crime and other community problems.

With the quickly changing demographics in our communities, police officers need to become culturally competent and literate about the neighborhoods in which they work. They must be aware of and sensitive to the multicultural populations they serve and be capable of engaging in meaningful interaction and partnership with them. Further, to establish department credibility, police administrators must develop organizations that mirror the cultural and ethnic diversity of the communities they serve.

Establishing mutual trust between the police and the community results in less fear and fewer incidences of, and public complaints about, the use of excessive force by the police. When a community and the police become a team, the police are viewed by community members as the upholders of community values and, thus, are able to act with the authorization of the community as well as the law. In addition, officers who know the community environment well and work as partners with the residents are better equipped to handle most situations and prevent them from escalating.

Shifts the focus of police work from responding to individual incidents to addressing problems identified by the community as well as the police, emphasizing the use of proactive problem-solving approaches to supplement traditional law-enforcement methods.

Responding to calls for service—individual incidents—has become the primary work of police with the overriding goal being to respond with increased speed and efficiency. Public expectations of police and the 911 system have perpetuated this posture, which has also largely prevented officers from dealing with more than the surface manifestations of crime.

Shifting from an *incident* orientation to a *problem* orientation requires looking for underlying conditions, as well as patterns and relationships among incidents, that might identify common causal factors. These *underlying problems,* rather than individual incidents, become the main units of police work.

This *problem approach* more closely aligns the police with community-identified needs. Too often, the "broken window," abandoned car, discarded trash, and other signs of disorder that residents complain about within a neighborhood have been overlooked while the police focused on individual crime incidents. The problem orientation recognizes such chronic disorder as underlying causal elements of crime and violence and, thus, adjusts the police agenda to respond to such community concerns, thereby enhancing community support.

Problem solving must be approached systematically:

- Problems are identified and prioritized with input from all those with a stake in the issue (e.g., neighborhood residents, beat officers, relevant organizations).

- A careful analysis of the problem (e.g., patterns, characteristics, other stakeholders) precedes development of specifically designed responses.

- The best responses are implemented.

- The responses are monitored and evaluated for their effectiveness and modified as necessary.

COPPS still involves law *enforcement.* It is *not soft on crime.* In fact, with increased community support and communication, good arrests often increase. COPPS, however, utilizes other creative tools, in addition to arrest, to more effectively address community problems.

Requires a sustained commitment from the police and the community to develop long-term and proactive programs and strategies that address the underlying conditions causing community problems.

COPPS is founded on the *hope for a better tomorrow*—the belief that community problems *can* be resolved and ultimately prevented. It stands for a commitment to address the complex and chronic underlying issues that plague society and communities.

This requires:
- Conducting accurate community needs assessments;

- Mobilizing all appropriate players to collect data and brainstorm strategies;

- Determining appropriate resource allocations and creating new resources where necessary;

- Developing and implementing innovative, collaborative, comprehensive programs to address underlying issues and causal factors; and

- Evaluating progress and modifying approaches as needed.

There must be a sustained commitment from both the police and the community to work together to do "whatever it takes" rather than settle for the "quick fix." This approach has the added advantage of empowering previously disenfranchised community members by demonstrating a commitment to over-come the chronic neglect suffered by many inner city neighborhoods.

Establishes new public expectations of and measurement standards for police effectiveness.

The public—and the police—must have realistic expectations of what the police can and CANNOT do to achieve community health and well-being. Community policing is not a panacea that will correct all social problems and resolve all crime and violence. The public must be aware of the reality of police limitations and the related importance of public involvement.

Police efforts must be reprioritized to focus on customer service and satisfaction. This involves creating problem-solving partnerships and innovative responses to crime-related problems, addressing social disorder, and physical decay (the "Broken Window Theory" factors) and responding to the needs of special populations. In short, a more qualitative versus quantitative approach to measuring officer and overall department effectiveness is necessary—for example, shifting the focus from solely 911 response time and arrest/crime statistics by including customer/community satisfaction surveys, quality of life assessments, problem solving successes and levels of community participation. Moreover, effective proactive planning and preventive programs must be justly credited when new problems are averted before they develop or expand.

The COPPS Management Style

Requires the buy-in of top management of the police and other local government agencies, as well as a new leadership style that makes the most effective use of human resources within a department and community.

Police and civic leaders must make more effective use of the human resources within agencies and the community by encouraging creativity and risk taking. This requires value-driven leadership rather than a rule-driven management approach. Adapted from the private sector, the "Quality Leadership/Management" model focuses on actively modifying and improving the systems that serve us. Specifically, it requires:
- Vision

- Strategic planning

- Teamwork

- Customer orientation
- Involving those who "do the work" in decision making
- Encouraging creativity and risk taking
- Management through values
- Problem solving
- Mutual trust and respect
- Bottom-up activities
- Open climate that encourages feedback
- Tolerance of honest mistakes
- Systems orientation

In addition to getting all personnel involved in and committed to the department's stated mission and values, management must *walk their talk,* i.e., they must lead and manage in ways that are consistent with the department's stated vision and values in all circumstances.

Police executives require the support and cooperation of all levels of department management and other key personnel, as well as local government officials, to effectively create community oriented policing and problem solving. The endorsement of elected officials and city/county management does much to establish clear priorities, promote sincere interagency collaboration and cooperation, reduce turf issues, and develop new resources.

Requires constant flexibility to respond to all emerging issues.

By most estimates, only 25 percent of the work of police officers actually involves enforcing the law or arresting people. Yet, traditional law enforcement equips the police with very few tools, other than the authority to arrest and incarcerate, to deal with the broad scope of police business.

Prevention and intervention alternatives available to police need to be greatly expanded. There must be an agency-wide commitment to search for effective solutions to community problems. The focus should be on developing creative, tailor-made responses to specific problems and incorporating such prevention and intervention efforts into the mainstream of policing. Among other benefits, non-arrest strategies reduce the overload on the criminal justice system, making it a more viable alternative for appropriate matters.

Developing new and alternative authority through new policies, regulations or ordinances that include non-arrest interventions may provide more effective responses for many situations (e.g., domestic or neighborhood disputes and complaints, public disorder or nuisance complaints). Experience has demonstrated that, without some intervention, these situations often escalate into incidents that eventually do require a *law enforcement response.*

Requires knowledge of available community resources and how to access and mobilize them, as well as the ability to develop new resources within the community.

Successful community policing and problem solving efforts require awareness and mobilization of all available and untapped resources within the department, other local agencies and the community at large.

Intra- and inter-agency communication and collaboration among local agencies and organizations enhance problem solving by providing diverse, multidisciplinary, multidimensional perspectives and coordinated approaches. Such coordination also reduces duplication of efforts and aids in setting appropriate and realistic priorities for the resources available.

Being "resource knowledgeable" is a unique skill that enhances community policing efforts.

Linking people in need of services with appropriate service providers within a community can be an integral part of resolving community concerns.

The COPPS Organizational Design

Decentralizes and de-specializes police services/operations/management, where possible; relaxes the traditional "chain of command" and encourages innovation and creative problem solving by all.

To ensure that there is an understanding and responsiveness to neighborhood issues and concerns, police services should be decentralized wherever possible to provide community-based services, driven from the bottom-up, with a customer orientation. In addition, community officers should be *triage-type* generalists who take ownership of their particular community beat. While specialization is necessary in some instances (e.g., child sexual abuse, gangs), *de-specialization* can often free up personnel for community beats and improve officer communication, innovation, and ownership of beat areas.

This approach makes full use of the knowledge, skill and expertise throughout the police organization (without regard to rank) and the community at large. Beat officers, as the front-line service providers, must be empowered and authorized to manage their areas—answer calls, know the people, and facilitate problem solving and crime prevention strategies.

First-line supervisors and management staff must be charged with creating an entrepreneurial atmosphere—conditions that encourage individuals to experiment, create, develop and test their intellectual and creative capacities, and to take risks without fear of being punished for innocent mistakes. Bureaucratic roadblocks that hamper getting the job done must be minimized.

Requires new recruitment/hiring/promotion practices and policies.

The community policing model requires new skills and duties for police officers. In addition to being effective "law enforcers," community policing compels officers to be "street level criminologists" who are interested in solving and preventing the problems of crime and disorder. Ideally, officers gain job-satisfaction from the intrinsic rewards of helping individuals by working with them to solve crime and other community problems. Effective officers have a broad perspective and appreciate diversity in their communities. They are culturally competent as well as effective communicators and facilitators.

Community police officers must have the ability to develop a neighborhood orientation and to understand the community's concerns and expectations. They must be able to network with community members, as well as, with other organizations and agencies to facilitate collaborative solutions to community-defined problems and establish effective prevention efforts. Community police officers must also be able to assess situations, analyze problems, and evaluate attempted strategies. They must be willing to take calculated risks (within legal and organizational boundaries) and be creative in their problem-solving and prevention approaches. To create and reinforce a community policing organization, all personnel practices must be consistent with community policing values and goals. Recruitment and hiring practices must emphasize the skills and character attributes described above. Additionally, management must be committed to developing an organization that mirrors the cultural and ethnic diversity of the community they serve. Finally, internal evaluation and reward systems, including promotions, must be revised to reflect an understanding of and commitment to the community policing approach. Community development and problem-solving accomplishments, in addition to the more traditional achievements, must be rewarded.

Requires commitment to developing new skills through training—including problem solving, networking, mediation, facilitation, conflict resolution, and cultural competency/ literacy.

Expanding the police function, as described above, requires expanding training as well. Additional training must be provided for all employees (and volunteers) of the police department, for other government employees, and for the community at large. Specifically:

- The community must be educated as to what the police *can* and *cannot* do, the implications of community policing on police services and the community's roles and responsibilities in creating and sustaining a healthy community. This includes how to offer input and access services from community agencies.

- Police and local government management must be trained in "quality leadership" skills.

- Supervisors must be trained in new supervisory roles including how to actively support the community policing and problem solving efforts of field officers.

- Everyone, especially field officers, must be trained in the community oriented, problem-solving, customer-service approach to policing. This includes skills in analysis and problem solving, facilitation, mobilizing and empowering communities, communication, mediation, conflict resolution, resource awareness and development, networking, and cultural sensitivity/competency/literacy.

- Pre- and in-service training academies and community and state colleges' Administration of Justice and Public Administration programs must also incorporate quality management and community policing/government orientations into their programs.

To be effective, training must be ongoing and must be reinforced by management and supervision styles, practices and procedures, as well as internal appraisals and promotions.

179936

Where We've Been... Where We're Going: The Evolution of Community Policing

By Joseph E. Brann, former Director, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services
U.S. Department of Justice

Highlights

- *Unique forms of social upheaval caused the law enforcement community to realize that the failure to stem crime, or the inability to quiet civil disorder, demanded a new approach.*

- *A new role for citizens in controlling crime and avoiding victimization was fundamental to engineering positive change.*

- *Police departments must now shift from experimentation to full-scale implementation of community policing as a guiding philosophy. Many of those that have been practicing community policing over the long term operate more efficiently than traditional police departments.*

- *Community policing is not only contributing to declining crime rates, but also is making a major contribution to our democratic society by engaging citizens in developing and implementing solutions to their own problems.*

In looking back on 30 years of law enforcement experience and reflecting on my access and exposure to hundreds of police agencies, I have found that it is not difficult to locate those forces which have spurred the development and adoption of community policing. The Violent Crime Control Act of 1994 (VCCA) has clearly been of great help to local law enforcement agencies in that it brought some much-needed federal assistance and attention by providing an extraordinary, unprecedented level of financial and technical support. Although the VCCA and the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office of the U.S. Department of Justice are

certainly helping to accelerate and sustain community policing, they are but recent factors in the evolution and expansion of this movement.

This article examines what I believe are some of the crucial factors in the development of community policing, the impact of the Violent Crime Control Act, and the future challenges to fully embracing and realizing the potential of this movement. It is not meant to be an authoritative work on criminal justice; that is not its purpose. It is but a brief compilation of observations and conclusions drawn from my experiences over the years, ranging from police officer to chief and as

the head of a federal agency designed to serve law enforcement by advancing community policing. My conclusions are based as much on the observations of the people I have had the opportunity to work and serve with as they are on my personal perceptions and quest for information and knowledge to better understand this phenomenon we call community policing.

My involvement with and commitment to community policing is largely rooted in varied experiences at the level of a patrol officer, detective, supervisor, manager, and chief. Like most police officers, I developed my own sense of what does or does not work on the street as I grappled with the realities, challenges, and consequences of every-day policing issues. I have yet to find anything in this profession that is as powerful or as effective as community policing.

I like to believe that the principles and values which are essential to community policing have guided me successfully throughout my career, and I can unabashedly state that I have experienced a sense of satisfaction from knowing that I did the best job I could for the citizens with whom I dealt on a daily basis. I knew I was making a difference, far more so than when I was functioning in a more traditional and limited police role. There was, in addition, the added benefit of watching, working with and learning from others who were making a difference and who realized it.

Development of Community Oriented Policing

In the early 1980s, *60 Minutes* produced a segment on the Santa Ana (California) Police Department. At the time, crime was burgeoning across the country, but Santa Ana was experiencing a significant reduction. It was no mean accomplishment, either. Affected by urban blight, Santa Ana stood out as noticeably less prosperous than the rest of surrounding Orange County.

Nonetheless, the city was doing something right, and it was not just the police who were doing it. The *60 Minutes* story was epitomized by the comments of one of our residents who, when asked by Ed Bradley to describe why the people of Santa Ana had such a solid working relationship with their police department, didn't talk about crime rates or rapid response. Instead, the citizen said, "Dallas has their Cowboys, L.A. has their Dodgers, but, here in Santa Ana . . . well, we have the Santa Ana Police Department." It was an extraordinary thing to hear and a remarkably different community attitude than that which I had experienced 10 to 12 years earlier.

In the years since, I have had the pleasure of hearing many other officers across the country comment on similar significant changes in community attitudes based on their experiences with community policing.

Community policing is not, and cannot be, the product of a federal mandate. When departments adopt community policing, it is because of the efforts of citizens and elected officials at the local level who demand it, executives and chiefs who are committed to instilling it in their departments, and ultimately, officers who are willing to implement and carry it out on the street. While the COPS Office may help accelerate the adoption of community policing, I have found that most proponents of community policing come to embrace it as their own personal mission, one rooted in their experiences at the neighborhood level and involving the citizens they serve.

I have had a unique opportunity to watch how community policing can not only transform a department, but also an entire community. Based on my personal experiences and observations over several decades, I do know this: *community policing has not only altered the law enforcement profession, it is restoring and redirecting political influence back to local government through direct citizen involvement.*

The entire criminal justice field is being rejuvenated by a variety of collaborative efforts such as restorative justice and community corrections, initiatives that entail the fundamentals of community policing because they are evolving within its framework and values.

This reflects an increasing acceptance by both criminal justice professionals and laypersons that, ultimately, the community itself must take responsibility for its own welfare and quality of life. The tenets of community policing have been extended to, and are being embraced by, a wide array of local officials. Cities, towns, and counties are evolving beyond community policing to what I would describe as community oriented government. Governmental entities in these jurisdictions are functioning differently. They are staffed by employees who are far more responsive and committed to problem solving and who develop highly effective partnerships in the interest of targeting specific issues.

Most important, these movements—community policing and community oriented government—are evolving naturally. They are not the result of policies and strategies born out of legislative actions or think-tanks. Instead, they clearly reflect the needs within communities and show how police and other local officials respond to those needs based upon a sense of vision, mission, and values. To put it simply, community policing reflects a desire—in fact, a need—for citizens and police to equally share responsibility for defining a community's public safety needs as well as carrying out strategies for achieving them.

As community policing has evolved over the past two or three decades, I believe that those of us in this profession have developed an increasing appreciation for what policing was always meant to be. Officers and departments enjoy closer ties to the people they serve, they better understand the community's needs because they hear and learn of residents' concerns, and they devote their energy and time to working together with community members to solve common problems.

Until recent years, the prevailing thinking in police management seems to have been rooted in a belief that departments should adopt an operating style that essentially called on officers to be distant and unemotional. Unfortunately, this often resulted in a real or perceived insensitivity to the community's stated interests. Furthermore, departments defined this behavior as "professional" and "objective" and assigned a great deal of value to these characteristics.

Conventional wisdom in policing today refutes this thinking, but we are quite clearly still struggling with how to achieve an organizational or cultural transition within the profession to support community policing. Three significant influences have contributed to the aforementioned traditional thinking and behaviors: political and policy decisions, professional and cultural considerations, and, strange as it might first sound, advances in technology. Each of these is tied quite closely to the others, but might best be examined individually.

Political and policy decisions are the easiest changes to track. Earlier in this century and especially in urban settings, police executives found themselves immersed in dealing with matters of police corruption and contending with the growth of union influence. A commonly held view among police officials at the time was that corruption, in part, stemmed from officers being too heavily influenced by the criminal element they were supposed to contain.

To deal with corruption, a common organizational response was to attempt to "control" this through rules, policies, and deployment practices; in other words, it was better to limit officers' activities and relationships in the course of carrying out their assignments. Close contact with the community was heavily discouraged.

A recent study conducted by the *Police Foundation* (1998) on abuse of authority demonstrates that today's officers do not see community contact as a contributor to ethical lapses by police.[1] If anything, community contact serves to further humanize the people whom police officers serve, contributing to valuable new perspectives and a renewed sense of justice.

The ascendancy of unions was often dealt with by some police administrators and public officials much as unions were dealt with by their industrial counterparts; the goal was to minimize union impact to the greatest extent possible. Conflict intensified as a result of unions exercising growing political power and police administrators, in response, applying stronger administrative controls coupled with exercising their own political influence. The result was an increasingly adversarial relationship between labor and management. A sense of shared mission and values was often blurred by the internecine battle between unions and police administrators and their bosses at city hall.

Accompanying these modifications in policy and procedure was a change that occurred in police culture. Police exist to serve a community, but devote much of their energy to a small segment of people, specifically criminals and disorderly individuals. These contacts are often negative, given the nature of the work; yet, officers cannot simply detach themselves from that responsibility. When the clientele one deals with tends to be criminals or suspects, the attitudes that officers develop and behaviors they engage in can become problematic in their own right. The majority of the citizenry, good and honest people, are easily overlooked in light of the emphasis on concentrating one's attention on the criminal element. This takes a psychological and emotional toll on the members of the profession. When citizens become distant figures as a result of isolation, officers turn inward and to their own for solace and support. As officers were removed

from regular beats and discouraged in their contacts, a cycle of further detachment occurred within the profession, compounded by still a third factor.

A surprising influence on police behavior was the advent of new technology and a strong focus on improving efficiency. The use of automobiles, the development of radio communications, the increasing reliance on forensic science, and even the emphasis on professional and "scientific" management called for departments to react quickly and efficiently to problems. Officers were no longer expected to spend time walking the beat waiting for trouble to happen when they could be summoned or redirected in an instant. Departments became reactive. Their focus shifted from working with the public to keep the peace, to reacting to criminal incidents after the fact and enforcing the law.

This was a crucial transition, especially in terms of mission. As police departments gradually limited themselves and redirected their focus to the apprehension of criminals and lawbreakers, as they unknowingly divorced themselves from the community, they began to look at crime itself in a more narrow manner. Police adopted a limited view of their role as simply being objective and impartial "law enforcers," more so than focusing on providing a broader or fuller range of quality public safety services to citizens. And it also bred, to some extent, a level of distrust.

In these new efficient departments, there was little time devoted to dealing with victims or other consequences of criminal acts. Because departments were focused on reacting to crime, they began to assume that there was little they could do to prevent crime. As times changed and we began to experience some unique forms of social upheaval, including a surging crime rate, officers retrenched. Police began to perceive themselves as the "thin, blue line," a proverbial firewall between civilized society and total

anarchy. They, and they alone, were left to fight crime and bring order to chaos.

The changes wrought in the era of civil unrest and popular protest were not completely lost on the police. There were some within the ranks across the country who realized that the failure to stem crime, or the inability to quiet civil disorder, demanded a new approach instead of increasing reliance on hard line tactics. This process was slow, but still somewhat revolutionary as a few maverick departments and individual officers challenged not only the traditional policing philosophy but many accepted methods.

Community relations and crime prevention efforts were indicative of this new thinking. Those officers who worked in these units were often derided by their colleagues at the same time they were being asked by them to deal with an unhappy public who largely felt ignored. But it was these same cops who began to rediscover the value of allying themselves with the community.

As police met with citizens, they learned to listen and give consideration to the problems and the needs being identified. Gradually, new strategies and programs began to take shape in response to some of these pleas. Officers who were expected to work with the community realized there was far more interest on the part of the citizens to reduce and prevent crime. As police administrators became sensitized to this, we witnessed an expansion of the community relations units and, later, crime prevention programs. This was "cutting edge" at the time, especially in a culture that had so long denied its ability to do anything about the incidence of crime or the necessity of working with residents. In a sense, the police had been right; they couldn't prevent crime on their own. But as we learned through these operations how to work with citizens, we found that we could, in fact, reduce crime.

Thereafter, we also began to witness an evolving emphasis on victims' rights, which demanded greater consideration from the criminal justice system. Slowly, police departments were called upon to become more sensitive and responsive to a particular audience who felt eschewed from the system— victims. Legal and professional traditions that barred victims from consideration in the criminal justice process were being challenged. Slowly, victims and citizens began to take on a different role as participants in the resolution of crime that had affected them.

Listening to the community and victims encouraged police to think more humanly about crime. But it was crime prevention that helped police to think more intelligently about criminal behavior, deviancy, and crime trends.

With each of these advances and new ways of thinking and doing business, increasing attention was being devoted to the necessity for the public to take a more active role in dealing with their problems. And this new role for citizens in controlling crime and avoiding victimization was fundamental to engineering positive change. Within the profession this gradually influenced us to see a much broader and different role for ourselves. It was no longer sufficient that police think of their role as simply to ensure society's orderliness through an emphasis on investigative and enforcement activities.

In the most progressive departments, this realization was embraced rather than fought. Engaging the public in crime prevention programs, giving consideration to the needs of victims, and listening and responding to community concerns became part of every officer's duty. Community policing began to take shape.

We are still witnessing the emergence of community policing. It is well underway in many departments, but those with considerable

experience in its implementation acknowledge the challenges and years of effort it requires to change the culture of a police organization. That challenge must be confronted and addressed if we are to effectively implement community policing. The tendency is often to start out with programs and strategies, but fully engaging an organization requires patience, commitment, and a tremendous investment of energy on the part of administrators, management, and supervisors.

We are, however, beginning to see the fruits of our labor. We are also fortunate enough to have the example of a number of departments that have been engaged in community policing for a generation or more; maverick agencies at one time that are, today, seen as the elder statesmen of community policing.

Impact of Violent Crime Control Act of 1994

The groundswell of support for community policing surged in 1994 with the enactment of the *Violent Crime Control Act.* The Crime Act was created as a result of a very effective coalition of police executives, professional associations, union and fraternal organizations, community-based groups, and local government entities who came together to support this legislation.

This is evidence that community policing is no longer a novel concept, which is, in and of itself, a sign of progress. The majority of departments across this country have begun to implement various forms of community policing. After an unprecedented six years of declining crime rates across the country, it is apparent that police departments and communities are once again collectively accepting responsibility for the prevention of crime, the maintenance of social order, and improvement in the quality of life in their neighborhoods.

Most departments still face a major hurdle, however. Until a few years ago, the biggest challenge faced by agencies was answering the question, "Will community policing work?" But that challenge has been answered. Community policing does work and it has enjoyed enormous support from our citizenry. Citizens, in fact, have been crucial to the survival and development of numerous programs associated with community policing.

The new challenge for departments, however, is shifting from experimentation with community policing—a programmatic mind-set—to full-scale implementation of community policing, *as a guiding philosophy*, throughout their organizations. The fact that community policing can be institutionalized gives us a clear idea of some of the long-term benefits our profession might enjoy once community policing has been fully embraced.

The key element behind the Crime Act was to provide police departments with an infusion of resources—money, training, and technology—to jumpstart community policing. The assumption, drawn correctly, was that departments were going to need additional staffing and funds to achieve this transition.

But if we look at agencies that have been practicing community policing for 15, 20 or more years, we find that many of these departments require fewer personnel resources and can operate more effectively and efficiently than traditional police departments. A good example of this can be found in what happened in cities such as Santa Ana and San Diego, California.

Chart A
Santa Ana Sworn Strength
(All data from the Santa Ana Police Department)
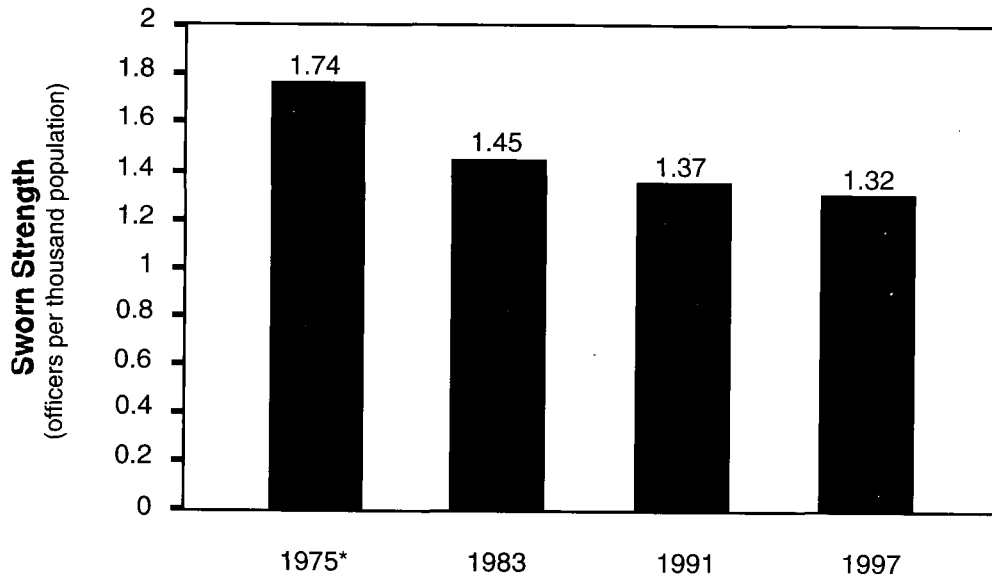
*Community Policing Implemented

Santa Ana

While Santa Ana's overall police staffing has risen since the late 1960s, a closer look reveals that the sworn officers per 1,000 residents has actually declined since the mid 1970s. What is more, if we look at the crime rate in Santa Ana over the same period, we see that crime also has declined - and significantly so (see Charts A and B).

The data contained in Chart A reveal a staffing pattern that successful community policing agencies are likely to emulate. In late 1975, after the end of the fiscal year, Santa Ana added nearly 80 additional officers as part of its fledgling community policing initiative.

Having enough staff to launch community policing was critical to its success, but this experience shows that community policing can actually be far more efficient and effective than policing methods associated with traditional policing styles.

Community policing is heavily reliant upon information from the public, specifically residents' participation and willingness to report crime and identify neighborhood concerns. As their willingness to come forward increases and they gain confidence in the police, this quite naturally may generate an initial increase in calls for service and crimes reported. Citizens who develop this greater trust and confidence in police are ready

17

Chart B
Santa Ana Crime Rates
(All data from the Santa Ana Police Department)
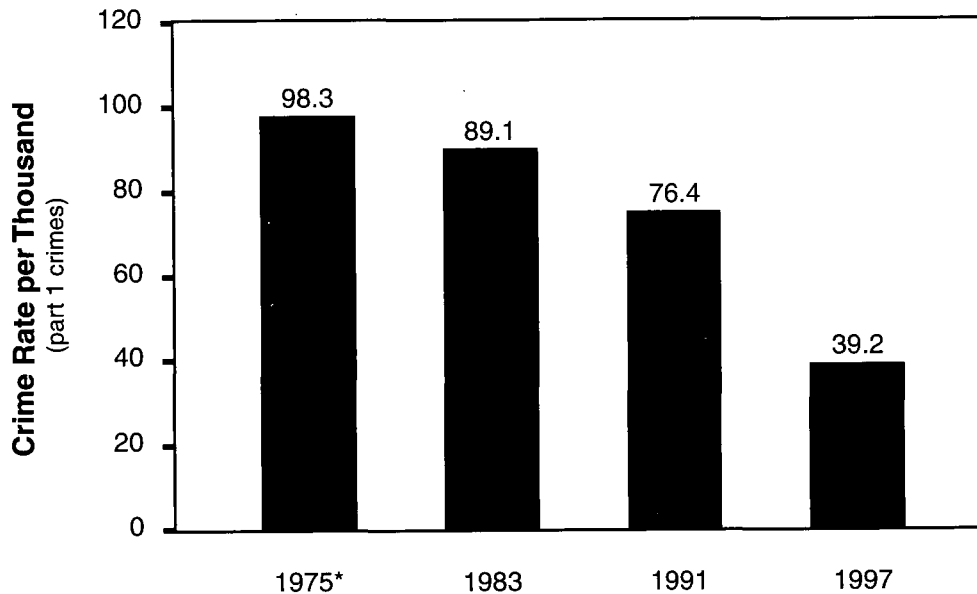
*Community Policing Implemented

to talk to them, work with them, and solve problems they might have once believed could not be solved or to which police would not have responded.

Due to the success of collaborative efforts to reduce crime and the fear of crime, citizens gradually find their need to call on police decreases because police become more proactive in their efforts and more effective. Regular interactions with officers become more prevalent than emergency calls or other dispatches. With a decreasing burden of calls, police are able to use their resources more strategically.

Ultimately, thanks to increased efficiency and reductions in crime, police departments will demand less overall resources. Efficiency, the

utopian goal of traditional policing is achieved not merely through a faster response, but through pro-active contact between police and citizens. Santa Ana's experience is indicative of the increase in both efficiency and effectiveness that law enforcement may come to enjoy as a result of sustaining community policing. Agencies can experience not only a drop in crime, but also can manage such an accomplishment with limited resources.

San Diego

This experience is mirrored by the more recent accomplishments of the San Diego Police Department as described by Gary Cordner in his article, "Problem-Oriented Policing vs. Zero Tolerance" (1997). In his review of recent declines in the

crime rate, Dr. Cordner found that San Diego experienced a drop in crime comparable to New York's well-publicized and celebrated decline, but that San Diego had done it with substantially less resources.

From 1990-1995, crime in New York City declined 37.4 percent. During the same period, crime in San Diego decreased 36.8 percent. At the end of that period, however, the San Diego Police Department employed only 1.7 police officers per 1,000 residents, as opposed to New York City's 5.1 officers per 1,000 residents. New York City's sworn strength increased 39.5 percent over the six years from 1990 through 1995. In comparison, San Diego's force grew only a moderate 6.2 percent.[2]

Increased effectiveness appears to be the hallmark of Santa Ana and San Diego as a result of their community policing activities.

Future Challenges

As we look to the future, it is important to understand the intrinsic value of community policing as much as it is to understand its practical side. Community policing marks as one of its distinct accomplishments the contribution it makes to our democratic society. It is crucial to the state of our nation, and our communities, that citizens participate directly in developing and implementing solutions to their own problems.

In the past, police agencies have allowed citizens to cede or abdicate both authority and responsibility for their own neighborhoods. While government must grow more responsive to the needs of its constituents, we must also encourage—in fact, demand—that citizens not shirk their duty in keeping their community safe. Most crime is, ultimately, a product of the community. We gain nothing from insulating a community from its own ailments.

Beyond simply being more effective in fighting crime, there exists a question key to the role of our citizenry: *How can we, as citizens, expect to govern ourselves if we are not engaged?* Democracy is founded as much on the notion of responsibility for one's actions as it is in the freedom to choose them. Through our approach to law enforcement we can either assume the rights and responsibilities of residents, or police can aid citizens in doing what our nation's founders had always intended them to do—exercise responsibility for their own problems and issues.

The real role of a police officer is that of a peacekeeper. And while this does require us to be mindful of and exercise our role as law enforcers, it also requires the application of problem-solving skills, a focus on the prevention of crime, and a commitment to ensuring that we treat everyone with dignity and respect.

While community policing has come a long way in recent years, it still faces challenges. Many departments will continue to struggle with the challenges of implementing community policing as an organizational philosophy. I see two obstacles to this. First, community policing may be passed off as a fad, or implemented as a series of programs by officials who are lacking in knowledge, skills or commitment, simply to take advantage of the available funding and create a positive public image. Second, policing professionals may be tempted to turn the tenets of community policing into dogma, seeking hard and fast rules that, frankly, are in conflict with the flexibility and adaptive characteristics essential to the philosophy.

I have often heard it said that community policing is simply the latest buzzword in law enforcement. But I have also been hearing that for the better part of three decades now, which cements my conclusion that there is no credence in that particular sentiment.

While our profession is correct to be skeptical of the plethora of faddish practices or innovations which spring up around us, we ought not let our skepticism override our ability to properly evaluate good ideas. Community policing has proved itself, and while its critics will remain, the profession must take care to avoid the cynicism that pervades today's political thinking.

Furthermore, we also ought to evaluate practitioners of community policing carefully. Those who believe community policing is merely a buzzword will label any and every activity community policing. We have a shared responsibility within the profession to see that this does not happen. The citizens we serve deserve better than a smoke-and-mirrors attempt at community policing favored by those seeking political goodwill from the populace without offering them anything of substance in return. If community policing becomes so diluted by such false assignments, then we have little hope of engaging neighbors to take an active role in preserving their communities.

Equally critical to the survival of community policing is our ability to allow it to evolve. Community policing is an outgrowth and reflection of the community itself and we need only to look at the rapid transformation of the demographics in many jurisdictions to understand how significant this is. Whether we are practitioners or academics, we must continually challenge ourselves to reevaluate the methods by which we carry out the practice of community policing.

The adoption of ironclad rules and unbending mindsets will not foster or serve community policing. We must be careful to avoid dogma and to ask ourselves if we are serving our community's best interests.

I do envision a point when we will no longer talk about "community policing." Should we face up to the challenges, there will be a time when community policing is the way business is done, when its principles and practices are so widespread that we will refer to them simply as "policing."

Community policing, in its quiet way, is changing the nature of people's lives one neighborhood at a time. With community policing, we can drive down crime. We can improve the quality of life. We can foster the spirit of cooperation and partnership. The opportunities have never been greater.

Acknowledgments:

Endnotes

1. David Weisburd, Rosann Greenspan, Kellie Bryant, Edwin E. Hamilton, Hubert Williams, and David Olson, "Abuse of Authority in the Age of Community Policing: A Preliminary Study of Issues and Attitudes," *Police Foundation,* 1988, 31-33.
2. Gary Cordner, "Problem-Oriented Policing vs. Zero-Tolerance," 8-11. Paper presented at Problem-Oriented Policing (POP) Conference, San Diego, California, November, 1997.

Mr. Brann served as Police Chief of Hayward, California before assuming the position as Director, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) with the U.S. Department of Justice. He wrote this article for the Crime and Violence Prevention Center during his leadership of the COPS office. For further information, contact the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 10th floor, 1100 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20530; (202) 514-8002; or *www.usdoj.gov*

Community Policing and Organizational Cultural Backlash

By Harry P. Dolan, Chief of Police
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Highlights

- *Some police departments have experienced an organizational cultural backlash against community oriented policing, ranging from visible frustration to mutiny. The backlash relates to four areas: classic resistance to change, the mourning phase, professional jealousy, and the staff development and recruitment crisis.*

- *Establishing recommended procedures for implementing the community policing philosophy will help avoid a backlash in the organization and pave the way for success.*

What an exciting time to be in policing. We have begun to realize that we must change our philosophy from a reactive, incident-driven approach to a more proactive, problem-solving style. No longer can we respond to calls for service and not get involved with the social and economic problems which breed crime and civil disorder.

The late Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, former director of the National Center for Community Policing at Michigan State University, stated: "The philosophy requires that police departments develop a new relationship with the law-abiding people in the community, allowing them a greater voice in setting local police priorities and involving them in efforts to improve the overall quality of life in their neighborhoods. It shifts the focus of police work from handling random calls to solving community problems."

Community policing makes sense. We have lost touch with our communities and now find ourselves interacting primarily with people in crisis or career criminals. Burnout and frustration have never been greater. Community policing is providing us with a means to become professionally healthy. We can now encourage officers of all ranks to spend significant amounts of their time outside of the patrol car with law-abiding, supportive citizens. Officers are reporting that they are feeling a greater sense of accomplishment, and appreciation from the community.

Considering all of these positives, why are we having such tremendous difficulty implementing community policing within law enforcement agencies? Police departments have experienced organizational cultural backlash, ranging from visible frustration to outright mutiny. Before proceeding full-steam ahead, we should pause to

take a close look at what is happening within police agencies. We can discuss the backlash as it relates to the following four specific areas: classic resistance to change, the mourning phase, professional jealousy, and the staff development and recruitment crisis.

Classic Resistance to Change

Law enforcement is no different than any other profession which must cope with change. Similar to other professionals, we get set in our ways and find it difficult to see the wisdom of doing things differently. As police departments shift their emphasis from an over-dependence on the criminal justice system to establishing programs such as community action groups, youth activity teams and other creative strategies, classic signs of resistance to change emerge.

Primarily, the community policing philosophy threatens the expertise of specialized groups already entrenched within the organization. This is particularly applicable because of our obvious over-specialization. The community policing philosophy places emphasis on the decentralized generalist. Those members of a department who have finally found a niche in a specialized unit suddenly find themselves back out in the trenches.

Changes associated with community policing stress the critical importance of placing authority and responsibility with the community police officer. Rarely in policing do we trust or empower the patrol officer to make decisions and network with other segments of city government to solve problems. First-line supervisors and middle managers find this situation to be the most threatening. They resist primarily because of the sudden loss of authority, power and control.

The Mourning Phase

"We have always done it this way and I like doing it this way." Police departments have become so comfortable with the way that we do things that changes associated with community policing are getting some officers downright depressed. They are beginning to show signs of mourning the loss of "Adam 12's" Reed and Malloy driving down the road discussing the last call, home problems, and war stories, deterring crime as they go. For three decades we have advocated that "aggressive patrol" is the most efficient and effective way to detect and solve crime. Now we must confront research which indicates that routine motor patrol does little to prevent crime.

The truth of the matter is that we will always have motor patrol cars responding to random calls for service. What we are now emphasizing is the importance of officers spending uncommitted time outside of their patrol cars working with the community to identify and solve problems. Further, some officers will be assigned to community beat areas where their primary duties will be to establish creative community programs. These duties most likely will not resemble traditional police roles.

Detectives are particularly mourning the loss of the concept that only they have the expertise and experience to wear plain clothes and solve crimes. Detectives will always be a vital part of the police service; however, as departments empower patrol officers and stress their importance in investigating crimes, detectives will be fewer in number and more directly involved in serious, unsolved crimes. Nevertheless, they will resist and mourn the loss of their current role for a longer period than any other group within the department. Their mourning will be intensified primarily because of the loss of their isolation, unquestioned independence, and anonymity from the rest of the department.

Warning signs that the department is experiencing the mourning stage can be observed in comments such as:

- "Officers walking beats, riding bicycles, and straying away from their cars will get hurt."

- "I am calling my councilman to make sure he knows that his neighborhood is not being patrolled anymore and that break-ins are going to rise."

- "Only cops in cars can make arrests."

- "The chief has to be stopped before we are all doing community policing and the department falls apart."

- "If I have to work in the area all the time I will forget how to get around the city and people will die waiting for me."

Indications that the mourning state is subsiding will be evident when foot and bicycle patrol officers make quality arrests and develop a closer, trusting relationship with the community. Also, in time members of the department will begin to realize that we are not mourning the loss of traditional policing, but rather supplementing it with a philosophical shift centered upon forming a partnership with the community. Success stories associated with the community's input into local police priorities and enhanced community support will serve to ease the mourning stage.

Professional Jealousy

Jealousy in police work comes in all forms. Traditionally, it has been centered within the agency regarding assignments and promotions. The competition for limited promotional opportunities has been the greatest culprit of fighting and jealousy. Community policing adds another form of jealousy and resentment. Police officers and supervisors embracing community policing are seen by the community as heroes. They are becoming celebrities in their assigned neighborhoods and have realized a new sense of commitment and accomplishment.

The officers who are left to answer 911 calls and file reports feel left out. "We do all the work while they ride bicycles and get the credit," becomes a common cry. The jealousy ranges from comments such as "Community Policing is soft on crime" to overt actions directed at the ouster of the police chief. In some police departments, a divisive split occurs within the department between community policing advocates and those opposed to the loss of the traditional way of doing things. Some officers who are averse to community policing will complain to citizens and political leaders that the community officers "are not doing anything" and that there are not enough officers answering calls.

Within the law enforcement profession in general, we are witnessing departments becoming jealous of other agencies who are receiving community praise for new programs. Unfortunately, we have a tendency not to want to replicate programs or acquire equipment that other agencies have because we didn't do it first. With this situation in mind, it is not difficult to understand that departments are very competitive and critical of one another.

Police chiefs implementing community policing are becoming very popular leaders in their respective communities. Citizens applaud their programs with visible support. This popularity, and in some cases celebrity status, creates problems for the chief as some politicians and community leaders become jealous. In some cases politicians challenge the chief by attributing random incidents of crime as indications that community policing doesn't work.

Recruitment and Staff Development Crisis

Now that we have been implementing community policing for over a decade, it is becoming uncomfortably clear that we are not recruiting officers who are adept at performing community policing tasks. We have yet to adopt and utilize uniform criteria for the selection of individuals suited for community policing assignments. Most new officers entering the profession want to "help people." However, when it comes to public speaking, creative problem solving, and networking with community and government organizations, we are finding that they gravitate toward general patrol duties. Newly appointed officers who do not possess personal traits and characteristics compatible with community policing quickly grow frustrated, causing resistance.

Staff development, or more specifically, training, is yet another area in which we are seriously in crisis. Traditionally, we train our officers in the basic high liability areas — use of force, firearms, motor vehicle operation, and search and seizure. In specialty areas we conduct additional training to facilitate specific needs. Now that we are implementing community policing, we add a two-day training session to only those officers involved in community policing assignments. Rarely do we train the entire department in the philosophy. Further, very little follow-up training regarding practical applications is conducted.

Recommendations

It is not very difficult to outline the problems with implementing community policing; however, it is critically important that we discuss these issues openly so that we can begin to effectively respond and plan without overreacting.

Having endured much of the organizational cultural backlash discussed in this paper, the writer would submit the following recommendations for consideration when implementing the community policing philosophy:

1. Train the entire department in the community policing philosophy from the very beginning.

This will serve to limit confusion and misunderstanding. Include both sworn and civilian employees.

2. Develop a management style and organizational structure which embraces input from all members of the department.

We cannot stress solving problems at the beat level and have the officers struggle with numerous levels of bureaucracy and autocratic leadership.

3. Constantly stress to both the department and community that the agency will always perform traditional police duties.

Emphasize that we are now adding a dimension to the service delivery program which will bring us closer to the community.

4. Go slowly!

Community policing is a philosophy, not a program. In most cases it will take 10 to 20 years to change our current incident-driven response to a community oriented partnership. Strategic plans are fine; however, guard against unreasonable time tables and steps which are too canned for street cops. The strategic plan should be developed through the rank and file and written in understandable language.

5. Stay focused on fundamentals.

Review and implement hiring procedures which complement the selection of community oriented police officers. Develop performance evaluations which emphasize community policing objectives, not bean counting.

6. Involve community and political leaders throughout the process.

Let them benefit from the positive, and they may support you when you need them most.

7. Don't take it personally when members of the department demonstrate backlash.

Work through the tough critical times with them. Remember that most of those resisting change are good street cops who care and are feeling threatened.

8. Most importantly, be a role model of what you expect to see.

Chiefs and managers have to literally walk the beat. We have to demonstrate to our officers that what they are doing is important and that we are all in the transformation together.

The present and future of policing is undoubtedly community oriented policing.

Chief Dolan wrote this article for the Crime and Violence Prevention Center while serving as Chief of Police, Lumberton, North Carolina. He is now Chief of Police, Grand Rapids, Michigan. For further information, contact Grand Rapids Police Department, 333 Monroe Ave. NW, Grand Rapids, MI 49503; or *www.grpolice.grand-rapids.mi.us/chefmail.htm*

The New Policing: Confronting Complexity

By Herman Goldstein, Ph.D., Professor of Law Emeritus
University of Wisconsin School of Law

Highlights

- *The new policing seeks to make the police job more achievable by realigning police priorities, leveling with the public about police capacity, engaging citizens in taking steps to help themselves, and collaborating with other agencies and the private sector.*

- *Smarter policing in this country requires a sustained effort within policing to research substantive problems, make use of information and data on specific problems accumulated by individual police agencies, experiment with different alternative responses, evaluate these efforts, and share the results of these evaluations with police across the nation.*

- *It is helpful to examine five spheres of change: refining the police function and public expectations, getting involved in the substance of policing, rethinking the relationship between the police and the criminal justice system, searching for alternatives to the criminal justice system, and changing the working environment in a police agency.*

Community policing is well on its way to becoming a common term in households across the nation. That is a satisfying development for many, but causes some anxiety and discomfort for others. What accounts for the mixed reactions?

Under the rubric of community policing, progressive police administrators and interested citizens have been working hard for more than a decade to design and implement a form of policing that better meets the extraordinary demands on the police. . . . Within these circles, the term "community policing" has been used to embrace and intricately web together initiatives that have long been advocated for modern-day policing. These efforts have stimulated more productive thought and experimentation than has occurred at any previous time in the history of policing in this country. They have also created a new feeling of excitement and optimism in a field that has desperately needed both. It is understandable,

therefore, that the current wave of popular support for community policing is so welcome in many quarters. It gives a tremendous impetus to these new initiatives.

The downside of this new-found popularity is that "community policing" is widely used without any regard for its substance. Political leaders and, unfortunately, many police leaders latch onto the label for the positive images it evokes, but do not invest in the concept itself. Some police personnel resist community policing initiatives because of the belief that they constitute an effort to placate an overly demanding and critical segment of the community that is intent on exercising more control over police operations.

Indeed, the popularity of the term has resulted in its being used to encompass practically all innovations in policing, from the most ambitious to the most mundane; from the most carefully thought through to the most casual. The label is being used in ways that increase public expectations of the police and create the impression that community policing will provide an instant solution not only for the problems of crime, disorder, and racial tension, but for many of the other acute problems that plague our urban areas as well.

With such varied meanings and such broad expectations, the use of "community policing" creates enormous problems for those seriously interested in bringing about meaningful change in the American police. Carefully developed initiatives bearing the community policing label, fragile by their very nature, are endangered because superficial programs are so vulnerable to attack.

One reaction to this dilemma is to press for definition and simplification, to seek agreement on a pure model of community policing. This pressure for simplification is joined by well-

intentioned practitioners who, understandably, want to know—in specific detail—what they are supposed to do. Oversimplification, however, can be a deadly enemy to progress in policing. The field already suffers because so much in policing is oversimplified.

Crime, violence, and disorder, for example, are simple, convenient terms, but they disguise amorphous, complex problems. Their common and indiscriminate use, especially in defining the responsibilities of the police, places a heavy burden on the police and complicates the police task. The police respond with law enforcement and patrol—equally simple terms commonly used by the public without any awareness of the methods they embrace and their value. If community policing takes its place alongside law enforcement or patrol as just another generic response to a simplistic characterization of the police function, not much will have been gained and the concept will quickly lose its credibility.

Rethinking the Police Role

The policing of a free, diverse, and vibrant society is an awesome and complex task. The police are called upon to deal with a wide array of quite different behavioral problems, each perplexing in its own way. The police have tremendous power—to deny freedom and to use force, even to take a life. Individual officers exercise enormous discretion in using their authority and in making decisions that affect our lives. The very quality of life in this country and the equilibrium of our cities depend on the way in which the police function is carried out.

Given the awesome and complex nature of the police function, it follows that designing the arrangements and the organization to carry it out is equally complex. We are now in a period in which more attention is being given to the police function than at any prior time—a period in which we are rethinking, in all of its multiple

dimensions, the arrangement for the policing of our society. We should not, therefore, lose patience because we have not yet come up with the perfect model; we should not get stalled trying to simplify change just to give uniform meaning to a single, catchy, and politically attractive term. We need to open up to explorations rather than close them down. We need to better understand the complicated rather than search for the simple.

Some of the most common changes associated with community policing are already being implemented; for example, the permanent assignment of officers to specific beats with a mandate to get to know and relate to the community. There is now growing and persuasive support for decentralization, permanent assignments, and the development of "partnerships" between the police and the community. But these changes represent only a fragment of the larger picture.

Policing in the United States is much like a large, intricate, complex apparatus with many parts. Change of any one part requires changes in many others and in the way the parts fit and work together. For example, altering the way officers are assigned and how they patrol may be easy. But to gain full value from such changes, and to sustain them, changes are also necessary in the organization and leadership of the police department—in its staffing, supervision, training, and recruitment; and in its internal working environment. Thus, a change in direction requires more than tinkering. It requires, if it is to be effective, simultaneous changes in many areas affecting the enterprise. This, in turn, requires careful planning and coordination. And perhaps most important, it requires time, patience, and learning from experience.

Moreover, to succeed in improving policing, we need to move beyond the exclusive focus on the police agency. There is an urgent need to alter the public's expectations of the police. And we need to revise the fundamental provisions that we as a society make for carrying out the police function. For example:

- Refine the authority granted the police (curtail it in some areas and expand it in others).

- Recognize the discretion exercised by the police and provide a means for its review and control.

- Provide the police with the resources that will enable them to get their job done.

We need, in other words, without compromising our commitment to democratic values, to bring expectations and capacity more into harmony so that a job increasingly labeled as "impossible" can be carried out.

The Nature of Change

To illustrate, in some detail, the complexity of change in policing, it is helpful to examine five spheres in which change is now occurring. What types of issues arise? And what is the interrelationship and interdependence among the factors involved in these changes?

1. Refining the police function and public expectations.

The new forms of policing expand the police function from crime fighting, without any abdication of that role, to include maintaining order, dealing with quality-of-life offenses, and fixing the "broken windows"—all now recognized as being much more important than previously believed. The police have become more proactive, committed to preventing incidents rather than simply reacting to them. These shifts in emphasis appear to have gained widespread support.

But we need to be aware of the avalanche of business that this expansion of the police function invites lest it constitute a serious self-inflicted wound. The volume and nature of the miscellaneous tasks that accrue to the police are many. Cutbacks in other government services only add to their number. In areas that are starved for social services, the slightest improvement in police response increases the demand on the police. As water seeks its own level, the vast array of problems that surface in a large urban area inevitably find their way to the agency most willing to accept them.

For example, consider the officer assigned to a specific neighborhood with a broad mandate to improve service. Within a very short period of time, that officer will be overwhelmed by the need for services that—despite the greatest creativity and resourcefulness—far exceeds his or her capacity to delivery.

Very often the police can do more to satisfy citizen needs. They can identify problems and take actions that result in mitigating or solving them when they are given the time and license to do so. But in the larger scheme of things the need to reduce public expectations is every bit as important as the need to broaden the police function—not simply to make limited resources fit the demand, but for more complex reasons. Many of the most troublesome aspects of policing stem from the pressure that has been exerted on the police to appear omnipotent, to do more than they are authorized, trained, and equipped to do.

Police tend to like challenges. But the challenge to fill needs, to live up to expectations, can lead to the taking of shortcuts, the stretching of authority and, as a consequence, the potential for abuse of that authority. It is demoralizing to the thoughtful, dedicated officer to create the expectation that he or she can do more than take the edge off some of the more intractable problems that the police confront.

The new policing seeks to make the police job more achievable by realigning what the police do and do not do by giving higher priority to some tasks and lower priority to others, by reducing public expectations and leveling with the public about police capacity, by engaging the public in taking steps to help themselves, and by connecting with other agencies and the private sector in ways that ensure that citizens referred to them will be helped. There is a need to invest much more, in our individual communities, in working through the questions that arise in trying to achieve this better alignment.

2. Getting involved in the substance of policing.

A common theme in initiatives under the community policing umbrella is the emphasis on improving relationships with the citizenry. Such improvement is vital in order to reduce tensions, develop mutual trust, promote the free exchange of information, and acquaint officers with the culture and lifestyle of those being policed.

Improved relationships are important. They would constitute a major advance in some cities. But many would argue that they merely lay a groundwork and create an environment in which to strive for more. When citizens ask if community policing works, they are not so much interested in knowing if the community likes the police or if the police are getting along with the community. Rather, they usually want to know if the community policing initiative has had an impact on the problems of concern to them: their fear of using the streets, the abandoned cars in the neighborhood, the gang that has been intimidating them. If the initiatives that have been taken do not go beyond improving relationships, there is a risk that community policing will become just another means by which police operate without having a significant, demonstrable impact on the problems the police are expected to handle.

The tendency in policing to become preoccupied with means over ends is obviously not new. It was this concern that gave rise to the work on problem-oriented policing. The police must give more substance to community policing by getting more involved in analyzing and responding to the specific problems citizens bring to their attention. This calls for a much heavier investment by the police in understanding the varied pieces of their business, just as the medical field invests in understanding different diseases. It means that police, more than anyone else, should have a detailed understanding of such varied problems as homicides involving teenage victims, drive-by shootings, and car-jackings. And it means that a beat officer should have in-depth knowledge about the corner drug house, the rowdy teenage gang that assembles at the convenience store on Friday night, and the panhandler who harasses passers by on a given street corner. Analyzing each of these quite different problems in depth leads to the realization that what may work for one will not work for the other, that each may require a different combination of different responses. That is the beginning of wisdom in policing: One size clearly does not fit all.

Problem solving is being integrated into community policing initiatives in many jurisdictions. It dominates the commitment to change in some jurisdictions. Conference and training sessions for police have, with increased frequency, focused on such problems as the homeless, family violence, high-risk youth, child abuse, and school violence.

More of the momentum associated with community policing must be focused on these and similar problems. Smarter policing in this country requires a sustained effort within policing to research substantive problems, to make use of the mass of information and data on specific problems accumulated by individual police agencies, to experiment with different alternative responses, to evaluate these efforts, and to share the results of these evaluations with police across the nation. It would be useful to do more to reorient the work of research and development units in police departments, and to entice some of the best minds in the field of criminology and related specialties to assist in these efforts. The police should not only make greater use of research done by others; they should themselves be engaged in research.

3. Rethinking the relationship between the police and the criminal justice system.

Buried in all of the rhetoric relating to community policing is the fact that, with little notice and in subtle ways, the longstanding relationship between the police and the criminal justice system is being redefined. This is a radical change, but it is given scant attention in the literature on community policing. And the full consequences of the changes—and their relationship to some of the developments most commonly associated with community policing— have not been adequately explored.

The enforcement of criminal law is inherent in the police role. The great emphasis on enforcement affects the shape of their organization, the attitudes and priorities of their personnel, and their relationship with the community. Significantly, police officers are referred to as "law enforcement officers." The felt need for objectivity and neutrality in law enforcement often results in the police being characterized as having no discretion. And the commitment to enforcement encourages the police to act in ways designed to inflate the public's impression of their capacity to enforce the law in the hope that their image alone will reduce crime and disorder.

Advanced forms of community policing reject many of the characteristics stemming from the emphasis on enforcement. A neighborhood police officer, for example, is expected to have a much broader interest than simply enforcing the criminal law; to exhaust a wide range of

alternatives before resorting to arrest for minor offenses; to exercise broad discretion; and to depend more on resourcefulness, persuasion, or cajoling than on coercion, image, or bluff.

Reconciling these different perspectives has always been difficult. Some would even argue the two postures are incompatible. Simplistically, they are often distinguished as the "hard" and "soft" approaches in policing. But as a result of a sequence of developments in the past decade the difference between the two approaches has been diminished.

What has happened? So long as the police were intricately intertwined with the criminal justice system, they came to depend more heavily on the system. Thus, as violence and, especially, crimes associated with drugs increased, the police made more and more arrests of serious offenders. And to deal with disorder on the streets they arrested thousands of minor offenders as well, often stretching their authority somewhat (as police are pressured to do) in order to restore order. Predictably, the criminal justice systems in most large urban areas, and many smaller ones as well, have been overwhelmed to the point that it is no longer possible for the system to accept some serious offenders, let alone minor offenders.

The consequences of recognizing that the capacity of the criminal justice system has limits are more far-reaching than is commonly recognized. Police can no longer use arrest, as they so freely did in the past, to deal with a wide variety of ambiguous situations. Moreover, the aura of authority on which the police have so heavily depended for getting so much of their job done, rooted in the capacity to arrest, has been greatly diminished. Police officers today simply do not appear as powerful and threatening to those who most frequently come in contact with them because they can no longer use the criminal justice system as they once did.

What does this mean for some of the central themes under the community policing umbrella? It means that there are new, pragmatic reasons for searching intensively for alternatives to the criminal justice system as the way in which to get the police job done.

It also means that there is now an added incentive to cultivate positive relationships with the community. The police need to replace the amorphous authority that they previously derived from the criminal justice system and on which they depended so heavily in the past. What better way to do this than arm themselves with what Robert Peel characterized in 1829 as that most powerful form of authority, the "public approval of their existence, actions, and behavior."

The congested state of affairs in the criminal justice system means, too, that the police must conserve their use of that system for those situations in which it is most appropriate and potentially most effective. This latter need should lead the police and others committed to community policing to join . . . in speaking out for a more sensible national criminal justice policy that curbs the indiscriminate overuse of a system that will, if not checked, draw scarce funds away from the police and away from preventive programs where those funds can do more good.

4. Searching for alternatives.

The diversification of policing—the move from primary dependence on the criminal law to the use of a wide range of different responses—is among the most significant changes under the community policing umbrella. It enables the police to move away from having to "use a hammer (the criminal justice system) to catch a fly." It enables them to fine-tune their responses. It gives them a range of options (or tools) that in number and variety come closer to matching the number and variety of problems they are expected to handle. These may include informal,

common-sense responses used in the past, but never formally authorized.

The primary and most immediate objective in authorizing the police to use a greater range of alternatives is to improve police effectiveness. Quite simply, mediating a dispute, abating a nuisance, or arranging to have some physical barrier removed—without resorting to arrest—may be the best way to solve a problem.

But there are additional benefits in giving police officers a larger repertoire of responses. Currently, for example, one of the greatest impediments to improvement in policing is the strength of the police subculture. That subculture draws much of its strength from a secret shared among police: that they are compelled to bend the law and take shortcuts in order to get their job done. Providing the police with legitimate, clear-cut means to carry out their functions enables them to operate more honestly and openly and, therefore, has the potential for reducing the strength and, as a consequence, the negative influence of the police subculture.

The diversification of options is also responsive to one of the many complexities in the staffing of police agencies. It recognizes, forthrightly, the important role of the individual police officer as a decision-maker—a role the officer has always had but one that has rarely been acknowledged. Acknowledging and providing alternatives contribute toward redefining the job of a police officer by placing a value on thinking, on creativity, and on decision-making. It credits the officer with having the ability to analyze incidents and problems and gives the officer the freedom to choose among various appropriate responses.

Changing to a system in which so much responsibility is invested in the lowest level employee, one who already operates with much independence on the streets, will not occur quickly or easily. And absent sufficient preparation, the results may be troublesome. This is especially so if officers, in their enthusiasm, blend together community support and their desire to please the community to justify using methods that are either illegal or improper. And implementation in a department that has a record of abuse or corruption is obviously much more problematic. Those concerned about control, however, must recognize that the controls on which we currently depend are much less effective than they are often thought to be. Preparations for the empowerment of officers require changes in recruitment standards and training, establishing guidelines for the exercise of discretion, and inculcating values in officers that, in the absence of specific directions, guides their decision-making. Meeting these needs, in turn, connects with the fifth and final dimension of change.

5. Changing the working environment in a police agency.

If new forms of policing are to take hold, the working environment within police agencies must change. Much has been written about new management styles supportive of community policing. But with a few remarkable exceptions, relatively little has actually been achieved. And where modest changes have been made they are often lost when a change in administration occurs or when the handling of a single incident brings embarrassment, resulting in a reversion to the old style of control.

"Working environment" means simply the atmosphere and expectations that superiors set in relating to their subordinates. In a tradition-bound department, managers, supported by voluminous, detailed rules, tend to exercise a tight, paramilitary, top-down form of control—perhaps reflecting the way in which they have historically sought to achieve control in the community.

The initiatives associated with community policing cannot survive in a police agency

managed in traditional ways. If changes are not made, the agency sets itself up for failure. Officers will not be creative and will not take initiatives if a high value continues to be placed on conformity. They will not be thoughtful if they are required to adhere to regulations that are thoughtless. And they will not aspire to act as mature, responsible adults if their superiors treat them as immature children.

But properly trained and motivated officers, given the freedom to make decisions and act independently, will respond with enthusiasm. They will grasp the concept, appreciate its many dimensions, and skillfully fill their new roles. These officers will solve problems, motivate citizens to join together to do things for themselves, and create a feeling of security and good will. Equally important, the officers will find their work demanding but very satisfying. In rank and file officers, there exists an enormous supply of talent, energy, and commitment that, under quality leadership, could rapidly transform American policing.

The major impediment to tapping this wellspring has been a failure to engage and elicit a commitment from those having management and supervisory responsibilities. It is disheartening to witness a meeting of the senior staff of a police agency in which those in attendance are disconnected and often openly hostile to changes initiated by the chief executive and supported by a substantial proportion of the rank and file. It is equally disheartening to talk with police officers on the street and officers of lower supervisory rank who cite their superior officer as their major problem, rather than the complexity of their job.

Because the problem is of such magnitude, perhaps some bold—even radical—steps by legislative bodies and municipal chief executives may be necessary. Perhaps early retirement should be made more attractive for police executives who resist change. Perhaps

consideration should be given to proposals recently made in England that call for the elimination of unnecessary ranks, and for making continuation in rank conditional on periodic review.

But before one can expect support for such measures, the public will need to be satisfied that police executives have exhausted whatever means are available to them for turning the situation around. When one looks at what has been done, it is troubling to find that a department's investment in the reorientation of management and supervisory personnel often consisted of no more than "a day at the academy"—and sometimes not even that. How much of the frustration in eliciting support from management and supervision stems from the fact that agencies have simply not invested enough in engaging senior officers, in explaining why change is necessary, and in giving these supervisors and managers the freedom required for them to act in their new role.

Some efforts to deal with the problem have been encouraging. The adoption of "Total Quality Management" (TQM) in policing has demonstrated very positive results and holds much promise. It ought to be encouraged. An important lesson can be learned from experiences with TQM. Training to support changes of the magnitude now being advocated in policing requires more than a one-shot effort consisting of a few classroom lectures. It requires a substantial commitment of time in different settings spread over a long period, a special curriculum, the best facilitators, and the development of problems, case studies, and exercises that engage the participants. It requires the development of teamwork in which subordinates contribute as much as superiors. And it requires that the major dimension of the training take the form of conscious change in the day-to-day interaction of personnel—not in a training setting, but on the job.

Conclusion

Dwelling on complexity is risky, for it can be overwhelming and intimidating. It is difficult. It turns many people off. But for those who get involved, the results can be very rewarding.

There have been extraordinary accomplishments in policing in the past two decades by police agencies that have taken on some of these difficult tasks. There is an enormous reservoir of ability and commitment in police agencies, especially among rank and file officers, and a willingness on the part of individual citizens and community groups at the grass roots level to engage with the police and support change. Viewed collectively, these achievements should be a source of optimism and confidence. By building on past progress and capitalizing on current momentum, change that is deeper and more lasting can be achieved.

But there is an even more compelling, overriding incentive to struggle with these complexities. We are being challenged today to commit ourselves anew to our unique character as a democracy, to the high value we as a nation place on diversity, ensuring equality, protecting individual rights, and guaranteeing that all citizens can move about freely and enjoy tranquil lives. The social problems that threaten the character of the nation are increasing, not decreasing. It will take major changes—apart from those in the police—to reduce these problems. In this turbulent period it is more important than ever that we have a police capacity that is sensitive, effective, and responsive to the country's unique needs, and that, above all else, is committed to protecting and extending democratic values. That is a high calling indeed.

Section II

COPPS
COMMUNITY ORIENTED
POLICING & PROBLEM SOLVING

Management Strategies to Further the COPPS Movement

Implementing Change: Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving

By Ronald W. Glensor, Ph.D., Deputy Chief of Police, Reno, Nevada
and Kenneth Peak, Ph.D., University of Nevada, Reno

Highlights

- *Community oriented policing and problem solving is an attempt to address the long-term factors that produce crime and disorder.*

- *Four principal components—leadership and management strategies, organizational culture, field operations, and external relationships—must be rebuilt from the ground up to provide a strong basis for the COPPS model.*

- *To ensure that community oriented policing and problem solving becomes a part of the organizational culture, and not simply a fleeting or peripheral "program," an agency must link COPPS to how it recruits, selects, trains, evaluates, promotes, rewards, and disciplines employees.*

- *Agencies often question whether to implement COPPS on a department-wide basis or through specialized units. Although specialized units may produce limited results more quickly, their long-range impact may prove detrimental to the organization if other personnel view COPPS as a temporary or specialized program. Consequently, there is a growing consensus that all persons in an agency should be trained in and practice COPPS.*

- *Reno's Community Oriented Policing Plus program decentralized patrol, formed neighborhood advisory groups, established a quality assurance unit, strengthened its relationship with the media, and established neighborhood police stations—which generated community support for solving problems.*

Concern over crime has become a national preoccupation, fueled by nightly media reports and political posturing. This trend belies the slight, but consistent decline in crime rates recorded over the past four years.[1]

While the public's view of crime and actual crime statistics may seem contradictory, police administrators should consider the disparity more closely before assuming that the public's visible concern is largely unfounded. They need to consider the other factors that contribute to this consuming fear of crime.

A nationwide survey conducted in March 1994, revealed that 44 percent of the respondents reported areas within a mile of their homes where they fear walking alone at night. Six of every ten limit where they go by themselves.[2]

Although violent crime and media accounts of violence spark much of this concern, public perceptions also play an important role. Neighborhood disorder affects the public's perception of safety as surely as crime does.

People express more fear of strangers loitering near their residences than they do of random physical violence. Undoubtedly, they fear people they view as sinister—panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teens, mentally imbalanced drifters, and the homeless. But, they also fear physical disorder—litter, abandoned buildings, graffiti, broken streetlights and windows, wrecked vehicles, and other indicators of neighborhood decline.[3]

The twin threats of violence and neighborhood disorder raise the public's fear of crime beyond the level that crime rates alone may seem to support. Over the past several years, these factors have led to a tremendous increase in calls for police service. Likewise, the rise in citizens' calls to the police has had a marked impact on the nature of policing itself.

The Nature of Policing

Several studies over the past three decades have succinctly described the reality of policing under the professional paradigm. Officers devote less than 50 percent of their on-duty time to responding to calls for service. They spend the remainder on administrative tasks. Of the calls responded to by officers, over 80 percent are for noncriminal incidents.[4] Clearly, officers deal with disorder and the fear of crime more than they deal with actual crime. As a result, they find themselves continually applying short-term solutions to the same long-term problems.

Ultimately, the strengths and weaknesses of the professional model rest with its method for measuring success. Under this model, agencies do not gauge success by determining whether a problem has been resolved fully. Rather, they measure success by tracking such quantitative indicators as response times, arrest figures, and crime clearance rates.

This approach, while not without merit, assigns a great deal of weight to the accumulation of data. At the same time, it devotes too little effort to resolving problems long-term.

Granted, many incidents that the police confront require a one-time, short-term infusion of authority. But, as surveys and studies confirm, many calls for police service require a far more comprehensive response.

Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving

To provide a structure to address the long-term factors that produce crime and disorder, hundreds of American law enforcement agencies have adopted two separate but interrelated strategies— community-oriented policing and problem-oriented policing. To encompass the

mutual ideals of these approaches, this article employs the term "community oriented policing and problem solving" (COPPS).

COPPS is a proactive philosophy that promotes solving problems that are either criminal, affect the quality of life, or increase citizen fear of crime. It involves identifying, analyzing, and addressing community problems at their source.

Unfortunately, many individuals—both in and outside of policing—believe that the goals of the COPPS model can be achieved by merely putting officers on foot or bicycle patrol, or by opening neighborhood mini-stations. Such approaches misrepresent the true potential of community oriented policing and problem solving and establish unrealistically simplistic expectations.

Four Keys to Success

Moving an agency from the reactive, incident-driven mode to COPPS is no simple endeavor. Four principal components—leadership and management issues, organizational culture, field operations, and external relationships—must be rebuilt from the ground up to provide a strong basis for the COPPS model.

Leadership and Management Issues

Successfully implementing COPPS requires a change in the management approach of an agency. Whenever law enforcement agencies adopt new programs or strategies, employees commonly want to know why the change is taking place. Administrators should understand that this is a valid concern.

To address employees' concerns, it is important to develop a mission statement that embodies the agency's new operating principles and long-term objectives. To be useful, the mission statement must articulate the basic values and goals inherent in COPPS. Attention also must be given

to policies and procedures, management styles, planning and program evaluation, and resources and finances.

Police Leadership

In *Problem-oriented Policing,* Herman Goldstein argues that good leaders "must have a set of values, a commitment to goals and governing principles."[5] Chief executives who attempt to guide their agencies out of the purely reactive mode must create a climate conducive to change. To do this, they themselves must become viable change agents.

When implementing community oriented policing and problem solving, chiefs should avoid the "bombshell" technique—simply announcing that COPPS is now the order of the day without developing a carefully designed plan of implementation. The chief's job begins by involving the entire agency to develop a clear vision and mission statement that is consistent with the principles of COPPS. Their guiding tenets should recognize that the police do more than merely enforce laws. These principles should serve as the basis for establishing new values and goals.

Chief executives must remember that fully implementing the COPPS model takes years, not weeks or months. It requires careful and continuous planning to ensure that the organization's policies and procedures do not conflict with the basic principles of COPPS. Because the COPPS model places strong emphasis on street officers as primary problem solvers, chiefs also should carefully evaluate resource allocation to determine if any redistribution is necessary.

The larger the organization, the more time necessary to implement COPPS, especially if it is being implemented department-wide. This period of changeover may involve considerable turbulence. Chief executives should be prepared to face a reluctance to change from those comfortable with the status quo.

Mid-level Management

Mid-level police managers—lieutenants and captains—play a crucial role in the implementation of the COPPS model. Accordingly, they should be trained in the philosophy and methodology of the concept. Studies of the team policing programs of the 1970s found that many managers viewed that concept as a threat to their power. They subsequently "subverted and, in some cases, actively sabotaged" the effort.[6]

Mid-level managers need not be a hindrance to innovation. Indeed, many researchers who study law enforcement agencies identify middle managers as the locus of innovation.[7] If COPPS is to be implemented successfully, mid-level managers must provide administrative support and remove any barriers that first-line supervisors may confront.

First-line Supervisors

As first-line supervisors, sergeants wield a tremendous amount of influence on the attitudes and behavior of officers. COPPS requires that sergeants allow their officers additional autonomy and authority to solve problems. This component of the COPPS model can seem threatening to first-line supervisors who, in turn, can create an enormous block to implementation.

Supervisory training should define a sergeant's role as "facilitator" rather than "controller." Sergeants often must run interference for their patrol officers to give them the time required to engage in problem-solving. First-line supervisors also can assist by developing new COPPS activity forms and officer evaluation criteria that complement the new philosophy.

Organizational Culture

Reactive crime-fighting strategies and organizational values represent strong barriers to COPPS. Therefore, before meaningful transition can occur, the very core of an organization's culture often must change. In this context, "culture" refers to a set of expectations and norms that guide employees' behavior.

Organizations base their culture largely on history, officer experiences, organizational structure, leadership style, and past methods of handling change. To ensure that community oriented policing and problem solving becomes a part of the organizational culture, and not simply a fleeting or peripheral "program," an agency must link COPPS to how it recruits, selects, trains, evaluates, promotes, rewards, and disciplines employees.

Agencies must review their recruiting literature and testing/selection processes to ensure that the skills, knowledge, and abilities used to select recruits are consistent with the desired traits of a COPPS officer. The training that recruits receive once they are hired becomes critical. Therefore, COPPS training must be integrated into the academy's curriculum fairly early in the implementation process.

In addition, both sworn and civilian employees should be taught the COPPS philosophy to ensure common understanding. Personnel should receive practical training related to the problem- solving model and other crime prevention and analysis strategies. Personnel also need to be trained on effective ways to involve other government agencies, private businesses, public and private service organizations, and the community in general. Agencies should include this instruction in field training curricula and updated annual training.

COPPS also changes the way organizations evaluate their officers. Evaluation criteria need not focus solely on efficiency—as indicated by citation and arrest numbers. Under COPPS, agencies should recognize officers who maximize resources and exhibit initiative in solving seemingly intractable community problems. Administrators must remember that such activities often defy traditional numbers-oriented evaluation.

In fact, COPPS requires an evaluation system that measures whether attempted solutions successfully addressed community problems. Agencies must establish forms of assessment, such as community surveys and data analysis methodologies, that adequately gauge the effectiveness of individual problem-solving initiatives.[8]

In an organization devoted to the principles of COPPS, promotional exams should not focus solely on tactical orientation, nor should awards be restricted to recognizing only heroic deeds. Employees' knowledge about COPPS and their problem-solving performance must be reflected in an agency's promotional and reward systems.

Likewise, a department's disciplinary system is an important guide for employees' behavior. Agencies must uncover and swiftly deal with behavior that threatens their COPPS efforts.

Cultural resistance to implementing COPPS invariably encompasses officers' belief that responding to service calls leaves them insufficient time to engage in problem solving. COPPS training should explain that if officers do not engage in problem solving they will continue rushing from spot to spot like pinballs, achieving short-term results at best. Still, agencies can and should do a number of things to garner more time for officers to engage in problem solving.

Field Operations

Under COPPS, field officers become the focus of problem-solving efforts: They identify problems, apply in-depth analysis of the underlying causes, employ creative and collaborative responses, and evaluate the results of their efforts. This philosophy often requires more time and effort from officers than incident-driven methodologies allow.

An agency's administration might obtain more time for officers by analyzing calls for service and officers' workloads and by evaluating what activities officers perform and how they spend their uncommitted time. Agencies need to work toward taking more offense reports over the telephone or through mail-in reporting and consider the enactment of false alarm ordinances or other measures to reduce the number of unnecessary calls for police service.[9] Agencies also must seek ways to reduce the amount of time officers spend performing non-police functions.

Through better "call management," supervisors can help by allowing officers to delay their responses to non-emergency calls. Supervisors in some agencies use cellular telephones to contact complainants directly and handle their problems, thus eliminating the need for an officer's response.

Problem solving also requires acquiring reliable data and information about substantive problems. Centralized and accessible crime analysis information should provide officers with reliable data on all calls for service, not merely Part I crimes. Identifying sites that yield repeat calls for service represents a vital component to establishing long-term response strategies.

Agencies often question whether to implement COPPS on a department-wide basis or through specialized units. Although specialized units may produce limited results more quickly, their

long-range impact may prove detrimental to the organization if other personnel view COPPS as a temporary or specialized program. Consequently, there is a growing consensus that all personnel in an agency should be trained in and practice COPPS.

In addition, agencies must consider operational variables that impact the implementation of community oriented policing and problem solving. Agencies that assign fixed shifts and beats generally enjoy a higher success rate. Long-term and/or permanent beat and shift assignments— the ultimate forms of decentrali- zation—allow officers to learn more about people, places, issues, and problems within neighborhoods. Agencies also may need to examine and modify rank structure to accommo- date COPPS and to ensure that communication is not filtered, doctored, or suppressed.[10]

External Relationships

While much can be debated about COPPS implementation, one thing is clear: COPPS requires changes in agencies' external relation- ships. The goal should be to establish new partnerships for sharing the information and resources necessary to solve neighborhood problems. As an integral component of this effort, law enforcement should foster cooperative working relationships with city agencies, busi- nesses, service providers, and the community.

Because a deteriorating neighborhood might require cooperation among health, police, fire, zoning, and social service agencies, key officials in each organization must be included early in the implementation process. The homeless, the mentally ill, and the victims of domestic violence often account for a high volume of police service calls. By working together, the police and other agencies can put victims in the hands of skilled practitioners and on the road to reclaiming their lives.

Other Considerations

Elected Officials

Soliciting and maintaining political support represents an essential element to implementing COPPS fully. Elected officials must provide sustenance and direction to any COPPS effort by allocating resources and developing strategic community-wide policies.

Unfortunately, political officials can be a difficult group for police administrators to influence: Their knowledge of policing traditionally is grounded in Uniform Crime Reports' statistics, response time, and case clearance rates. They rarely think of the police role beyond its law enforcement function.

The multiagency cooperation inherent in COPPS represents a new concept for many public officials. Elected officials also must understand that they cannot promise the community reduced response times and an officer's response to every type of call, or that drug-related crime, homelessness, and other social problems will be resolved within a finite time period. Both voters and elected officials should understand that to achieve long-term results, COPPS requires careful, thoughtful approaches with realistic time frames.

Detectives

To many officers, investigation represents the single most important function of a police organization. An inevitable byproduct of this view is that uniformed officers are accorded less status than detectives. Thus, many patrol officers aspire to enter the investigative ranks. However, a shift to COPPS requires a new and enhanced role for line officers.

For this reason, detectives—who may feel that COPPS work is for uniformed officers alone— must be incorporated into the COPPS strategy.

They should not view COPPS as an exclusive responsibility of the patrol force.

Detectives can relay information to the patrol division, while patrol officers can pass on relevant tips to detectives. In short, under COPPS, detectives are not the only crime solvers in the organization, and patrol officers no longer limit their duties to report taking.

Unions

Is COPPS contrary to union interests? Does it conflict with contractual issues, such as shift staffing, work hours, and promotions? These questions pose serious barriers to many administrators, requiring careful thought and cooperation between labor and management before COPPS can be implemented.

If agencies exclude unions from the COPPS planning process, officers may well perceive its implementation as a public relations gimmick to serve management's interests. Therefore, managers should explain their rationale and concerns to union leaders so that both groups can collaborate in planning the agency's future.

The implementation of the COPPS model is as important to labor as it is to management. Both sides desire a quality work environment for employees. COPPS fosters that and much more. It affords officers opportunities to use their talents creatively and to take control of their work environment through problem solving. COPPS also recognizes their cognitive abilities and rewards them for making lasting improvements in the community.

Case Study: COP+ in Reno

In the mid-1980s, the Reno, Nevada, Police Department faced the challenges now confronting many law enforcement agencies. A lagging economy had forced administrators to make

significant reductions in staffing and resources, while calls for service continued to rise dramatically.

As the department struggled to cope with these challenges, community support eroded. A survey taken in 1987 revealed that citizens viewed the police department as being uncaring and heavy-handed. Two municipal bond issues that would have replaced officers lost to attrition failed because of a lack of voter support.

Department administrators saw the need for broad-based change. In May 1987, the Reno Police Department adopted a department-wide community policing strategy: Community Oriented Policing Plus (COP+). Administrators realized that as part of COP+, the department must engage the community and city agencies in a shared approach to problem solving if it hoped to address the problems of increased crime and disorder.

First, the department decentralized patrol into three geographic sections, each commanded by an officer who assumed 24-hour responsibility for a specific area. The sergeants and officers assigned to the areas receive more permanent beat assignments so that they could become familiar with residents and businesses and their respective problems.

Each area commander formed a neighborhood advisory group (NAG). Made up of area residents, the NAGs reflect the unique socioeconomic makeup and ethnic balance of each area and relate the specific crime concerns of the residents. Newsletters distributed prior to each quarterly meeting inform residents of a variety of department issues and programs, as well as crimes in their area. Today, neighborhood advisory group meetings provide citizens the opportunity to meet with officers, exchange information, and develop problem-solving strategies.

The department also established a quality assurance unit (considered the "plus" in COP+). Among other duties, this unit conducts biannual community surveys to identify citizens' concerns and evaluate the effectiveness of the department in resolving them. The survey results, which administrators use to make necessary operational or administrative policy adjustments, are presented to every department member, to the city council, and at community and NAG meetings.

To improve strained relations with the media, the department created a media advisory group. As part of this effort, the department appointed a public information officer to provide newscasters with a principal contact person in the agency.

In addition, the department's executive staff meets with members of the media twice a year to discuss policy issues and relations. The department also relaxed its press policy to encourage cooperation between officers and the media.

As community support grew for the department's efforts to solve problems through cooperation, residents began to take a more active part in problem solving. The department established neighborhood police stations in each of the three patrol areas. For the most part, these stations were funded through private community donations. Civilian report takers staff the stations to provide residents with a means to file police reports in their own neighborhoods. The stations also provide citizens a place to meet with officers to discuss neighborhood problems and to obtain information about a variety of community-based programs offered by the department.

City agencies and social service organizations also became vital to the police department's problem-solving efforts. Officers now routinely work with representatives from a variety of city agencies and offices, including planning, fire, streets, signs, and the city attorney to improve neighborhood conditions and eradicate specific problems.

The cooperative problem-solving approach led to the creation of several coalitions to address substantive community concerns. The gang alternative partnership (GAP) program brings together representatives from law enforcement, juvenile courts, probation, education, and citizens groups to establish gang enforcement policy and diversion programs.

A similar consortium of concerned stakeholders works together to help the homeless through the homeless evaluation liaison program (HELP). Comprised of police officers, university students, and volunteer residents, HELP identifies homeless persons and places them with a social service agency that can best assist them. HELP's efforts have significantly reduced homeless-related offenses and the male population of the county jail.

The efforts of the Reno Police Department to establish external problem-solving partnerships emerged as a critical component of its community policing strategy. While such an approach represents a significant departure for most law enforcement agencies, department leaders have found that the wide range of crime-related problems facing Reno can best be met through a broad based community response.

Conclusion

Like any broad-based change to accepted practices, community oriented policing and problem solving should be implemented carefully. Chief executives who commit to the COPPS approach face two critical considerations—overcoming organizational resistance to innovation and gauging and managing the pace of change once it is undertaken. Police executives should understand that COPPS is evolutionary; it occurs as a result of refining past practices, implementing new strategies, and at times, accepting small wins in lieu of major victories. Successful implementation requires planning, patience, and time.

Agencies that provide a strong foundation for the COPPS model and nurture its growth will bring order to the chaos and fear often associated with organizational change. More important, these agencies will forge new relationships with city agencies and community members to resolve problems, not just respond to incidents.

Endnotes

1. "Preliminary Annual Uniform Crime Report," Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, DC, May 5, 1996.
2. George Gallup, Jr., *The Gallup Poll Monthly,* The Gallup Poll, March 1993.
3. James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Broken Windows: Police and Neighborhood Safety," *The Atlantic,* March 1982, 29.
4. See E. I. Cumming, I. Cumming and L. Edell, "Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend," *Social Problems,* 12, 1965, 276-286; T. Bercal, "Calls for Police Assistance," *American Behavioral Scientist,* 13, 1970, 682; Albert Reiss, *The Police and the Public* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1971); R. Lilly, "What Are the Police Now Doing?" *Journal of Police Science and Administration,* 6, 1978, 51-60.
5. Herman Goldstein, *Problem Oriented Policing* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 153.
6. Lawrence W. Sherman, *Team Policing: Seven Case Studies* (Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1973), 10.
7. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "The Middle Manager as Innovator," *Harvard Business Review,* July- August 1982, 95-105.
8. For a discussion of evaluation processes in several sites, see Dennis P. Rosenbaum (ed.) "The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Promise" (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1994).
9. See John J. Moslow, "False Alarms: Cause for Alarm," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin,* November 1994, 1.
10. Malcolm K. Sparrow, "Implementing Community Policing," National Institute of Justice, *Research in Brief,* 9, September 1988, 5.

Implementing Problem-Solving Policing: A Supervisory Perspective

By Sergeant Arthur D. Wiechmann
Fullerton Police Department, Fullerton, California

Highlights   *In order for a police department to be successful in the transition to community policing and problem solving, supervisors should:*

- *Involve line officers in every phase of the change, from planning and design through implementation and evaluation.*

- *Provide training on why the organization is incorporating community problem solving strategies.*

- *Describe community policing and problem solving as an additional tool which will help the department work smarter.*

- *Share power and responsibility, so that officers have control and accountability over their work environment.*

- *Inspire officers to expand their horizons and tap their full potential.*

The law enforcement profession is in the process of a dramatic change. The pioneers of community-oriented policing and problem-solving policing have provided sufficient evidence of success to the law enforcement community. Even the most traditional and skeptical agencies are undergoing changes to accommodate this new approach to police work.

As these strategies of change unfold, much emphasis is placed on the formulation of mission statements, goals and objectives, and structural changes. There has been little focus on how first-line supervisors are going to facilitate implementation. This difficult step of the process is solely at the mercy of street-level bureaucrats—the officers who will arbitrarily modify policy as they see fit. Several critical elements must be addressed so that supervisors can properly facilitate implementation:

Line-Level Input

The patrol officer typically works in an environment which does not allow for constant, close supervision. Because of the unique nature of the job, the patrol officer has considerable discretion in how the job is done, which laws to enforce,

and which policies to follow. If the expectations or guidelines of a department's new approach to doing business are misunderstood, the officers' lack of knowledge could lead to inefficiency which could cripple an otherwise effective concept.

One way to prevent this problem from happening is to involve the line officers during the planning and design stages of the changes. The more officers who are involved in the project, the more voices there are to lend credence and support throughout the agency. An abundance of advocates can facilitate learning and understanding among peers in ways not available in traditional management methods. Early involvement will foster commitment which can have a synergistic effect on others.

Involvement of line personnel at the planning stage of changes also protects the process from sabotage or unwarranted modifications during implementation. The people who will do the work often have knowledge and information critical to successful implementation that supervisors and managers—who are distant from the line-level responsibilities—do not. By creating a process which includes line officers during all the phases—planning through implementation and evaluation—minor problems can be solved before it becomes necessary for officers to customize the policy to fit the realities of street-level police work.

Training

Another way to prevent misunderstandings by line officers in the application of problem-solving policing is through training. This is one of the critical elements in altering the organizational environment. Organizational development (change) requires commitment from top to bottom. Commitment from the bottom is achieved through effective, relevant training.

In the early stages of implementation, lower-level employees must understand what they must do as their part of the change and they must understand why they are doing it. If a transition to community-oriented policing or problem-solving policing is going to be successful, the agency must accept the fact that intensive, formal training for line personnel is a priority item during the early stages of implementation.

Understanding Tools of Change

During the change process, officers are too often told that traditional policing methods do not work. This has caused many officers to defend the way they have done their job in the past, rather than accepting community policing as an additional tool in the way they approach a problem. In trying to sell the program, management may tend to over-emphasize that traditional crime fighting is ineffective in order to justify a change to the problem-solving approach.

Instead, officers should be instructed that traditional policing methods do not work consistently for all situations and do not address the full spectrum of problems and situations which confront law enforcement today. With shrinking budgets and reduced manpower, efficiency by working smarter is critical. By understanding that a combination of traditional and problem-solving methods are more effective than traditional methods alone, agencies can avoid the personal struggles officers may experience when confronted with a change in their value systems.

Management Considerations

Problem-solving policing is more than just a law enforcement technique. It is also a philosophical change in how the police do business, and it is a change in management style. Because of the quasi-military structure of police organizations, it

is difficult to use a participative style of management on a consistent basis. The problem-solving approach provides management with the opportunity to utilize this effective style of management and leadership to an extent that was not previously possible.

The single most important thing that management can do to create an ideal environment is to share power and responsibility with the rest of the organization. Officers then feel empowered, in that they have control and responsibility over their work environment.

For a law enforcement agency to be effective and efficient, management must also identify the unfulfilled needs of their subordinates. Problem-solving policing can provide opportunities for officers to reach their higher-level needs of satisfaction and esteem, resulting in higher motivation. Successful community-oriented policing and problem-solving policing require true leadership, which inspires others to expand their horizons and tap their full potential, rather than just providing the kind of management which limits the organization to simply mastering daily routines.

Effective leadership can provide employees with a sense of meaning in their work and a desire to challenge themselves. However, unless management is truly committed to change, evidenced through line-level input, intensive training, and officers' accurate understanding of the problem-solving philosophy, the first-line supervisors will be ill-equipped to ensure that the organizational change will be successful.

References

Bennis, Warren and Nanus, Burt, Leaders, The Strategies For Taking Charge, (New York: Harper and Row), 1985.

More, Harry W. and Wegener, W. Fred, Behavioral Police Management, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.), 1992.

Strategic Planning for Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving

By Matt Powers, Deputy Chief
Sacramento Police Department, Sacramento, California

Highlights

- *Strategic planning is an indispensable tool for adopting an effective community oriented policing structure.*

- *The Sacramento Police Department undertook a comprehensive strategic planning process to effectively incorporate community policing into its activities. It reached out to the community, assessed its weaknesses and strengths, examined community challenges and demographics, and, based on that information, developed a set of strategic initiatives.*

- *Through strategic planning, the department is taking charge of its future.*

"Strategic planning" can be thought of as a bridge to help police organizations move from today's "professional policing" model to a tomorrow that embodies community oriented policing and problem solving. A growing number of police agencies have adopted the practice over the last decade specifically for this purpose.

Strategic planning was first used by the United States military as a method for guiding change during World War II. Following the war, the process became widely used in the business world to direct expansion and change in a systematic and focused manner. Today's business world's "gurus of strategy" urge companies to democratize the process by including employees, customers, and suppliers in the planning process.

This "democratized" strategic planning is in alignment with community policing, and is the tact adopted by the Sacramento Police Department.

While the sequence and elements of an organization's strategic plan may vary, the following components, utilized by the Sacramento Police Department, are common to many

strategic planning efforts:

- Development of a vision for the future
- Environmental scanning
- Mission statement
- New strategies and initiatives
- Implementation plan
- Feedback and continual assessment

Background

In 1993, the Sacramento Police Department, not unlike other police agencies, faced two seemingly incongruous tasks. First, to overcome the loss of 71 police officers and 20 civilian support staff due to city budget cutbacks; and second, to assist our new police chief in his mandate to significantly speed the expansion of community policing and problem solving.

Chief Arturo Venegas, Jr. selected strategic planning as the best method for guiding these changes. Having made this decision, he faced the same choices which face other police administrators: to hire an outside consultant to fully manage the process, to hire a consultant to oversee the development of a plan undertaken by staff within the police department, or to select staff from amongst the ranks and direct them to develop the plan in total.

The chief decided to use internal staff. Given budget constraints, it would have been impolitic to secure additional monies for an outside consultant, and there were management staff within the department who had received extensive training in strategic planning through the California Command College.

The appointed project manager capitalized on the great strength within the department and pulled a project team together that represented persons from all ranks, whether sworn or civilian,

to assist in the management of this process. At the direction of Chief Venegas, we also aggressively reached outside the walls of the department by holding community forums to directly allow the community to nominate priorities for the organization. Through the combined efforts of department staff, with broad-based community support, an effective strategic planning process was initiated.

Vision Statement

Contained in the foreword to the final document is the following quote: "There is no future to guide our present decisions. There are only possible futures that we can strive to advance or resist." It was clear that the department, as an organization, needed to define its future and to take its lead from the new chief executive.

After considering some early input from the community and his staff, Chief Venegas memorialized his vision for the future as follows: "By the year 2003, there will exist a mutual understanding of problems shared by the police and the community. The Sacramento Police Department works in close and consistent partnership with the community to effectively solve problems, making Sacramento a safe and healthy place for commerce and community life."

Environmental Scanning

This element of the plan was comprised of four sub-components: an internal assessment, an external assessment, a current business definition, and a stakeholder assessment.

An **Internal and External Assessment** was conducted in order to examine current and future weaknesses, strengths, threats, and opportunities. For example, in the area of youth, staff obtained information that over 28 percent of all youth in Sacramento were living below the

federal poverty level. This concern for youth contributed to a renewed attention on truancy and curfew enforcement, and an expansion of the department's criminal justice/magnet school program from one to three city high schools. Other areas of inquiry included technology, finance, facilities, personnel issues, service delivery/response time, the effect of the city population growth on police staffing, demographics, crime and service demand statistics, training, neighborhood revitalization, and related preferential police staffing issues. The inquiry also focused on an exploration of "what ifs" related to City land use developments and other internal and external factors that could affect policing in the next ten years.

The **Current Business Definition** included a comparative analysis of the existing mission statement to better understand current commitments. This provided a back drop for the development of a new mission statement.

A **Stakeholder Assessment** was prepared to understand the multiple perspectives which exist in the community being served, as well as from the perspectives of the Sacramento Police employees who are responsible for providing service.

Internally, input was received from all areas of the department, including the unique perspectives of women and minority officers. Chief Venegas conducted personal interviews with all his management staff, and surveys and group forums were used to elicit input from the rest of the department. The two organized labor units representing employees were welcome participants in the planning.

Externally, 11 community forums were held covering every area of Sacramento, a city of 400,000 persons. Forums were also conducted specifically with the business community and youth. In addition, many individual interviews

and smaller group meetings were held to gain needed input from groups who interact with and are affected by the Sacramento Police Department. A diverse set of concerns were raised during the community forums and these were detailed, city-wide and by area, in the plan. City-wide, the issues cited most frequently were drugs, gangs, traffic problems, thefts, and burglaries. This nomination of issues for police attention is highly consistent with the philosophy of community policing.

Mission Statement

A new mission statement was prepared to better reflect a philosophy of community policing and the department's commitment to problem solving. Various alternatives were considered by an Advisory Team, which included rank and file personnel, management, and organized labor representatives. By consensus, a final draft was prepared and submitted to the Chief of Police. Coinciding with the efforts of the Advisory Team, the Chief of Police was soliciting input from the City Manager, City Council, and a Police Community Relations Advisory Committee. All of the contributions made by these groups were considered prior to the adoption of the Department's new mission statement:

The Mission of the Sacramento Police Department is to work in partnership with the community to protect life and property, solve neighborhood problems, and enhance the quality of life in our City.

Strategic Initiatives

Serious consideration was given to all current activities of the Sacramento Police Department and changes were made where necessary to advance the mission while operating within the constraints of the budget and human resources. To accomplish this, the plan includes proposals to expand existing programs, reduce existing

programs, and where necessary, eliminate existing programs. A new order of business priorities required some serious cuts and realignments.

Some prevailing themes were identified as a result of the analysis and affected this area of the plan. These include improving customer service, attending to youth and neighborhood issues, expanding and improving problem solving skills through the use of problem oriented policing, the creation of new public and private partnerships, enhancing and improving internal and external communications, and maintaining an ongoing feedback and assessment process to monitor performance. The specific strategic initiatives proposed for implementation in the plan were as follows:

Problem Oriented Policing

Career criminal and fugitive apprehension

Patrol traffic enforcement expansion

Citizen's Academy

Youth and Community Services Section

Neighborhood Revitalization expansion

Technology optimization plan

Community Chaplaincy

Coordination with Planning Department regarding new development

Expanded Neighborhood Watch and crime prevention efforts

Area Command Structure/Decentralization

Flattening of departmental command structure and reorganization of the department

Total Quality Management for improved customer service

Drug Free Zones

Anti-gang and drug strategies

Expanded Volunteer Program

Forecasting of service demands and staffing needs

Strategic training plan, including career development

Magnet School Program expansion

Continuous strategic planning, assessment, and public participation

In developing this plan, it was quickly understood that strategic planning in the Sacramento Police Department would be an ongoing activity. It was anticipated that in the future many new strategies and initiatives would be identified and proposed.

Implementation Plan

To begin movement toward the vision and mission, it was necessary to activate the plan. To do this, the implementation plan reflected:

- Information contained in the budget

- Advocacy of new revenue-generating activities and options, e.g., cost recovery and grants

- A description of the organization which explained changes and thus reflected sub-organizational goals, changes, and new activities

- The elimination of two ranks (Assistant Chief and Commander) and the redefinition of remaining roles and responsibilities

- Current and future staffing needs

The Department proposed to implement, to as great an extent as possible, the strategic initiatives within the limits of its proposed budget. The Department's budget had no discretionary funds for new programs, additional staff, or technology that would enable its remaining members to shoulder the increasing service workload. To succeed in the implementation of community oriented policing and problem solving

strategies, future funding had to be identified in light of community growth and Council-Community expectations of enhanced public safety service delivery levels. Through a variety of means, significant progress has been made toward full realization of these many initiatives.

Feedback and Continual Assessment

A method was devised to sustain this strategic planning effort as a constant and dynamic activity. This strategy included:

- Community forums as an ongoing part of our future

- Bench marking to assess progress and identify the need to adjust to new realities

- A commitment to keep the community informed through use of the media, regular and ad hoc meetings, and new means such as an Internet web site

- Policing updates to the city employees informed through internal newsletters, electronic mail, and in regular formal and informal discussions

Putting the Plan to Use

The information contained in the strategic plan was useful not only for planning, but also for informing the public being served of the constraints and opportunities which will affect public safety in Sacramento. The Information Gathering

and Assessment section lays out information which has been, and must be in the future, seriously considered as it will affect the future, no matter how we respond to it.

How did the department respond? Since 1993, through aggressive grant writing and innovative revenue-producing activities, the Sacramento Police Department has replaced personnel lost to budget cuts. In 1998, the Police Department conducted a major review of its strategic plan. Adjustments were made to our organization which reflect our commitment to strategic change. For example, we eliminated our separate Neighborhood Police Officer Program and assigned all such specialists in community policing to patrol. Whereas police beats were previously configured to balance calls for service workloads, they are now designed to reflect existing neighborhood boundaries. Now, patrol officers will be trained and work as Neighborhood Patrol Officers. In like manner, new partnerships have been formed with police detectives and civilian support personnel, so as to advance a greater department-wide commitment to community oriented policing and problem solving. Through strategic planning we are taking charge of our future.

More importantly, however, today the department looks a lot more like the stated vision of community policing and problem solving than before the strategic plan was developed.

Was it hard? Yes, but the alternative would have been to cast adrift during tumultuous times.

Effective Community Policing Training

By Craig Fraser, Ph.D., Director of Management Services
Police Executive Research Forum

Highlights

- *A training plan should be an integral part of an agency's community policing strategic plan.*

- *Rather than sending people to general "Community Policing Training," the agency should seek courses designed to their specific skill-development needs.*

- *Training does not take the place of direction and example from the department's top leadership.*

- *A distinction should be made between "orientation" or information transfer, and "training," or skill development.*

- *The best community policing training will be structured to "teach, try, practice, and appraise."*

- *As the organization develops, community policing training should continually evolve.*

Community policing is often described as a policing philosophy that permeates the police organization so that the agency forms collaborative partnerships with its community to more effectively deal with the problems of violence, crime, and disorder. As more agencies adopt this approach to policing, it is becoming apparent that success requires that the agency wholeheartedly adopt the community policing philosophy. It is becoming apparent too that success requires that they provide their members with the skills needed to put the philosophy into operation.

From the beginning of the community policing movement, training has been recognized as a key element in bringing community policing concepts from theory into practice. As community policing has matured, so too has our understanding of how to use training to effectively assist implementation. The following discussion highlights crucial areas to consider for effective community policing training.

1. The agency should have a training and skill development plan.

Initially, many agencies launched into community policing with only rudimentary planning. Community policing was conceived operationally as a series of activities, such as attending community or neighborhood meetings, opening store front offices or substations, starting foot patrol or bicycle patrol, and/or assigning officers to patrol the same neighborhoods for a relatively longer period of time. Only lately are agencies beginning to create strategic plans that specify the intended results and outcomes of these community policing activities.

As agencies refine these plans and as the community policing planning process improves, police leaders are coming to more fully comprehend the need to consider what departmental employees need to do differently. What are the new, or altered, behaviors that the department expects of its members?

Once these new behaviors are identified, the skills needed to accomplish them will become more readily apparent. Administrators must then determine whether employees already possess these skills or whether additional training will be needed so that these skills become available.

For many departments, community policing requires a new set of skills for both management and supervisory personnel as well as for line employees. Consequently, the agency should include a training plan as an integral part of its community policing strategic plan. This training plan should identify the specific skills that the agency believes are needed for its particular version of community policing.

By identifying the skills needed for community policing implementation, the agency will not only be able to develop a more comprehensive plan for training its employees, it will also be able to focus more clearly on the specific behavioral

changes needed. This approach will increase the likelihood that employees can be appropriately trained so they are equipped to implement the plan.

A further benefit gained from developing a training plan is to help ensure that the agency gains the maximum benefit from the resources it devotes to its community policing training efforts. If the agency knows more precisely what skills need to be developed, it will better be able to target just what training opportunities it will pursue. Rather than sending people to training courses generically labeled "Community Policing Training," the agency can seek courses that are designed to their specific skill-development needs. The agency then becomes a more effective consumer of training. And, by becoming aware of the need to acquire the right training for the right people, the agency will spend its training resources, whether for tuition and travel, or staff time, more wisely.

For example, if as part of its community policing strategy, the agency decides it wants to have community/neighborhood beat officers, it may further define this role to mean that these officers are to become key partners in neighborhood problem solving. The new behavior expected of the officers is to work with people in their assigned neighborhood to identify problems of concern to the neighborhood and then to work as a catalyst to solve those problems.

This neighborhood problem-solving role could be further refined to require three key skills: the ability to communicate effectively with neighborhood beat residents, the ability to discover and understand the neighborhood, and the ability to engage in a structured problem-solving process. Accordingly, the training needed might be in:

- Communication skills—to foster positive interactions with citizens (would something like a Dale Carnegie course on "How to Win Friends and Influence People" be appropriate

here?). Officers will need skills to be able to communicate with diverse people in diverse circumstances.

- Beat/neighborhood profiling skills—to create an ability to understand neighborhood social structures, demographics, and resources.

- Problem-solving skills (SARA)—capable of being applied in a variety of situations that may include:

    Identifying the problem in conjunction with the community (Scanning);

    Developing as complete an understanding of the problem as possible (Analysis);

    Developing a response to the problem customized to have the greatest possible impact (Response);

    Measuring the results of the attempt at problem solution so that either the problem-solution approach can be redesigned for greater impact, or to document the success for possible repeat elsewhere (Assessment).

The department can then seek training that is designed to accomplish these specific skill development activities.

A department also needs a plan to identify and develop the new skills that will be needed by supervisors and managers. Because line employees will be working in different ways, the skills needed to effectively supervise and manage will also need to change.

2. Training does not lead change, it facilitates change.

Community policing requires change both in the way a department looks at its job and in how it interacts with its citizens. It is the job of the department's executive staff to lead this change. These top leaders must model new behaviors.

They must recognize that success will require critical thinking and sound and thorough planning.

Top leaders must have a vision of change, of what the new operations will be like. They need to cause an implementation plan to be constructed that will put the agency solidly on the path toward accomplishing this new vision of agency performance. Top leadership must communicate this vision to all levels of the organization and then work to monitor progress.

The role of training is to help accomplish change by providing people with the new skills that are needed to be able to perform new tasks. Departments have too often expected training to lead the change rather than to facilitate it. They have announced the move to community policing, and have "trained" everyone, and then put them back into the same, basically unchanged organization. They then wonder why nothing new is happening.

Merely exposing employees to a community policing or problem-solving training course will not automatically lead them to use those skills. Effective training to support community policing should:

- Be designed to teach new skills and be distinct from orientation (as described above). Orientation provides an awareness, it gives information. Training seeks to give people the tools to perform new and/or enhanced tasks;

- Be designed to develop/enhance skills that are going to be used almost immediately; and,

- Be tied closely to incentives for new behavior.

An agency should be sure to distinguish between orientation and training. The purpose of much early community policing "training" was information transfer rather than skill development. Orientation sessions are designed to convey the reasons for the new philosophy, expected

timetables for action, and what will ultimately be different. Some agencies have conducted extensive orientation sessions but are only beginning to train for skill development. By being clear about whether a given session is orientation or training, an agency may avoid frustration when employees return to the workplace and yet no change ensues.

An agency's community policing strategic plan should be designed so that very soon after employees are trained in new skills, they have an opportunity to put newly acquired skills into practice. This means that the organization must be ready to start the new methods as training concludes. If training is delivered, but those trained are afforded no opportunity to try the new skills, the value of the training declines. If the opportunity to use the skills is delayed, the training may be forgotten, or remembered inaccurately. So, training needs to be closely tied to implementation.

People are most comfortable doing what they know best. Without reasons for doing so, most of us will continue to behave in familiar patterns. Consequently, an agency providing training in new skills should also create incentives to encourage these new skills to be used. These incentives might be built into the performance evaluation process, or into other mechanisms the department uses to reward its employees.

3. The best community policing training will be structured to "teach, try, practice, and appraise."

To the greatest extent possible, training should involve doing rather than only listening to what is supposed to be done. Periods of teaching should be followed by opportunities to try the skill in the classroom and to receive a critique. Then, trainees ought to have an opportunity to put the new skills into practice in the field while keeping track of their results. This field practice should be

followed by an appraisal of the trainee's experiences, in a classroom setting.

Such a sequence will ensure that new skills are well developed, tested, and transferred. The feedback loop is especially important so those trained will become comfortable that they are performing in the proper manner.

4. Community policing training should be recognized as continually evolving.

One critical point stressed above is that training ought to be timed so that those trained can quickly use the new skills learned. This means that the training should be keyed to organizational development. As the organization develops, training needs will change. For example, problem-solving training may begin at an introductory level and proceed to an advanced level. Additionally, as problem solving becomes widespread in the organization, a need for training for those who supervise problem solvers will surface.

This need for an evolutionary approach is nowhere more evident than in recruit training. Community policing skills for recruits need to be taught so recruits are not trained so differently from experienced officers that the recruits will be faced with conflict between their training and pressure from the veterans. Unless the agency plans to isolate the new officers from the old, the depth of their community policing training needs to match that of the rest of the department.

Consequently, for some period of time, the community policing training curriculum for each successive recruit class should be modified as this evolution occurs. The curriculum should evolve at the same rate as the level and depth of skills in the rest of the agency. If the agency reaches a plateau in its development, then so too should the recruit curriculum.

Conclusion

As community policing continues to develop across the country, the need for effective skill development will grow. By planning for training, recognizing that training does not lead change, but facilitates it; using the most effective training methods; and seeking to continually update and change training in sequence with the organization, training will be an effective assistant for community policing implementation.

Dr. Fraser served previously as Director of Training for the Richmond, Virginia Police Department and Chair of the Department of Criminology/Criminal Justice at Virginia Union University.

Written for the Crime and Violence Prevention Center. For further information, contact the Police Executive Research Forum, 1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 930, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 466-7820.

Section III

COPPS
COMMUNITY ORIENTED
POLICING & PROBLEM SOLVING

Creating a Dynamic Community Policing Organization

179937
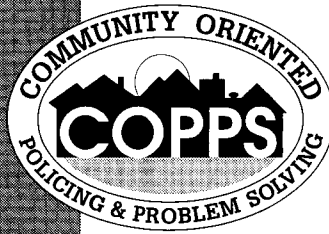
"COPPS — California Style"

By the Crime and Violence Prevention Center
California Office of the Attorney General

Highlights
- *Following are profiles of five California communities who have undertaken progressive measures to further Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving (COPPS). These sites were selected as a representative cross section of communities—from large, metropolitan San Diego, to the medium-sized cities of Santa Ana and Santa Rosa, to the small, rural communities of Arroyo Grande and Fillmore, a contract city with the Ventura County Sheriff's Department.*

- *These areas were also selected for their geographic, ethnic, and economic diversity. They demonstrate the broad range of innovative community policing strategies which drive crime down and create safer communities with a better quality of life. The information contained in this article was provided by the individual communities.*

San Diego

San Diego, the second largest city in California and sixth largest in the nation, is composed of an ethnically diverse population of 1.2 million people in a 403 square-mile area bordered by the Pacific Ocean and the northern tip of Mexico.

Long recognized as a leader in community policing, San Diego has been selected numerous times by the federal government to pilot and develop successful community policing strategies. It has received numerous awards, including a Police Foundation fellowship for research in community oriented policing, scheduled for 1999; honorable mention for the 1998 Herman Goldstein Award for excellence in problem solving for three problem-oriented policing projects; and the 1998 Community Policing Award from the International Chiefs of Police for the "Mission Valley Preserve Project." In 1998, the U.S. Department of Justice selected San Diego as one of three California cities, and 21 cities in the nation, to become a National Community Policing Demonstration Center.

Between 1993 and 1997, overall crime in San Diego declined by 39 percent. Violent crime fell 27 percent. The number of homicides were cut in half. (See Figure 1)

Vision and Mission

The San Diego Police Department's "Vision" and "Mission" statements reflect its commitment to Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving. Its "Vision" is to work "in a problem-solving partnership with communities, government agencies, private groups, and individuals to fight crime and improve the quality of life for the people of San Diego."

Its "Mission" includes the development of partnerships to prevent, reduce, or eliminate neighborhood problems."

History and Background

The San Diego Police Department (SDPD) launched its own form of Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving nearly three decades ago. In 1973, the San Diego Police Foundation sponsored a Community Profile Development Project in San Diego. The goal was to improve patrol practices by encouraging officers to systematically analyze their beats, develop knowledge about problems and resources, and develop patrol strategies specifically designed to solve beat problems. This experience, and community policing as it subsequently evolved, promoted an analytical, thoughtful process of police/community interaction to solve problems.

However, the early model lacked a strategy for systematic problem analysis by patrol officers and a support system to foster individual officer initiative in developing solutions to problems. In 1988, the U.S. Bureau of Justice Administration selected San Diego as one of five cities to pilot and develop experimental Problem Oriented Policing techniques to tackle neighborhood drug problems.

In 1993, the Chief of Police and City Manager established the Neighborhood Policing Restructuring project. Its purpose was to develop a plan to realign the department to strengthen and expand

COPPS throughout the San Diego Police Department and the city. This project was undertaken in recognition that full implementation of COPPS requires formal organizational commitment, a redefinition of staff roles, and a challenge to the traditional assumptions of demographics, neighborhoods, and beats.

Organizational Design

The focus of San Diego's Neighborhood Policing is problem solving. Police still respond to emergencies. However, many calls to the police are not police-related, and are more effectively handled by other agencies. As the number of these non-emergency calls decrease many benefits emerge:

- Officers are able to spend more time working with citizens to solve crime and disorder problems.

- With better police-citizen communication, officers can more effectively use and share crime information with the public.

- Officers who know both a community's problems and its residents can link people with public and private agencies that can help solve community concerns.

- A combined community-police effort restores the safety of neighborhoods and business districts.

The Neighborhood Policing Section oversees:
- **Strategic Planning:** In February, 1997, the Police Department's Command Staff adopted a strategic planning process as a means to better their management. The process was open to community members, other city employees, and a diverse cross-section of police employees. Community members and employees work together to develop "work plans" to put the overall strategies into action. SDPD is committed to continue the development of multi-year plans, with community and employee input.

Figure 1
Jurisdictional Trends
Reported Crimes by Category
Department of Justice Law Enforcement Information Center

San Diego

Category/Crime	1993	1997
FBI Crime Index	85,472	59,189
California Crime Index (CCI)	47,365	28,758
Violent Crimes	13,463	9,789
Willful Homicide	133	67
Forcible Rape	396	384
Robbery	4,651	2,604
Agg. Assault*	8,283	6,734
Property Crimes	33,902	18,969
Burglary	14,583	8,159
M.V. Theft	19,319	10,810
Larceny-Theft	37,862	30,204
Arson	245	227

Santa Ana

Category/Crime	1993	1997
FBI Crime Index	19,563	12,420
California Crime Index (CCI)	10,098	6,302
Violent Crimes	3,190	2,016
Willful Homicide	78	27
Forcible Rape	77	91
Robbery	1,886	978
Agg. Assault*	1,149	920
Property Crimes	6,908	4,286
Burglary	2,950	1,605
M.V. Theft	3,958	2,681
Larceny-Theft	8,973	5,748
Arson	492	370

Santa Rosa

Category/Crime	1993	1997
FBI Crime Index	7,754	7,360
California Crime Index (CCI)	2,685	2,432
Violent Crimes	632	643
Willful Homicide	7	10
Forcible Rape	102	71
Robbery	197	195
Agg. Assault*	326	367
Property Crimes	2,053	1,789
Burglary	1,545	1,310
M.V. Theft	508	479
Larceny-Theft	5,011	4,883
Arson	58	45

Figure 1 (continued)

Arroyo Grande		
Category/Crime	**1993**	**1997**
FBI Crime Index	633	535
California Crime Index (CCI)	243	150
Violent Crimes	106	38
Willful Homicide		
Forcible Rape	5	3
Robbery	6	12
Agg. Assault*	95	23
Property Crimes	137	112
Burglary	116	98
M.V. Theft	21	14
Larceny-Theft	384	376
Arson	6	9

Fillmore		
Category/Crime	**1993**	**1997**
FBI Crime Index	431	363
California Crime Index (CCI)	243	153
Violent Crimes	87	44
Willful Homicide	1	
Forcible Rape	7	1
Robbery	5	10
Agg. Assault*	74	33
Property Crimes	156	109
Burglary	124	97
M.V. Theft	32	12
Larceny-Theft	182	206
Arson	6	4

* Aggravated Assault: A law change in 1986 required reporting domestic violence incidents as criminal conduct.

Source: *California Crime Index* data, Criminal Justice Statistics Center, California Department of Justice.

- **The Neighborhood Policing Support Team:** This team assists officers in involving the community in neighborhood problem-solving efforts, using the Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment (S.A.R.A.) model.

- **Critical Incident Management Unit:** The Department Operations Center is managed by the Critical Incident Management Unit and serves as a centralized point of coordination during multiple, complex, or lengthy operations.

- **Volunteer Services:** Volunteers in Policing (VIP) includes five components: The Crisis Intervention Team, the Retired Senior Volunteer Patrol, Police Reserves, Critical Incident Management, and a core group who staff every department facility, including the Police Academy, Pistol Range, and Crime Laboratory. Volunteers fill more than 25 distinct job classifications, including clerical, administrative, technical, and professional activities. In 1998, more than 1,100 volunteers donated 181,000 hours of service, equivalent to $2.7 million of service time.

- **S.T.A.R.:** The S.T.A.R. (Sports/Training/Academics/Recreation) program, funded by resources obtained through asset forfeitures made available by the police department, is designed to provide meaningful opportunities through athletic and academic programs for youth living in San Diego. In 1998, the program provided 20,000 youth with sports activities, tutoring sites, and field trips.

- **The Community Crime Prevention Unit:** This unit provides information on a wide variety of prevention programs, including Neighborhood Watch, a Crime Prevention Television Series, the Landlord Training program, the McGruff Crime Dog, Mock Robberies, Holiday Public Safety Tips, and other crime prevention topics. The Community Crime Prevention Unit works in partnership with Channel 10 "News at Five" to provide up-to-date material for "Partners Against Crime," which features new products to increase home security, useful tips to reduce chances of becoming a victim, and proven programs to keep criminals away from neighborhoods.

- **Problem-Solving Training:** Department-wide Neighborhood Policing Training includes intensive training in community policing and problem solving, including a three-day course for supervisors. An additional 30-hour course for supervisors focusing on Neighborhood Policing and empowerment is in development.

Components of Community Policing in San Diego

Police officers, local agencies, and community groups have created meaningful partnerships to foster ownership, pride, and empowerment in developing long-term solutions to community problems. Components of the San Diego model include:

- **A revitalized Neighborhood Watch program** links community coordinators, watch coordinators, and block captains to work toward a common goal.

- **Citizen's Patrol groups** throughout the city act as eyes and ears to observe suspicious activity and eliminate problems.

- **Safe Streets Now!** addresses nuisance properties through civil remedies.

- **The Drug Abatement Response Team (DART)** identifies properties that have a long history of ongoing narcotic activities.

- **The Landlord Training Program** promotes partnerships between landlords, tenants, and the SDPD to prevent drug dealing and other illegal activities at rental properties located within San Diego neighborhoods.

- **Police storefronts and satellites**, staffed by police personnel and volunteers, provide a wide variety of community safety and prevention services.

- **The Domestic Violence Unit**, in partnership with the San Diego Sheriff's Department, implements a crisis intervention pilot program, including coordination of crisis intervention volunteers and assistance, to continue the YWCA Domestic Violence Information and Referral Hotline. According to SDPD records, between 1997 and 1998, domestic violence criminal cases fell 11.2 percent. The number of domestic violence cases involving firearms fell 38.9 percent.

- **The Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design strategy** was used in 1998 to review 89 projects, including the International Gateway of the Americas and the Salvation Army/Ray and Joan Kroc Community Center, for environmental elements that may contribute to or reduce the potential for crime.

- **Quality of Life Partnerships:** Patrol officers work with residents, business owners, and city agencies to eliminate prostitution and related activities from impacted areas through cooperative acquisition of restraining orders, monitoring by residents, training, and sanctions for uncooperative businesses.

- **Nuisance Abatement Partnerships:** Vice officers, in conjunction with the California Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control, assist business owners in eliminating violations such as loitering, disorderly conduct, and sales to minors, through a series a owner/employee training courses and environmental design.

- **Civilian Volunteer programs:** Neighborhood Policing coordinates Retired Senior Volunteer Patrol (RSVP) members, Volunteers in Policing (VIPs), Crisis Interventionists, and Emergency Management Volunteers. Volunteers perform a variety of services, including administrative and technical assistance, handicapped parking enforcement, citizen patrols, crisis intervention, home monitoring of the elderly, and other critical tasks.

- **Analytical Approach to Reducing Crime:** The San Diego Police Department's Crime Analysis Unit links to local, state, and national data bases. It provides Beat Profiles, Tactical Action Plans, Area Crime Evaluations, Crime Rate Reports, Monthly Activity Summaries, and statistical analyses of crime trends and crimes by beat. It provides information on the drug trade, gang membership, gang boundaries, drive-by shootings by suspect/victim gang affiliation, and gang- and drug-related assaults and homicides. Data from multiple sources is plotted in the mapping system: crime and arrest data from the regional systems, citizen complaints, problem-oriented policing projects, narcotic investigations from the Crime Analysis system, and calls for service from the computer-aided dispatch (CAD) system. Mapping has also been adapted to the needs of investigative units.

- **Juvenile Services Teams** target juvenile crime at the neighborhood level—through increased education, risk assessments, and enforcement.

- **The Homeless Outreach Team** combines city, county, and private resources to decrease the number of persons living on the street.

- **The Acquaintance Rape Speakers Bureau** made 76 presentations in 1998 to high school students to educate them on how to prevent acquaintance rape.

National Community Policing Demonstration Center

San Diego's 1998 designation by the U.S. Department of Justice as a National Community Oriented Policing Demonstration Center will allow the San Diego Police Department, in

66

partnership with the community, to advance new community policing innovations. Under this $1 million grant award, SDPD will pursue these goals:

- Expand problem solving in the field.

- Apply state-of-the-art communications technology to support community policing, empowerment, and education. This component includes a "Teleminder" crime prevention and notification system which can automatically place up to 960 one-minute calls hourly to programmed groups. Teleminder capabilities include multiple-language messaging, citizen call-in, and interactive surveys, and can target specific groups to provide information, announce special programs, and provide disaster and other emergency information and instructions.

- Improve management of patrol performance, by adapting staff allocation methods to incorporate COPPS.

- Research, design, and evaluate a personal-computer based Geographic Information Mapping System. The roles that enhanced crime maps and analysis can play to strengthen community policing and problem solving in the field will be researched and assessed. A proposed "Space-Time Offense Plan" (STOP) will design analytical capabilities to identify hot spots of criminal activity using new statistical techniques, including a map analysis system which will make information available immediately to officers, and a set of analytical devices adapted to their needs.

Through its commitment to develop increasingly effective COPPS strategies, San Diego will continue to be a national focal point of innovation, mentoring, training, guidance, and technical assistance in Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving.

Santa Ana

Santa Ana is the ninth largest city in California, located just south of Los Angeles. It is comprised of an ethnically diverse population of 307,000 people, with relatively low median income. Twenty percent of its population is between 16 and 24 years old, widely recognized as a crime-prone age group.

Despite these challenges, Santa Ana's crime-fighting and crime-prevention strategies have been so successful that between 1993 and 1997, overall crime fell 37 percent, with homicide down 65 percent. The fear of crime and signs of disorder have been substantially reduced, and Santa Ana is a safer and more appealing place to live and raise a family.

The Santa Ana Police Department has received several awards for its community policing efforts, including the 1998 Excellence in Community Policing by the National League of Cities; the Police Executive Research Forum Team Problem Solving Award; the Herman Goldstein Award; and others. In 1996, President Clinton honored Santa Ana Police Department Community Oriented Policing (COP) Task Force officers (during a visit to the Boys and Girls Club) for their unprecedented success in the targeted neighborhood. In 1998, Santa Ana was one of three California cities designated by the U.S. Department of Justice as a National Community Oriented Policing Demonstration Center.

Vision

The Santa Ana Police Department's "Vision" is to be, "A community-oriented Department committed to high quality services, innovative leadership, and problem prevention through highly trained and professional employees in modern facilities using the latest technology."

Captain Bruce R. Carlson states that the department's overall philosophy is, "to work in close partnership with the community to develop new and innovative strategies that provide long-term solutions to persistent problems. Our goal is to increase safety in the community and promote a healthier, more appealing neighborhood environment."

History and Background

As one of the original recipients of the U.S. Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Grant in the 1970s, Santa Ana pursued a pilot program which became known as Community Oriented Policing (COP). This program provided a forum for citizen participation, community feedback, and support for law enforcement operations. During the past ten years, COP has expanded dramatically. The department has forged strong relationships with residents and businesses and effective partnerships with public and private agencies and organizations.

The department has institutionalized the COPPS philosophy by providing a three-day training program for all officers on community policing and problem solving. It also offers academy training, provides orientation to all new officers on community policing topics, and has revised its performance evaluation system and promotional exams to include community policing components.

Strategy

The Santa Ana Police Department has implemented Community Oriented Policing (COP) by merging two different police strategies—Problem Oriented Policing (POP) and Response to Incidents (R2I). POP uses problem solving to proactively address the causes of crime rather than dealing with the results of crime. R2I, on the other hand,

places an emphasis on responding to calls for service. The Santa Ana Police Department believes that both components of this integrated philosophy are important. Its goal is to respond to calls for service in a rapid and professional manner, and to determine what steps can be taken to reduce the need for future police responses.

Organizational Changes Due to COPPS

Organizational changes that reflect the Santa Ana Police Department's commitment to community oriented policing include:

- **Computer-driven deployment:** Computer-driven deployment assigns personnel when and where they are most needed. Officers are deployed by district and shift, dependent upon workload demands, closely matching staffing with community needs. Officer deployment was made more efficient in 1994 when the 7-12 work schedule for patrol officers was implemented. Under this system, officers work seven 12-hour days every two weeks. The new system resulted in an increased deployment of officers during peak service times without reducing service levels during non-peak hours.

Effective deployment, combined with long-term, problem-solving strategies, have resulted in reduced response times. For example, the average response time to a "Priority One" call, typically a life-threatening emergency, dropped 21 percent in the first year the new scheduling system was in place. Response times for lessor priority calls also dropped. The new work week, combined with the department's other community oriented policing strategies, has resulted in an average 30 percent decrease in response time, and contributed to reductions in the crime rate, and improved community safety.

- **Increased use of civilian personnel:**
  Civilians have taken over functions such as the Telephone Reporting Unit, to free up officers for field work.

- **Restructured Investigations Division:**
  Instead of investigative units organized by specific crime types, a neighborhood-based approach was put into place to address the reality of a criminal committing a variety of different crimes in a neighborhood.

- **Improved employee performance rating system:** Employees are rated on their abilities to apply the community oriented policing philosophy. Rated categories address such issues as the employee's ability to "work with the community" and to "work with other agencies," as well as his or her "innovation."

- **Development and implementation of sophisticated computer technology:** The Gang Reporting and Tracking (GREAT) system identifies potential suspects in gang-related crimes; Algorithmic Image Matching enhances the digital Automated Mug System by allowing "picture to picture" comparison and matching. An electronic tracking system also helps solve homicides and sexual assaults.

Community Partnerships

Examples of effective partnerships the department has forged with the community include:

- **COP Task Force:** This special detail, launched under a federal grant in 1995, has targeted four of the most crime-ridden reporting grids in the city. The task force worked with local agencies, community groups, and the private sector—targeting drugs, gangs, and vice-related problems. Within months, crime began dropping dramatically. The department reports that a comparison between June through December 1996 with the same period in 1994 showed robberies had decreased by 71 percent,

burglaries and other theft dropped over 60 percent, and the number of narcotics complaints dropped 91 percent. The program was honored by President Clinton during a visit to a local Boys and Girls Club in 1996. The President called the task force one of the most successful in the nation.

- **Street Terrorist Offender Program:** This multi-agency team focuses on a select group of "hard core" gang members and recidivists, and removes their influence from the gang through arrest, probationary supervision, and vertical prosecution using gang experts.

- **Enhanced cooperation with the business community:** Changes in procedures on shoplifting investigations, for example, have reduced the time necessary to conduct a shoplifting investigation by 80 percent. A partnership with the Main Place Mall management has resulted in the establishment of a police substation in office space provided by the mall.

- **Enhanced cooperation with neighborhood associations and community groups:** Results include enhanced Neighborhood Watch and crime prevention demonstrations to help residents "target-harden" their homes and businesses to make them less attractive to criminals.

- **Enhanced cooperation with other governmental agencies:** Code Enforcement officers work with police officers to address visual signs of disorder, such as building deterioration, poor sanitation practices, overcrowding, and illegal business or vendor activity. The Public Works Department assists with the timely removal of graffiti and trash, assesses street lighting, and trims trees when necessary. The Recreation and Community Services Department establishes after-school programs to provide alternatives to gang membership and encourage school attendance.

- **Other programs** include traffic safety education, the Graffiti Task Force, the Asian/Pacific Islander Unit, the Cruising Abatement Program, Civic Center Patrol Detail, Weed and Seed, and the Orange County Auto Theft Task Force

National Community Oriented Policing Demonstration Center

In 1998, the U.S. Department of Justice awarded a $1 million grant to the Santa Ana Police Department, designating Santa Ana as a National Community Oriented Policing Demonstration Center. Under this grant, the Santa Ana Police Department will:

- Serve as a national community policing advisor and role model to provide assistance to agencies across the United States seeking to implement and improve community policing strategies.

- Enhance existing internal efforts to formalize relationships with law enforcement agencies and develop partnerships with public, private, and non-profit organizations.

- Enhance community policing expertise, which will feature a partnership with the Santa Ana Jail through the "Stay Out of the System" (SOS) program. The purpose of this program is to reduce the number of victims in the community and contribute to safer neighborhoods.

- Implement and document a community policing, problem-solving intervention in the Westend District. The purpose of this component is to conduct and document an analysis and intervention of the Westend District's criminal activity and disorder in the community, and to design a response to work in collaboration with various organizations and the private sector to improve the quality of life of the neighborhood.

No single program or unit is responsible for the inroads that the Santa Ana Police Department, in partnership with the community, has made in the fight against crime and disorder. Its community policing philosophy consists of overlapping components which complement each other, making the whole stronger than the parts.

Santa Rosa

Located about 52 miles north of San Francisco, in the heart of the Redwood Empire, Santa Rosa is a medium-sized city of 41 square miles, which has experienced a population boom in the past ten years. It has transitioned from a primarily agricultural community to an urban/suburban development with more than 140,000 residents.

In 1995, the Santa Rosa Police Department launched a comprehensive community policing strategy. In 1999, it received the James Q. Wilson Award for Excellence in Community Policing from the Regional Community Policing Institute of Los Angeles. Between 1993 and 1997, overall crime in Santa Rosa fell by 9 percent.

Organizational Change

The decision to commit to community policing required a major internal reorganization and a reevaluation of the department's external relationships. Following are organizational and strategic changes the department made to implement community policing:

- **Patrol reorganization:** Patrols were reorganized into smaller geographical areas or "zones." Currently, 11 "zone" teams cover the city's 41 square miles.

- **Institutionalization:** Training in community policing has been adopted in three areas: academy; field officer; and on-going, in-service training. The goal is to provide decentralized and personalized police service that empowers

the community to participate as partners in the process of making their neighborhoods better and safer.

- **Employee evaluations:** The Department has re-written its employee evaluation system, placing community policing as "a Key Area of Responsibility."

- **Problem Solving:** To address community crime and disorder problems, the Department implements the Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment (SARA) and Interest Based Negotiation (IBN) models. For example, these models were used to address a dispute between Cambodian residents in an apartment complex and surrounding single family residents, with their property owner. As a result of the IBN process, the residents and the property owner agreed that community members would conduct the selection of a property management firm. In addition, the process led to the development of a community-based forum to address both police and community responses to problems in the neighborhood.

- **Downtown Partnership:** The goal of this partnership with the business community is to enhance the quality of life in public spaces, specifically in the downtown core. This partnership identifies problems, such as panhandling and graffiti, and reduces the opportunity for people lingering in public spaces to become involved in criminal activity.

- **Multi-Cultural Advisory Board:** To assist in meeting the needs of ethnic minority and refugee communities, this board's goal is to improve dialogue and develop partnerships to address problems facing their constituents.

- **Task Force on Apple Valley Lane/Papago Court neighborhood:** A collaborative partnership with government and community represents, this group was formed to address the problems of this neighborhood, which has the highest crime rate in the city, primarily due to drugs and gangs.

Partnerships with the Community

The department conducted zone meetings throughout the city to establish a collaborative, working relationship with community members. The main purpose of these meetings was to produce constructive solutions to the problems identified by the community. The department created:

- **The Volunteers-In-Police-Service program,** comprised of more than 50 graduates of the Citizen Police Academy.

- **A Neighborhood Oriented Policing Community Advisory Board,** comprised of representatives from the City Teen Council, two police department employees' labor organizations, and a sub-committee of the City Council.

- **A Ride-Along Program** for people who represent various community organizations.

Collaborations with other public and private organizations to address and resolve public safety and disorder issues include acquiring external sources of funding to provide a full-time officer to address alcohol-related problems; study violence at a local high school; place officers on campus at the middle and high schools throughout the community; implement a diversion program provided by the Drug Abuse Alternative Center; dedicate a full-time officer to a targeted neighborhood; administer a crime analysis unit; and implement monthly Sobriety/Drivers license checkpoints.

Additional partnerships with the community include:

- A Citizens Police Academy, in partnership with Santa Rosa Junior College, which has graduated more than 130 Santa Rosans since 1997.

- A partnership with the Children's Counseling Center to focus on improved service to child victims through the Grief Resolution Project.

- A partnership with the Southland Corporation to establish a Multicultural Service Center for a highly diverse neighborhood, with a high crime rate.

- Partnerships with the Y.W.C.A .and Women Against Rape to provide advocacy, prevention, and response services for domestic violence victims and provide officer training on responding to sexual assaults and on advocacy issues.

Results

Among the results of the Santa Rosa Police Department's community policing strategy are the restructuring of the Communications/ Dispatch operation, growth of support and technology for the department, and a commitment to annual training in community policing for all departmental employees.

Arroyo Grande

Arroyo Grande, a city of approximately 15,800 people in 5.4 square miles, is a small, rural community on a major transportation corridor along the Central California coast, approximately half way between Los Angeles and San Francisco. The Arroyo Grande Police Department serves not only the core city, but approximately 70,000 people in the surrounding region of southern San Luis Obispo County.

Between 1993 and 1997, overall crime in Arroyo Grande decreased by 38 percent. Violent crime fell 64 percent.

In March, 1999, the Arroyo Grande Police Department was chosen as a finalist for the James Q. Wilson Award for Excellence in Community Policing from the Regional Community Policing Institute of Los Angeles. The California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and

Training (POST) has used the department's programs as a resource for developing its training standards for community oriented policing. The department has made presentations on "Community Oriented Policing for Small Cities" multiple times at the annual conferences of the League of California Cities.

History and Background

In 1989, the department conducted a complete analysis of operations, which included an examination of its organizational culture. It formally identified its value system and compared it to the community's. From this effort, the department initiated the following:

- A new mission statement

- A formal organizational philosophy

- Long-term departmental goals

- Identification and formulation of the organizational values

- A formal set of leadership principles

- A department slogan—"Ensuring Quality of Life."

Philosophy and Mission

Community oriented policing, as practiced by the Arroyo Grande Police Department, is based on a value-based policing philosophy, which involves every member of the department. Its goals are:

- To promote safe, secure neighborhoods which are free of crime and the fear of crime, and absent of blight that breeds crime.

- To promote citizen involvement to resolve problems and conflicts which adversely affect the quality of life of the community; and

- To enhance communication between the citizens, the department and local government in general.

Organizational Changes

Following are measures the Arroyo Grande Police Department has undertaken to implement its community oriented policing goals:

- Modified the performance evaluation system to emphasize problem solving and interpersonal communications.

- Adopted problem-oriented policing as a fundamental policing strategy.

- Trains employees in diversity and cultural awareness. In 1997, the department sent all of its employees to the California POST Law Enforcement "Tools for Tolerance" Program at the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Museum of Tolerance, in Los Angeles.

- Provides extensive field officer training, with a primary purpose of integrating the officer/trainee into the culture of the organization and of the community in general.

In addition, the department's commitment to community oriented policing is demonstrated by the following measures:

- **Adopt-A-School Program:** The police department and the community provide outreach services to the public schools. The School Resource officer provides classroom instruction in programs such as drug and alcohol abuse and safety issues.

- **Drug Free Zones:** In partnership with the City Council and the Board of Education of the school district, the Arroyo Grande Police Department supports the drug free zones and zero tolerance policy of the city in order to provide safe environments for school children.

- **Neighborhood Police Officer Program:** Each patrol officer is assigned a neighborhood as an ancillary duty to their patrol responsibilities. According to the department, this allows an officer to "take ownership of their neighborhood in providing follow-up, crime prevention and liaison activities; and members of the community will have direct, personal contact with their neighborhood officer."

- **Neighborhood Traffic Watch Program:** This program allows citizens to borrow radar guns to monitor the speed of vehicles in their neighborhoods. Training is provided by a qualified Police Department instructor. Citizens record license plate numbers as well as time, date, location, description of the vehicle, and speed. Citizens assist in the promotion of safety in their neighborhoods.

- **The Parent Project:** For parents with strong-willed or out-of-control youth, this collaborative program provides parenting skills in order to help reduce gang violence, drug and/or alcohol abuse, and school dropouts.

- **Community Juvenile Diversion Program:** This program, which utilizes volunteers to serve on a community panel, attempts to keep first-time offenders, with minor offenses, out of the formal criminal justice system.

- **Bicycle Patrol and Mounted Patrol Programs:** To promote an atmosphere of service and safety in the community, these patrols provide accessibility and mobility to neighborhoods, neutralizing communication barriers between the police and the community.

The department reports that its Community Audit Program, which evaluates public safety services, shows overwhelming citizen satisfaction with its performance.

73

Fillmore

The Fillmore Police Department contracts its police services from the Ventura County Sheriff's Department. Fillmore, a small, rural, ethnically-diverse city of 12,000 residents, about 20 miles inland from the coastal city of Ventura, north of Los Angeles, is sheltered by the mountains of the Los Padres National Forest. This "railroad town," 2.5 square miles, is often used for filming by the motion picture industry, and supports a fertile agricultural economy centered around growing, packing, and shipping of citrus fruits and avocados.

Between 1993 and 1997, overall crime in Fillmore declined 37 percent. Violent crime dropped by 49 percent.

History and Background

North Fillmore was known as a high crime rate area, infested with gangs, drugs, alcoholism, shootings, graffiti, vandalism, and assaults on police officers. Residents feared for the safety of their children and families.

In 1994, Fillmore received funding from the federal government for a D.A.R.E. Deputy, Special Enforcement Deputy, and a Community Resource Deputy. When the funding ran out in 1997, the department successfully obtained a Community Challenge Grant from United Way to keep a Community Resource Deputy. It is converting this job to a civilian position, to conserve funding.

Mission and Strategy

The department's "Mission" is "to safeguard the lives and property of residents of Ventura County and respond to public concerns in a manner which promotes neighborhoods free from the fear of crime."

Among the components of its "Strategy" are, "to preserve the peace, prevent crime, apprehend offenders, facilitate problem-solving community partnerships, enforce laws...and display empathy and respect for the dignity of all individuals."

Organizational Changes

The department has undertaken a variety of changes in order to promote problem-solving partnerships. Examples include:

- Fillmore deputies receive COPPS training, not only in the Sheriff's Academy, but also at the Fillmore station.

- The Community Public Safety Academy, a 12-week program offered in English and Spanish, which involves numerous community service agencies, has proven to be beneficial to the large Hispanic population.

- The Fillmore Citizen Patrol is comprised of volunteers who are cross-trained as Citizen Patrol Volunteers and as Emergency Service Volunteers. Volunteers assist Deputy Sheriffs with special events, traffic control, and crime watches.

Problem Solving: The North Fillmore Police Storefront

To address the plague of gangs, drugs, and violence which afflicted North Fillmore, in 1994, the city established the North Fillmore Police Storefront in an abandoned Laundromat located at the Lemon Way Apartments. The city eventually bought the building, refurbished it to serve also as an Emergency Operations Center, and leased a lot next to the storefront to convert into a children's park. The storefront serves 1,300 to 1,600 citizens a month. The facility is also used as an alternative location for delinquent youths to fulfill their community service hours ordered by the probation department or local courts. The youths maintain the storefront and perform

neighborhood clean-up. Among the services housed in the storefront are:

- **Police Services:** Police personnel take reports and answer questions from citizens.

- **Homework Clubs:** Students from surrounding neighborhoods can either drop in, or can be referred by the school, to receive assistance completing homework from a paid teacher.

- **The Boys and Girls Club Outreach:** These groups meet in the park next door to the storefront. Sports activities and special interests keep youth busy and away from crime and violence.

- **Domestic Violence Outreach:** Community members receive services relating to domestic violence shelters and counseling.

- **English as a Second Language:** A large percentage of Fillmore's population is Hispanic. The storefront provides assistance in communicating effectively in English.

- **Youth soccer program:** Youth learn how to play soccer, to keep them engaged in healthy activities, and away from crime.

- **School liaison program:** A deputy and a probation officer, who operate from the storefront, visit school sites to counsel at-risk youth.

Police report that since the storefront was established, violent crime in the area has fallen by 40 percent. A new police storefront is now being built near the Fillmore Museum and the Railroad promenade.

The Fillmore Police Department's commitment to community policing has resulted in strong community partnerships which have made the community safer and reduced the fear of crime.

Sources

California Crime Index data, Criminal Justice Statistics Center, California Department of Justice.

Community Policing Demonstration Center Grant Project Proposal, submitted to the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice, by the San Diego Police Department, June 1997.

Policing Santa Ana: How a Community Reduced Crime, Santa Ana Police Department.

1998 Annual Report, Santa Ana Police Department.

Chief Rick TerBorch, Arroyo Grande Police Department, "Creating a Values-Based Culture: A Solid Foundation for Achieving Diversity," *Community Policing Exchange*, September/October 1997, p. 4.

Harold K. Becker, et. al., *Community Policing: Successful Partnerships in the Prevention of Crime in Latino Communities*, The Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, Claremont, California, 1998) p. 15-16.

The San Diego, Santa Ana, Santa Rosa, Arroyo Grande Police Departments, and the Fillmore Police Department, under contract with the Ventura County Sheriff's Department.

Complexities of the Problem-Solving Process: Barriers and Challenges to Daily Practice

By Ronald W. Glensor, Ph.D., Deputy Chief of Police, Reno, Nevada
and Kenneth J. Peak, Ph.D., University of Nevada, Reno

Abstract

The problem-solving process, commonly known as SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response, Assessment), has become a popular topic of police training across the nation. SARA guides officers toward developing more comprehensive crime control and prevention strategies. However, the training—and related literature—seldom address the complexities and dynamics of SARA adequately or the difficulties that confront officers attempting to employ it as a daily practice. Such issues as leadership, information and analysis systems, training, crime prevention, and the role of officers, supervisors, and mid-level managers must be addressed in order to successfully implement problem solving. This paper examines the challenges and barriers facing officers and agencies in these areas.

Introduction

Since being conceived in Newport News, Virginia, in 1984 (Eck and Spelman, 1987), training in using the SARA process to respond to community problems has been given to police officers across the United States and abroad, discussed more fully below. New strategies have emerged to address neighborhood disorder, gang violence, juvenile problems, burglary, robbery, vehicle theft, prostitution, and other conditions. However, officers on the leading edge of problem solving often complain about the difficulties encountered when they attempt to transfer their problem-solving training into daily practice. This street

officers' dilemma—largely overlooked in the literature—is the subject of this article.

It must first be recognized that, when used properly, problem solving is not an easy undertaking. It is a dynamic, complex, and logical process that incorporates elements of criminology, psychology, sociology, and statistics. As a tool, the problem-solving process guides police officers through a thoughtful analysis, several tailor-made responses, and a formal evaluation. The process challenges officers to become, in effect, street-level criminologists, while asking the most important question for gaining an understanding

of crime and its causes: "Why?" From this question flows a set of strategies that will expand officers' responses beyond mere arrests, report-taking, or issuance of warnings.

This article focuses on the complexities and dynamics of the problem-solving process and the difficulties that officers experience in applying the process outside of a training environment. Discussed first is a general overview of the need for police to engage in problem solving; follow-ing that is a discussion of the complexities of SARA. Finally, we examine a number of common barriers and challenges to the problem-solving process.

The Need for Problem Solving

Herman Goldstein (1979) formulated the concept of problem oriented policing while exploring new methods for improving policing. Goldstein (1990) asserted that a new framework was needed for helping to transition the police from past preoccupations with form and process to a much more direct, thoughtful concern with substantive problems. He asserted (very correctly) that more attention was being focused upon how *quickly* police officers responded to calls for service (CFS) than upon the actions they took upon arriving at the venues (Goldstein, 1987). Goldstein and many other police researchers shared a growing frustration with the dominant professional model of policing, whereby the police emphasized random patrol and such quantitative measures of effectiveness as re-sponse time, numbers of arrests, and numbers of CFS (Peak, et al., 1992).

Problem oriented policing seeks to improve the quality of police responses. However, this is no simple task, and several steps must be taken before the goal of quality responses can be accomplished. First, the police must be equipped to define more clearly and understand more fully

the kinds of problems they are expected to handle. Second, the police must learn to analyze problems by going beyond mere numbers of incidents handled. Finally, the police must be encouraged to conduct an uninhibited search for the most effective responses to each problem (Goldstein, 1987:5-6). The problem-solving process provides the police with a vital tool for accomplishing these steps.

Problem oriented policing also broadens the officers' understanding of crime conditions. This strategy moves officers from viewing incidents individually to recognizing that incidents are often related—and symptomatic of deeper problems. Once the causes of crime and disorder are identified, the police can then develop strategies for attacking the problems' root causes.

However, this is not a facile undertaking. To comprehend the difficulties of applying problem solving as daily practice, it is necessary to look more closely at the SARA process. By examining each of its four steps we can better understand the true complexities of the process as well as the reasons why many police officers believe its implementation to be a daunting undertaking.

The Problem-Solving Process

The SARA process provides officers with a logical process for identifying, analyzing, responding to, and evaluating crime, fear, and neighborhood disorder. Furthermore, it guides street officers away from short-term, reactive responses in favor of long-term outcomes. Next, we review the four steps of the problem-solving process.

Scanning: Problem Identification

Scanning means problem identification. This stage initiates the problem-solving process by

conducting a preliminary inquiry to determine whether a problem truly exists and whether further analysis is needed.

A problem is different from an isolated incident (where officers are dispatched to or observe an incident). Rather, a problem consists of two or more similar or related incidents that are of substantive concern to the community and to the police. The focus of scanning lies with identifying the concentrations of recurring incidents that cause the police and public concern. If the incident to which the police are responding does not fall within this definition of a problem, the problem-solving process is most likely not necessary and the officer should handle the incident according to established departmental procedures.

Analysis: Determining the Extent of the Problem

Analysis is the heart and soul of the problem-solving process. It is also the most difficult for officers to learn and apply. In the analysis stage, officers begin to learn the skills necessary for thinking more like criminologists, collecting as much information as possible from sources inside and outside their agency about the scope, nature, and causes of the problem.

Officers must also become familiar with *rational choice, routine activity, and crime pattern* theories. These theories greatly aid the officers' inquiries into the context and causes of crime.

Rational choice focuses on offenders' decision-making. It assumes that offenders make rational decisions about committing crimes based on a simple assessment of risks and benefits as well as time and effort. Rational choice theory is closely linked to situational crime prevention (Clark, 1997), which seeks to remove crime opportunities by increasing risks and removing rewards.

Routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979) postulates that a crime occurs when: (1) a suitable victim and (2) a motivated offender converge at (3) a desirable location, in the absence of a capable guardian—a third party such as a police officer, security officer, or responsible citizen. These three elements may be visualized in the form of a crime triangle. By seeking to control and prevent crimes, police efforts should increase guardianship and reduce the impact of one or more sides of the triangle (motivated offenders, suitable victims, location).

Crime pattern theory helps us to understand how people interact with their physical environment. It is linked to routine activity theory, explaining how people and objects move about in space and time. It is also closely associated with *crime prevention through environmental design* (CPTED, discussed below). An understanding of the harmful behaviors of offenders is also important for an analysis. By identifying harmful behaviors, seemingly complex problems such as homelessness, gangs, and drugs may be broken down into smaller and more manageable components. For example, harms associated with youth gangs may include graffiti, drug use and sales, intimidation, and gun-related offenses. There is a higher potential for success when the police address a problem's harms than by attempting to attack the problem in its largest social context.

Comprehensive, accurate, and timely information is the life-blood of a good analysis. Police agencies must modify their existing information and analysis systems to match the needs for problem solving. Hot spots of concentrated crime must be readily available concerning victims, offenders, and locations if the police are to be effective at crime detection and prevention (Peak and Glensor, 1998).

Officers should also have a firm understanding of contemporary crime prevention strategies. CPTED helps officers to understand that the design and

management of cities and neighborhoods can produce major shifts in crime rates; CPTED teaches officers how building space, architectural design, lighting, and other features of the environment can contribute to criminal opportunities. Situational crime prevention is a problem oriented approach to increasing risks and reducing opportunities for offenders. Through these methods, agencies are learning that crime prevention is an integral part of problem solving.

Response: Formulating Tailor-Made Strategies

In the response phase, officers seek tailor-made, short- and long-term solutions to the crime problem. Arrests alone, which are often viewed as the only possible response to a problem, will not be sufficient for providing long-term problem resolution. The search for alternative responses should be wide-ranging and should include the assistance of the community, other city departments, businesses, private and social service organizations, and anyone else who can help with problem-solving efforts.

Police officers cannot eliminate every community problem. Some problems are extremely complex and a diminution in the magnitude of problems, a reduction in its frequency, or a lessening of its harm(s) may be the best or only success that can hope to be achieved. The police must often be content to achieve what might be termed "small wins" (Weick, 1989). As noted previously, people often look at social problems on a massive scale, but small wins by the police may have a substantial impact on prevailing in a larger battle.

Assessment: Evaluating Overall Effectiveness

Officers must learn how to evaluate the effectiveness of their responses. Like the analysis phase, police officers find that of assessment to be very difficult to master. Assessment, however, is very

important. Officers can use the assessment results to revise their responses, collect more data, or even to redefine the problem.

Several measures should be considered when evaluating the impact of a problem-solving effort. For many problems, before-after comparisons of crime and CFS data is sufficient. However, officers should not disregard less quantitative data such as environmental crime prevention surveys and public fear surveys as being potentially important outcome measures.

Wherein Lies the Problem?

Notwithstanding the promise, potential, and expansion of SARA during the past decade and a half, as well as the abundance of federal funds available to support training and technology, a number of challenges and barriers persist. First, many officers demonstrate in problem-solving training sessions that they understand the SARA process and can develop tailor-made responses to problems, but continue to experience difficulty with applying their new knowledge and skills to the field. Why does this occur? What is missing? And why hasn't problem solving fulfilled our expectations?

In answer to those queries, following are 10 issues that frustrate and sometimes defeat officers' problem-solving efforts:

1. A Leadership Void

Leadership and trust concerns are often raised by officers during training in problem solving. An agency's vision, mission statement, and values must support officers and encourage them to engage in problem solving. Unfortunately, many police executives struggle with the issue of, and methods for, incorporating large-scale changes in their organizations. Even worse, few leaders adequately understand the complexities of problem solving and its impact on the organization; therefore, these leaders fail to view the

process as a strategic approach to policing. And, too often the administrators send only a few officers to receive training in problem solving and then expect, upon their return, that they will lead the organizational change that is required. This is neither practical nor wise.

2. SARA Oversimplified

The SARA process is often oversimplified in training curriculums. Such accepted and advanced problem-solving knowledge as rational choice, routine activities, and crime pattern theories have not yet become the language of trainers. Only with such knowledge can the potential of problem solving will be realized and the next level explored.

3. It's not Easy

Officers find problem solving difficult. Even with *good* training, problem solving is not easy. Problem solving represents a complete "paradigm shift" for the officers; it is an acquired skill that requires constant attention—and doing it. Officers can only improve their problem-solving skills with practice. Agencies cannot expect that a single, short training session will suffice. Continuous training, supervision, and sometimes even prodding is necessary to keep officers focused.

4. Confusion about Community Partnerships

Officers and managers often confuse problem solving with community relations. The emphases are on who is involved in the community, how they are involved, and whether the police are listening to them. While important, these issues should not precede or replace key queries, such as: "What is the problem? Who are the appropriate people to deal with it? How can we work together to solve it?" Simply stated, the *problem* must drive the *tactics* that are employed. Partnerships must also fit the problem. For example,

the coalitions needed to address a downtown vagrancy problem may be very different from those necessary to respond to youth gangs.

5. Officers' Identity Crisis

There is often an identity crisis among police officers concerning problem solving, primarily because police agencies do not clearly identify the roles and responsibilities of officers, mid-level managers, and first-line supervisors. The relationship between such functional areas as patrol, detectives, training, and dispatch is also important and, when ignored, can become problematic. This is typically the case when problem solving is perceived more as a specialized patrol assignment or temporary program versus a daily practice.

6. "Snake Oil Salesmen"

The field is becoming rife with purveyors of "snake oil." While the crime bill has greatly contributed to expanding an interest in problem solving across the United States, the demands for adequate training have far exceeded the number of qualified persons who are available to deliver proper training or consulting services. Thus, a veritable throng of self-professed problem-solving "experts" has appeared across the land. Beware of those bearing gifts and false promises of instant solutions.

7. Misguided Technology

The problem-solving field remains technology-poor. The state of Computer Assisted Dispatch (CAD), records management, and crime analysis in policing remains abysmal. Rarely is information retrievable beyond the level of major crimes, and incident data that is timely and understandable to officers is too often not available. Integrated systems that overlay incident level data and integrate with mapping programs are desperately needed and may greatly enhance officers' problem-solving efforts.

8. Programmatic Approach

Programs in policing come and go—and so will problem solving in those agencies viewing it as a temporary appendage, a specialized or temporary assignment. When asked about problem solving, too many police administrators still respond, "Why, yes, we have community policing and problem solving; we have DARE, GREAT, foot patrol, neighborhood stations, community meetings, and so on." While these programs and tactics may be very important to the overall level of services that are provided to a community, they should not be confused with the process of problem solving and what it seeks to accomplish. Officers' success will depend on problem solving being supported and integrated into every functional area of the organization, including detectives, training, dispatch, records, and administration. It is equally important that partnerships outside the organization include other city departments, businesses, social services, and the public.

9. Legitimacy of Crime Prevention

The legitimacy of crime prevention is often questioned by police officers. Simply, it receives little respect, understanding, or application. The reason is that much of today's crime prevention efforts remain grounded in the 1970s and rarely going beyond self protection brochures, locks and bolts, and Neighborhood Watch programs. SARA affords an opportunity for officers to include situational and environmental crime prevention strategies in their analysis and responses to crime conditions. This is the next era of crime prevention and will greatly impact the outcomes of officers' problem-solving efforts.

10. "Where's the Beef?"

As mentioned earlier, a major ongoing criticism of problem solving is that there has been very little formal evaluation of outcomes. Furthermore, evaluations of problem-solving efforts have rarely gone beyond anecdotal "success stories." Until more structured evaluations are conducted, arguments against the devils' advocates who criticize problem solving will be difficult to defend.

Summary and Conclusion

This article has examined the complexities and dynamics of the problem-solving process (SARA) and problems experienced by officers attempting to employ it as daily practice. It suggests that police officers' daily work is impacted by a number of organizational factors, and that training alone is not sufficient to ensure the successful implementation of new ideas or skills. Many challenges and barriers exist to employing problem solving as daily practice, including training, organizational culture, information and analysis systems, and the role of officers, supervisors, and mid-level managers. These elements must be addressed in order to fully operationalize this strategy.

References

Clark, R. V. (ed.), (1997), *Situational crime prevention: Successful case studies.* (2d ed.). (Albany, NY: Harrow & Heston.)

Cohen, L. E. and M. Felson (1979), "Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activities approach." *American Sociological Review* 44:558-608.

Eck, J. and W. Spelman (1987, January), "Solving problems: Problem oriented policing in Newport News." *Research in Brief,* Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Goldstein, H. (1979), "Improving policing: A problem oriented approach." *Crime and Delinquency* 25:236-58.

Goldstein, H. (1987), "Problem oriented policing," paper presented at the *Conference on Policing: State of the Art III,* National Institute of Justice, Phoenix, AZ., June 12, 1987.

Goldstein, H. (1990), *Problem Oriented Policing.* (New York: McGraw-Hill).

Peak, K. and R. Glensor (1998), *Community policing and problem solving: Strategies and practices* (2d ed.). (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall).

Peak, K, R. Bradshaw, and R. Glensor (1992), "Improving citizen perceptions of the police: 'Back to the basics' with a community policing strategy," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 20(1):25- 40.

Weick, K. (1989), "Small wins: Redefining the scale of social problems," *American Psychologist* 39(1):40-49.

Inter- and Intra-Agency Collaboration

By John Welter, Assistant Chief of Police
San Diego Police Department, San Diego, California

Highlights   *The San Diego Police Department is developing multidisciplinary teams to work at the neighborhood level. Its experiences have provided valuable lessons, including:*

- *Pushing decision-making down to the street level and empowering patrol officers and community members has great potential for innovative problem solving.*

- *In order to be most effective, the patrol cop needs to apply resources to the problem at the neighborhood level.*

- *Hiring more code enforcement officers and more non-sworn community service personnel or developing a community mobilizer may be more effective in the long run than hiring more police officers or deputies. Problem solving doesn't mean that the police have to solve all the problems.*

- *The level of success of COPPS is directly related to the commitment of the entire community, not just the police agency.*

Community oriented policing and problem solving (COPPS) will not succeed without the cooperation of other units within the police agency and other governmental agencies. Just as Sir Robert Peel believed in 1829 that policing is the responsibility of all citizens, we now recognize that all governmental agencies must accept their policing responsibility as well. Sir Peel stated, "... the police are the public and ... the public are the police."

The concept of the public being responsible for policing the community may be harder to accept in larger communities than in smaller ones. I

have found that smaller communities do quite well with the partnerships and shared responsibilities necessary for problem-oriented policing to work. Smaller cities have learned from necessity how to work together and share limited resources. Agency employees and neighborhood residents know each other by name and feel comfortable calling each other for assistance even though the request may cross organizational boundaries of responsibility.

In cities as large as San Diego, organizational boundaries and department unit responsibilities have developed in response to ever-increasing

demands for service. City departments, including police, have become centralized and specialized. Levels of bureaucracy have evolved as a means to manage the increased caseload and address operational problems. Complex policies and procedures were developed to address every conceivable problem and to prevent some of the most common personnel misconduct. Many departments have become so big, employees get lost in the sheer numbers of personnel, work requests, and processes. Getting the work done becomes the primary focus at the cost of evaluating whether the work is effective. Teamwork only applies to the individual team within a department and communication is restricted to unit-or department-relevant information.

As we in San Diego move into our style of problem-oriented policing, called Neighborhood Policing, officers search for new methods of addressing old crime problems. We encourage our personnel to take risks, develop new resources, and try new strategies. We increased training for police officers in areas like building code violation recognition, licensing restrictions, civil procedures for addressing nuisance problems, and crime prevention through environmental design procedures. We trained our entire command staff—civilian and sworn personnel—in leadership and teamwork principles. We expanded our technological ability through mobile computer terminals and automated field reporting processes. We diverted many calls for service away from police officers so they would have more time for problem solving. What we didn't do was recognize the impact problem solving and our push for outside resources would have on inter-and intra-agency relationships.

I would suggest that most, if not all, city or county department heads support the crime prevention efforts of law enforcement. They recognize the complexity of crime and realize a new, more involved approach is necessary if we expect to keep crime under control. What they

don't appreciate is the impact that problem-oriented policing has on department workload without any relief from budget administrators. Much attention has been given to putting thousands more patrol cops on the streets. Many police agencies have received federal and state dollars to hire more cops and develop new technology. But what about the much-needed and valued support work necessary for patrol officers to become more effective at problem solving? Problem-oriented policing doesn't necessarily require more police officers. For many agencies it's not how many cops you have—but what you do with them.

Inter-agency Cooperation

Decentralization and de-specialization are becoming important concepts that demand extensive evaluation at the management level of police agencies. In order for problem solving to be most effective, the patrol cop needs to apply the resources to the problem at the neighborhood level. This means that the patrol cop, in partnership with residents in the neighborhood, must determine the level of resource application and the timing of that application. It does little good if an officer/citizen team determines a need for undercover narcotics enforcement and they are told that the centralized narcotics detectives are not available because of a "larger, ongoing operation." Because of the demand on a patrol officer to respond to calls for service and the amount of time patrol cops need to mobilize a community, timing is critical when responding to community requests for action. If the officer is unable to get a timely response from a specialized police unit, he or she may be hesitant to even ask for assistance in the future. I have frequently heard patrol cops say in frustration, "They never respond anyway, so why bother to call?" The credibility of the entire organization frequently rests on the patrol cop being able to deliver what was promised at a community problem-solving meeting.

A timely response to an identified problem gives the patrol officer and the neighborhood resident the feeling of success and accomplishment. It empowers them to analyze the next problem and formulate another response. It encourages individuals to act as a team and set higher goals for the next problem-solving effort. Police administrators can encourage, train, and help officers develop new resources as they take on more complex neighborhood-level problems. Pushing decision-making down to the street level and empowering patrol officers and community members has great potential for innovative problem solving, but resources must be made available.

The proper resource for a specific problem-solving response is sometimes difficult to identify and even more difficult to acquire. It is the primary responsibility of government administration to provide the coordination and communication needed in order for resources to be attainable. Decentralization of government resources is one way to make them more easily identifiable and attainable.

Decentralization is a scary thought to specialized units. Decentralization may only occur when special centralized units are forcibly disbanded. I remember being asked, as the commander of a 35-officer centralized homicide unit, if the homicide team should be decentralized to the seven area police stations in San Diego. I recognized that breaking up the unit would provide additional expertise and five additional detectives to each area station. The station-level homicide team could possibly have more time to be proactive in homicide prevention. Patrol officers and detectives at the local neighborhood level would have increased access to each other. This could result in encouraging patrol officers to work on local homicide cases and provide much-needed street information to investigating detectives. General crimes-against-persons investigations could also be enhanced by decentralizing the homicide unit.

But what about the teams working in the high homicide-rate areas? I would guess very few cities have evenly distributed homicides equal to the number of decentralized police service areas. In San Diego individual teams could be busier than ever after losing the support of the other 30 team members. A redistribution of personnel would have to occur based on past and projected homicide rates. One also has to consider the technical skill and expertise that should be required of all homicide investigators. I wasn't sure decentralized teams could maintain an acceptable level of expertise if they were investigating only five homicides a year.

I recommended against decentralizing the homicide unit. I have since moved out of homicide through promotion and, as is always the case, my perspective has changed. There are few serial homicides even in a large city like San Diego. Until a series is identified, cases are generally worked by an individual homicide team. With advances in communication technology, information can be easily shared from a decentralized or centralized location. Homicide detectives are not the only ones who possess outstanding investigative skills in a police agency. Others can be trained and should be developed to the skill level needed for specialized homicide investigations. One thing I did discover in my 28 years of police experience, a good investigator can investigate anything. Investigative techniques are basic and yet must remain flexible as a result of many variables (type of crime, age of victim and witnesses, cooperation of family, neighbors, suspects, technical expertise in crime type, appreciation of the individual, and neighborhood culture, etc.).

The few problem-solving efforts I have seen in homicide prevention required close work with uniformed officers and citizens in the neighborhoods. A centralized unit does not encourage the close teamwork concepts necessary for local-level problem solving. Yet, most criminal

homicides are driven by local-level problems. I'm not sure what the answer is, but we must continue to reexamine our traditional methods of policing and look for opportunities to give more tools to the street cop and neighborhood resident.

Now, if you share my apprehension about getting into a deep discussion about decentralizing homicide, how about robbery, narcotics, vice, or traffic? I can hear the sacred cows screaming from here! Are you ready to take a risk?

Intra-agency Cooperation

In San Diego we are developing multidisciplinary teams to work at the neighborhood level. The Livable Neighborhoods Initiative enjoyed some success but also faces the expected difficulties of turf and department responsibility battles. The initiative is a citywide effort to enhance coordination of programs and projects in neighborhoods. Since its inception in 1994, a number of efforts have been directed toward creating "Livable Neighborhoods." These include neighborhood policing, targeted code enforcement, small business assistance and commercial revitalization, neighborhood arts projects, community enterprise zones, graffiti abatement, historic preservation, home ownership, housing rehabilitation, affordable housing construction, Neighborhood Pride and Protection, Neighborhood Service Centers, youth and community service programs, job training, and transit-oriented development. Each agency involved in these efforts was expected to develop its own roles and responsibilities when working with others. In the past, little attention was given to coordination and communication across department or agency boundaries.

Some people complained that a number of these programs did not appear connected to other city activities or community resources and were not sufficiently marketed to the communities they served. In addition to the number of city programs, there are an equal or greater number of community advisory boards, neighborhood councils, and development corporations. These result in a similar fragmentation of effort to address local-level problems. Community residents see city staff as all working for the same company. They expect and deserve a coordinated effort.

Police agencies must take the lead and work to develop meaningful partnerships and improve the communication between departments at the local government level. As our officers discover the power of code enforcement or building inspections in crime prevention efforts, calls for these specialized services increase. Of course, these specialized units weren't just waiting in the lunch room for this exciting opportunity to work with the police on a police-priority project. They have their own work plans and service delivery priorities. Police administrators must do all they can to respect the needs and cultures of their newly developed partners. Helping other agencies identify their role in crime prevention strategies will reduce some of the anxiety many department heads experience as police departments move to problem-oriented policing. Police agencies should define their role in supporting the other agencies' priorities as well. A partnership has two-way responsibilities.

Policing is not just criminal apprehension. Even the police have a role in addressing social conditions that contribute to crime. Police agencies should facilitate focus group discussions and develop specific training programs designed for support agency personnel. Crime prevention efforts can be the magnet for getting others involved in a variety of neighborhood problem-solving efforts.

Police organizations are frequently seen as the fair-haired child in the budget household. Public safety typically receives a major share of political

and monetary support. Some public agencies may want to take advantage of that support by designing their programs to strengthen police neighborhood problem-solving efforts. The more coordination, communication, and cooperation the more successful problem-solving efforts will become. Police chiefs and sheriffs should take advantage of the opportunity to develop these resource partnerships by looking for opportunities to share some of their budget dollars. Hiring more code enforcement officers and more non-sworn community service personnel or developing a community mobilizer may be more effective in the long run than hiring more police officers or deputies. Problem solving doesn't mean that the cops have to solve all the problems.

Many police agencies are developing mission, vision, and values statements. They are moving toward strategic planning in order to develop specific crime prevention strategies and identify existing and potential partners. Police departments are expected to lead the crime prevention effort, but they must give up some control in order for others to be empowered. Bringing the community and other government agencies into the strategic planning process can identify roles and responsibilities in new and existing partnerships. Collaborative strategic planning can also result in injecting different perspectives into the changing police culture.

Summary

The level of success in COPPS is directly related to the commitment of the entire community, not just the police agency. Police and sheriffs' departments can no longer remain solely responsible for crime prevention. Other community members must be held accountable for their contribution. Developing strategies around measures of effectiveness or metrics may help all of us accept our responsibility to do a better job with public resources. The law enforcement community must accept its inherited role as the leader in developing strategies and resources to combat crime through a coordinated effort.

Early partnership successes must be celebrated and shared as a way of promoting progress. Celebrations can be as simple as the chief, sheriff, or other agency head giving public recognition for an accomplishment. The recognition can also come in the form of a promotion or assignment to a more influential unit in the organization. Rewards and recognition for intra- and inter-agency collaboration can begin to bring about the cultural change needed for community-oriented policing and problem solving to succeed.

Written for the Crime and Violence Prevention Center.

For further information, contact the San Diego Police Department, 1401 Broadway, San Diego, CA 92101; (619) 531-2770.

Principles and Insights
of the Torrance Police Department

By Joseph C. De Ladurantey, former Chief of Police
Torrance, California

Highlights

- *Among the most important principles that guided the Torrance Police Department's transition to community oriented policing is that the real test of police effectiveness is the absence of crime and disorder, not necessarily the visible evidence of police action.*

- *Implementing the COPPS philosophy has meant transforming the department from a traditional, rule-based organization to a values-based organization, which allows flexibility and creativity, while promoting consistent standards and expectations.*

- *The department developed a Mission Statement, Vision and Core Values; and Principles and Insights that describe the personal duties, interpersonal relationships, management style, and organizational alignments that have resulted from the transition to a community-based model of policing.*

- *These principles include the critical importance of enforcement of the law as the cornerstone of community safety, incorporating greater public accessibility to the department, support for the economic vitality of the community, recognition of community responsibility for its own safety, the importance of community-oriented problem solving, and the embrace of organizational change and new evaluation measurements.*

The Torrance Police Department serves a diverse community with a residential population of 140,000 and a daytime business community of over 500,000. A prideful city, Torrance has established itself as a "Premier City" with a Strategic Plan for the future that will continue its success as a balanced community that ensures the delivery of services to the industrial, business, and residential sectors.

As part of the strategic planning effort, the Torrance Police Department (TPD) developed Mission, Vision, and Values Statements that incorporated its commitment to a philosophy of

community-based governance and to meeting the demands of a planned future for the city (see below). Transitioning from a traditional organizational structure of policing to an even more proactive and customer-oriented model required more than direction and budgetary support; it required the involvement of all employees in the design, philosophy, management style, and, ultimately, the organizational look of the department.

Through this transition process, a model of policing has emerged that is not just driven by its Mission, Vision, and Values, but which also reflects a series of Principles and Insights that are right out of the 1800's teachings of Sir Robert Peel in his development of the first civilian police department. For example, Peel asserted that the power of the police is dependent upon public approval; that willing cooperation of the public must be recognized; that the police are the public and the public the police; and, most importantly, that the ultimate responsibility for the safety of the community is incumbent upon every citizen. He would also agree that the real test of police efficacy is the absence of crime and disorder, and not necessarily the visible evidence of police action.

Our Mission Statement

With a commitment to full-service Community Policing, the Mission of the Torrance Police Department is to:

FOCUS resources to serve the community with an emphasis on crime and its effects;

ADDRESS the very real issues associated with the fear of crime through the application of a problem-solving approach;

PROACTIVELY address the social and physical disorders that create the opportunity for crime; and

BE sensitive to community needs and issues that affect the quality of life.

Our Core Values Statement

The *core values* of the department are to provide a personalized quality of service that emphasizes the spirit of *excellence* and *pride* in the accomplishment of that service, with a visible expression of *integrity* and *compassion*.

Our Vision Statement

The **Torrance Police Department** will preserve a high quality of life by being flexible and adaptive to the needs of a diverse community. The ability to function at our best will require that we continually recruit, hire, and train quality people, and provide them with the necessary resources to be tough on crime and compassionate to victims.

As an organization, we will support our employees and respond to their needs, while challenging their skills and abilities. This will require an open and cooperative atmosphere with each member supporting the organizational leadership and living up to our values. We will maximize our effectiveness by remaining innovative and technologically advanced.

As an organization, we are committed to *"Making a Difference"* in our profession and for those we serve, in order to meet the challenge of the 21st century.

Principles and Insights

Today's police departments, TPD being no exception, have been largely driven by calls for service and arrests—duties which require complex rules, regulations, and procedures. Such policies, rules, and procedures are designed to control and define the scope of an agency. Line-level employees have been trained to carry out their duties based on such specific directives.

Mission, Vision, and Values Statements, on the other hand, make a statement that establishes who the organization is, what it is about, and where its priorities are. They give guidance where rules fall short, provide the impetus for new and innovative efforts, and foster a climate that recognizes the need for change without the threat that is so common in today's change-oriented culture. Transitioning from the traditional rule-based organization to a values-based organization, however, requires that the concepts be translated into applicable principles.

It is incumbent upon management to create an organizational structure and management style that support the realization of the Mission, Vision and Values. Moreover, management must also interpret these conceptual ideals into practical principles, that are objective, neutral, and external and that can be applied to specific situations. Principles, in contrast to rules and regulations, are designed to give substance and meaning to the overall Mission, Vision and Values of a police agency. They explain why "we do what we do," the elements upon which practices and functions are built. Principles become the compass (a guide versus a directive) by which the department functions. They allow for flexibility and creativity in application, while maintaining consistent standards and expectations. Management and supervisors can assist the employees in reading the compass so they are not lost in the abstract world of Missions, Visions and Values.

Three to four years into the process of the Torrance Police Department adopting their created Mission, Vision and Values, while assessing how these conceptual constructs had impacted the organization, an explicit set of Principles and Insights evolved that described the personal duties, interpersonal relationships, management style, and organizational alignment that have resulted from the transition to a community-based model providing a full service of policing. These principles also reflected what

was now instilling the department's direction, sense of purpose, and focus in the delivery of quality service. In short, these Principles and Insights have defined who we are.

1. With a Reverence for the Law, We Are Enforcement-and Service-Driven

Inherent in TPD is a recognition that emphasis be placed on enforcement and service to the community that embraces apprehension of criminals. Assertive, proactive law enforcement is the cornerstone that keeps our community safe and represents the highest standard of service our police department can give. With the advent of new approaches to policing, we cannot invalidate the continued need for aggressive enforcement. The public has demanded that safety and the lack of fear are their goals, and they seek to live in communities that have recognized this. Being predator-driven and focusing resources on targeting those who prey on our communities, we are mindful that quality-of-life issues that represent ridding our communities of such criminals are still the utmost in community-based policing. Our organization still emphasizes the attack on career criminals, "top tenners," and the riddance of the scourge of gangs—not for us, but for our community. We live by the law, enforce the law, and revere the law.

2. We Look for Ways to Enhance Public Accessibility to the Department

We are constantly seeking to create viable communication alternatives other than 911 and look for ways to develop contacts and access to the community. With the introduction of technology, we now use pagers, voice mail for key officers, the Internet, cable television, community centers, etc., to communicate and stay in touch. Having officers involved in various community-based organizations ensures our residents that "their" police officers will be there for them, not only in an emergency but in that time when contact is important but not critical. In 1992,

TPD created the position of Community Lead Officer (CLO) to meet those needs. With three officers devoted to specific geographic areas of the city and one dedicated to serving the needs of the business community, CLOs have become one additional access point for the public. We will continually challenge ourselves to identify new ways to make ourselves accessible to the public, in our quest to resolve community issues.

3. We Play a Vital Role in the Economic Viability of the Legitimate Business Community

We support business with visible programs designed to discourage criminal activity from within the business community or the criminal element from preying upon legitimate commerce. In today's economically driven climate, law enforcement must make a significant commitment to the business community to ensure that it thrives. As business goes in a community, so goes the community. Devoting resources to economic crime—crime prevention programs that target business education; partnerships with businesses; and business-oriented collectives such as chambers of commerce, business associations, shopping mall management—pays dividends when the goal is to reduce business-associated crime, whether violent, such as robberies, or sophisticated fraud, forgeries, or embezzlement. Devoting resources to ensuring that illegitimate business is driven from the community is also a major contribution to the quality of life in our city. Targeting predator attractions and marshaling government resources to rid the community of such locations creates an impact that everyone can see.

4. The Community Is Ultimately Responsible for Its Own Safety

The community clearly is responsible for articulating their desires for enforcement, their acceptance of conditions that create the atmosphere that generates a perception of fear or safety, as well as the demand for police service and excellence that translates into enforcement. This is easily done via involvement in the strategic planning process as a department goes about establishing its priorities. Law enforcement did not create the conditions of crime any more than fires were created by fire fighters. We are not the arsonists that set things ablaze. We are the ones who have been designated, trained, and deployed to solve the problem, stop the crime, and put order back into our communities. We will not take the blame when crime goes up in our communities, nor should we take credit when crime goes down. We showcase our heroes, celebrate their accomplishments, and recognize Peel's Principle that, "we are the public, and the public is the police."

5. We Strive for Willing Compliance

It is vital that we gain willing compliance, diverting those who cooperate with our efforts so that we can direct our resources and enforcement efforts towards those few—the criminal element—who will not cooperate on their own. Discretion in law enforcement is many times misunderstood. One can ensure that a problem is solved or minimized with persuasion, a presence, or even encouragement without the necessity to enforce. It is the correction of the aberrant behavior that makes our presence necessary, not just the need to take action. Incorporating the philosophy of mediation and facilitation becomes another tool on the gunbelt as we go about taking care of our community. Bringing those services of mediation into the community setting has been a priority for the department.

6. We Look for Ways to Strengthen the Community

Our emphasis is on becoming a part of the community, as well as involving the community in our efforts to serve. Priority is given to recognizing and becoming a part of the existing community-based efforts by involvement,

support, sponsorship, or facilitation. Law en-
forcement budgets are driven by the need to
provide front-line services. While many police-
based programs, such as Explorers, DARE, and
Police Athletic Leagues (PALS) are well inten-
tioned, the real value is in our employees
becoming a part of the community's programs,
providing leadership and skills so that *they* are
successful, not necessarily to make a police-based
program a success. Communities that are
successful in serving needs are those where
service clubs, youth clubs (i.e., YM(W)CAs, Boys'
and Girls' Clubs), church groups, business groups,
and associations all have, as a part of their
organization, law enforcement participation and
involvement. They all might not look the way we
in law enforcement would like, but they serve the
legitimate needs of the community and will thrive
with or without our leadership. Clearly, it is
better if they thrive with it. Our participation and
leadership are the gauge of success for all of our
community efforts and strengthen our communi-
ties in the process.

7. Our Emphasis Is on Community-oriented Problem Solving

We are a process- and solution-driven depart-
ment and recognize that arrest is only one
alternative in solving a community problem.
Our energy is directed toward a custom-made
response, analysis, and assessment. Our goal is
to eliminate, reduce, or remove the problem. We
employ the SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response,
Assessment) model to problem solving and take
pleasure in involving others in the alternatives
and solutions. We recognize that, while we may
be the most visible representative of government
to our community, we may not be the one who
can bring a solution. We also use the SMART
Team (Special Multi-Agency Response) concept
that brings together key entities of local govern-
ment to resolve the issues. There is as much
pleasure to linking and networking with those
who can make the appropriate contribution to
the problem as in solving it ourselves.

8. We Are Guided by Our Mission Statement, Our Vision, and Our Core Values

While there cannot be a rule for everything (nor
do we want one), our Mission, Vision, and Values
(MVV) must govern our conduct when there are
no rules. Where there is understanding and
acceptance of the Principles and a philosophy of
service, there will follow compliance and conduct
that is supportive of our rules, regulations, and
procedures. The key is—how do we make the
MVVs come alive in our organization? There are
a number of ways that start with a high visibility
within the department of the documents that
portray the MVVs but, more important, that they
come alive in training, briefings, and staff and
general orders that have as their basis a support
of MVVs and Principles. Seeing them as a visible
part of the plan as one does performance
evaluations, commendations, and letters of
response to the community makes them come
alive within the department, as well as the
community.

9. We Are Resource Knowledgeable About Our Community

Each member of the department must be
knowledgeable about the resources available
within the department; city, county, state, and
federal services; and community organizations.
We constantly seek effective ways to share
useful information that permits community
members to function effectively with sources of
information at their fingertips when police or
governmental services are not required, unavail-
able, or inappropriate. In defining our various
"moments of truth" in our organizations, we find
that it is not only the patrol officer who must be
given the information, but also those who staff
our front desks and information counters; those
who answer telephones, either 911 or non-
emergency numbers; or anyone who may be in a
position of being that knowledge point. Many
departments have created that infamous "book"
that has the agency, key contact names,

telephone numbers, and every answer to every conceivable question to be asked. Police departments are the visible contact point for many people and, while we may not have the answer, we should know who does.

10. Our Success Is Based Upon a Variety of Measurements

We recognize the value in noting not only the presence of crime, the level of violence, and the loss of property, but also the absence of crime that may be the result of proactive police work, good planning, design, or other preventive efforts. The difficulty in quantifying everything we do is compounded by gauging our success by the lack of a problem rather than what we did when faced with one. Measurements are difficult to generate when hours of work do not necessarily translate into an output. Our satisfaction is derived from solving a problem; identifying, capturing, and prosecuting criminals; helping those who are unable to assist themselves; and not just satisfying the public, but overwhelming and delighting them with our service. We concentrate on issues that affect the community's health, as well as direct services that result in customer satisfaction. The ultimate compliment must come from a vote of confidence and support expressed by the public in overt ways. This can be accomplished with a number of measurement tools designed to solicit input and show an expression of visible support for the style and type of law enforcement services provided. The strategic planning model is an excellent vehicle for making this happen in an organization.

11. We View Complaints as an Opportunity to Clarify Our Mission and Ensure that the Standard of Performance Expected Is Attained

The term "complaint" connotes one thing to the public and another to the police department employee. Our efforts are designed to clarify misunderstandings; ensure that procedures are not only adhered to, but explained; and, where necessary, modified. Responding to all inquiries, concerns, and expressions of dissatisfaction with our service is a critical administrative role that cannot be ignored, seen as condescending, without reason, or defensive in nature. Administrative support that views letters of communications as a strong support tool in keeping open lines of communication with the public is critical in showing that the organization does pursue an explanation when the service provided did not meet the standard expected. Written, open communication provides a method to articulate policy to the public, explain and clarify procedures, offer an apology, or excuse a misunderstanding. Litigation matters aside, the public expects an explanation, a response, and a better understanding of the issue as it relates to their individual circumstance. They want to see that their department is concerned when issues are presented and that law enforcement is not an exacting science that is absent of error. The ultimate goal is to have a circumstance explained, not extract a pound of flesh for the event or encounter.

12. Organizational Change Is Embraced

We encourage new management thinking, solicit improvement ideas from all sources, and readily acknowledge the value of user groups and design teams that reflect a diagonal slice of the department. This is a principle we all say we adhere to but, in reality, are somewhat uncomfortable with unless we are the change master. As the result of a variety of community policing philosophies, many agencies have embarked on new approaches, department reorganizations, and creation of new units or assignment designations, much of which has thrown more than one agency into temporary chaos. At some point in time, it is necessary to recognize the inevitable nature of change, its evolution and, quite frankly, its necessity— even though it is not easy— whether you are a police department, school, or private industry.

13. We Are Impartial and Friendly in Our Delivery of Service

Whether we deem this a principle that is necessary to state, it is one that must be foremost in our thought as we go about our duties. Subtle or not-so-subtle reminders that we are in a "service" business help all employees focus on what is important. A readiness to offer individual sacrifice, an expression of courtesy, and an emphasis on service to the public must be reflected in our day-to-day contacts with those who live in, work in, or visit our community.

14. We Are Committed to Working with Institutions That Are the Strength of Our Community, Including Local Government, Religious, and Educational Institutions

Because we are the most visible representative of local government, we endeavor to connect those who are in need of a specific service with those who are the providers. Churches play a critical role in being a messenger to the community. Many provide counseling, referrals, and other resources that can be a part of the problem-solving solution to community problems. Whether law enforcement takes part in a police chaplain program or merely provides the linkage to community services, the relationship between a police department and the religious community cannot be overstated. Conversely, the same can be said of the need to maintain a strong liaison with the various educational institutions. Programs such as Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), Substance Abuse Narcotic Education (SANE), Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT), School Resource Officers, and a number of innovative programs designed to invoke a relationship between school-age children, teachers and administrators, and local law enforcement are examples of recognizing the need to play that key role. Of critical value is the relationship between the police department and the other governmental services that are available at the local, county, state, and even the federal level. Many times, we take for granted that everyone knows about those services when, in fact, that is generally not the case. Knowing who does what, what role they play in solving community problems, and who has the answers to those perplexing issues all play a part in finding out that there are a number of responsible people who pride themselves on being a part of a community and "making a difference." We must continually recognize the key role that educators, teachers, the clergy, and others play in making a community dynamic.

Conclusion

Teaching by principles enables employees to be less dependent upon management or others for further instruction and direction. Principles are a guiding light—not a judge or critic—but a model. Principle-centered employees are constantly educated by their experiences, their training, and their exposure to others, and are actively encouraged to seek out new solutions to existing or developing problems.

With applicable Principles and Insights spelled out, an organization can stay focused on a strategic direction. As new ideas are brought forward, they can be measured against the philosophy of the Principles that reflect the Mission, Vision, and Values.

Section IV

COMMUNITY ORIENTED
COPPS
POLICING & PROBLEM SOLVING

Strengthening the Community's Role

17993 8

Community Mapping

By John P. Kretzmann, Ph.D. and John L. McKnight, Co-Directors
The Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Northwestern University

Highlights

- *Under the traditional, deficit-based approach to a community's problems, people begin to think of themselves and their neighbors as deficient, as victims incapable of taking charge of their lives and of their community's future. This "needs map" of a community distorts relationships, weakens the glue that binds communities together, and creates a sense of hopelessness.*

- *A capacity-oriented, or asset-based "map," on the other hand, recognizes that even the poorest neighborhood includes the seeds for community regeneration. In a community whose strengths are fully recognized and mobilized, community members, no matter what their circumstances, can participate in solving problems, not as clients or recipients of aid, but as full contributors to the community rebuilding process.*

Introduction

This is a guide for rebuilding troubled communities. It is meant to be simple, basic, and usable. Whatever wisdom it contains flows directly out of the experience of courageous and creative neighborhood leaders from across the country.

Most of this guide is devoted to spreading community-building success stories. These stories are organized into a step-by-step introduction to a coherent strategy that we have learned from neighborhood leaders. We call this strategy "asset-based community development." Before beginning to outline the basic elements of this approach, it will be helpful to remember how so many of our communities came to be so devastated, and why traditional strategies for improvement have so often failed.

The Problem: Devastated Communities

No one can doubt that most American cities these days are deeply troubled places. At the root of the problems are the massive economic shifts that have marked the last two decades. Hundreds of thousands of industrial jobs have either disappeared or moved away from the central city and its neighborhoods. And while many downtown areas have experienced a "renaissance," the jobs created there are different from those that once sustained neighborhoods. Either the new jobs are highly professionalized, and require elaborate education and credentials for entry, or they are routine, low-paying service jobs without much of a future. In effect, these shifts in the economy, and particu-

larly the disappearance of decent employment possibilities from low-income neighborhoods, have removed the bottom rung from the fabled American "ladder of opportunity." For many people in older city neighborhoods, new approaches to rebuilding their lives and communities, new opportunities, are a vital necessity.

Two Solutions, Two Paths

In response to this desperate situation, well-intended people are seeking solutions by taking one of two divergent paths. The first, which begins by focusing on a community's needs, deficiencies and problems, is still, by far, the most traveled and commands the vast majority of our financial and human resources. By comparison with the second path, which insists on beginning with a clear commitment to discovering a community's capacities and assets, and which is the direction this guide recommends, the first and more traditional path is more like an eight-lane superhighway.

The Traditional Path—A Needs-Driven Dead End

For most Americans, the names "South Bronx," or "South Central Los Angeles," or even "Public Housing" call forth a rush of images. It is not surprising that these images are overwhelmingly negative. They are images of crime and violence, of joblessness and welfare dependency, of gangs and drugs and homelessness, of vacant and abandoned land and buildings. They are images of needy and problematic and deficient neighborhoods populated by needy and problematic and deficient people.

These negative images, which can be conceived of as a kind of mental "map" of the neighborhood (see figure 1) often convey part of the truth

about the actual conditions of a troubled community. But they are not regarded as part of the truth; they are regarded as the whole truth.

Once accepted as the whole truth about troubled neighborhoods, this "needs" map determines how problems are to be addressed, through deficiency-oriented policies and programs. Public, private, and nonprofit human service systems, often supported by university research and foundation funding, translate the programs into local activities that teach people the nature and extent of their problems, and the value of services as the answer to their problems.

As a result, many lower income, urban neighborhoods are now environments of service where behaviors are affected because residents come to believe that their well-being depends upon being a client. They begin to see themselves as people with special needs that can only be met by outsiders. They become consumers of services, with no incentive to be producers. Consumers of services focus vast amounts of creativity and intelligence on the survival-motivated challenge of outwitting the "system," or of finding ways— in the informal or even illegal economy—to bypass the system entirely.

There is nothing natural or inevitable about the process that leads to the creation of client neighborhoods. In fact, it is important to note how little power local neighborhood residents have to affect the pervasive nature of the deficiency model, mainly because a number of society's most influential institutions have themselves developed a stake in maintaining that focus.

For example, much of the social science research produced by universities is designed to collect and analyze data about problems. Much of the funding directed to lower income communities by foundations and the United Way is based on

Figure 1
Neighborhood Needs Map
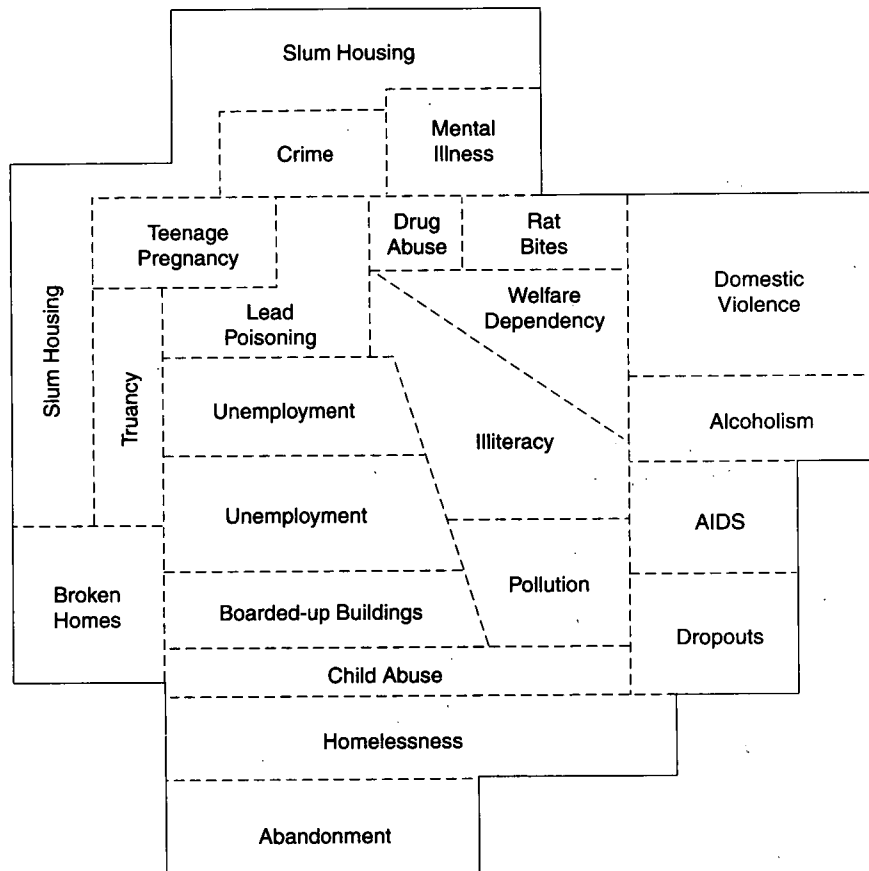
the problem-oriented data collected in "needs surveys," a practice emulated by government human service agencies. Finally, the needs map often appears to be the only neighborhood guide ever used by members of the mass media, whose appetite for the violent and the spectacularly problematic story seems insatiable. All of these major institutions combine to create a wall between lower income communities and the rest of society—a wall of needs which, ironically

enough, is built not on hatred but (at least partly) on the desire to "help."

The fact that the deficiency orientation represented by the needs map constitutes our only guide to lower income neighborhoods has devastating consequences for residents. We have already noted one of the most tragic—that is, residents themselves begin to accept that map as the only guide to the reality of their lives. They

think of themselves and their neighbors as fundamentally deficient, victims incapable of taking charge of their lives and of their community's future. But other consequences flow as well from the power of the needs map. For example:

- Viewing a community as a nearly endless list of problems and needs leads directly to the much lamented fragmentation of efforts to provide solutions. It also denies the basic community wisdom which regards problems as tightly intertwined, as symptoms, in fact, of the breakdown of a community's own problem-solving capacities.

- Targeting resources based on the needs map directs funding not to residents but to service providers, a consequence not always either planned for or effective.

- Making resources available on the basis of the needs map can have negative effects on the nature of local community leadership. If, for example, one measure of effective leadership is the ability to attract resources, then local leaders are, in effect, being forced to denigrate their neighbors and their community by highlighting their problems and deficiencies, and by ignoring their capacities and strengths.

- Providing resources on the basis of the needs map underlines the perception that only outside experts can provide real help. Therefore, the relationships that count most for local residents are no longer those inside the community, those neighbor-to-neighbor links of mutual support and problem solving. Rather, the most important relationships are those that involve the expert, the social worker, the health provider, and the funding source. Once again, the glue that binds communities together is weakened.

- Reliance on the needs map as the exclusive guide to resource gathering virtually ensures the inevitable deepening of the cycle of

dependence: problems must always be worse than last year, or more intractable than other communities, if funding is to be renewed.

- At best, reliance on the needs map as the sole policy guide will ensure a maintenance and survival strategy targeted at isolated individual clients, not a development plan that can involve the energies of an entire community.

- Because the needs-based strategy can guarantee only survival, and can never lead to serious change or community development, this orientation must be regarded as one of the major causes of the sense of hopelessness that pervades discussions about the future of low income neighborhoods. From the street corner to the White House, if maintenance and survival are the best we can provide, what sense can it make to invest in the future?

The Alternative Path: Capacity-Focused Development

If even some of these negative consequences follow from our total reliance upon the needs map, an alternative approach becomes imperative. That alternative path, very simply, leads toward the development of policies and activities based on the capacities, skills, and assets of lower income people and their neighborhoods.

In addition to the problems associated with the dominant deficiency model, at least two more factors argue for shifting to a capacity-oriented emphasis. First, all the historic evidence indicates that significant community development takes place only when local community people are committed to investing themselves and their resources in the effort. This observation explains why communities are never built from the top down, or from the outside in.

The second reason for emphasizing the development of the internal assets of local urban neighborhoods is that the prospect for outside help is bleak indeed. Even in areas designated as Enterprise Zones, the odds are long that large-scale, job-providing industrial or service corporations will be locating in these neighborhoods. Nor is it likely, in the light of continuing budget constraints, that significant new inputs of federal money will be forthcoming soon. It is increasingly futile to wait for significant help to arrive from outside the community. The hard truth is that development must start from within the community and, in most of our urban neighborhoods, there is no other choice.

Creative neighborhood leaders across the country have begun to recognize this hard truth, and have shifted their practices accordingly. They are discovering that wherever there are effective community development efforts, those efforts are based upon an understanding, or map, of the community's assets, capacities, and abilities. For it is clear that even the poorest neighborhood is a place where individuals and organizations represent resources upon which to rebuild. The key to neighborhood regeneration, then, is to locate all of the available local assets, to begin connecting them with one another in ways that multiply their power and effectiveness, and to begin harnessing those local institutions that are not yet available for local development purposes.

This entire process begins with the construction of a new "map" (see figure 2). Once this guide to capacities has replaced the old one containing only needs and deficiencies, the regenerating community can begin to assemble its strengths into new combinations, new structures of opportunity, new sources of income and control, and new possibilities for production.

The Assets of a Community: Individuals, Associations, Institutions

Each community boasts a unique combination of assets upon which to build its future. A thorough map of those assets would begin with an inventory of the gifts, skills, and capacities of the community's residents. Household by household, building by building, block by block, the capacity map makers will discover a vast and often surprising array of individual talents and productive skills, few of which are being mobilized for community-building purposes. This basic truth about the "giftedness" of every individual is particularly important to apply to persons who often find themselves marginalized by communities.

It is essential to recognize the capacities, for example, of those who have been labeled mentally handicapped or disabled, or of those who are marginalized because they are too old, or too young, or too poor. In a community whose assets are being fully recognized and mobilized, these people too will be part of the action, not as clients or recipients of aid, but as full contributors to the community-building process.

In addition to mapping the gifts and skills of individuals, households, and families, the committed community builder will compile an inventory of citizens' associations. These associations, less formal and much less dependent upon paid staff than formal institutions, are the vehicles through which citizens in the U.S. assemble to solve problems, or to share common interests and activities. It is usually the case that the depth and extent of associational life in any community is vastly underestimated. This is particularly true of lower income communities. In fact, however, though some parts of associational

Figure 2
Neighborhood Assets Map
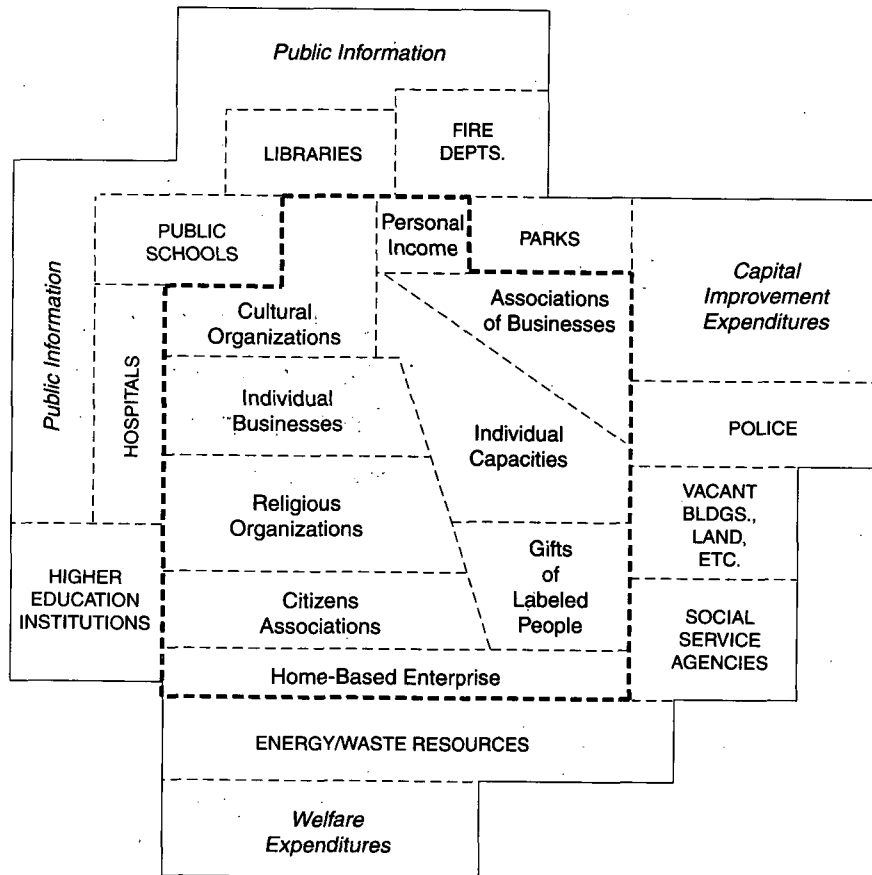
Legend

(dashed box)	Primary Building Blocks:	Assets and capacities located inside the neighborhood. Largely under neighborhood control
(box)	SECONDARY BUILDING BLOCKS:	Assets located within the community but largely controlled by outsiders
(box)	*Potential Building Blocks:*	Resources originating outside the neighborhood, controlled by outsiders

life may have dwindled in very low-income neighborhoods, most communities continue to harbor significant numbers of associations with religious, cultural, athletic, recreational, and other purposes. Community builders soon recognize that these groups are indispensable tools for development, and that many of them can, in fact, be stretched beyond their original purposes and intentions to become full contributors to the development process.

Beyond the individuals and local associations that make up the asset base of communities are all of the more formal institutions located in the community. Private businesses; public institutions such as schools, libraries, parks, police, and fire stations; nonprofit institutions such as hospitals and social service agencies—these organizations make up the most visible and formal part of a community's fabric. Accounting for them in full, and enlisting them in the process of community development, is essential to the success of the process.

For community builders, the process of mapping the institutional assets of the community will often be much simpler than that of making an inventory involving individuals and associations. But establishing within each institution a sense of responsibility for the health of the local community, along with mechanisms that allow communities to influence and even control some aspects of the institution's relationships with its local neighborhood, can prove much more difficult. Nevertheless, a community that has located and mobilized its entire base of assets will clearly feature heavily involved and invested local institutions.

Individuals, associations, and institutions—these three major categories contain within them much of the asset base of every community. They will also provide the framework for organizing this guide. Each of the three sections explores

methods for recognizing, mapping, and mobilizing one of these clusters of local strengths.

In addition, the guide will highlight other aspects of a community's assets, including its physical characteristics—the land, buildings, and infrastructure upon which the community rests. And because so much of a community's well-being depends upon the strength of the local economy, one section of the guide will explore ways in which individuals, associations, and local institutions can contribute economically.

An Alternative Community Development Path: Asset-Based, Internally Focused, Relationship Driven

This guide is designed to help communities not only to recognize and map their assets—the individuals, local associations, and institutions which make up the sinew of the neighborhood—but also to mobilize them for development purposes. As we begin to describe the basic elements of an asset-based community development process, it is important to place this discussion in its larger context. Two major qualifications should be stated as strongly as possible.

First, focusing on the assets of lower income communities does not imply that these communities do not need additional resources from the outside. Rather, this guide simply suggests that outside resources will be much more effectively used if the local community is itself fully mobilized and invested, and if it can define the agendas for which additional resources must be obtained. The assets within lower income communities, in other words, are absolutely necessary but usually not sufficient to meet the huge development challenges ahead.

Second, the discussion of asset-based community development is intended to affirm, and to build upon, the remarkable work already going on in neighborhoods across the country. Asset-based community development acknowledges and embraces particularly the strong neighborhood-rooted traditions of community organizing, community economic development, and neighborhood planning. In fact, experienced leaders in these three areas have been among our most valuable sources of inspiration and guidance. The approach outlined in this guide is intended to complement, and sometimes to precede, their efforts—not to substitute for them.

These caveats understood, then, "asset-based community development" deserves a little more introduction and definition as will become apparent in more detail in the guide's text. This process can be defined by three simple, interrelated characteristics:

- Obviously enough, the first principle that defines this process is that it is "asset-based." That is, this community development strategy starts with what is present in the community, the capacities of its residents and workers, the associational and institutional base of the area—not with what is absent, or with what is problematic, or with what the community needs.

- Because this community development process is asset-based, it is by necessity "internally focused." That is, the development strategy concentrates first of all upon the agenda-building and problem-solving capacities of local residents, local associations, and local institutions. Again, this intense and self-conscious internal focus is not intended to minimize either the role external forces have played in helping to create the desperate conditions of lower income neighborhoods, nor the need to attract additional resources to these communities. Rather, this strong internal focus is intended simply to stress the primacy of local definition, investment, creativity, hope, and control.

- If a community development process is to be asset-based and internally focused, then it will be in very important ways "relationship driven." Thus, one of the central challenges for asset-based community developers is to constantly build and rebuild the relationships between and among local residents, local associations, and local institutions.

Skilled community organizers and effective community developers already recognize the importance of relationship building. For it is clear that the strong ties which form the basis for community-based problem solving have been under attack. The forces driving people apart are many, and frequently cited, including increasing mobility rates, the age, and not least—from the point of view of lower income communities—increasing dependence upon outside, professionalized helpers.

Because of these factors, the sense of efficacy based on interdependence, the idea that people can count on their neighbors and neighborhood resources for support and strength, has weakened. For community builders who are focused on assets, rebuilding these local relationships offers the most promising route toward successful community development. This guide will stress the importance of relationship building for every person and group in the community, and will underline the necessity of basing those relationships always upon the strengths and capacities of the parties involved, never on their weaknesses and needs.

That, then, is the skeleton of the simple development process sketched in this guide—it is a community-building path which is asset-based, internally focused and relationship driven.

John P. Kretzmann, Ph.D., is Co-Director, The Asset-Based Community Development Institute; and Research Associate, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University. John L. McKnight is professor of Communication Studies and Education and Social Policy; Director of Community Studies, Institute for Policy Research; and Co-Director, Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Northwestern University.

Solution-Driven Partnerships: Just Six Steps Away

By Nancy McPherson, Director
Community Policing Bureau, Seattle Police Department
Seattle, Washington

Highlights   *Effective problem solving involves a six-step strategy:*

- *Build a relationship.*

- *Define the problem.*

- *Analyze the problem.*

- *Set short-term and long-term goals.*

- *Take action.*

- *Assess effectiveness.*

Partnerships, partnerships, partnerships. Everywhere we go, we hear about partnerships. You know how difficult partnerships are. Give and take. Compromise. Win-win. Reach a consensus. Share information. Nurture relationships? Did I hear you right? This is a police agency, for Pete's sake! Our job is to enforce the law and solve crime problems, not nurture relationships.

It is true. Partnerships are difficult. It takes time to build relationships, to learn to trust each other, to find mutual interests and concerns, and to learn a common language that results in problems being solved. But what we're learning from officers all over the country is that long-term solutions to problems require partnerships.

A partnership is "a relationship involving close cooperation between parties having specified and joint rights and responsibilities" (Webster). The community is not our only potential partner. Potential partners include other agencies; social, religious, business and educational institutions; and individuals. And in the context of community policing, partnerships make sense when they are formed to solve problems. If we're teaching our officers to solve problems anyway, let's teach them how to form partnerships using the same problem-solving model.

Picture this scenario: A sergeant instructs patrol officers to go to a neighborhood meeting. Residents have complained of prostitution and drug dealing and want to form a partnership with the police. The officers walk in. The residents are glad to see the officers but are angry because they feel helpless and afraid of what is happening in their neighborhood. The

officers invite their angry audience to "share their concerns." The floodgates open, and for the next two hours every "concern" is heard. The officers hear about the prostitution and drug dealing in the neighborhood. Then they hear about the poor response time for service, the lack of sensitivity on the part of officers in dealing with residents, and the failure of police to take action on a crime that was committed five years ago. The officers defend the police response. Community members get more frustrated. Now the officers are getting frustrated but they try to maintain their cool. At the end of the meeting, the officers say, "Thanks for sharing your concerns. We'll handle it from here."

We've all been to meetings like this. At the end of the evening, are those officers praising the virtues of partnerships? Are they creatively thinking about how to solve the problems of the community? They're thinking creatively, all right. They're thinking creatively about how to avoid ever going to another community meeting.

Using a problem-solving approach, let's revisit this scenario. You are one of the officers.

1. Build a Relationship

"You can either be right or be in a relationship." Wise words spoken by a father to his son just before the son's wedding. A relationship requires trust and understanding. Trust and understanding result when one can listen to someone else's concerns in an open, nonjudgmental way. When frustration, fear, tension, and anger are present in a community, creating a safe environment where people can vent is important. You open the meeting by explaining that you are there to listen and to try to understand the problems from the community's perspective.

To demonstrate that you have heard every voice, record each problem on a large sheet of paper that is visible to everyone in the room. Once the problems have been listed, ask the group if

people are willing to work with you to solve the problems. If people are willing to work together, move on. If not, restate your willingness to try to understand more about the community's perspective. Also, state clearly that the police will do whatever they can to help, but you can't solve these problems without help from the community.

2. Defining the Problem

The next step borrows from Stephen Covey's work on "Principle-Centered Leadership." Covey suggests that all problems fall into one of two circles. The Circle of Concern contains everything that worries or concerns us. We have little control over these problems. The Circle of Influence contains everything we can control or influence in some way.

Explain the circles to the group. Then go through the list of problems with the community, one by one, identifying whether the problem falls under the Circle of Concern or the Circle of Influence. Discuss the Circle of Concern problems to determine what other agency or group may be able to influence or control the problem. Later, the group can return to the Circle of Concern list to determine if they want to meet with the other agencies or groups.

Ask the community to focus on and prioritize the problems identified on the Circle of Influence list. The problem identified as the number one priority is the starting point for the group's problem-solving efforts.

3. Ask Questions About the Problem

Analyzing the problem starts with asking, "Who is affected by the problem?" Brainstorm to create a list of everyone who is affected. In the scenario presented earlier, the list must include children, families, police, prostitutes, drug dealers, social service agencies, probation and parole officers, prosecutors, etc. From this list, have the group decide who should be included in

the problem-solving effort. Make sure that someone takes responsibility for inviting the appropriate people to future meetings. Identifying people who are affected by the problem ensures that the quiet, unrepresented voices in our communities that are seldom, if ever, heard are included in the problem-solving process.

The next question is, "What do we want to know about this problem?" List everything that the group can think of that they want to know. Then go back over this list and ask, "Where do we go to get the information?" Once you identify the source of the information, people can volunteer to find the answers to the questions. Delegate the responsibility for finding information to a number of people. Relationships can be enhanced even further if a lot of people take ownership in the process. Set the date and time for the next meeting so folks know you're committed to the process.

When most questions have been answered, redefine the problem based on the information gathered. Is the group clear about the specific problem? (e.g., drug dealing at the corner of First and Imperial, or prostitution activity on Aurora Avenue the first and third weekends of each month)? If the problem is defined too broadly (e.g., prostitution in the city), ask the group to reexamine it in light of the Circle of Concern and Circle of Influence. Once the problem is defined so that it falls within the group's influence, it's time to set goals.

4. Set Short-Term and Long-Term Goals

Aim for small wins initially. What short-term goal can the group reach that will create hope and enthusiasm to keep people involved and optimistic? Ask the group to identify some small wins.

Then look at the big picture. What underlying conditions or root causes of the problem need to be addressed? Is it possible to eliminate the problem? A problem-oriented approach, accord-

ing to Herman Goldstein, has five possible solutions. Eliminating the problem is one. Other alternatives include reducing the problem, reducing the harm created by the problem, managing the problem better, and removing the problem from police consideration. Again, consider the Circles of Concern and Influence. Is it realistic to set a goal of eliminating prostitution, for example? Only the group can decide. But keeping alternatives within the Circle of Influence helps to maintain trust and credibility in the budding relationship.

The community knows what the problem looks like now. What will the problem look like after the goals have been reached? Once goals have been established, take time to decide how the groups will know that the problem has been solved.

5. Take Action

It's amazing how little time it takes to develop responses to meet the goals. If the right questions have been asked and the group understands what it can influence, responses to problems become clear. If one short-term goal is to get used condoms and syringes out of the neighborhood, whose responsibility is it to take care of this? Who is responsible for doing more enforcement on the first and third weekends of month? Who should clean up the overgrown shrubs and bushes that hide illegal activity on the street?

Get the action rolling and report back regularly. Ongoing communication is critical to keep the collaboration healthy and alive.

6. Assess Effectiveness

Was the problem solved? If more work needs to be done, do you need to start with step one or can you reenter the problem-solving process at another step along the way? How do people feel about the process? The most important question at this point is, "Where does the group want to

go from here?" If the problem is solved, the group may want to stay in place to monitor the situation and begin work on another problem. Maybe the group is ready to organize formally. Perhaps it wants to plan a community education campaign or social events. It is the responsibility of the group, not the officers, to decide what the future holds. Our job is to reaffirm our commitment to working with the group to solve problems and to maintaining the relationship through continued communication.

What Are the Barriers to This Approach?

"We have seen the enemy, and it is us." We create a formula for frustration and ineffectiveness when:

- We don't take time to listen.

- We don't take time to understand and respect different perspectives and the helplessness that crime victims feel.

- We think partnerships are programs designed to make the community feel good about us.

- We refuse to learn and practice a step-by-step process for joint problem solving that includes mutual rights and responsibilities.

- We assume total responsibility for solving problems (after all, we are the experts).

- We think "nurturing relationships" is only for moms and social workers.

Problem solving is a process, not an event. It starts with building a relationship and follows a systematic, step-by-step process that leads to reducing or solving crime and community problems. Police chiefs and sheriffs who commit to the process support their officers by teaching them skills to facilitate effective problem solving. Their officers won't be leaving community meetings frazzled, disgusted, and feeling unappreciated. They can say good night to their community partners with a sense of satisfaction and pride in knowing that they've made a difference in the lives of people who matter to them.

Community Responsibilities in Neighborhood Policing

Ted Parker, Volunteer in Policing
San Diego Police Department

Highlights

This article is a summary of the San Diego Police Department's "Community Responsibilities Guide." It is a model any police agency can use to define the responsibilities of community members in making community policing work.

The San Diego Police Department (SDPD) is committed to working in a problem-solving partnership with individuals, community groups, and businesses, as well as with schools, hospitals, religious groups, private organizations, and other government agencies to fight crime and improve the quality of life for the people of San Diego. Problem solving is a key component in the department's philosophy of Neighborhood Policing, which focuses on community crime and disorder problems and recognizes the need for close relationships between the police and other elements in the city to identify and solve problems. Neighborhood Policing cannot, however, succeed on the efforts of the police alone. All elements of the city have responsibilities to fulfill.

A great deal has been written on police responsibilities in Neighborhood Policing. These are stated briefly below. This article defines and discusses 12 community responsibilities, i.e., those of individuals, community groups, and businesses. (The responsibilities of schools, health care providers, religious groups, private organizations, and other government agencies that deal with public health, safety, welfare, housing, criminal justice, etc., are also critical but they are not covered here.)

Police Responsibilities

Briefly, police responsibilities in Neighborhood Policing include:

- Participating in community groups and activities

- Listening to community concerns

- Prioritizing, addressing, and solving community crime and disorder problems

- Establishing and supporting crime prevention programs

- Responding to calls for service

- Investigating crimes

- Apprehending those who commit crimes

- Helping to convict persons charged with crimes

- Providing various other police services.

The SDPD is continually expanding the training of its officers, detectives, supervisors, and other personnel in these responsibilities to implement the goals of the Neighborhood Policing restructuring project that began in 1993.

110

Community Responsibilities

Community members, groups, and businesses are responsible for the following:

1. Voicing concerns about community crime and disorder problems

2. Reporting and providing information about crimes and suspicious activities

3. Reporting other problems and incidents

4. Helping to convict and punish criminals

5. Getting help with personal and family problems

6. Exercising parental authority

7. Employing crime prevention measures for personal, family, property, and business security

8. Knowing about crime and disorder in your community

9. Addressing and solving certain community problems

10. Working with the police to address and solve other problems

11. Volunteering services to police and other community groups

12. Commenting on SDPD personnel performance in Neighborhood Policing.

1. Voicing Concerns about Community Crime and Disorder Problems

Don't wait until crime occurs, accidents happen, or crime and disorder problems get out of control. Raise your concerns within your community or directly with the police.

In the Community. Speak up at your community planning boards, community councils, PTA, church groups, political action groups, and other community group meetings. Also, participate in political rallies and debates, city government hearings, etc.

To the Police. Call the Community Relations Officer (CRO) at your local area station to discuss your concerns and to obtain the names of community groups and persons in your community to contact about your concerns. You can also contact a Community Service Officer (CSO) or a Volunteer in Policing (VIP) at your local police storefront or satellite office.

2. Reporting and Providing Information about Crimes and Suspicious Activities

Reporting crimes and providing information about crimes in a timely manner are responsibilities of individuals. For reporting purposes, crimes are considered as either emergencies or non-emergencies.

Persons reporting crimes are routinely asked for their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. This is done so that they can be contacted later, if necessary, during the investigation of the crime. Persons desiring to remain anonymous should request that they not be contacted by the officers responding to the call. Even if contacted by a detective, however, the identity of the caller will not be revealed to anyone involved in the crime. In this sense, reports of crimes are treated as confidential and the identity of the caller is protected. If the case goes to trial, however, the report could be released to the prosecuting agency and, under the rules of discovery, to the defense. It could also be subpoenaed in a civil trial.

Emergencies. An emergency is a situation that threatens human life or property and demands immediate attention. By calling 911, the caller will be linked to the appropriate police as well as fire fighting, medical, and ambulance services. You don't need money to call 911 from a pay phone. Some examples of crime emergencies include:

- Homicides

- Fights, domestic violence, child abuse, gunshots

- Sexual assaults

- Hit-and-run accidents with possible injuries

- Burglaries and robberies

- Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs

- Ongoing dumping of fuel or other hazardous substances.

When reporting an emergency situation, be prepared to give an accurate description of the location, especially if you are calling from a mobile cellular phone or a fixed phone in a multi-unit building. The operator has no way of knowing where you are if you are using a cellular phone and can only determine the street address if you are calling from a fixed phone. Answer the operator's questions about the emergency, and don't hang up until you are told. The following witness information checklist can be used for reporting both emergency and non-emergency crimes:

- Type of crime

- Location

- Time

- Weapons used

- Number of persons injured and types of injuries

- Vehicle information—license number, color, year, make, model, body type, etc.

- Suspect information—race, gender, age, height, weight, hair color, etc.

- Direction of suspect flight.

Non-emergencies and suspicious activities.
Non-emergencies and suspicious activities should be reported to the police or to the law enforcement agency with primary jurisdiction. Some examples of situations that may not be emergencies include:

- Home and business burglaries in which the suspect is gone from the scene

- Stolen checks and credit cards

- Impersonation and stolen identification e.g., driver's license

- Auto theft and/or vandalism

- Hit-and-run accidents with no injuries

- Person(s) disturbing the peace, loitering, panhandling, making noise, etc.

- Person(s) drunk in public but not in immediate danger

- Minors violating curfew

- Loud parties

- Vehicles possibly abandoned or otherwise parked illegally

- Vehicles on city streets that cannot be operated safely because of missing or faulty equipment

- Road hazards that do not require immediate attention to prevent personal injuries or property damage

- Graffiti and other acts of vandalism

- Past incidents of child abuse

- Runaway juvenile or missing adult who does not require special care

- Person(s) "casing" properties on foot or in a vehicle

- Vehicle loaded with valuables parked in front of a closed business or home

- Person(s) soliciting illegally.

The police response to non-emergency calls will depend on the relative seriousness or priority of the situation, the likelihood of making an arrest at the scene, and the availability of an officer. Response times are the longest for so-called "cold crimes" like home burglaries where the perpetrator has fled the scene, no suspects exist, and the victim is in no further danger.

Non-emergency situations and suspicious activities can be reported directly to some investigative unit, e.g., narcotics, vice, traffic, and gangs, during normal business hours if you have enough information for the unit to start an investigation. In many instances, the city police department does not have jurisdiction over particular crimes and/or suspicious activities. If a crime is not in progress, you should report such incidents to the proper agency as illustrated below:

- California Highway Patrol—reckless driving and hit-and-runs on the freeways

- County Sheriff—incidents occurring outside the city but within county limits

- U.S. Border Patrol—activities of illegal or undocumented persons

- FBI—bank robberies and fraud, kidnaping, extortion, interstate theft, and computer fraud

- U.S. Secret Service—threats to the president or other government officials, counterfeit money, telephone and credit card fraud

- U.S. Post Office—stolen, opened or rifled mail, mail fraud, telemarketing fraud involving mail, and other mail-related crimes

- City or District Attorney—consumer fraud, illegal disposal of hazardous wastes, real estate fraud, waste of city funds or resources, campaign law violations, etc.

Information about crimes. To provide information about a crime that is under investigation, call the detective handling the case. If you do not know the detective's name, call your local area station and ask to speak with the detective assigned to the case. If you think you might have information concerning a serious crime or felony suspect and you don't want to "get personally involved," call Crime Stoppers or a similar anonymous crime reporting program.

3. Reporting Other Problems and Incidents

The police are not responsible for dealing with all of the problems and incidents that affect public health, safety, and welfare, although in many cases they work with other agencies in addressing them. Problems involving graffiti, litter, animals, unsafe street conditions, needs for new street safety measures, certain municipal code violations, and suspected child and elder abuse should be reported to the agencies that have the primary responsibility.

If you do not know which agency is responsible, contact your CRO at your local area station, or a CSO or VIP at a local police storefront or satellite office. Telephone numbers are included in the complete Guide.

4. Helping to Convict and Punish Criminals

Testifying in court. Individuals who are crime victims or witnesses have a civic duty to testify in court to help convict and punish criminals. Criminals cannot be prosecuted in many cases if community members fail to fulfill this responsibility. Testifying in court also gives victims and witnesses a sense of empowerment and a degree of personal satisfaction from helping "justice be served." Although retaliation is not a problem in the vast majority of cases, personal protection can be requested if a risk of retaliation exists. Victims can also get assistance in recovering their financial losses through the county victim-services program.

After the criminal is convicted, community members involved in the case can appear before the judge at the sentencing hearing to show support for the victim and make suggestions for appropriate punishment.

Making Citizens' Arrests. A citizen's arrest occurs when a private person or a police officer acting on behalf of a private person takes a person into custody in a lawful manner. You can

make a citizen's arrest of a person suspected of committing a crime if you see or hear the crime committed, sign the arrest form, and agree to testify in court. Reasonable force can be used to hold that person until a police officer arrives. You should never, however, get involved if your safety might be at risk. It is often better to get good descriptions of any persons and vehicles involved, call the police immediately, and offer your assistance in identifying and prosecuting the suspects.

Businesses. Businesses can help convict and punish criminals in many ways. For example, a business can have the police arrest persons for trespassing and related crimes on its property by sending a letter of authorization to the local area station. The letter must specify the address of the property and express an agreement to prosecute any persons arrested for the specified crimes. Although it is not required, businesses can also support the criminal justice system by allowing employees time off work with pay when they are victims or witnesses and are called to testify in court.

5. Getting Help with Personal and Family Problems

Individuals with personal or family problems that they cannot handle by themselves have an obligation to seek help before the problems get out of hand and cause further difficulties. Good places to start are the local government information lines and the Community Services section of the telephone directory. This section usually lists government agencies and other organizations that provide various social and crisis intervention services that deal with alcohol and drug abuse, child abuse and family violence, counseling, mediation, health care, housing, legal assistance, mental health and crisis intervention, missing children and runaways, rape and sexual assault victim services, senior services, suicide prevention, and youth and teen services. Call the United Way INFOLINE or see the CSO at your local police area

station or storefront for additional information and referrals.

6. Exercising Parental Authority

Good citizenship begins at home. Parents and guardians bear the primary responsibility for the actions of their children. They must:

- Set good examples at home and in the community
- Teach morals and values
- Provide a safe home environment
- Make sure that their children obtain a good education
- Direct their children into constructive activities
- Be involved in their children's activities
- Make their children responsible and accountable for their actions.

There are numerous resources to assist parents. Free magazines that offer many good ideas for parenting and activities for families are usually available at libraries, stores, and other places in the community. Community colleges often offer classes in effective parenting, child development, conflict resolution, and other relevant topics. Various student activity programs are sponsored by the police department, city departments, the schools, Boy's and Girl's Clubs, and other youth-serving organizations.

Booklets provide answers to many legal questions concerning children. *Kids and the Law: An A-to-Z Guide for Parents,* published by the State Bar of California, contains information on a wide range of laws and legal issues involving children and parental responsibilities, includes a glossary of legal terms, and cites relevant statutes and code sections. *When You Become 18,* published by the California Law Advocates, deals with jury duty, voting, housing, contracts, torts, and other legal rights and responsibilities of young adults.

Dealing with Specific Problems. Children can become influenced by peer pressures and pick up bad behavior outside the home. Parents must learn to recognize the signs that indicate that their children may be involved in gangs, drug and alcohol abuse, graffiti vandalism, shoplifting, gun violence, etc. so that they can intervene and deal with the situation as early as possible. Parents must also make sure that their children abide by school attendance and curfew laws, drive safely, and avoid Internet dangers and media violence. Parents who cannot deal with their children's problems alone can obtain help and referrals from the Juvenile Intervention Officer at their local area station.

Parental Liability. Parents or guardians are legally liable in various ways for the acts of their children. They can be held liable for civil damages, restitution, fines, and penalties, and be charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. This is another reason for parents to deal with their child's behavior before it results in criminal acts.

7. Employing Crime Prevention Measures for Personal, Family, Property, and Business Security

A great deal of crime prevention material on personal, family, property, and business safety and security is available at no charge at police storefronts and satellite offices. The police are responsible for making this material available. It is the individual's responsibility to obtain and employ it. Other crime prevention services provided by the SDPD include home and business security inspections, landlord training, and speakers on crime prevention for community meetings. These services can be obtained by calling the Community Crime Prevention Unit.

Not only will you help reduce crime by employing these crime prevention measures, you may also reduce your home and automobile insurance premiums. Call your insurance company about specific rate reduction for specific measures.

8. Knowing about Crime and Disorder in Your Community

A first step to address and solve crime and disorder problems in your community is to become informed about the kinds, frequencies, and locations of such incidents. Statistical information about crime by community is available at all city public libraries, SDPD facilities, and now, on SDPD's Internet Web site. Although comparable information on disorder is not available, the existence of graffiti, litter, abandoned vehicles, and other code violations should be obvious to concerned residents.

9. Addressing and Solving Certain Community Problems

Individual and community actions can address and solve many types of crime and disorder problems without the direct involvement of the police. Some examples of ways community members can deal with drug properties, illegal activities on rental properties, security of rental units, habitability of rental units, litter and trash, graffiti, neighborhood conflicts, and crime in general, are illustrated below. Communities can also take action against some of the root causes of crime by holding job fairs and community events and by boycotting and picketing uncooperative businesses and landlords.

Drug Properties. *Safe Streets Now!,* a project developed by the Drug Abatement Institute in Oakland, California, shows individuals how to eliminate of a drug property in their neighborhood through the use of civil courts and nuisance abatement laws. Information about controlling drugs in your neighborhood can be obtained by calling the Drug Information and Strategy Clearinghouse at (800) 578-3472.

Illegal Activities, Security, and Habitability of Rental Properties. Landlords and tenants can work with local apartment owner and manager associations, tenant/landlord counselors, and city code compliance inspectors to obtain educational

115

materials, advocacy intervention, and code enforcement.

Litter and Trash. *I Love a Clean San Diego,* a non-profit environmental organization, operates under contract with the city's Environmental Services Department. One of its duties is to help community groups plan, organize, and clean up neighborhoods and public properties.

Graffiti. Graffiti should be removed immediately. When allowed to remain, it is both a public nuisance and a magnet for more graffiti and other crimes. Information about dealing with graffiti can be obtained by calling the police or the local graffiti control organization. Another resource is the National Coalition for Graffiti Removal, which provides information and advocacy for graffiti removal and will refer you to organizations in your area. The telephone number for this organization is (800) 346-1633.

In addition, property owners, retailers, and other community members or groups should act to insure the prompt removal of graffiti on their own private properties, support enforcement of state and local ordinances that restrict the sale of aerosol paints to minors, and organize community graffiti removal paint-outs on an individual or ongoing basis.

Neighborhood Conflicts. Conflicts involving land use, noise, pets, harassment, personalities, etc., can disrupt the peace in a community. One way to deal with these conflicts before they get out of hand is through mediation, wherein the disputing parties meet with trained, impartial mediators to resolve their problems. Persons interested in mediation should contact their local mediation organizations.

General Crime. Most communities have various non-governmental crime prevention programs and organizations in most communities that work with the police to improve public safety and security. Interested individuals should seek out these groups and participate in their activities.

10. Working with the Police to Address and Solve Other Problems

Individuals, neighbors, community groups, and businesses can work together with the police in many ways to deal with other problems. The following are some examples of problem-solving partnerships:

- Neighbors' detailed reports of suspicious activities in a neighborhood over a period of three months led to the eviction of a problem tenant.

- Neighbors' detailed reports of minor offenses over time led to a permanent restraining order to keep a problem transient out of the neighborhood.

- A property owner corrected code violations, implemented crime prevention measures, and attended a landlord training course to stop drug and other illegal activities on his property.

- Community groups worked with police to develop and implement a plan to deal with homeless people who were causing numerous health and safety problems.

- A local business allowed police to review security procedures and implement suggestions to reduce robberies.

- Property owners on a city block with a long history of crime and disorder provided information on illegal activities, signed letters authorizing arrests for trespassing, evicted tenants engaged in illegal activities, removed unused structures, sold property they couldn't or wouldn't maintain, and cleaned up the block.

- Merchants and financial institutions asked customers to place an inkless thumb print on checks, credit-card slips, and other negotiable

instruments to deter financial fraud and identity theft.

- Area merchants obtained restraining orders to keep prostitutes from loitering and soliciting within 100 yards of their businesses.

11. Volunteering Services to Police and Other Community Groups

Many opportunities exist for volunteer work with the police and other community groups that work with the police to fight crime and improve the quality of life. The SDPD sponsors Cadet, Reserve Officer, Intern, Emergency Management, and Volunteers In Policing (VIP) programs in which interested community members can participate. Within the VIP program, there is the Retired Senior Volunteer Patrol (RSVP), the Crisis Intervention Team, and the Volunteer Interpreters Program. Additional volunteer opportunities exist in Neighborhood Watch and Citizens' Patrols, as well as in various youth programs and other programs that deal with specific problems. Community groups can volunteer their services as well.

12. Commenting on SDPD Personnel Performance in Neighborhood Policing

Community members can provide a useful service by providing comments, favorable as well as unfavorable, on the performance of police personnel in their practice of Neighborhood Policing. These comments should be directed to the division captain at the local area station. These observations will help supervisors assess the strengths and weaknesses of their team members, and determine future training needs. Comments about outstanding performance are considered in evaluations and promotions, and thus are greatly appreciated by police personnel.

Neighborhood Policing in San Diego

For more information about the SDPD'S Neighborhood Policing efforts, contact: Lieutenant, Neighborhood Policing Section, San Diego Police Department, 1401 Broadway, Mail Stop 711, San Diego, CA 92101-5729; or Civilian Consultant of Neighborhood Policing, (619) 531-2213.

A complete copy of the Guide can be found on the department's Web site, www.sannet.gov/police/

179939

Operationalizing Community Policing in Rural America: Sense and Nonsense

By Gary W. Cordner, Dean and Kathryn E. Scarborough, Associate Professor
College of Law Enforcement, Eastern Kentucky University

Introduction

The application of community policing to rural areas and small towns presents some interesting ironies and contradictions. For example:

- Community policing was developed in the 1980s primarily as a big-city strategy for reducing fear of crime and improving police- community relations (Kelling, 1988). As such, it might seem unsuitable for smaller and more rural jurisdictions. . . .

- To some observers, however, community policing is largely an effort by urban police agencies to decentralize and create "villages within the city" in order to capture the advantages that naturally accrue to smaller-scale departments. In this sense, urban police seem to see community policing as a way to become more like small-town police.

- Also, many small-town and rural police steadfastly insist that community policing is what they have always done. They often point out that they actually know most of the people whom they police, and that they handle many matters informally by using their discretion.

- Ironically, however, while urban police seek to emulate their country cousins, and while rural police often come by community policing naturally, many rural and small-town police officers yearn to do "real police work." By this they mean more action, more arrests, and even a more formal and aloof stance toward the public. It seems as if Joe Friday of Dragnet and Andy Taylor of Mayberry RFD each think the other has it better.

In this chapter we hope to clarify such contradictions. The next section identifies three key varieties of small-town/rural policing and four important dimensions of community policing.

The rest of the chapter discusses how these dimensions of community policing apply to different types of small-town and rural jurisdictions. Throughout the chapter we seek to distinguish between common-sense applications of community policing and illogical distortions.

Key Issues

There is a lot of variety to rural America—vast farming areas in the Midwest, huge ranches in the Southwest, the Rocky Mountains, the Appalachian mountain region, the Mississippi delta, small towns of many different shapes, and so forth. Some rural areas are fairly close to cities, whereas others are very remote. Some are relatively affluent, others quite poor. It is important to keep this rural variation in mind whenever considering policing issues (see also Weisheit, Wells, and Falcone, 1995).

It is helpful to think in terms of three basic structural varieties of rural policing:

- **Small-Town Police.** These are small municipal police departments, normally headed by appointed chiefs. One should recognize, however, that not all small police departments are rural—many are located within metropolitan areas.

- **Rural Sheriffs.** These are county-wide agencies, normally headed by elected sheriffs. Some sheriffs' departments cover jurisdictions that include both rural and non-rural areas, some are totally rural, and a few have primarily urban jurisdictions. It should be noted that many sheriffs' departments, including some with largely rural areas, are fairly large organizations, due to their county-wide responsibilities.

- **Rural State Police.** These are state-wide agencies, usually headed by appointed commissioners. Some state police agencies operate exclusively as highway patrols, while others have generalist police duties. In either case, state police agencies are all large organizations and they typically deploy most of their officers to rural regions, because there is less demand for their services in metropolitan and urban areas.

When thinking about rural policing in America, including rural community policing, it is essential to include small-town police, rural sheriffs, and rural state police in the picture. Nationally, each plays an important role. To complicate things, though, these roles vary from one state to the next (Reaves, 1993). Sheriffs' departments dominate rural policing in some states and are nearly irrelevant in others. Much the same can be said for state police. Also, some states have many small-town police departments (per capita) whereas in other states the police system is more consolidated and comprised of fewer, larger departments.

To organize our thinking about how community policing might apply to these different rural policing scenarios, it will help to consider four dimensions of community policing (Cordner, 1997):

- **The Philosophical Dimension.** This includes ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and values that underlie community policing, such as community input, broad function of police work, and personal service.

- **The Strategic Dimension.** This includes the key operational concepts that translate community policing philosophy into policies, priorities, and reallocation of resources, such as re-oriented operations, geographic focus, and prevention emphasis.

- **The Tactical Dimension.** This includes the concrete programs, tactics, and behaviors that officers implement when they actually perform community policing, such as positive interaction, partnerships, and problem solving.

- **The Organizational Dimension.** This includes changes in police organizational structure, management, and information systems that may need to be made in order to support and facilitate the implementation of community policing.

In the following section we discuss the practical application of each of these dimensions of community policing within the different contexts of rural policing.

Discussion

Small-Town Police

A component of the philosophical dimension that especially affects small-town policing is the broad function of police work. Small-town police inevitably perform a variety of tasks, many unrelated to modern stereotypical views of policing. Small-town policing is not often dominated by law enforcement activities, which constitute the "real police work" mentioned earlier. Instead, small-town policing may naturally be more service-oriented, with fewer law enforcement and order maintenance activities. Interestingly, however, in an effort to emphasize more legalistic activities, small-town police may seek to narrow their focus to "real police work," even though these opportunities

119

are relatively minimal. This sometimes results in rather oppressive levels of enforcement of minor traffic and minor public order offenses.

Citizen input can be both more and less accessible, depending upon the town organization. Because officers will likely get to know citizens in their respective communities, it might be expected that citizen input would be more readily available. At the level of the individual officer, this may be the case, but at the organizational level, where citizen input to larger departments is often solicited via mail surveys, meetings, or telephone calls, citizen input in small-town policing may be more limited. The availability of fewer organizational resources can interfere with the use of such techniques, as can the small town's receptivity to such formal devices; sometimes, the chief's or town fathers' real desire for widespread citizen input on policies, priorities, or other issues is also debatable.

One specific challenge for small-town police, in regard to the strategic dimension of community policing, relates to re-oriented operations. Because small towns are small, patrol officers can actually hope to cover their beats (often the entire town) thoroughly, several times a shift. Because they can create a substantial level of visibility (an objective that many big-city, county-level, and state police recognize as unattainable), they may be reluctant to divert patrol time to other types of activities. Also, because the call-for-service workload is not that heavy in many small towns, there is less of a sense of urgency about the need to find different ways of conducting police operations. Thus, the acceptability of such modern alternatives as telephone reporting, directed patrol, foot patrol, or case screening in a small town is more problematic, and depends more on proven necessity than just on the fact that "everybody else is doing it." This higher burden of proof may make it tough for small-town chiefs to justify and sell such innovations to their officers and to the community. On the plus

side, though, it also puts a brake on the common tendency to just adopt the latest police fad, without regard to its suitability to local needs and conditions.

The tactical element of partnerships may need to take different forms in small towns as opposed to urban areas. Such devices as citizen patrols, "take back the streets" campaigns, major clean-ups, and even neighborhood watch may not make sense in many small towns as techniques for getting citizens more involved in protecting their communities. What may make more sense are police—community partnerships to provide activities for youth ("there's nothing to do around here"), partnerships to serve senior citizens, citizen volunteers who perform clerical duties for the police department, and similar programs. The key is to design partnerships and forms of citizen involvement that address real small-town issues without seeming either phony or overly formal.

Small-town problem solving may have several distinctive features. For one, problem identification (scanning) should occur effortlessly and efficiently—it would be quite surprising to have an unrecognized hot spot in a small town. It might also be the case, however, that record-keeping is less systematic and thorough in many small towns, so that scanning and analysis depend more on personal observation and human memory, each of which is notoriously faulty. Also related to analysis, the unfortunate tendency of officers to assume that they already know everything about a problem, including what causes it, may be even greater in small towns, because they know the people involved and much of the history and context of the problem. This kind of intimate knowledge generally helps in problem solving, of course, but can interfere if it precludes objective analysis. Yet another impediment to small-town problem solving can arise at the response stage—generally, officers probably have access to fewer

types of referral services and collaboration opportunities in small towns. Officers may have to be more creative and resourceful themselves, because there are fewer other service providers than would be found in a metropolitan area to help out with problem solving.

In small-town police organizations, decentralization may not be a necessary prerequisite to community policing because existing structures are not as centralized or hierarchical as those more commonly seen in larger municipal departments. This is affected by the small number of officers in the organization, which often results in an already flattened structure with one person " in charge" and everybody else at the second level. With only one person or a limited number of people in supervisory positions, however, management styles may warrant change as discussed in Chapter 6. Instead of the more traditional authoritative, disciplinary model of management, a style that emphasizes employee empowerment, rewards, and input would be more amenable to the community policing philosophy in a small-town police agency. This would also seem warranted because actual supervision is slight in most small-town departments, and because low-ranking police officers are often the highest-ranking officials on duty.

Because applicant pools for small-town police organizations tend to be smaller and more homogeneous than in other types of police organizations, personnel diversity can be especially troublesome. Not only do organizations have limited female and minority applicants, these employees are often difficult to retain. Characteristically, women and minorities have found it difficult to compete and remain in large municipal agencies. Some research suggests that there may be additional unique stressors for them in smaller, more rural departments (Bartol, Bergen, Volckens, and Knoras, 1992), making recruitment and retention even more difficult. Hence, the goal of a diverse police organization may be especially difficult to achieve in smaller towns.

Rural Sheriffs

Because sheriffs are elected officials and their employees often serve at the pleasure of the sheriff (without any civil service protection), beliefs and attitudes of the officers (or deputies) may be more directly affected by their boss' stated interests than in other types of police organizations. This can have a significant effect on the entire organizational culture, both positively and negatively. It probably means that a sheriff who is firmly committed to community policing has some advantages, compared to an appointed chief, in convincing his or her employees to adopt similar beliefs and implement community policing.

The broad function of community policing may be more readily seen in sheriffs' departments because of the tendency to operate with a less legalistic approach, due to political effects on the organization. In other words, there may be a focus on more service-related activities or those that are seen as less politically damaging than, perhaps, writing speeding tickets, to please the sheriff's constituents. Additionally, citizen input may be at least minimally solicited, because a sheriff who loses touch with the voters is likely to end up unemployed.

The strategic element of geographic focus has a natural appeal for sheriffs' departments, in order to give each county resident "their own deputy" and also to improve each deputy's local knowledge, which is crucial for efficient service of criminal and civil papers (warrants, subpoenas, etc.). Re-oriented operations may provide a challenge, however. Because the sheriff is an elected official, sheriffs' departments tend to emphasize personal service to their clientele (voters). If workload increases to the point that difficult choices have to be made about cutting patrol coverage or slowing response times to non-emergency calls, the risk of alienating voters

sometimes directly interferes with modern police strategy. Some sheriffs may end up continuing what they know to be largely ineffective strategies, because they fear rejection at the ballot box.

Partnerships and collaboration in the rural county setting may have some features distinctive from either small towns or big cities. Key players are likely to be such groups as farm and electric co-ops, farm bureaus, 4-H and FFA clubs, and agricultural extension services. The mere fact of distance plays a role—distance between people's homes, distance to town, distance to the offices of service providers, etc. Also, while a long-standing sense of community may aid the development of partnerships in rural counties, the parallel senses of rugged individualism and privacy that characterize many rural areas may impede collective action. Finally, the fact that the sheriff is an elected official from one political party may reduce the enthusiasm of members of other parties for joining in partnerships with deputies.

Because sheriffs' departments, even rural ones, vary widely in size, the applicability of decentralizing or flattening as an organizational approach to community policing is situational. Attempts at flattening or decentralizing may be made easier due to the unrestricted authority of the sheriff over the organization, but they may also be more difficult because of the political nature of the organization and the effects of restructuring on the job security of the sheriff's political supporters. Personnel diversity in sheriffs' departments is generally greater than in small-town departments or state police organizations, but nevertheless it is often lacking with regard to both women and minorities. The problem of attracting and retaining women and minorities persists throughout the law enforcement community and sheriffs' departments are no exception.

Rural State Police

The population of state police organizations is less consistent with regard to "community policing" authority than are small-town police agencies and sheriffs' departments—some state police agencies have limited authority only on interstate and state highways, while others have complete authority throughout the state. Highway patrols, particularly, could have a problem adopting the broad view of the police function associated with community policing. For them, a more narrow function with regard to police work is by law rather than simply by departmental philosophy (although even they could take a broad approach to their highway safety mandate). Full-service state police agencies are not as narrowly constrained by law, but their image also tends to emphasize law enforcement and traffic enforcement to the exclusion of other types of duties.

State police agencies do not seem to actively solicit citizen input regarding the performance of their duties, especially at the organizational level. Perhaps at the individual trooper level, there is more probability that citizen input may be sought or accepted, but by and large the state police as an organization seem to function rather autonomously without input from anyone but their political superiors in state government. Such input is perhaps not terribly necessary as long as the agency's mission is simply to enforce traffic and criminal laws throughout the state, but if the state police function is broader, including problem solving, making communities safer, and so forth, then local input becomes crucial.

Geographic focus and accountability would seem to be concepts that should be important for state police organizations, in order to accomplish the daunting task of providing services and controlling employees over entire states. State police

typically employ posts, detachments, or other geographic subunits, and some officially deploy so-called "resident troopers." Accountability is often complicated, however, where state police share jurisdiction over geographic areas with other agencies, especially sheriffs' departments. Further, many state police agencies have fallen prey to two tendencies over the past decade or two that interfere with geographic focus: (1) creeping specialization, which leaves fewer troopers for generalist police duties; and (2) an ever-increasing emphasis on highway safety, which tends to direct attention away from communities and toward interstate and state highways. Consequently, the once-typical mode of state policing, in which a trooper served as the primary police service provider in a county or portion of a county, was well-known, and possibly even lived in the community, seems far less common today.

The state police are agencies that ought to embrace prevention, given our experiences in the traffic safety arena, in which engineering and education have long been recognized as being at least as effective as enforcement in reducing accidents and fatalities. By their nature, however, many state police seem to take a particularly legalistic, enforcement-oriented approach to dealing with all types of problems, including crime, disorder, and traffic. Looked at another way, state police agencies may be the most proactive of all types of police organizations, due to their traffic control responsibilities, but their proactivity seems to be focused almost entirely on enforcement, rather than on any other approaches to prevention or problem solving.

The tactical element of positive interaction may be one that many state police have overlooked or forgotten as an easy method for implementing community policing. Inevitably, much of the official interaction that troopers have with the public occurs in the traffic enforcement context,

and while such interactions need not always be negative, they are rarely completely positive, from the perspective of the citizen. To balance these types of interactions, rural troopers might want to regularly stop by country stores, farm co-ops, gas stations, and similar establishments for a friendly visit and to pick up the latest local news. Also, a few conversations across a country fence can go a long way toward showing one's interest and concern and laying the groundwork for later problem solving or cooperation with investigations.

Because state police organizations are usually larger than small-town police or sheriffs' departments, decentralization and flattening of the hierarchy may be more appropriate and more important as facilitators of community policing. Flattening of the structure may be appropriate at the post level too, because these tend to be mini-organizations in and of themselves.

Most current management and leadership styles in state police organizations do not support community policing. Styles that advocate less autocratic control and increased employee empowerment would be more effective, but are quite unlike those found in most state police organizations. An emphasis on a less legalistic, more service-based approach would also embrace community policing more than the approach currently used by most state police organizations.

Diversity in state police organizations is extremely limited. Of the three types of rural policing organizations discussed, the state police have the most homogeneous organization, consisting mostly of white males. Special efforts must be made to diversify state police organizations, which epitomize law enforcement as a closed occupation reserved only for those who fit the traditional image of those who do "real police work". . . .

Conclusion

Community policing is every bit as applicable to small towns and rural areas as it is to big cities and suburbs, but how it can be implemented, which techniques make sense, and what aspects of community policing are most problematic vary, both between rural and urban areas and also across different types of rural situations. . . . Small-town police frequently seem to be pursuing professional-ization, as a means of being taken seriously, sometimes at the expense of the community-oriented characteristics that come more naturally in small towns.

Rural sheriffs' departments may be large or small organizations, so the importance of restructuring and revised management styles depends on each agency's particular circumstances. One thing that almost all such organizations have in common, though, is that they are headed by an elected sheriff. This seems to have several implications for community policing—sheriffs tend to favor service orientation and to encourage citizen (voter) input, for example, and they may be able to demand more loyalty and commitment to implementing community policing from their deputies, many of whom are political appointees lacking civil service protection or much other job security. On the other hand, the requirement for periodic re-election may rob some sheriffs of the opportunity to develop and implement long-term organizational change—even those who win re-election may have to invest much of their attention and energy toward their political well-being. Also, many of their employees may give only partial commitment to the sheriff's organizational strategy, hedging their bets in case the next election brings a new sheriff.
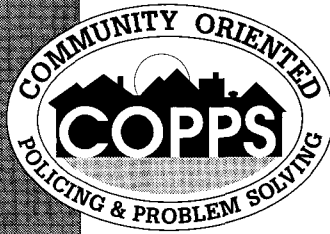
State police agencies are all large organizations—implementing community policing in them involves both large-scale organizational change and also an attack on traditional state police values and cultures, which seem to support more aloof and legalistic styles of policing. Thus, community policing for state police may represent the biggest challenge among the various rural scenarios. It also represents a huge opportunity, because the state police provide such a significant portion of rural policing. The reminiscences of older troopers suggest that state policing was once more community-based, at least in some states, and there are numerous efforts under way around the country now to implement community policing within state police agencies. One might argue that if the state police can do community policing, any agency can.

124

References

Bartol, C., G. Bergen, J. Volckens, and K. Knoras (1992). "Women in Small-Town Policing: Job Performance and Stress," *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 19:240-259.

Cordner, G. (1997). "Community Policing: Elements and Effects." In G. Alpert and R. Dunham (ed.), *Critical Issues in Policing: Contemporary Readings.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Kelling, G. (1988). "Police and Communities: The Quiet Revolution." *Perspectives on Policing* No. 1. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Kelling, G. and M. Moore (1988). "The Evolving Strategy of Policing." *Perspectives on Policing* No. 4. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Reaves, B. (1993). "Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 1992." *Bulletin.* Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Weisheit, R., L. Wells and D. Falcone (1995). *Crime and Policing in Rural and Small-Town America: An Overview of the Issues.* Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Section V

COPPS
COMMUNITY ORIENTED
POLICING & PROBLEM SOLVING

Building Bonds in Culturally Diverse Communities

17994o

Lengthening the Stride: Recognizing Diversity As An Asset

National Crime Prevention Council

Highlights

- *Effective community safekeeping and problem solving occur when law enforcement officers understand and respond to specific community concerns.*

- *In the case of ethnic minority communities, such understanding and response can be precluded by problems with lack of trust, communication difficulties, and cultural differences.*

- *When a law enforcement agency hires officers from an ethnic group representative of newcomers to that community, it can more easily avoid misunderstandings and dispel fear of crime in the community. It can also increase departmental expertise, range of personnel resources, and community cooperation.*

- *Recruiting and hiring from the newcomer community present a law enforcement agency with two key challenges: establishing mutual trust with the newcomer community and shepherding newcomers through the demanding recruiting, hiring, and training regimen.*

Introduction

The Changing Cultural Picture

The demographics of many communities in the United States are changing rapidly and dramatically. Legislative modifications have opened the U.S. to growing numbers of people from countries around the world. Some are immigrants, settling in a new country to seek better economic opportunities. Others are refugees, escaping fear and persecution in their native lands such as Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Haiti, Romania, the former Soviet Union, and Ethiopia. Both groups of newcomers face formidable obstacles as they resettle in a nation that depends on English for social and economic success; is based on a system of laws that is complex and may be difficult to understand; and is rich with cultural customs, traditions, and nuances that may seem bewildering.

Simultaneous with these changes in community demographics, many law enforcement agencies are burdened with high rates of serious crime, often within Southeast Asian and other ethnic minority enclaves in their communities, and stagnant or shrinking resources. They are frustrated with efforts to gain access to these newcomers who speak and act "differently."

As was true with newcomers in earlier periods of immigration, many recent immigrants and refugees have tended to remain in physical and cultural isolation, leaving them vulnerable to crime and victimization both from members of their own ethnic group and the indigenous community. When they have had occasion to interact with the police, the results have often been alienating and laced with misunderstanding. Despite the best efforts of individual law enforcement officers and community residents, relations between the cultures are sometimes more strained after there has been a police/newcomer encounter.

In an attempt to address the needs of newcomer communities more effectively, some agencies have hired translators and community service officers (CSOs) with the goal of strengthening trust between police and residents of these communities. These efforts have been successful within the limits of the CSOs authority. Other agencies have recognized the need to take an additional step: they have made efforts to recruit and hire representatives of non-native communities for their sworn force.

This process, however, has not always proved to be smooth. Law enforcement agencies have been challenged—and in some cases stymied—by two key barriers: establishing mutual trust with the newcomer community and shepherding newcomers through the demanding recruiting, hiring, and training regimen.

These 1990 Bureau of Justice Statistics (U.S. Department of Justice) figures paint a striking picture:

Local police: (approximately 363,000 full-time sworn officers)

- 83%—white males (non-Latino)
- 10.5%—African-American males
- 5.2%—Latino males
- 1.3%—all other ethnic groups, males
- 8.1%—women

Sheriffs' departments: (approximately 141,000 full-time sworn officers)

- 84.5%—white males (non-Latino)
- 9.8%—African-American males
- 4.7%—Latino males
- 1%—all other ethnic groups, male
- 15.4%—women

Minority Hiring

Law enforcement agencies have set precedents in minority hiring by recruiting and employing women, African Americans, and Latino Americans. Agencies that have built a more heterogeneous sworn force, whether due to legal mandates or not, have already experienced the necessary changes in policy and practice required to include employees representing a mix of cultural backgrounds. In many cases, rigid hiring requirements have been made more flexible to accommodate female and non-white male recruits.

Hiring Newcomers: The Benefits Are Real

Effective community safekeeping and problem solving occur when law enforcement officers understand and respond to specific community concerns. In the case of ethnic minority commu-

nities, such understanding and response can be precluded by problems with lack of trust, written and oral communication, and cultural differences. When a law enforcement agency hires from a newcomer group to its sworn force, it can more easily avoid misunderstandings and dispel fear of crime in the community. It can also increase departmental expertise, range of personnel resources, and community cooperation.

Newcomer Hiring and Community Policing

For many decades, policing has been "by the book," referring literally to volumes of detailed instruction manuals prescribing specific responses to every incident. Community policing, also called community-oriented policing and neighborhood-oriented policing, is rapidly improving the effectiveness of policing as well as community-police relations in many cities and towns, allowing procedures that were previously inflexible to be modified in favor of accumulated experience.[1] This community and neighborhood problem-solving approach to policing complements efforts to hire as sworn officers those members of non-native populations who can deliver effective services to their ethnic minority communities and to the community as a whole.

Community policing is based on a cooperative partnership with community residents to prevent crime, resolve problems that contribute to crime, and when needed, respond to criminal incidents. Ethnic and other minority hiring helps law enforcement agencies break down barriers that might hinder an effective cooperative relationship.

Economic Benefits of Newcomer Hiring

Some law enforcement agencies have realized significant cost savings by hiring non-native officers to help align services with the identified needs of the community. For example, sworn,

non-native officers can help alleviate a victim's reluctance, possibly caused by cultural tension or confusion, to testify; can expedite case processing by helping lower communication barriers; or can informally instruct newcomers in police or legal procedures while on patrol. Each of these decreases the cost to process a case by reducing the hours spent clearing up confusion.

After moving to the U.S., many members of ethnic minority groups have difficulty understanding the specific functions and procedures of local law enforcement agencies and therefore use police services inappropriately. For example, the use of an emergency 9-1-1 system for non-emergencies is costly and reduces the time that a patrol officer can attend to primary peacekeeping or crime response duties. Reduction of 9-1-1 calls maximizes the use of residents' tax dollars. Officers familiar with the language and individual leaders can teach community residents about proper procedures for reporting emergencies and alternative ways to obtain non-emergency police services.

Ethnic Minority Hiring Can Increase Safety

The safety of officers patrolling ethnic minority neighborhoods can increase when they are accompanied by sworn officers of the same ethnic group. Not only are the native-born officers more accepted and considered to be more trustworthy when accompanied by ethnic minority officers, but misunderstandings leading to quick—and sometimes dangerously inappropriate—decisions can be prevented.

For example, it is not unusual for newly settled Vietnamese who have been pulled over for a traffic violation to leave their cars and bow in order to show respect. This custom could set the stage for unfortunate consequences. Police who work in Korean communities need to be aware that handing a ticket or summons to a Korean

with one hand instead of two can be interpreted as an insult or a sign of disrespect, setting the stage for possible conflict.[2]

In some cases, newcomer customs might be considered unlawful in the United States and, therefore, may be a source of misunderstanding and possibly tragic error. For example, in some Southeast Asian countries, village elders manage social behavior of youthful offenders through swift physical punishment. In the U.S., this behavior might be considered child abuse or a violation of individual rights. But Southeast Asians see their tradition as underscoring the direct connection of action and consequences, and they are bewildered by young U.S. offenders who are released by the criminal justice system without obvious punishment.[3]

Likewise, some Southeast Asians fail to perceive some acts as criminal, such as extortion, bribe-taking, vandalism, or child or spouse abuse, because these offenses were commonplace in their native countries.

Intangible Benefits

Some of the benefits of hiring sworn officers from ethnic minority communities are intangible but no less real or important, such as cross-cultural trust and education. In addition, individual police officers can benefit from the enriched multi-cultural understanding—as well as a clearer self-understanding—that comes from diversity training covering the following areas of examination:

* How cultural awareness improves police professionalism.

* How personal prejudice interferes with effective policing.

* How culturally-diverse members of the community perceive the police.

* How to improve interpersonal skills to reduce cultural tension and conflict.

Law enforcement agencies are not the sole beneficiaries of hiring non-native officers. Some ethnic minority communities have experienced a decrease in crime and a marked reduction in the fear of crime. Having representatives on the sworn force has also increased non-native community access to the criminal justice system and improved trust in law enforcement and other branches of the system. Most importantly, it has increased the feeling of community safety among newly arrived groups and thus for the community as a whole.

Building Trust: The First Step

Most department officials and minority group members agree that lack of trust is a formidable barrier that can take a long time to overcome. Many newcomers, especially those from Southeast Asia, have a deep distrust of the police and courts that address situations that were handled privately in their native countries.

In one survey, Vietnamese newcomers reported two primary reasons for their distrust of police: they felt that police were insensitive to refugees' and immigrants' cultural heritage, and they were confused and anxious about the criminal justice system, specifically the bail process. They were concerned that suspects, after being arrested, might be released and allowed to return to threaten victims and witnesses. They were also afraid to testify in court about a suspect. In their homeland, an encounter between suspect and witness was not required by law.

Three Levels of Trust

Law enforcement and other community members can develop trust with ethnic minority residents on three levels:

* Formally, through organizations, coalitions, councils, and task forces.

- On the working level, with patrol officers walking the beat through newcomer neighborhoods and getting to know residents.

- Informally (and often most effectively), when community residents and law enforcement become acquainted through social or civic events or join together to work for common goals, such as youth safety.

Trust: Starting in the Neighborhood

Experts have found that trust often develops from the bottom up, not the top down. Relationships are more easily developed at the individual level, not only face-to-face but shoulder-to-shoulder. Trust is a valued by-product when individuals, often with dissimilar backgrounds, collaborate on social and civic activities such as organized responses to local problems.

Helping multi-cultural communities resolve day-to-day problems reinforces trust. Sworn officers and civilian employees can offer special services to victims, mediate community conflicts, improve neighborhood conditions by problem solving with local merchants and residents, control traffic problems, assist with resident security concerns, establish or support Neighborhood Watch groups, educate the community about gang suppression and prevention, and provide emergency referrals to social services.

Mutual Assistance Associations—refugee self-help groups that understand the needs of their refugee countrymen—provide a variety of services and opportunities for building trust, such as serving as liaison between newcomer communities and law enforcement, assisting with language proficiency classes and interpreting services, and educating refugees about the American criminal justice system.

In sum, one of the most effective trust-building efforts is for police or sheriff's departments to recruit and hire sworn ethnic minority officers

who become role models of good citizenship and community service. Although this is an effective tool to address cultural issues, some law enforcement agencies have found that ethnic minority hiring can raise additional issues that require creative and focused attention.

Recruiting, Hiring and Retaining: Steps Towards Success

"We recruit women and minority candidates because it is right. And we recruit women and minorities because it makes us a better, more effective Sheriff's Department. And that, after all is said and done, should be the goal of any good organization."

> Sheriff Michael Hennessey
> San Francisco, CA
> Law Enforcement News
> 2 February 1989[4]

On average, police agencies screen 10 candidates for every one who is hired. The process is complicated, costly, and can be grueling. However, the quality of selected employees—particularly sworn officers—is directly responsible for the quality and effectiveness of the organization.

To reduce time and cost, some agencies have collaborated to establish eligibility pools by sharing some of the expenses for the initial phases of recruiting. A second approach is to use a registry managed by a private vendor that establishes a list of certified candidates.

Communities face different obstacles when recruiting and hiring non-native officers in part due to the nature of their employment process. The obstacles—and solutions—outlined here may apply directly to an individual community's experience, or they may have to be tailored to fit specific circumstances.

Recruiting and hiring must be a significant priority for the chief or sheriff and top levels of command. As in any decision to improve the effectiveness of a law enforcement agency, it is critical that the chief executive set the tone and all upper ranks subscribe to and support the ethnic diversity hiring efforts.

It must be emphasized that the rationale for ethnic minority hiring should not rest on current legal requirements of affirmative action; the key justification is that it results in more effective policing.

Ethnic Minority Recruiting Efforts

The primary goal of recruitment is to attract qualified individuals to serve as exemplary police officers. In the interest of improving the department's effectiveness and responsiveness to the community, departments are making special efforts to attract, hire, and promote qualified women and other individuals who represent the racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity of the service area.[5]

One possible source of sworn officers comes from within the department. Some newcomer community residents take jobs as non-sworn community service officers, a role that is usually defined by the needs of the community. CSO duties can include: serving as liaison between the community and the department; translation and interpreting services; teaching newcomers about the criminal justice system; working with youth, parents, and businesses concerning drug and crime prevention; providing victim services; and helping with non-police crises, such as medical emergencies.

In recruiting individuals from non-native communities, law enforcement should consider some or all of the following aggressive measures:

- Promote job career fairs; provide follow-up with all interested people.

- Establish trained ethnic or minority recruitment task-forces.

- Maintain liaison with referral sources—youth organizations, high schools, colleges, and immigrant or refugee service organizations.

- Provide recruitment counseling services at satellite police stations and/or storefronts.

- Advertise job announcements in newspapers, magazines, and on radio and TV stations that cater to ethnic minorities.

- Keep the time period between recruitment and selection at a minimum.

Some departments have developed special programs to recruit in high schools. This effort helps young people develop an interest in police work and fosters that interest before the students develop other occupational ambitions. Such efforts might include ride-along programs, classroom instruction, and internship programs.

Standard Steps in Selection

Once individuals have expressed interest in becoming sworn police officers, they must proceed through several standard steps:

- **Submit an application.**

- **Take a written test.** The written test is a primary gatekeeper for personnel selection. Studies have found that some minority candidates tend to score lower and are rejected at a higher rate because of the results of standard written tests.[6] These results may be explained by one or a combination of factors, including unfamiliarity with term and semantic nuances, use of examples that require a specific cultural framework or reference, or pressure from time limitations.

- **Get a physical and psychological exam.** Published articles report that some courts have found law enforcement psychological tests to be racially and culturally biased.[7] The use of a

"canned" psychological test and /or psychological interview to deny someone employment as a police officer may place the department at risk of litigation.

Variations in Agency Selection Process

Recruitment methods: Television, radio, newspaper, journals, mass mailings, posters, open days at the agency, recruiting stands at malls, and other public places.

Special targets: Women, handicapped, military veterans, university graduates, ethnic minorities, candidates with prior police service.

Required: Written psychological and polygraph tests; police interview; background check; written references; medical tests, including drugs, general fitness, blood pressure, vision, coordination, chest x-ray, cardiovascular fitness, upper body strength, color vision, body fat, hearing, agility, and endurance.

Polygraph probes: Honesty, aggression, criminality, unlawful sexual behavior.

Oral interview: Motivation, loyalty, common sense, application form information, drinking habits, violence, perceived strengths and weaknesses, verbal communication skills, ambition, discretion, honesty, interests, appearance.

Written exam: General knowledge, intelligence, grammar, vocabulary, comprehension, reasoning, logic, mathematics.

ACADEMY TRAINING

General: Length of training—16-26 weeks, full-time wages, tuition paid by agency, more than 65 percent passing rate.

Courses: Law, police procedure and response, interpersonal skills, weapons training, driver training, self-defense, first aid, physical training, drill.

Instruction methods: Lecture, demonstration, role-play, discussion, computer work, film/video, hands-on experience (weapons, driving, arrest techniques, hostage situations, crimes in progress).

(In a study conducted on variations in the selection process in 60 departments, each with more than 500 sworn officers, the items listed above were reported by a majority of participating agencies—Strawbridge and Strawbridge, 1990.)

POST ACADEMY TRAINING

General: In-service field training; new officer on probation first observes Field Training Officer (FTO) for several months; then FTO observes and evaluates new officer in his or her performance of police duties.

The usefulness of any selection instrument lies in how well it measures the person for the job and produces qualified candidates to meet the agency's goals. A test should correlate the applicant's skills more with critical aspects of job performance than with his or her familiarity with non-applicable details of mainstream culture.[8]

It is advisable for non-native police test candidates to undergo extensive preparation. The following strategies have proved helpful to many:

- Read law enforcement books from the library.

- Practice taking timed tests to help adjust to the pressure of time restrictions.

- Read books and articles (such as this one) that provide information about possible obstacles.

- Learn about United States history and culture.

Specific Problems Affecting Selection, Hiring, and Training

Although the tendency of the public to stereotype refugees and immigrants from non-Western cultures can lead to inaccuracies, misrepresentation, and ultimately discrimination, some law enforcement practitioners report specific challenges to hiring and training some ethnic minority individuals. Any or all of the following issues have presented stumbling blocks to those departments that have tried to recruit, hire, and train newcomers, particularly Southeast Asians:

Communication and Language: Language separates as well as binds. Patterns of language usage often express power relations.[9] The way someone speaks can be a source of intergroup conflict, tension, and distance. Command of a language is more than a technical skill; it is also a key to economic well-being. Success in the workplace often requires the employee to understand explicit instructions and communicate effectively to others. This need is especially acute in policing.

To law enforcement, accurate and timely communication is paramount. On-the-job "police language" is structured and linear, and officers are trained in fine-tuned listening and precision of terms. They need to make decisions quickly based on accurate information from victims and witnesses. Their communication often takes the form of directions and commands. To help bridge cultural communication gaps, some law enforcement agencies have conducted cultural sensitivity training to address possible points of communication-related conflict between police and newcomer cultures.

The development of written skills is equally important for a law enforcement candidate. The ability to take accurate notes and write clear and accurate reports is key to the job.

Concept of Authority: Problems with self-assertion and the concept of authority can affect an officer's effectiveness in resolving conflict, both within the department and among public disputants. Non-native officers in academy training classes and practical field experiences need a strong focus on reinforcing conflict management and problem-solving skills.

Law enforcement organizations are traditionally hierarchical and paramilitary. Police officers are trained to give commands to maintain order, and they expect people to follow their directions precisely and quickly. In cultural contrast, many Cambodians and Vietnamese mistrust outside authority, tending to place sole authority within the family. Similarly, in the Hmong/Lao culture, authority also rests with the males and elders in the family. Respected family members—not outsiders—solve problems. If one of their youth commits an offense, family shame can be a deterrent to turning to outside authorities, such as law enforcement, to solve problems.

Concept of Time: Law enforcement culture values punctuality and a precise sense of time as vital to successful job performance, particularly during emergencies and crises. The public often judges law enforcement delivery of service by response time, and for police, timeliness is defined in terms of seconds.

Other Barriers: Some community barriers to ethnic minority hiring can be addressed locally with positive changes in agency training, personnel policies, attitudes of command staff, communication skills, and recruitment techniques. More formidable barriers can exist, however, in two areas that may not be as amenable to local pressure for change—civil service selection processes and police labor groups.

Solutions That Are Working

Some agencies have found solutions to some of the obstacles to recruiting, hiring, and retaining newcomers that avoid compromising the integrity of the process:

- Allow extra time for sections of the written test that don't measure quick response and action.

- Enroll candidates in reading comprehension courses.

- Assist candidates with vocabulary and pronunciation, interviewing, written, and listening skills.

- Identify and address cultural differences that may interfere with law enforcement operating principles and performance.

- Encourage recruits to work closely with a mentor during training at the academy.

- Emphasize cultural training for veteran officers.

The California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) has developed a curriculum, entitled "Introduction to Law Enforcement for Southeast Asians," that targets post- academy officers, non-sworn reserves, and police cadets.[10]   The curriculum addresses many issues through awareness and consciousness-raising, bringing attention to seemingly straightforward problems that can have far-ranging repercussions because of cultural misunderstandings. The curriculum also offers tested solutions to some problems that facilitate the ethnic minority hiring and training process. Participants learn about the wide variety of obstacles they may face, both from within the department and from newcomer and U.S.-born community members.

In addition to providing basic knowledge about the functions and methods of law enforcement and the criminal justice system, the organizational structure of police and sheriffs' departments, a comparison of U.S. law enforcement to that of other countries, an explanation of the chain of command, and an outline of career development, the course also addresses:

- Assertive and authoritative behavior, the stresses of law enforcement work (irregular or long work hours, unusual days off, demands and consequences of job dedication, possible emotionally trying nature of the work—e.g., homicide, child abuse—high divorce rate among law enforcement officers), and stress management;

- Pressures of being an entry-level recruit, including academy and field training demands (cross-cultural understanding is absolutely imperative in field training situations);

- Driving skills;

- Community and family pressure (potential for initial resentment from other officers, stressful relationships with family members for their choice of occupation); and

- Communication skills.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Experience has demonstrated that the successful recruitment, employment, and retention of ethnic minority officers by police departments require a collective and concerted effort from a variety of community individuals and institutions.

Members of law enforcement who can beneficially or adversely affect hiring include the police chief or sheriff and other law enforcement executives; police academy and field training staff; and individual patrol officers who work with newly hired ethnic minority officers. Other municipal leaders who may influence agency hiring policies, such as mayors or city managers, can also encourage or sidetrack agency efforts to broaden ethnic representation. The rigidity of some hiring systems can impede an agency's efforts to reach the goal of improved service delivery through a more diverse workforce. Finally, labor groups that are organized to protect

the rights of all members can affect an agency's ability to hire and promote ethnic minorities.

Members of the newcomer community can also assist or hinder the opportunity for their representation in law enforcement. Newcomers who are considering a professional law enforcement career can feel negative pressure from parents and other family members, spouses, religious leaders, or elders with recognized traditional authority.

In addition, potential law enforcement recruits from newly settled groups can be seriously affected by self-doubt and pressure as they assess their own proficiency in language, comfort with U.S. law and customs, and competing opportunities in other professions. The potential failure can be a strong disincentive to the pursuit of a rigorous testing and training program—a disincentive that may be overcome only with the assistance of a mentor, counseling, or other guidance.

This document reflects the experiences and testimony of a wide variety of experts. Though some issues surrounding ethnic minority hiring may have been overlooked, it is clear that law enforcement agencies that are ready to recruit, hire, and retain officers from newcomer groups must take several steps:

- Begin the process of building trust with members of the newcomer community.

- Develop and implement a creative and aggressive recruitment program.

- Identify and resolve challenging issues in the selection process.

- Be sensitive to the feelings of all newcomer and U.S.-born agency employees.

- Review the academy, training, and new officer probation processes to ensure that they meet the agency goals to serve and protect all law-abiding community residents.

- Be aware that success in the protected environment of the academy does not necessarily mean success in the "real world" of field training and probation. Special assistance might be required to offset problems with cultural misunderstandings and anxiety. Communication and writing skills may need constant practice and reinforcement.

Ethnic minority families may pose barriers to developing law enforcement/community trust, but specific steps can be taken to address them. Agencies can educate the newcomer community about U.S. law enforcement and criminal justice systems:

- Officers and community members can lay a foundation of trust through daily contact and other formal and informal interaction.

- Leaders from newcomer groups can work closely with families and law enforcement to bridge cultural gaps and develop mutually beneficial relationships.

- Ethnic minority officers can encourage newcomer families to attend citizen police academies where the officers can answer specific questions and allay concerns.

The ethnic minority recruit must also take several steps toward a more successful experience in joining a local law enforcement agency:

- Concentrate training and practice in oral and written English proficiency.

- Observe and assume the demeanor and professionalism of veteran law enforcement officers, both newcomers and U.S.-born, who are successful at performing their jobs in the community.

- Learn about American cultural traditions and teach fellow officers about the native traditions of his/her culture.

- Persist in career goals despite pressures, disappointments, and frustrations, recognizing that success takes time.

By recruiting, hiring, and retaining ethnic minority sworn officers, the law enforcement agency better equips itself to deliver high-quality peacekeeping services to all members of the community. Hiring ethnic minority officers helps law enforcement lengthen its stride to meet the needs of the entire community.

Endnotes

1. *Understanding Community Policing, A Framework for Action* (Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., August 1994), p. 22.
2. Ima, K., *A Handbook for Professionals Working with Southeast Asian Delinquent and At-Risk Youth,* San Diego State University, SAY San Diego, Inc., 1992, 1993.
3. Shusta, R., D. Levine, P. Harris, and H Wong, *Multicultural Law Enforcement, Strategies for Peacekeeping in a Diverse Society* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1995), p. 105-106.
4. Geller, W.A., ed., *Local Government Police Management,* Municipal Management Series, Third Ed., International City Management Association, 1991, p. 272.
5. Geller, ed., p. 275.
6. Gaines, L.K., P. Costello, and A. Crabtree, "Police selection testing: balancing legal requirements and employer needs," *American Journal of Police,* VIII (1), 1989, p. 142.
7. Winters, C., "Psychology test, suits and minority applicants," *The Police Journal,* LXII (1), January-March 1989, p. 25.
8. Winters, p.22.
9. The curriculum Pilot Presentation Team in 1993 included: Don "D.K. Abbot (ret. San Diego Police Department); Suzanne Foucault (Executive Director, San Diego Regional Training Center); Thien Cao (Garden Grove Police Department); Gaylord Gee (California Highway Patrol and former president, Northern California Peace Officers Association); Bruce Hartman (Fresno Police Department); Robert Sayaphupha (Oakland Police Department); Chief Robert Shadley (Willows Police Department); and Dave Spisak (California Peace Officer Standards and Training).
10. *The Washington Post,* July 24, 1995, p. D1 and D6.

Summarized from *Lengthening the Stride: Employing Peace Officers From Newly Arrived Ethnic Groups,* National Crime Prevention Council. To receive copies of the complete book, contact the National Crime Prevention Council, 1700 K St., NW, 2nd floor, Washington, D.C. 20006-3817; (202) 466-6272.

Community Policing and the Challenge of Diversity

By Robert C. Trojanowicz, former Director
National Center for Community Policing, University of Michigan

Highlights

High-profile cases with a racial component demonstrate the benefits of community policing over the traditional approach in reducing racial tension:

- *A community officer in Jeffrey Dahmer's neighborhood could have given the police department a better chance at uncovering his crimes sooner, including his attack of a young Laotian boy.*

- *A community officer in the Harlem neighborhood where a group of young African-American boys talked about going "wilding" might have prevented the rape and near-fatal beating of a white, female jogger in Central Park.*

- *Undoing the "us against them" mentality through the community policing philosophy can reduce the incidents of police brutality, such as the beating of Rodney King, an African American, by white police officers, and the consequent civil unrest.*

- *Community policing offers the police new opportunities to become the catalyst for positive social change.*

Community Policing's Contribution

Community Policing contributes to improving the overall racial climate in both obvious and subtle ways. A comparison of traditional policing and Community Policing shows that Community Policing changes the fundamental nature of the relationship between people and their police to one of mutual respect and trust.

Traditional policing focuses on reducing crime by arresting the bad guys. Not only does this approach risk demonizing everyone who lives in high-crime neighborhoods, it requires relying on rapid response which makes it virtually impossible for the police to avoid being strangers to the community. This model also suffers from reducing the role of the law-abiding citizens in the community primarily to that of passive bystander.

Traditional policing must also, of course, deal with disorder. Yet, it is clearly a lower priority than so-called "serious" crime, as evidence by the fact that the fast track for promotions requires making high-visibility arrests. Bicycle thefts, domestic disputes, and low-level drug dealing, gambling, and prostitution are not the stuff of which top-flight careers are made.

Community Policing takes a different approach to crime, drugs, and disorder—one that can augment and enhance traditional tactics such as rapid response and undercover operations. One of the most obvious differences is that Community Policing involves average citizens directly in the police process. Traditional policing patronizes the community by setting up the police as the experts who have all the answers. In contrast, Community Policing empowers average citizens by enlisting them as partners with the police in efforts to make their communities better and safer places in which to live and work.

Research conducted on the Flint foot patrol experiment of the late 1970s, a precursor of today's Community Policing, showed a dramatic improvement in race relations between foot patrol officers and minorities. Yet the difference between Community Policing and well-meaning but limited efforts such as Police/Community Relations programs lies in their relative scope and intent. Police/Community Relations efforts primarily focused on formal meetings with community leaders, whereas Community Policing produces improved relations between people and their police as a welcome by-product of delivering high-quality, decentralized, and personalized police service to the community at the grass-roots level.

The Community Policing philosophy rests on the organizational strategy of developing line officers permanently in beat areas, where they can operate as generalists, as permanent, community-based problem-solvers. By providing these community officers the opportunity to interact with the same people on a face-to-face basis each day, this approach allows average citizens formal and informal input. People have the chance to help set local police priorities and to develop creative solutions to community problems.

The police often assume that people worry most about the serious Index crimes of murder, rape, and robbery, only to find that people in the community care more about a totally different list of concerns. It is not that people fail to grasp the horror of serious crime. Rather, it is that they recognize that their individual risk of falling victim to those crimes is relatively small compared to the problems of disorder and low-level crime—the noisy parties, open prostitution, and low-level drug dealing—that do pose an immediate and direct threat to them and their children.

Different, as well, is that Community Policing takes a proactive approach to crime and disorder, while traditional policing is reactive. Studies confirm that what people really want is crime prevention—to be spared from becoming a victim. Community Policing focuses on solving the problem, and arrest is obviously one of the most potent tools that community officers can use. Yet all too often with the traditional approach, making arrests drives the agenda, regardless of whether or not the problem on the street is solved.

Particularly with open drug dealing, the relative impotence of mass arrests to solve the problems quickly becomes apparent—the police swoop down and haul people away, but then in a few days, it's back to business as usual. A Community Policing approach instead relies on that community officer stationed in the area to develop a comprehensive short- and long-term strategy to reduce open dealing.

North Miami Beach Community Officer Don Reynolds approached each suspected dealer on his beat, offering the carrot or the stick: Keep dealing and I'll bust you, but if you want to find another job, I'll help. To live up to his promise, Reynolds compiled lists of jobs available, and he organized an annual Job Fair with seminars on how to find and hold a job.

There are no statistics that show how many people Community Policing diverts from the formal system, but it may be part of the answer in reducing the number of people that we lock up. The United States now incarcerates more of its citizens than any other nation on earth, yet we continue to suffer rates of serious crime far beyond what other industrialized Western nations endure. The U.S. murder rate alone is four times that of Canada, eight times the rate in West Germany, and 10 times the rate in Japan.[1]

This is not to suggest that the motivation for encouraging community officers to use tools other than arrest stems from any urge to "coddle" criminals. There are simply no other good answers other than incarceration for repeat violent felons and other hardened criminals. Yet, a study done in Virginia (a state with an offender-based tracking system) showed that even a third-time felony rapist on average serves roughly only seven years.[2]

We must begin to think of jail and prison space as a precious resource that we cannot squander. We cannot allow a flood of criminals coming into the system to impel the early release of those who have demonstrated that they will seriously harm us, given the chance. We must find community-based alternatives to incarceration for those who commit property crimes and lesser drug offenses (many of whom are minority). All too often, as well, time behind bars often seems to accomplish little more than turning the petty criminal into a more serious felon after release.

In Windsor, Ontario, Canada, for example, first-time juvenile offenders who are offered diversion are automatically turned over to the community officers in their neighborhoods. The officers supervise these youngsters in community-based efforts to improve the physical appearance of the neighborhood—trash removal, painting, planting flowers. According to the officers involved, everyone wins. The youngsters learn the special satisfaction that comes from a job well done and of doing something to benefit the community. The youngsters also learn that the police are human and that they care for them.

In return, because the police have the opportunity to interact with the youngsters, individually and as a group, the officers can see which kids need a helping hand and which to keep an eye on. The interaction also robs the youngsters of the anonymity that they may have relied upon to perpetrate their crimes. Indeed, in contrast, a renowned community officer in Lansing, Michigan, a two-hour drive east of Windsor, complains that it is currently impossible for the bureaucracy to warn him when convicted felons are returned to his neighborhood.

Community Policing can also contribute to avoiding bottlenecks elsewhere in the criminal justice system by allowing officers to be more creative in developing alternate solutions. Instead of a sweep or crackdown of open drug dealing that may do little more than clog the courts, a community officer might, for example, work with citizens on efforts to drive dealers indoors.

It can be argued, of course, that such solutions do not completely solve the problem, since the drug sales still occur. But what we must remember is that arrest doesn't solve the problem either, particularly since, all too often, low-level dealers are merely back on the street the next day, working even harder to make up for lost time.

Yet, driving dealing indoors has the obvious benefit of making it harder for casual and first-time drug users to find the supply that might contribute to making them a hard-core abuser. In addition, driving dealers indoors removes them from the street where they serve as odious role models for the young. Indeed, when the police appear to be unable to shut down open dealing, this contributes to contempt for the law, and the obvious lack of sanctions makes it easier for dealers to recruit the young into their business.

By extension, as well, Community Policing's judicious use of discretion may contribute to reducing the racial disparity in prison and jail populations, or, more likely, it will at least contribute to undoing the widespread perception in minority neighborhoods that the police are looking for any excuse to make an arrest.

The Next Generation

Community Policing also provides the police an opportunity to work directly with the young before their problems escalate to the point where arrest and incarceration are inevitable. As Bruce Benson, Director of Public Safety at Michigan State University, says, our society has no good answers for the hardened 30-year old career criminal. Yet, all too often, traditional police priorities prevent officers from spending much time on the "petty" crimes that youngsters commit.[3]

Why send the message to a 12-year-old who steals a bike that the police—and therefore society—simply don't care? Why wait until that youngster escalates to committing more serious offenses before we intervene? Why not, instead, invest in community officers who can mobilize the community to provide worthwhile alternatives for that youngster. Community officers themselves also provide positive role models for youngsters, many of whom come from single-parent families.

Community officers also have the time and the mandate to involve the community in efforts to improve the social and physical environment. Studies confirm that neighborhoods in decline act like a magnet for crime and drugs,[4] so Community Policing has the potential to make an immediate improvement in the overall quality of life by mobilizing efforts to reverse neighborhood decay. But perhaps even more important is the potential to make a positive impact on the young.

Imagine how difficult it must be to grow up straight in a neighborhood where you have to run a gauntlet of drug dealers, panhandlers, and prostitutes on the way home from school, to grow up surrounded by graffiti and trash, rather than flowers and trees. Consider the values our society transmits when the only people in the neighborhood who make enough money to buy nice clothes and fancy cars are drug dealers, pimps, and thieves.

Viewed in that light, the question becomes why there is any resistance to Community Policing reform. Part of the reluctance to make the shift to Community Policing stems from a basic resistance to change. Yet, resistance also stems from the fact that Community Policing is people-intensive, and high-touch is often more expensive than high-tech. But while a new computer may make police more efficient, when it comes to helping young people grow up to live within the law, nothing can beat the human touch.

Competence As Well As Compassion

The other major areas of resistance to Community Policing reform come from those who see the importance of the human touch, but who argue that this should be the job of social workers, not the police. Yet, can traditional police—who do not know the community—be expected to do a good job?

Consider, for example, the high-profile case of confessed serial killer, Jeffrey Dahmer, with its undercurrent of race and class. Controversy continues to swirl around the night when three Milwaukee police officers responded to a call that a naked and bleeding boy was attempting to escape Dahmer's clutches. Dahmer apparently persuaded the officers that the young Laotian boy, Konerak Sinthasomphone, was his adult homosexual lover with whom he had quarreled. As tapes of telephone conversations with concerned neighbors later confirmed, the officers put more credence in Dahmer's explanation, the explanation of the white middle-class male, than in the concerns by the lower-class minority females who called wanting to know if the Asian boy was all right.

A community officer in Dahmer's neighborhood would at least have given the police department a better chance at uncovering his crimes sooner. Allowing community officers the time to know the people on their beat, so that they can sort out who is trustworthy and who is not, can help to prevent bias from tainting decisions. Providing police officers the opportunity to know people as individuals helps reduce negative stereotyping.

The Dahmer case also highlights the importance of allowing the police to become enmeshed in the life of the community. A community officer at least stands a chance of connecting all the dots—talk about the smells coming from Dahmer's apartment, the gossip about the buzzing of an electric saw at night, his parole for a serious sexual offense, and the disappearance of the victim's brother.

The traditional system simply cannot compete with Community Policing in gathering and assessing the complete picture. For one thing, the gossip about the sounds and smells would typically be considered too trivial to justify a call to the police, or the several different officers responding would never piece together a total picture, but a community officer might well do so. The traditional system is also at a disadvantage because there is no way for motor patrol officers to gain all the information that would be helpful. Community officers cannot respond to all the calls in their beat areas either—but they hear about them later and can fit the information into the matrix of what they already know.

As this shows, Community Policing has as much to do with "competence" as with "compassion." Gathering information firsthand and learning about the dynamics of the community allow the police to do a better job overall.

Elements of Community Policing's proactive focus admittedly do blend aspects of social work with police work. But how can the police leave the job to the social workers when they, too, have been pulled out of the community, just as we removed the old-fashioned beat cops from the streets? The police remain the only social service agency open 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Indeed, the Dahmer case also showed that, in many cases, even probation and parole officers no longer make house calls.

Perhaps the optimal future is embodied in the Neighborhood Network Center concept, where community officers serve as the vanguard for a return to the community by other public service providers, such as social workers, probation and parole officers, public health nurses, and mental health professionals. Until that day, however, it is naive to suggest that the police can afford to leave the personalized aspects of the job to others. Not only have these other professionals disappeared from the community, but police officers need information beyond what motor patrol officers can hope to elicit on their calls.

High-profile Cases

If we look at other . . . high-profile cases with a racial component, we can see all the other ways in which community policing provides benefits

beyond the traditional approach. In the case of both the Central Park jogger and the Yusuf Hawkins murder in Bensonhurst, for example, it seems clear that a community officer would have had better odds of preventing such crimes than a traditional motor patrol officer.

It would seem that our society would want to invest in a community officer in that neighborhood in Harlem where those young boys talked about going "wilding." Imagine, as well, if there had been a community officer in Bensonhurst to hear the story on the street that some boys in the neighborhood were so angered that a local girl had invited black boys to her birthday party that they were gathering baseball bats and a gun for an attack.

Civil Unrest

In addition to "routine" violent crime, the police also deal with civil disorders in which race plays a role, and again, Community Policing provides fresh answers, especially considering the role that police actions often play in triggering riots. Even going back to the days of the Kerner Commission in the 1960s, research showed that a majority of "race riots" occur after some action by the police, even if the action in question might seem relatively benign.

A(n)...example occurred in the Crown Heights section of New York when a Hasidic Jew lost control of his car and accidentally injured two young black children, one of whom, Gavin Cato, later died. The rumor quickly spread that the police loaded the driver and his companions into the private Jewish ambulance that arrived on the scene, leaving the black children bleeding in the street. Apparently, the police did, indeed, urge the ambulance driver to spirit the driver and his friends away from the scene out of concern for their safety. The children were already loaded into another ambulance at the time, but the rumor fueled days of rioting by blacks, including

the murder of Yankel Rosenbaum by a member of a mob of young blacks who allegedly kept shouting "Kill the Jew."[5]

As this example suggests, riots often have less to do with the immediate police action than with long-standing frictions among minorities and between various groups and the police. In the so-called Super Bowl riot in Miami two years ago and the riot in the Mt. Pleasant district of Washington, D.C., this year, it was a police shooting that sparked the violence. Shootings are certainly not trivial incidents, but in both cases, it may well be that perceptions were again as important as facts.

In Miami, the smoldering resentments among minorities no doubt played a role. In Washington, it is interesting to note that the shooting occurred when police officers tried to stop Hispanic males from drinking in the park, a cultural practice common in their homeland. As an article in The New Republic noted as well, a community officer had previously had remarkable success in dealing with open drinking, but the officer had been pulled from duty in the area months before and was never replaced.[6]

Excessive Force

Community Policing is not a panacea, but it can also help reduce the risk of riots by reducing the likelihood that police abuse their power. Perhaps the incident that most starkly highlights the importance of doing more to promote mutual trust and respect between people and their police is the ugly beating of black motorist Rodney King by white police officers of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

The sad fact is that police brutality tarnished the reputation of the vast majority of brave and decent police officers nationwide who found that the King incident made their tough job even tougher. Yet, some good can come from that

tragedy if police departments heed the message of the Christopher Commission report on the problems within the LAPD that allowed such incidents to occur. As the report says, undoing the "us against them" mentality that fosters police brutality requires embracing Community Policing reform. Traditional policing encourages police to associate primarily with each other, while Community Policing encourages police officers to identify with the people they are sworn to serve.

My father was an old-fashioned beat cop in the tough, blue-collar town of Bay City, Michigan, and he once used what many onlookers felt was undue force in subduing an unruly bar patron. For days afterward, wherever he went, my Dad found himself being confronted by local residents who wanted to talk to him about their concerns.

Being in the same neighborhood every day also allowed my father the opportunity to dispel rumors and to offer both an explanation and an apology for his behavior. And because the people on his beat knew and trusted him, they accepted him at his word, knowing that they would also be able to tell if he crossed the line again.

It is this kind of immediate, direct, and informal accountability to the people in the community, the true consumers of police service, that Community Policing provides. The personal interaction between people and police that Community Policing inspires not only robs the predators of the anonymity that they rely on to cloak their crimes, but it also means that the police cannot rely on anonymity to cloak their actions if they misbehave.

We cannot tolerate the alternative, such as the incidents where police officers cover their badges with tape before wading in to roust the homeless, so that no one will know who they are if they use excessive force. Gays, as well, complain that some police all too often single them out for

anonymous abuse. If Community Policing is adopted as a department-wide commitment, as it should be, then officers should never be asked to—and able to—hide behind their badges.

The challenge is to ensure that Community Policing is not treated as an add-on or a special program. Community officers must never be perceived as the "good cops," as opposed to the "bad cops" in the rest of the department. Everyone in the department, civilian and sworn, must be encouraged to find ways to express the community policing philosophy in all interactions with people in the community.

There are, of course, no guarantees that Community Policing can prevent civil disorders; but by reducing opportunities for police brutality and encouraging better relations between people and their police, Community Policing can reduce the threat.

Obviously, Community Policing cannot solve all the underlying economic and social problems that poor neighborhoods face. Community officers also cannot close the income gap between whites and minorities, nor do they come to their beats bearing lists of high-paying jobs for unskilled workers. Community officers also cannot undo the effects of past childhood abuse and neglect. They cannot single-handedly eradicate the scourge of substance abuse, domestic violence, illiteracy, and poverty, though they may be able to do far more than their motor patrol counterparts. Yet, even the most dedicated community officers cannot play both mother and father for all the children whose parents simply do not care.
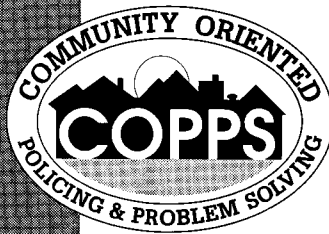
It is also true that Community Policing cannot by itself hope to end racism, ethnocentrism, elitism, and prejudice. But as the foregoing suggests, it is a good place to start, and it offers the police new opportunities to become the catalyst for positive social change.

Endnotes

1. *Newsweek.*
2. *Violent Crime in Virginia,* The Department of Criminal Justice Services, May 1989.
3. Dr. Bruce Benson, Director of Michigan State University's Department of Public Safety, interviewed November 21, 1988.
4. Skogan, Wesley, and Maxfield, Michael G., *Coping with Crime* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publication, 1981), p. 121.
5. Rider, Jonathan, Crown of Thorns: "The Roots of the Black-Jewish Feud," *The New Republic,* October 14, 1991.
6. *The New Republic.*

Section VI

Reaching Beyond
the Police

The Role of Higher Education

By Jim Leavitt, Ed. D. Director, Center for Professional Investigative Training
Pleasant Hill, California

Highlights

- Higher education plays an increasingly significant role in the ongoing development of the policing profession.

- The transition to community policing demands an even more intensive and integrated involvement of higher education in influencing organized policing.

Higher education has played a significant role in the professionalization of policing by educating and training police personnel in the role of crime control and criminal apprehension as well as basic sociology and psychology. Studies of policing, conducted by government commissions and institutions of higher education, have provided ongoing evaluation and feedback to the policing field. It is more than coincidental that the current wave of police leadership, actively instituting this community policing transition, attended college during the seventies when the previously discussed reports on the need for police reform were the focus of police education.

It is now important that higher education, especially in criminal justice and police administration, take an even more extensive role in promoting the philosophy, management, and organizational changes required for community policing and problem solving to become the standard for policing in America. Too many educational institutions have simply tacked on a special course in "community policing" as though it were the latest "trend" or program, rather than assessing and revising their entire criminal justice/administration of justice curriculum, to align it with the comprehensive demands of this major reform movement.

Integrated Community Policing and Problem Solving

Clearly, it is necessary to provide potential police professionals with a thorough understanding of the evolution of policing in America and the changes occurring in response to serious social changes and demands. Further, it is important to expand their view of the role of policing to include the "social service" aspects of problem solving, order-maintenance, prevention, and community mobilization. Higher education can be the catalyst that will promote a grounding in the basic values and ethics of community policing, as well as the analytical thinking skills for problem solving and decision-making. It also can provide the social awareness necessary for the effective development of community partnership and mobilization and the overall ability to be flexible, creative, and responsive to the issues at

hand. Much in line with the original idea that a liberal arts education would create "thinkers," developing an individual's ability to gather and apply information in new and creative ways and ultimately develop effective problem-solving strategies, a criminal justice education would similarly create social problem solvers who work to create a safer society through the profession of policing.

This does not mean that the other law enforcement skills currently taught should be abandoned. Criminal law, evidence, investigations, interrogation and interviewing, and gunnery are still critical elements of policing. But the emphasis and priorities must shift to bring the image and training of police professionals into alignment with the nature of the job as it is evolving. In the traditional model of policing, police administrators attempted to standardize police work with the emphasis on being a professional (i.e., demeanor, detachment, objectivity), on crime fighting, the enforcement of the criminal laws, and on apprehension of offenders. This traditional philosophy is exemplified in the former mission statement of Portland Police Bureau:

> The Bureau of Police is responsible for the preservation of the public peace, protection of the rights of persons and property, the prevention of crime, and the enforcement of all federal laws, Oregon State statutes, and city ordinances within the boundaries of the City of Portland.

To date, criminal justice education programs have continued to largely support this traditional model of policing by producing graduates who have been exposed to primarily orthodoxy vis-a-vis the educational materials, methodology, and philosophy. Rather than adding a "community policing" course to this traditional curriculum, the entire foundation needs to be reexamined with every course, including criminal law, evidence, procedures, investigations, and community relations. Each needs to fully integrate the community policing philosophy and problem-solving approach.

Critical to this shift in paradigm is the student's recognition of the important role of community in creating safe and secure environments and the role of the police officer in building, revitalizing, and strengthening communities. In addition to making this shift in philosophy, professional image, and purpose, additional skills, such as analytical thinking (problem solving—analysis, response, assessment), group facilitation, community empowerment, multicultural literacy/competency, creative risk taking, and accountability must also be taught. This new police paradigm can be demonstrated by the revised mission statement of the Portland Police Bureau:

> The mission of the Portland Police Bureau is to work with all citizens to preserve life, maintain human rights, protect property, and promote individual responsibility and community commitment. (Portland Police Bureau Community Policing Transition Plan, 1990.)

Leadership and Management

In addition, higher education has a critical role to play in developing the new leadership and management skills that policing organizations need to make this transition. Traditional police executive leadership is virtually indistinguishable from executive management. The chief and his immediate assistant basically handle all the same paperwork and participate equally in all decision-making and problem-solving activities. The new paradigm of policing calls for a distinct separation in the two functions of executive management and executive leadership and for a conscious development of leadership skills:

> A key dimension characterizing police executive leadership is that the leader is an activist, a doer, and one who inspires

a shared vision of the future and establishes expectations for the kind of behavior that is expected from all employees. The leader's behavior communicates integrity and credibility. The police chief executive, as a leader, lets agency personnel know that they are important and never forgets that the purpose of the agency is to protect and to serve the community.[1]

Moreover, even the management functions and styles must be examined and revised in light of the demands of the community policing paradigm. The paramilitary, hierarchal structure of traditional police organizations has resulted in what one scholar terms "soldier bureaucrats."[2] Current study is questioning whether this structure has in fact fostered attitudes of "blind obedience" in sensitive situations where independence and maturity are required. An increasing awareness of the effects of autocratic rule and binding organizational structures calls into question the appropriateness of this paramilitary structure. Changing this structure, however, will require new awareness and management/ supervisory skills at all levels of the police organization. Thus, higher education plays a role in the creation of police leaders who can bring about such organizational changes.

Community Leadership

Higher education also has a role to play as a member of the community, by assisting police agencies in the development of new research and evaluation skills that problem solving requires. Colleges and university personnel could partner in very essential and valuable ways with police agencies as they develop effective solutions to community issues such as domestic violence, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, and violence in general. Possessing the resources to supplement agency efforts, higher education representatives can supply much-needed research design and

data, as well as assisting in the evaluation and modification of designed responses.

Higher education institutions can provide leadership to the greater community through sponsorship of community forums that promote discussion and dialogue between the various disciplines that impact social order and the residents involved in a search for common-ground solutions. They can also promote multi-disciplinary cross over and communication within their own diverse academic departments (e.g., social work, public health, public administration, and police administration) and thereby model the collaboration and cooperation that must occur between our community agencies, organizations, and neighborhoods.

Conclusion

Increasing demands are being placed on public service, government, and community leaders not only to battle crime, but also to address the underlying social conditions such as poverty, racism, educational breakdown, family violence, and community deterioration. Higher education has a critical potential and a responsibility to participate in the resolution of these social problems—to create an optimal environment to accelerate and maximize the possibility for paradigm shifts within the criminal justice profession and within the communities that make up our nation.

Endnotes

1. Norman Stamper, "Removing Managerial Barriers to Effective Police Leadership," *Police Executive Research Forum,* Washington, D.C., 1996, p. ix.
2. Ibid, p. 40.

Adapted from an article written for the Crime and Violence Prevention Center. For further information, contact the Center for Professional Investigative Training, 2645 Pleasant Hill Road, Pleasant Hill, CA 94523.

Maryland Gives Prosecution a Community-Oriented Spin

By John Jay College of Criminal Justice
City University of New York

Highlights

- *An anti-crime offensive in Maryland, designed to cultivate closer relationships between prosecutors, police, and community residents to alleviate neighborhood crime, assigns prosecutors to Maryland's top crime "hot spots."*

- *Pioneered by prosecutors in Oregon, Indiana, and Massachusetts, and being adopted by an increasing number of jurisdictions nationwide, the Maryland initiative is believed to be the first comprehensive implementation of the concept.*

Community-based approaches to crime control are widely believed to have done the trick for policing, so why not for prosecutors?

Officials in Maryland are hoping for just that kind of outcome from part of an ambitious, wide-ranging plan that will target three dozen crime "hot spots," with an eye toward decreasing the state's overall crime rate by as much as 35 percent in three years.

The anti-crime offensive . . . will attempt to bring prosecutors closer to where the action is, establishing a number of community programs aimed at cultivating closer relationships with police and residents in a focused effort to alleviate neighborhood crime problems. As part of the plan, several states' attorneys' offices will assign prosecutors to handle cases generated in the 36 areas, or crime "hot spots," that officials say account for 11 percent of the state's violent crime.

While the concept, which was pioneered by prosecutors in Multnomah County, Oregon; Marion County, Indiana; and Suffolk County, Massachusetts, is being adopted by an increasing number of jurisdictions nationwide, the Maryland initiative is believed to be the first implementation of the program on such a large scale.

An outline of the overall plan obtained by *Law Enforcement News* (LEN) shows that prosecutors, using funding provided through state and federal grants, will be involved in a variety of activities to address specific crime and quality-of-life problems.

In the Center Eastport section of Annapolis, for example, a part-time assistant state's attorney will be assigned to "ensure that crimes are prosecuted so as to maximize the positive impact of the prosecution on public safety," according to the document. In the Garrett County town of Grantsville, an assistant state's attorney will work one day a week in the town, "concentrating on

problem solving and criminal cases, especially domestic violence."

Prosecutors will be assigned full-time to the village of Long Beach, in Howard County, and will be responsible for cases involving "the majority of defendants" from the area, and will work with victims and access services. The Somerset County town of South Crisfield will get a part-time prosecutor who will focus on quality-of-life issues and encourage "community involvement" in criminal prosecutions.

In Easton, a Talbot County state's attorney will be assigned on a part-time basis to work closely with community probation teams, another feature of the "Hot Spots" program. The teams will consist of trained, "dedicated adult, juvenile, and federal probation officers, police, and residents" who will supervise all cases in the community. The prosecutor will also act as a victim advocate during the prosecution of Hot Spot cases and will address quality-of-life issues. In Worcester County, a community prosecutor in Pocomoke City will address nuisance properties—locations that generate the largest numbers of police calls.

The inclusion of the community prosecution concept in the Hot Spots program is part of an emerging trend being seen nationwide. "It is quite widespread these days," noted Jeremy Travis, Director of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), which has begun a study on the effectiveness of community prosecution programs. "It's really catching on, capturing the imagination of many prosecutors."

"Prosecutors around the country are placing assistants out in neighborhoods, working with community groups, trying to solve problems and reduce crime," Travis told LEN. "The important difference is that they are reaching out explicitly to the community, not just for public relations, but for partnership, and trying to engage in a genuine problem-solving effort, rather than simply prosecuting police arrests."

Prosecution Takes a Cue from Community Policing

The concept is much like community policing in its attempt to launch a coordinated, neighborhood-based offensive against persistent crime problems, Travis said. Like the policing philosophy, community prosecution "involves a major entity of the criminal justice system asking very fundamental questions about its relationship to the community it serves and the value if its core mission," he noted.

The NIJ study of community prosecution programs is being conducted by George Kelling, co-developer of the "Broken Windows" crime-fighting theory that has been successfully adopted by scores of police departments, and Catherine Coles. The researchers are looking at the pioneering programs in place in Boston, Indianapolis, and Portland, Oregon, as well as a program in Travis County, Texas.

The American Prosecutors' Research Center, the research arm of the National District Attorneys' Association, also has been closely observing the trend, although Heike Gramckow, its director of management and program development, said it was difficult to gauge how widely the community prosecution concept is being applied.

"Like community policing, it's a matter of definition," said Gramckow. "If you apply a very tight definition, examining offices that have changed their operations, you could come up with 10 or 12. There are many others who are in the process of rethinking their approaches, trying to include the community a lot more in their efforts and working more closely with other organizations."

Many of the programs currently in existence assign cases to prosecutors geographically, as is being done in Maryland, while others, such as the Suffolk County, Massachusetts, District's Attorney's Office will focus resources on a

particular problem like juvenile crime or nuisance abatement, Gramckow told LEN.

As with any new program, it is difficult to evaluate how successful any of the approaches have been, Gramckow noted, although they make "a difference in terms of better communication with police, courts, and other players, not just in the criminal justice system, but also with other agencies that provide services."

Any new approach is likely to be the target of criticism and community prosecution is no different, Granckow said. In order for programs to be successful, all of the players—police, prosecutors, judges, and the community itself—must buy into it.

"There are prosecutors who will tell you they're not social workers, they're there to lock up people," said Gramckow. "Usually, this approach is easier to sell to elected officials because they see that there are not only political benefits, but because there is more of a role for prosecutors than just locking up people."

In an ongoing pilot program in Howard County, Maryland, assistant states' attorneys have been focusing their efforts on two planned communities, working with residents to curb nuisance crimes like graffiti and vandalism, including obtaining neighborhood-impact statements. The other part of the effort involves meeting regularly with residents in what State's Attorney Marna McLendon called "an enhancement of community policing . . . trying to learn the issues and develop joint strategies—and sometimes those are outside traditional law enforcement. It just piggybacks on the whole idea of problem solving and community policing."

The 18-month old effort also includes a school-based program in which prosecutors meet every two weeks with parents, teachers, guidance counselors, school resource officers, principals, and representatives from other county agencies, where "we talk about kids and what's happening on a very current level," McLendon told LEN.

Police input into community prosecution programs is essential, she continued, noting that a county police lieutenant was on the steering committee that devised the pilot program. "It's an absolute team approach, and it won't work without that," said McLendon, herself a former county police officer who was elected to office in 1994.

Robert L. Deane, the State's Attorney in Montgomery County, is reviving a community prosecutor program begun several years ago by his predecessor, Andrew Sonner. The effort was discontinued because it resulted in an uneven caseload that severely stretched the office's resources, according to spokeswoman Sue Dudley, who said the new program was to become effective on September 15.

Dudley said the new effort will divide cases more evenly among prosecutors, who will be assigned to geographic areas corresponding to county police districts. Because of the agency's previous attempt, "we now have a better blueprint of the nature of crime, where the caseload will be, and that's how we'll divide our resources," she said.

As in Howard County, she added, police have been an important partner in getting the program off the ground. "It was done with an eye toward getting to know the community and the officers more intimately, so we've had a good working relationship and vice versa. It also made us aware of the hot spots in our police districts."

Care Fresno

By Vicki Dellone, Problem Oriented Policing Officer and Care Fresno Coordinator
Fresno Police Department, Fresno, California

Introduction

In 1993 the Fresno Police Department adopted a philosophy of Problem Oriented Policing and formed Problem Oriented Policing (POP) teams. The POP teams study locations that have demonstrated a history of a high number of police calls for service. Members of the POP teams then look for ways to reduce calls for service by eliminating the source(s) of the problem(s) at the location. This approach combines both traditional and non-traditional policing methods including, but not limited to, narcotic buys, search warrants, building inspections, and the forming of resident/owner partnerships. When POP teams stabilize a project location, residents may need additional assistance.

One of the ultimate goals of POP projects is to empower the residents and owners to take charge of the neighborhood. When residents take ownership in their own neighborhood they enjoy a greater feeling of satisfaction, pride and security, while police calls for service are reduced. It was with this goal in mind that the concept for Care Fresno was formed.

The Care Fresno Team

An interdependent team approach was created to meet the above goal. This team is coordinated by a full-time police officer and a police chaplain. They work with a local church mobilizing and networking organization called Love Thy Neighbor (LTN) and share office space with that organization. The team's main function is to coordinate the delivery of service providers, residents, and church groups to POP projects. The team matches volunteer groups with POP projects and introduces them to the POP project officer.

Once a project neighborhood has been stabilized, other city resources and various volunteer groups work with the team coordinators, LTN staff, and residents to bring needed training into the area. Training can include parenting classes, job training skills, personal empowerment, child tutoring, and literacy classes. Additional resources can be accessed as individual needs within the project location are identified. Needs are identified by the residents themselves, not the team, so each and every project site is different. If needs are not set by the residents, they will not develop ownership in the area, and the site will fail. It is critical that team members and volunteers keep this in mind at all times.

The goal of the volunteers is to build relationships with residents and become long-term mentors and friends, bringing hope and growth to the community.

Problem Oriented Policing Brings in Partners

Once a Problem Oriented Policing team has worked to stabilize a location and feels that the site is ready for Care Fresno/Love Thy Neighbor interaction, they notify the Care Fresno Team, and the team starts the process of building partnerships with residents, managers, property owners, schools, businesses, local service providers, and any other agency that might be beneficial to the individual site.

The main building block that the team employs is the recruitment and use of local, church-based volunteers. These volunteers are trained to work with residents and to be a source of empower-

ment for the residents—not to do things for the residents, but to show them how to become far more self sufficient. This is the focus of all training, along with the idea that it is the personal contacts and the individual mentoring that are important. Programs and group activities are also important, but they are secondary in nature.

Phase One– Building Partnerships

Step One

Churches

The first step the Care Fresno Team takes at a project location is to approach local churches and recruit them to assist and adopt a site. Team members start with churches that are closest to the site and work outward. Contact is made with the pastor and the program is explained in depth. If the pastor is interested, a site visit can be arranged, and the pastor or the team member will speak to the congregation. The pastor may wish to place a response card in the weekly bulletin. A lead volunteer or lead group is then chosen and a volunteer base built from the responses received. It is best to select one to three volunteers to lead the entire group to keep things on task.

When requesting others to work as volunteers, the Care Fresno team must be very specific about what will be expected of them. Although there are endless possibilities, it is always best to start with a limited outline. Potential volunteers are asked to commit to one hour per week on site. This allows them to fit this time into their own schedule. They can plan for a set time frame, and are more likely to come forward and feel sure that this is a commitment they would like to make if they know what is expected of them. This also avoids the common problem of burn-out. If people start with a great deal of energy

and no time guidelines, they tend to show up the first time for many hours, the second time for a few hours, and may not continue much after that. Starting work around common needs and expanding as the residents needs come forth allow the project to build slowly, and remain stable.

An example of a common need is to state that the group will be starting a reading and tutoring program on site, on Wednesdays, from 3:00 to 5:00 P.M., and ten volunteers are needed for staffing. Describe what the program will consist of, so that others know if this is within their capability. This may consist of listening to a child read and helping the child with the words that he or she may have trouble with, or helping a child with a school homework assignment. Volunteers then sign up for the hour that they can fit into their own schedule.

When recruiting volunteers it is also wise to give them a clear idea of what they can accomplish. Share an example of what others have done that made a dramatic change at another location.

Once a volunteer base is in place, the Care Fresno/Love Thy Neighbor team will provide some of the needed training:

- Indicators of possible problems or trouble that may occur, along with safety training.

- How to work with residents and children.

- Empowerment and leadership training.

Volunteers should feel comfortable with the concept of making contact with parents and children at the site. When starting a volunteer base, too much training slows the group down to the point that they may lose interest or never even get started. Groups should also explore partnerships with additional churches and local schools. It is important to set goals and a rough time frame to work toward those goals. It is also extremely important for the church to recognize

and support the efforts of the volunteers. To reach the completion of phase one should take approximately four to six weeks. Phase two is when the actual work at the site begins.

Step Two

Working at the Site

- Meet the residents and build relationships with them one-on-one.

- Identify both the residents' real and perceived needs. This may be easier with the use of an informal survey. Common needs may include literacy programs for children and adults, activities for youth, parenting and leadership, and job skills and training.

- Identify and involve resident leaders.

- Form a neighborhood association, or utilize an existing one.

- Implement needed requests/programs.

- Be consistent, and do not press personal religious beliefs.

It is vital for the local church to support and recognize its volunteers. The Care Fresno/Love Thy Neighbor Team will pull out from the project eventually, but the church and school involvement should remain.

Team members should stress to all volunteers to take pride in any growth on the part of the residents, and not to set unrealistic goals. They should also be aware of the fact that they are working with a group that may not have the same views on work ethic and values. Lead volunteers are encouraged to contact the team members with any questions they have, or for assistance in locating additional resources.

Property Managers

When the involved site includes or is based out of an apartment complex or other multi-family housing design, team members should contact the managers, management company, or property owner to determine the level of interaction and interest that manager or owner may have in the project. The more contact and positive interaction the management has had with the Police Department POP Team, the more likely they will be receptive to the approach used by Care Fresno. When talking with a manager it is important to discern how much involvement he or she would like in the process. Some managers will be very supportive but will not want extensive involvement at first. Others will already be working on ideas of their own and team members must recognize and support what that manager already has in place.

It is a good idea to set realistic goals when working with property managers and to work towards a high degree of interaction with them. It is advisable not to discuss too many ideas with the managers at first. They may expect follow-through on all those ideas when, in fact, the group does not have many resources at first. Management needs to be aware that interaction is on a weekly, not daily basis. A group could not have daily interaction unless they have an extremely large and dedicated volunteer base. Consistency is the key to working on site; if something is promised, then make sure it is delivered. If people say they are going to be working on site, they need to be there as planned. The more participation from the managers, the stronger the project will be.

Schools

When the volunteer base is built and the group is ready for interaction, it is time to contact the local schools which the residents' children attend. A representative from the team should meet with

the school principal and advise him or her of the work being started in the nearby neighborhood. The representative then describes the process and requests permission to work with the school to provide additional support for the involved children.

The school is the best source of long-term stability for any site, and serves as a good focus for group strength. After residents and property managers are involved, the focus should be on encouraging parental interaction with the school. A second small volunteer base can work at the school as well as with teachers, parents, and students. Place one group on site in the neighborhood, one group in the school, and then keep them in communication.

In Fresno County, Care Fresno team members spoke with school district officials prior to making contact at the individual schools and received a letter of permission from the district to contact the schools. The letter did not require any principal to participate, but advised them that the district was aware of the concept and that the principals were free to make their own decision as to whether or not to participate. This letter was invaluable and now every school contacted is actively working with the team.

Critical Paths

Each step in the process contains goals or critical paths that must be met before the project can progress to the next level. If a group is functioning in the step ahead and is not progressing in that step, it is likely that one or more of the critical paths from the past steps have not been completed. It is then necessary to look closely at the previous step, see what is weak or has been missed, and work to strengthen that element.

The Critical Paths for Phase One

- The stabilization of crime in the area.

- The building of initial partnerships with churches, schools, property managers, and residents.

Phase Two— Building Relationships

Building Credibility

The key to building credibility in any relationship is to be consistent. Volunteers and staff need to be at a location when they say they will be there, and always deliver what is promised. If team members think they may be able to obtain something, but they are not sure, it is best to clearly state those limitations.

Once again, it is best to start with a limited scope at a location and build on that base. A tutoring or reading program is a very common need and a solid base to build on to establish rapport with the residents. After consistently being on site each week at a set time to work with the children, residents will recognize the efforts of volunteers and interact with them. Everyone involved will enjoy the positive interaction. Parents will see their child growing and learning; the child's self concept will strengthen through improved learning skills and the relationship with the volunteer. Volunteers will enjoy seeing their impact the commitment is having on the children. Lastly, the school will enjoy a more solid line of communication with the residents and will share in the growth of the child. As close friendships are built, residents care about what motivates the volunteers and volunteers are free to share their beliefs.

When this type of commitment is shown by the volunteers, the residents will be willing to discuss their concerns and priorities for their area. Those priorities are then set, often at community meetings, or with the use of a formal or informal survey. The group then works toward those goals. This is a very important step and needs to be watched carefully to be sure that it is the priorities and needs of the residents that are set and worked on, not what the volunteers think the priorities should be. At times, perceived needs must be addressed and taken care of before actual needs will be brought forward. Being a good listener is a solid step toward building credibility with residents.

Initial Programs Started by Staff and Volunteers

After a group has chosen one program or concept to implement at a location to begin to establish their credibility, future programs need to be determined by the residents. As other events or programs come forward, watch for resident interaction and look for potential resident leaders. Support these leaders and include them as project staff. If a meeting or training is scheduled or available, be sure to include them. Ideas on how to spot potential resident leaders are included in the next section.

Any group working within a project should have regular meetings to update those involved, determine future assignments, and set realistic time frames for setup, follow-through, and completion of a program or event. The entire group should meet once a month to keep everyone involved, informed, and active. This group should include: residents, property managers, lead volunteers, at least one of the coordinators (the police officer, the chaplain, or LTN staff), and a representative from the local school. The group might also include a representative from any agency that they are working with, such as the Department of Social Services,

the pastor(s) of the church(es) or their representative, and the local beat officer or POP officer.

Once there are multiple projects established within the city, this same concept of a group meeting needs to be presented on a larger scale, with the previously mentioned groups from each project invited to meet and share with others what they are doing at their individual locations. This large-scale meeting serves as both training and recruitment for new members and assistance for current project workers who may need new ideas. It is often the case that where one group has run into a problem, another group may have already solved the problem and can share what they did to correct it. Additionally, as each project is different, those involved in the project bring to it their own unique backgrounds and resources. The group volunteer meeting is an ideal opportunity for members to share resources that they have located or used. This sharing of both good and bad provides motivation and recognition for members as well. Large group meetings should be held at least once every two months, preferably at a set time, day of the week, and location.

Identifying Potential Resident Leaders

A good way to connect with resident leadership is to seek out those leaders who already exist by asking for referrals from property managers, school staff, and the local POP or beat officer. It is likely that leaders are already working with one or more of these people and they simply require contact and support.

An additional method when contacting residents during activities such as community meetings or working on a survey is to look for those who respond with interest. At community meetings, watch how others respond to the comments of an individual. Do they listen to that person? Is their opinion of value to the group? Do they

already have the respect of their neighbors? Other things to look for might include watching for individuals who show initiative, and those who become involved in the activities of the group and follow through on ideas or commitments. Once leaders are located, the process of strengthening relationships begins.

The Critical Paths for Phase Two

- Complete a resident needs assessment.

- Implement programs and events based on that assessment, making sure to keep sense of community primary and programs secondary.

- Locate, develop, and support resident leadership.

Phase Three—Strengthening Partnerships

Community Response and Improvement

As each group grows and becomes more interdependent, the level of community participation will rise and permanent community associations are often formed. There is more resident involvement and direct leadership. Residents start to set the agenda for their neighborhood and the team members that may have started the project will play more and more of a supporting role and less of a leadership role. The local school, usually the elementary school, is fully involved in the partnership. The location of events may shift from on-site in residential areas to on-site at the local school, and there is an increased interest by residents in school activities. The school itself will serve as a long-term base of stability for the area, and participate in the decisions of the group. If

not already in place, a format should be developed for parents to volunteer at the school.

Local businesses may enter into the partnership and should be sought out and encouraged to do so. When the business supports the neighborhood and the schools, the business is in turn supported by the neighborhood and the partnership becomes stronger. The feeling of community is also strengthened.

Due to this interaction, more residents who were considering locating to another area or city will choose to remain. This decreased resident turnover is good for the schools, the property managers, business owners, and residents. The combined efforts lead to a reduction in crime and graffiti, greater resident satisfaction, and a sense of pride in the community.

Residents Start Running Programs and Events

Leadership for the group now comes partly or mostly from the residents themselves. Leadership or empowerment classes are available and have been attended by almost all residents and resident leaders. Residents set up their own additional networking resources and help to solve neighborhood challenges. They also begin to design what they consider to be a healthy neighborhood and the steps necessary to implement that plan.

The Critical Paths for Phase Three

- There are identified resident leaders working on the project.

- Residents take leadership of most programs and events.

- Local businesses enter into the partnership.

Phase Four— Residents Empowered

Initiating Leadership and Planning

This phase is similar in structure to phase three, except the leadership of the project shifts from being a mixture of residents and staff or team members and church volunteers to being entirely residents and school representatives. This is the transition phase where the residents initiate leadership and planning and begin to mentor and train their own additional leaders. They set their own agenda for community projects and events and locate the resources needed. They contact and partner with outside resources such as churches, social services, and local law enforcement to work in tandem with them.

Apartment Ownership and Management in Communication with Resident Leaders

It is common for apartment management, and even occasionally ownership, to change hands frequently. Managers who work well within this partnership are often rewarded by their management company and promoted away from the area, and new managers must be exposed to this concept and recruited to work within the partnership. The manager who was promoted can take what he or she has learned to a new area, so this is not necessarily a negative result. As this is a constant factor that must be dealt with, it is wise for resident leaders to include the management company and the owner in the partnership. When the owner is aware of the positive changes that have occurred within a complex, he or she can encourage and even seek new managers who would work well within the partnership.

Well-trained managers carefully screen potential renters and monitor current residents to keep problem tenants out. They also support and demand a drug-free and gang-free complex and report any unresolved problem to the management company or owner and to law enforcement.

Residents' Vision

Residents can now implement the steps needed to create the healthy community plan they started to design in the previous section. Outside resources support and assist in the implementation of the residents' vision.

The Critical Paths for Phase Four

- Resident leaders completely run the neighborhood association and project.

- Resident leaders empower and mentor their own new leadership.

- Established businesses choose to remain in the area and new businesses may move in also.

Phase Five—Outcome

Community

The community is interdependent and leadership is self-sustaining. It can direct itself with no outside assistance other than resources. Residents empower each other and support new residents. The community leaders are united in vision and purpose. They access resources regularly to maintain an ongoing, healthy neighborhood. Residents support area businesses and seek to recruit new businesses into the neighborhood that would meet the community's needs.

Schools

The local schools thrive with a high degree of community ownership and volunteer/parent interaction. As the area remains stable and parents decide not to move from the location, transiency rates lower at the schools. There is a strong partnership between the schools and the

local churches, and resident/church volunteers continue to maintain a school-based tutoring and reading program. It is not uncommon for the county health department or other local health care providers to use the school site as a place for health clinics for students and parents. The campus can also become a site for the delivery of other various social services.

Stability

With stability comes a relatively low turnover rate of residents. There is ongoing neighborhood improvement and a clear set of rules and regulations, established and agreed upon by residents, to maintain a clean, friendly, united neighborhood that shares a common vision.

Along with a stable environment, a lower crime rate is maintained. This can be done in part through neighborhood watch patrols, the addition of lights where needed, and regular neighborhood gatherings or block parties to keep residents acquainted with each other. Open communication and a system to report unusual activity to local law enforcement should be maintained as well. When this phase is reached, all members of the partnership will have built relationships that are the keys to restoring a safe neighborhood.

For further information about the Care Fresno/Love Thy Neighbor Program, contact: The Fresno Police Department, P.O. Box 1271, Fresno, CA 93715-1271; (209) 244-0105.

Section VII
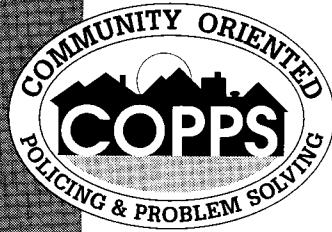
Community Policing:
A Key Role in
Violence Prevention

Community Policing: A Key Role in Violence Prevention

Adapted from *Violence Prevention: A Vision of Hope,* the final report of the California Attorney General's Policy Council on Violence Prevention

Introduction

- *In 1994, the Attorney General of California convened a 26-member Policy Council on Violence Prevention and charged them with "studying violence in California and recommending policies and strategies for reversing the pervasive culture of violence in our society." As a group, the Policy Council was purposely chosen for its diversity of professional and ethnic backgrounds, knowledge, and social and political viewpoints. Its members—including leaders in law enforcement, health care, education, religion, media, other community groups, and crime victims—represented a microcosm of society who brought together their collective experience and expertise, as well as their unique perspectives, to address the problem of violence and violence prevention.*

- *In 1995, the Council produced a final report, Violence Prevention: A Vision of Hope, that included a framework defining their parameters and conceptual approach as well as ten major initiatives that specified effective policies and concrete strategies for implementation.*

- *The conceptual framework, as well as many of the proposed policies and strategies, were consistent with, or specifically advocated, the philosophy of Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving (COPPS). Following are excerpts from the report:*

An Asset- or Strength-Based Model

The conceptual framework of the Council's report rests on an asset- or strength-based model. This innovative approach recognizes that the current method of addressing violence does not work. Under the existing alternative or deficit model, government responds after the fact with fragmented strategies, treating symptoms while ignoring underlying causes. Services are more likely to be focused on what government is accustomed to delivering rather than on the total needs of the population.

The shift to an asset- or strength-based scenario has profound implications for government. In contrast to the deficit model, government's primary role becomes one of supporting the healthy development of individuals, families and communities, rather than replacing these institutions with government services. The asset-based model promotes inclusion of everyone and works to build resiliency as a bulwark against violence in homes and communities. This model does not, however, permit government to abrogate its responsibilities to the public. Instead, government plays a supportive role, acknowledging and sustaining the healthy aspects of families and communities, and building on and strengthening these wherever possible.

Loretta Middleton, [former] Director of Student Well-Being for the San Diego County Office of Education, testified before the Council regarding the asset-based approach. "The focus needs to be to reduce the risks in a child and in a community and in a family by strengthening protective factors, . . . to have a paradigm shift that:

- Instead of looking at the risk, looks at how we can help our communities, our youth, and our families to be resilient.

- Instead of looking at problem solving, looks at positive development.

- Instead of looking at deficiency, looks at where people are competent.

- Instead of looking at remediation, looks at empowerment.

- Instead of looking at people as problems, looks at them as resources . . . particularly [when] looking at youth."[1]

The new role for government is embodied in movements such as community policing, the public health approach to violence prevention, and integrated service delivery systems . . . . The new role for government recognizes that it cannot solve all problems, that not all communities will adopt the same systems for the delivery of services, and that many communities may choose non-traditional means for solving their own problems. It becomes government's role to work with many groups and organizations, respecting and supporting their diverse, innovative approaches to violence prevention.

Guiding Principles for Effective Community Building

To support the application of an asset-based approach, the Council developed key guiding principles that emphasize prevention, community involvement, and collaboration. These principles served as a filter through which the Council's

recommendations were passed to determine if they were in line with the asset-based violence prevention model. Council members concluded that to be effective, policies and strategies must:

- Strengthen individuals, families, and communities.

- Support locally owned and locally controlled efforts.

- Deliver family-focused and community-centered services.

- Emphasize primary prevention, but work at all levels of prevention.

- Entail comprehensive, integrated plans that affect individual values and behaviors, address the agents of violence, and change the physical and social environment.

- Encourage collaboration and integration of resources.

- Target resources effectively by measuring outcome-based results to promote community health.

Focusing on Prevention at All Levels

The public health field defines three levels of prevention: primary, secondary and tertiary. Recognizing that all levels of prevention are critical to the effort, the Council adapted these definitions for application to violence prevention:

- *Primary prevention* fosters and maintains healthy individuals, families, and communities.

- *Secondary prevention* intervenes with individuals, families, and communities to address the attitudes, behaviors, conditions, and environments that place them at risk of violence or expose them to violence.

- *Tertiary prevention* targets violent populations and their victims to reduce or prevent the risk of continued violence through treatment or determent.

Ten Major Common-Ground Initiatives for Preventing Violence

In pursuing its charge to find common-ground, the Policy Council formulated 10 major initiatives for multidisciplinary and community-wide responses to violence in our society. Each initiative is supported with specific recommendations for action.

The Council proposes the following initiatives for the prevention of violence. To achieve a violence-free society, individuals, families, communities, and government must promote policies and strategies that:

- Increase the constructive use of the media to deglamorize violence and promote nonviolent social norms.

- Reduce deaths and injuries from firearms.

- Reduce violence associated with alcohol.

- Strengthen communities and schools by expanding local ownership and control.

- Support families, recognizing them as the basic institution for developing and nurturing children.

- Foster and support violence-free relationships.

- Ensure the development of healthy and responsible youth.

- Recognize that all people matter, fostering a respect for diversity.

- Advance personal and social responsibility.

- Support violence prevention research and evaluation based on the public health model.

These 10 common-ground initiatives map a comprehensive approach to violence prevention that addresses key influences on violence, strengthens families and communities, instills an inherent respect for all people and a sense of personal and social responsibility, and supports research into effective strategies for preventing violence.

COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

In the report's chapter on the community initiative, the Council examined ways to . . . ***Promote policies and strategies that strengthen communities and schools by expanding local ownership and control.***

The Council defined community in a broad manner. The National Crime Prevention Council described it well in their report, *Uniting Communities Through Crime Prevention, Special Focus:* "A community is a gathering of people who live in the same area or who share interests. A residential neighborhood, a high-rise apartment or office building, a school, a church, a professional society, or a civic network can be a community."[2] This same report went on to say that to thrive, a community must offer its members a sense of safety and security, not just in their homes, but in the spaces surrounding their homes, workplaces, and schools. Community members must feel free to interact with one another, and not be forced into isolation for mere survival. This feeling must be supported by all members of the community, as they work together to build and sustain that sense of security. The community must invest in finding solutions to its problems, rather than just reacting to events and responding to symptoms.

The National Crime Prevention Council defines crime prevention as "a pattern of attitudes and behaviors directed both at reducing the threat of crime and enhancing the sense of safety and security, to positively influence the quality of life in our society, and to help develop environments where crime cannot flourish."[3] The dual task then is to both reduce the threat of crime and violence and enhance the sense of safety in the community.

The goal is to build and sustain communities that can keep themselves healthy through a sensible combination of formal and informal controls. Regulations, laws, and sanctions provide explicit community expectations and standards, establishing official punishment for those who violate the rules.

Informal controls in a community are equally important in preventing crime. The attitudes and actions of community members, such as neighborhood standards and peer pressure, are the unofficial ways in which the community defines, teaches, and encourages acceptable behavior in a variety of settings.

"Neighbors questioning strangers, watching over each other's property, and intervening in local disturbances (e.g., scolding children for fighting) are all examples of informal social control. The basis for these behaviors is a shared set of norms for appropriate public behavior."[4] More contemporary examples might include the neighbor who stops a child from vandalizing a street sign, the children who refuse drugs and report pushers, and young people who pressure friends to stay out of gangs.

Establishing community safety is a public responsibility. The community must own its standards and develop mechanisms for enforcing them, if they are to be truly effective. No single individual can provide neighborhood or community security alone, but people working together, pooling resources and knowledge, can produce and share this commodity. Safeguarding community health depends on "co-production of public safety."[5]

Recommendation

One of the key recommendations included under the community initiative was: **The Attorney General's Office, the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, and statewide law enforcement professional**

associations should aggressively promote comprehensive Community Policing so that it becomes the standard for policing throughout California.

The Council's discussion follows:
Critical to healthy community life is the establishment of safe and secure neighborhoods. Civic participation, activity, and freedom cannot flourish if crime or fear is rampant. Creating a safe and secure climate in a community means involving the local police as a key partner in neighborhood efforts.

The importance of the community in preventing and reducing crime and violence is increasingly recognized by the police. Community policing, as defined by the California Attorney General's Office, is a "philosophy, management style, and organizational strategy that promotes pro-active problem solving and police-community partnerships to address the underlying causes of crime and fear, as well as other community issues."[6] The basic principles of community policing include:

- Shared ownership, decision-making, and accountability for public safety between the police and the community.

- Decentralized police services and operations at the neighborhood and community level.

- Diverse police organizations that reflect the community being served (i.e., ethnicity, culture, gender) and multicultural competency training for all personnel.

- Redirected focus of police work from incidents to problem solving, using creative, innovative responses to underlying neighborhood and community issues and supplementing prevention strategies for traditional law-enforcement methods.

- Intra- and inter-agency communication and collaboration among local agencies and organizations to address problems from

multidimensional perspectives and coordinated approaches.

Community policing places a primary focus on crime *prevention*; the ultimate goal of problem solving is to prevent further crime and violence. Community policing emphasizes that police work pro-actively with local residents and institutions rather than reactively, and in collaboration rather than through confrontation. It also works to enhance the sense of community cohesion and the partnerships that enable communities to sustain health and prevent crime and violence.

Community policing builds trust between police agency personnel and community members by having officers assigned to particular beats for extended time periods (one or more years). Such "beat integrity" serves to engender trust and understanding, as well as a sense of ownership between residents and officers. One testifier commented, "Neighborhood residents, particularly people of color in poor communities, are as afraid of being victims of police violence— harassment, brutality—sometimes even more so

than from the drug dealers and gangs in their neighborhoods."[7]

The community approach also serves to reduce the use of police force in general and the potential for excessive use of force in particular. As stated by Herman Goldstein, an internationally recognized expert on community policing, "Furthermore, there is a growing feeling in police circles that an officer who is familiar with an area and its people is less likely to resort to force to control a situation than one who, foreign to the area, is suddenly injected into a situation in which he or she must decide if force should be used."[8]

Not every neighborhood or community is immediately equipped to tackle crime and its causes. Some may need more help than others in organizing and mobilizing residents. Some, in a state of near collapse, may require much time and effort by all concerned. But the goal of community policing and crime prevention is always to move toward a self-sustaining, self-renewing community, no matter how long the process takes.[9]

Endnotes

1. Loretta Middleton, [former] Director, Student Well-Being, San Diego County Office of Education, Testimony before the Policy Council, San Diego, California, September 27, 1994.
2. *Uniting Communities Through Crime Prevention, Special Focus,* Washington, D.C.: National Crime Prevention Council, 1994, p. 1.
3. Ibid., p. 5.
4. Stephanie Greenberg, William M. Rohe and Jay R. Williams, *Informal Citizen Action and Crime Prevention at the Neighborhood Level,* Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, 1985, pp. 1-2.
5. *Uniting Communities Through Crime Prevention, Special Focus.*
6. *Community Oriented Policing & Problem Solving—COPPS Source Book,* Sacramento: Crime and Violence Prevention Center, California Attorney General's Office, 1992.
7. Francis Calpotura, National Coordinator, Campaign for Community Safety and Police Accountability, Center for Third World Organizing, Testimony before the Policy Council, Sacramento, California, October 13, 1994.
8. Herman Goldstein, *Problem-Oriented Policing,* New York: McGraw Hill, 1990, p. 160.
9. *Uniting Communities Through Crime Prevention, Special Focus.*

For further information, contact the Crime and Violence Prevention Center, California Office of the Attorney General, 1300 I Street, Suite 1150, Sacramento, CA 95814, (916) 324-7863.

Reducing Violent Crimes and Intentional Injuries

By Jeffrey A. Roth, Ph.D., Urban Institute and
Mark H. Moore, Ph.D., John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Highlights

- *Violence is not only a criminal justice problem, it is a public health problem.*

- *The public health community has begun to apply methods to prevent violence that they used successfully in the past to reduce typhoid fever, injuries and deaths from motor vehicle crashes, and deaths from cigarette smoking.*

- *Just as the nation has succeeded in reducing unintentional injuries, intentional injuries could also yield to prevention strategies.*

- *Public health and medical personnel are often in a good position to identify violence that goes unreported to criminal justice agencies, such as domestic assault, child abuse, and elder abuse.*

- *Public health's epidemiological methods can be useful in measuring overall levels and patterns of violence and in identifying factors that are correlated with the risk of violence. Thus, the public health community can offer a promising role in violence prevention and can serve as an important complement to existing criminal justice approaches.*

Since the mid-1980s, the rise in serious urban violence has had at least two effects. First, it has threatened the lives of urban residents, especially youths, and the social and economic fabric of the communities in which they live. Second, it has aggravated public doubts about the ability of government to maintain the quality of urban life. More specifically, these doubts have raised questions about traditional responses to violence, such as reducing poverty and other suspected root causes of violence, imprisoning perpetrators, and rehabilitating criminal offenders.

Recently, an alternative problem-solving approach has been gaining adherents. This approach is based on the notion that some violence can be averted by crafting simple, low-cost, common-sense solutions to specific local problems that

give rise to repeated incidents of violence. This strategy emphasizes that surprisingly simple tactics can sometimes reduce violence more cost-effectively than filling more prison cells, can generate more immediate results with less political opposition than trying to fix poorly understood root causes, and offer greater prospects for success than interventions to rehabilitate violent offenders.

Elements of the problem-solving approach can be seen in two movements that are gaining public prominence. The first is the adoption—or revival—of policing styles that are variously called community policing, problem-oriented policing, or fixing "hot spots" of violence. The second movement is called treatment of violence as a public health problem. Although both movements are still evolving and their adherents emphasize somewhat different priorities and tactics, the problem-solving elements of modern policing and public health resemble and complement each other in many ways.[1]

Violence prevention through problem solving seems likely to become an increasingly important component of the nation's response to urban violence—out of dissatisfaction with alternatives, if for no other reason. Therefore, it seems useful to develop a more precise understanding of how violence problem solving draws from both modern policing and public health perspectives.

Violence Prevention

Increasingly, violence problem solving is being advocated by two professions that feel responsible for dealing with violence and frustrated with traditional approaches. In the early 1980s, police executives and their agencies charged with reducing crime began testing new strategies variously called community policing or problem-oriented policing. More recently, public health professionals, who view violence as a public health problem, have begun to apply methods

that they used successfully in the past to reduce such threats as typhoid fever, injuries and deaths from motor vehicle crashes, and deaths from cigarette smoking.

Community and Problem-Solving Policing

Although the strategies and tactics of community policing and problem-solving policing are still evolving, certain core principles distinguish these approaches from those of traditional law enforcement.[2] In theory at least, community policing programs adhere to the following three principles:

- The local community is a crucially important partner—perhaps even the first line of defense—in responding to violence and disorder. Relationships between friends and neighbors can bind people to one another, help to limit opportunities for victimization, and teach youngsters noncriminal pathways to success. In important ways, the police play backstop to the community in discouraging violence.

- Police take their cues from the community about what problems are important. To help establish effective working partnerships with local communities, officers learn about the problems through face-to-face contact with individual citizens and through community meetings—not just from emergency calls to 911.

- Arrest is only one of the tools available to the police in responding to incidents or problems. For example, they can offer informal mediation, use administrative procedures, refer people to services, or mobilize other local government agencies to fix specific problems.

Problem-oriented policing, which tends to be implemented as a central component of community policing, is motivated by the

following additional idea:
- Behind the incidents reported to police lie problems waiting to be solved. Therefore, the best police response to the incidents lies in understanding and repairing the underlying problem rather than mechanistically responding to the incidents as if they were unrelated. If existing causal problems can be discovered and solved, future violent incidents may be prevented.

Public Health Approaches to Violence

Violence has attracted public health practitioners' interest for at least three reasons. First, epidemiologists noticed that injury—along with disease—posed a major threat to the nation's health, especially as measured in years of potential life lost. Moreover, the public health community had succeeded in reducing unintentional injuries through preventive measures such as laws mandating seat belts in automobiles, requirements that consumer products be made safer, and public information campaigns to educate the public about safe behavior. As success in preventing unintentional injuries increased, it seemed just a short step to imagine that intentional injuries might also yield to preventive public health strategies.

Second, when epidemiologists looked closely, they noticed an important piece of the intentional injury problem that did not seem to be handled very well by the criminal justice system. Violence that occurred among intimates and family members often was not reported to police. This included domestic assault, child abuse, and an emerging problem of elder abuse.

Third, it seemed to public health practitioners that their commitment to epidemiological methods and models for identifying problems and searching for promising preventive

interventions could be an important complement to existing criminal justice approaches.

As with community policing, the public health perspective on violence is still evolving. Even leaders in the public health community find it difficult to define this particular approach to reducing deaths from disease and injury. Yet, writings of public health practitioners on reducing violence are frequently distinguished by the following basic themes:
- Violence is a threat to a community's health as well as to its social order.

- Public health and medical personnel are often in a good position to see violence that goes unreported to criminal justice agencies.

- Preventing violence and reducing its damaging effects require attention to victims and witnesses of violence—not just to violent offenders.

- Epidemiological methods can be useful both in measuring overall levels and patterns of violence and in identifying factors that are correlated with the risk of violence.

- In seeking to reduce violence and its consequences, the emphasis should be on prevention rather than amelioration. Primary prevention—measures that prevent violent events from happening in the first place and do so across a large portion of the population—should be the primary focus. Secondary prevention—the early identification and improvement of situations that could lead to violence if not addressed immediately—should be the secondary priority. Tertiary prevention—responses that repair the damage associated with violence that has already occurred—should be only the last resort.

- Many opportunities to prevent violence do not depend on controlling or redeeming perpetrators. Just as traffic deaths can be reduced by making cars and roads safer, as well as by arresting careless or drunk drivers, some

violence may be preventable by making vulnerable convenience stores harder to rob, by teaching nonviolent ways to solve disputes, by deglamorizing violence in the media, or by modifying trigger mechanisms on guns.

- In seeking to prevent violence, it is usually important to involve the community that is afflicted by the violence. Community residents can give legitimacy to government actions, provide information about where the problems are and what the points on intervention might be, develop political consensus for legislation needed to achieve preventive measures, and place informal pressures on other residents to take action to reduce violence.[3]

Commonalities and Differences

Clearly, the modern policing and public health responses to violence have much in common. They both emphasize preventing the occurrence of violence over responding after violence occurs. They emphasize community involvement in identifying violence problems, setting priorities among them, and devising solutions. Both approaches suggest the possibility that carving up the general violence problem into component parts may reveal solutions that would otherwise remain concealed; just as skin cancer and lung cancer call for different preventive strategies, so might drive by shootings, convenience store robberies, and spouse assaults.

Both approaches recognize that violence or its consequences may be preventable not only by changing individuals' behavior but by changing their physical or social environments—for example, by isolating illegal firearms, alcohol, drug markets, or lone employees who handle cash from places where unemployed young men congregate.

Finally, both approaches begin with the notion that a community's violence level may be reducible in either of two ways: through a relatively sweeping intervention, such as reducing media violence; or by accumulating small reductions in violence, each achieved by finding and solving some specific problem that underlies a cluster of violent events occurring at one location, involving one set of perpetrators and victims, or arising from one kind of situation. In short, both approaches seek significant reductions in overall violence by solving one underlying problem at a time.

Agreement on these shared principles by no means ensures that practitioners of public health and law enforcement will approach a concrete urban violence problem in the same way. Comparative analyses have suggested that some subtle differences in priorities may have important operational implications.[4] For example, the criminal justice models, both traditional and new, retain a commitment to punishing perpetrators of violence—as both a matter of justice and a means of demonstrating to children and youths that society condemns violence. In contrast, the writings of public health practitioners rarely discuss the moral implications of intentionally injuring another person. Public health practitioners tend to view victims of violence primarily as persons in potential need of psychological and other services, whereas law enforcement practitioners often think first of victims' roles as witnesses. Both approaches view communities as important players in violence prevention. However, community policing practitioners tend to view officers as problem solvers on behalf of a community, whereas public health professionals stress empowering communities to solve their own problems, with or without police help.

Endnotes

1. Moore, M.H., "Violence Prevention: Criminal Justice or Public Health?" *Health Affairs* 12(4)(1993):34-45. See also Moore, M.H., D. Prothrow-Stith, B. Guyer, and H. Spivak, "Violence and Intentional Injuries: Criminal Justice and Public Health Perspectives on an Urgent National Problem." In A.J. Reiss, Jr., and J.A. Roth, eds., Understanding and Preventing Violence, Volume 4, Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1994:167-216.

2. For example, see Goldstein, H., "Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach," Crime and Delinquency 25(1979):236-258; Eck, J., and W. Spelman, *Problem Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News,* Washington, D.C.: Police Executive Research Forum (n.d.); and Moore, M.H., and R.C. Trojanowicz, "Corporate Strategies for Policing," *Perspectives on Policing 6,* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, and Kennedy School of Government, November 1988.

3. Rosenberg and Fenley, *Violence in America,* Mercy, J.A., et al., "Public Health Policy for Preventing Violence," *Health Affairs* 12(4)(1993):7-26.

4. Moore, M.H., "Violence Prevention: Criminal Justice or Public Health?" *Health Affairs.* See also Moore, M.H., D. Prothrow-Stith, B. Guyer, and H. Spivak, "Violence and Intentional Injuries: Criminal Justice and Public Health Perspectives on an Urgent National Problem." In A.J. Reiss, Jr., and J.A. Roth, eds., *Understanding and Preventing Violence*; Mercy, J.A., M.L. Rosenberg, K.E. Powell, C.V. Broome, and W.L. Roper, "Public Health Policy for Preventing Violence," *Health Affairs.*

Jeffrey A. Roth, Ph.D. is a principal research associate at the Urban Institute, Washington, D.C. Mark H. Moore, Ph.D. is a professor at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Thinking Strategically About Domestic Violence

By Bonnie Bucqueroux, Executive Director
Michigan Victim Alliance

Highlights • *A community policing trainer and former domestic violence victim shares her experience and offers a strategic approach to domestic violence for law enforcement agencies.*

Few calls inspire more dread in police officers than a domestic violence call. These calls are unpredictable—emotions are running high, and alcohol and drugs can make them run even higher. Sadly, the scene all too often plays out against a wrenching backdrop of sobbing, frightened children. And perhaps most frustrating of all are those cases where police make repeat visits to the same address, time and again, only to find the victim trying to shield the perpetrator from arrest.

If ever a problem demanded a community policing approach, the complex and serious challenge of domestic abuse does. As sophistication about the dynamics of human behavior grows, it becomes ever clearer that family violence is central in expanding the cycle of violence that puts all of us at risk. Those crying children, many of whom are victimized themselves, are more likely to become the next generation that acts out on the street and at home. Even with the new emphasis on mandatory arrest, no one is naive enough to suggest that arrest alone provides a simple, quick fix.

As a survivor of domestic violence, I know what it is like to look into the rage-filled eyes of someone you love, realizing that this could be the time you

die. Even today, I can still taste the blood and remember the horror of seeing my broken face in the mirror—and feel the sting of shame, knowing that I was not yet ready or able to leave. Getting out of an abusive relationship is a process, not a discrete event. Research confirms that women are at greatest risk of being killed when they try to break away. Part of the solution, therefore, must be to provide victims the sustained support that allows them to gain the information and the strength required to make the break safely.

Back in those ugly days, now long gone, I would fantasize about having a police officer for a friend, someone I could talk to between crises. I wanted that officer, with his unique authority, to confront my husband with both a carrot and a stick—get the help that you need or I'll arrest you if you hit her again.

Why didn't I reach out? Past experience made me question whether the police were my friends. Growing up in a low-income neighborhood, I viewed the police as strangers who rode in pairs and rarely exited their patrol cars. When I deliver training to police officers today, I am reminded of how much community policing has improved the field. Yet, we must remember that many people are still responding to today's officers based on

past impressions etched in their minds. The first step in any comprehensive plan must be to assure everyone in the community, including victims of domestic violence, that they will be treated with sensitivity, civility, and respect. Training must be designed to show all officers and civilians that every interaction with community members puts the entire department's reputation on the line. And police managers must be willing to do the tough work of weeding out marginal employees who undermine everyone else's best efforts.

Developing a Strategic Plan

It would be a mistake for departments to rewrite their entire values, vision, and mission statements and strategic plans to address domestic violence. An agency that has implemented community policing department-wide should have the flexibility and capacity to turn their concerted attention to the problem.

It is usually wiser to integrate efforts to deal with this pervasive and corrosive problem throughout the department as part of an overall community policing approach. The hallmark of community policing is that police response can be tailored to local needs.

Specifics to Include in the Police Response

Collaboration is essential, and this means confronting issues of cultural diversity that can undermine efforts to forge new partnerships. Training helps, but equally important is structuring opportunities for sustained, community-based problem solving.

Crafting solutions also means listening more than telling, and it requires meeting victims where they are. This may mean not only working with established advocacy groups, but also sending officers into places where battered women often feel they have much to hide. Solutions can mean collaborating with legislators to produce laws that provide police the tools that they need to intervene. Police must also educate themselves about new issues such as stalking. And they must confront the myths and stereotypes that can prevent all of us from exploring new approaches.

Domestic violence is as dangerous and serious a crime as any random attack on the street. As the late Robert Trojanowicz, a pioneer in the community policing movement, would say, we must remember that until we are all safe, no one is truly safe.

Section VIII

COMMUNITY ORIENTED
COPPS
POLICING & PROBLEM SOLVING
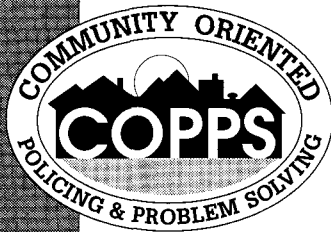
Producing Cutting-Edge Research and Evaluation

Crime Analysis and Community Policing

By Steven L. Gottlieb, Executive Director
Alpha Group Center for Crime and Intelligence Analysis Training
Montclair, California

Highlights

- *Crime analysis units give patrol officers, investigators, and administrators the information they need to identify and correctly define community problems and their underlying causes and assist in the development and evaluation of effective strategies that can best resolve them.*

- *By using the Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment problem-solving strategy, crime analysts can provide agencies with information about crime patterns, possible offender leads, and evaluation of agency response.*

- *Crime analysts can give police administrators a measuring device by which they can evaluate community policing efforts.*

Many crime analysts are working in law enforcement agencies which now, or may later, deliver police service in accord with philosophies underlying problem-oriented or community policing programs. There is a natural link between crime analysis and these programs and crime analysts should be familiar with them.

New Approaches to Policing

The traditional role of the police has been to identify, apprehend, and incarcerate criminals. As painful as it is to admit, however, with all the resources that have been directed toward achieving the goals of identifying, apprehending, and incarcerating criminals over the years, crime still continues to flourish.

Experience is showing that a more promising approach to crime reduction may be found within the framework of Problem-Oriented Policing, Community Policing, Community-Oriented Policing, Community-Based Policing, or other similarly-named programs, all of which focus not only on the removal of offenders, but on the abatement of underlying community conditions which encourage their existence. At the same time, these programs seek the formation of a working partnership between the police and community members, one in which responsibility for crime suppression is shared by law enforcement officers and the people they serve.

Both problem-oriented policing and community policing use problem-solving techniques to impact crime; however, community policing "demands that police departments make substantive structural changes so that community policing officers can act as the department's specialists in identifying, carrying out, and

monitoring long-term solutions."[1] When viewed in this context, community policing becomes a philosophy of policing which then utilizes problem-oriented policing as the strategy to identify and resolve crime problems. Regardless of these distinctions, it is clear that both programs emphasize a shift in focus from viewing calls and criminal offenses as singular incidents (the incident-driven model of policing) to considering them collectively as the manifestation of larger community problems (the problem-oriented or community model of policing). Essentially, both models ask line officers "to look for the underlying dynamics behind a series of events, rather than to focus on individual occurrences as isolated events."[2]

The Role of Crime Analysis in Problem-Oriented and Community Policing

There is a well-established link between crime analysis and crime prevention programs. The crime analysts' involvement in community policing programs may thus be viewed as a natural extension of the services they currently provide. Indeed, crime analysis is critical to the success of any problem-oriented or community policing effort, and it is incomprehensible to believe the goals of these efforts can be achieved without it. If, for example, one of the primary objectives of this new approach to policing is to encourage the police and the community to work together to identify and resolve crime and its underlying causes, it seems appropriate that serious consideration must be given to defining the process by which this objective is achieved. More directly, questions relating to how crime problems and their underlying causes will be identified demand an answer.

Former New York City Police Commissioner Lee P. Brown comments that "community policing will require police officers to obtain new knowledge

and develop new skills."[3] It is interesting to note that of the skills he cites as necessary to provide officers with an ability to problem-solve, crime analysis is at the top of the list.[4] Former Los Angeles Police Chief Willie L. Williams, while Police Commissioner for the Philadelphia Police Department, developed a "process of elaborating on communications and analytic systems to better capture demand, conduct repeat call analysis, and isolate persistent problems confronting the community."[5] Clearly there is a relationship between crime analysis and problem-oriented and community-oriented policing.

Crime analysis units are processors of information. In possession of all crime reports of interest to the agency, these units are uniquely positioned to give patrol officers, investigators, and administrators the information they need not only to identify and correctly define community problems and their underlying causes, but also to assist them with the development and evaluation of effective strategies that can best resolve them. As discussed by Richard B. Abell, former Assistant Attorney General, Office of Justice Programs, United States Department of Justice:

> The theory behind (problem-oriented policing) is simple—underlying conditions create problems. Crime data can help police identify recurring crime and disorder problems—hot spots that sap police resources year in and year out. Once these recurring problems are identified, crime analysis can help police determine why the problems persist and what can be done to resolve them.[6]

For the following reason, however, crime data—by themselves—cannot "help police identify recurring crime and disorder problems. . . ." When police officers bring raw data into an agency, the data are meaningless until organized and analyzed in a manner that actually serves to identify a problem. Only then, when data are turned into information, do they provide any real knowledge of what is occurring within the

community, and only then can crime data "help police identify recurring crime and disorder problems. . . ."

Many people use the terms "data" and "information" interchangeably; they are not, however, synonymous and the difference between them is an important one. As Dr. Malcolm K. Sparrow of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, explains:

> Data are the raw ingredients, the raw wood. Information, on the other hand, is the final product. Information products, like chairs and tables, have form and style, maybe even beauty; they have been designed for a purpose, with a user or class of user in mind; they often incorporate raw materials from many different sources; and a great variety of tools and methods have been used in their production.
>
> Good-quality data only has to be accurate, up-to-date, and maybe, in some sense, complete. Good-quality information has to be relevant, useful, comprehensible, well designed, appropriately structured, appropriately presented, and in the right hands (emphasis added).[7] Problem-oriented policing cannot be adequately supported by a "data warehouse." It has to be supported by an "information craft shop" staffed by "information craftsmen."[8]

But herein lies a problem. The basic tenets of problem-oriented and community policing seem straightforward enough: officers respond to calls and make note of those which, because of their similarity, are indicative of a larger community problem. They then begin a dialogue with community members to identify the underlying cause of the problem and a remedy for its solution. Following the implementation of the selected strategy, they evaluate its effectiveness to determine if it did, in fact, provide a solution to the problem. Each step in this process generates data. And as data accumulates, the question which must be answered inevitably is

who will collect, collate, and analyze the data? Who will be charged with the responsibility of turning data into information? Who will serve as Sparrow's "information craftsmen?"

To ask field officers to adopt this role is not without some merit; but others, for several reasons, are better suited to the task. First, except in the smallest communities, no one officer can possibly know everything that is occurring within a jurisdiction. Days off, illness, vacations, beat assignment or shift changes, and the like all serve to remove officers from or reposition them within the community with the result that events will occur without their knowledge. Second, the call response demands in many agencies preclude officers from having the time necessary even to write reports on duty let alone analyze or compare them with the reports of other officers. And to require that they engage in these activities after their tours of duty is to create a drain on overtime budgets that many agencies can ill afford.

Third, while officers are given information during briefing or roll call training, the information dispensed is usually that which comes from an agency's daily log. The log gives officers a general idea of the events that occurred prior to their reporting for duty, but it is not designed to acquaint them with the details of every crime or incident that happened on previous shifts. Fourth, even if it were possible for officers to be familiar with all events occurring in the field, they may still be unaware of information developed by detectives, information reported to crime prevention officers, or information provided to the department by other governmental agencies that impacts the community, and thus changes the definition of crime problems.

To require officers to read every report that comes into an agency each day is unrealistic. To expect them to talk to any person who could possibly have any relevant information is equally

unrealistic. And to require them to assume the formal role for analyzing crime is to require their performance of a task for which they may have little if any interest or training. This is not to say, of course, that officers cannot adequately analyze crime—some can. But as Sparrow points out, "very few police officers have the appropriate skills, or quantitative and technological background, to become top-notch analysts."[9]

Further, our experience suggests that few officers have the desire to compile statistics or pore over graphs and charts, preferring instead to perform field or investigative duties. Thus, the most effective partnership is created when field officers provide official police report and observational input into the data collection process. The actual collation and analysis of data remains the function of the crime analysis unit.

Defining Community Problems

If problem-oriented and community policing require law enforcement to deal with community problems, it makes sense that there should be some agreement on what actually constitutes a "problem." Herman Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and noted father of problem-oriented policing, deals with this issue by defining a problem as:

- A cluster of similar, related, or recurring incidents rather than a single incident.

- A substantive community concern.

- A unit of police business.[10]

By this definition, then, any group of related incidents which are of concern to the public and which fall within the broad spectrum of police service may be considered a problem.

Problem-Solving Strategy

The approach by which community problems are identified and resolved involves the use of a problem-solving strategy, developed by Spelman and Eck in collaboration with the National Institute of Justice, the Police Executive Research Forum, and the Newport News, Virginia, Police Department in 1985.[11] The four parts of the strategy include:

1. Scanning

The key to scanning is the officers' consideration not of single incidents, but of groups of incidents which may stem from the same or similar cause(s). Once identified, these and their root cause(s) become "problems" in need of solution.

2. Analysis

Having identified and defined a problem, officers collect in-house data and information from sources external to the organization to determine the cause of the problem and explore alternatives to its solution.

3. Response

Officers work with residents, businesses, community groups, other public and private agencies, and any other interested parties to develop an action plan that will best resolve the problem.

4. Assessment

This involves an evaluation of the effectiveness of the response and a determination of its impact on the abatement or elimination of the problem.[12]

By using this problem-solving strategy, crime analysts can:

- Provide their agencies with knowledge of when and where similar crimes occurred and how they were committed. Review of known offender files may also provide a lead as to who may be involved in their commission.

These activities assist the scanning phase and help to distinguish the "crime problem" from other non-related events.

- Gather information from internal and outside sources (e.g., utility companies, licensing bureaus, assessors' officers, housing authorities, other law enforcement agencies, etc.) to help officers determine the cause of the problem. This assists the analysis phase.

- Monitor the problem by continuing to look for evidence of its elimination or recurrence. This assists the assessment phase and helps officers evaluate the effectiveness of the implemented response.

Community Perception of Crime

It is not enough for the police to be concerned about actual crime; they must also be concerned about their citizens' perceptions of crime and the feelings they have for the agency which serves them. Within this context, crime analysts provide yet another service to community policing programs when they conduct survey research studies which focus on the community's assessment of crime and the agency's willingness and ability to deal with it.

Though they can be difficult to develop, time-consuming to administer, and tedious to score,[13] survey research studies are of great assistance in giving police administrators a measuring device by which they can gauge the support of community policing efforts. Moreover, as Trojanowicz points out, "surveys provide a good baseline against which community policing can be evaluated and also allow for continued monitoring to prevent the momentum from becoming stalled."[14] Within the Reno Police Department:

The "plus" in COP+ is the Department's Quality Assurance Division. This division conducts bi-annual community surveys to determine the efficacy of the department as

perceived by the citizens. In tandem with its operationalization of the COP+ Program in 1987, Reno conducted a survey of 503 people to solicit their opinions of the department's overall performance, image, quality of citizen contact, effectiveness in dealing with offenders, and perceptions of Reno as a safe place to live. At that time, more than one-third of the respondents felt that the Reno Police Department had a poor or below average image. In 1988, 40 percent of 884 respondents rated the department as good or above average. By 1989, the good or above average rating of 720 respondents had escalated to nearly 51 percent. The real test of citizen satisfaction, however, was demonstrated in 1988 when "voters approved a tax initiative providing funds to hire 88 more police officers (a 39 percent increase in sworn personnel)."[15]

Program Linkage

Abell makes the point that "crime analysis impacts all areas and operations of a police department by refining and distributing useful information. Departments have used crime analysis effectively to improve their operations and administration; realign districts and deploy personnel; and develop investigative leads."[16] Given these benefits, Goldstein suggests that "crime analysis, which has been an important part of the professional model of policing, is a base on which police can build in meeting the much wider and deeper demands for inquiry associated with problem-oriented policing."[17] Additionally he states:

Problem-oriented policing actually provides an incentive to make much more effective use of the data typically collected as part of crime analysis and to expand upon the current limited objectives of the most advanced crime analysis model. This would first require focusing more broadly on all of the problems police handle rather than on just traditional categories of crime.[18]

When law enforcement agencies focus "more broadly on all of the problems police handle," they create a climate conducive to the growth of harmonious police-community partnerships. But the police can provide continuing service to the partnership only to the extent that they have developed some mechanism by which they can obtain a clear and complete picture of what these problems really are. Crime analysis, with its ability to turn data into information and information into knowledge, serves as that mechanism.

Brown notes that "crime is not just a random phenomenon. If the cause can be identified, it can be worked on. That is what community policing is about . . . solving problems and preventing crime."[19] It is clear that crime analysis can help administrators, field, and investigative officers meet the needs of the police organization. With little effort, the role of crime analysis can be expanded to help them meet community needs as well.

Endnotes

1. Robert Trojanowicz and Bonnie Bucqueroux, *Community Policing* (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing, 1990), p. 8.
2. Ibid.
3. Lee P. Brown, *Policing New York City in the 1990's: The Strategy for Community Policing* (New York: New York City Police Department, 1991), p. 83.
4. Ibid.
5. William T. Bergman, as cited by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, *Community Policing*, op. cit., p. 385.
6. Richard B. Abell, "Crime Analysis and Community Policing," *Law and Order*, July 1989, p. 83.
7. Malcolm K. Sparrow, "Information Systems: A Help or Hindrance in the Evolution of Policing," *The Police Chief*, April 1991, p. 41.
8. Ibid., p. 42.
9. Ibid.
10. Herman Goldstein, *Problem Oriented Policing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), p. 66.
11. William Spelman and John E. Eck, "Problem-Oriented Policing," Research in Brief, U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, Washington, D.C., January 1987, p. 1.
12. Ibid., p. 2.
13. The Reno Police Department's Quality Assurance Division, using scientific telephone surveying techniques, surveys approximately 700 residents twice a year. Seven of the questions ask respondents for information about themselves; the remainder ask about their attitudes toward the department's overall performance, image, quality of citizen contact, effectiveness in dealing with offenders, and perceptions of Reno as a safe place to live. To reduce the pain of collecting these data, college students and senior citizens' groups serve as interviewers.
14. Robert C. Trojanowicz, "Building Support for Community Policing," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, May 1992, p. 9.
15. Robert V. Bradshaw, Ken Peak, Ronald W. Glensor, "Community Policing Enhances Reno's Image," *The Police Chief*, October 1990, pp. 61-67.
16. Abell, op. cit., p. 79.
17. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 37.
18. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
19. Brown, op. cit., p. 33.

Adapted from *Crime Analysis, From First Report to Final Arrest*, (Alpha Publishing Company, 1994, reprinted 1998), pp. 225-262. A copy of the complete text can be obtained from the Alpha Group Center, P.O. Box 8, Montclair, CA 91763, (909) 989-4366, or e-mail *crimecrush@aol.com*

Toward Development of Meaningful and Effective Performance Evaluations

By Robert Trojanowicz, former Director, National Center for Community Policing
and Bonnie Bucqueroux, Executive Director, Michigan Victim Alliance

Highlights

- *Community policing, in contrast to the traditional system, focuses on solving the problem rather than on generating arrest statistics.*

- *Community policing shifts creative problem solving—which the police have always done—from an informal part of the job to the essence of formal police work.*

- *Now, departments must find ways to collect and analyze data and conduct performance evaluations that reflect this commitment.*

Introduction

When Ed Koch was mayor of New York City, he was famous for asking people on the street, "How'm I doing?" Though a bit gimmicky, perhaps, this was a great way for the mayor to receive instant feedback—on how people felt about his performance as mayor, how his administration was perceived, and how people felt about the city in general. A consummate politician, Koch instinctively recognized that everyone in public service must ultimately answer to the "consumer"—the citizens, voters, and taxpayers—and that survival in a political and public job requires knowing how people really feel about your performance. No matter what the polls and surveys say, what really matters is how the person on the street says you're doing.

The police, too, need ways to determine how well they are doing—as a department and also as individuals within the department. No issue is more basic to the functioning of the police in a democratic society, and no issue more clearly underscores the difference between traditional policing and Community Policing, than performance evaluation.

This booklet is an initial attempt to stimulate dialogue about how best to assess the performance of Community Policing departments and of individual Community Officers out on the street. The information included in this publication is by no means cast in stone; rather it is an attempt to promote discussion—even argument—about how best to proceed.

Evaluating the Department

The Mission of the Police

Without belaboring the obvious, the first challenge in creating a yardstick by which we can measure how well any given police department is doing requires defining the job of the police, and

that is far more controversial and complicated than it might at first seem. Is the primary function of the police to fight crime or to maintain the peace? Which is more basic—catching bad guys or preventing crimes before they occur? Which matters more—how fast the police arrive or what they do when they get there?

Increasingly, the police have come to recognize that defining the function of the police exclusively in terms of crime is problematic, for many reasons:

How much crime is there? Nobody really knows how much crime there is, so this means that even a dramatic rise in the number of crimes reported may not mean that there has been any increase in the actual number of crimes committed, but merely that more are coming to the attention of police. The reverse may also account for at least part of any reported decrease in crime. Indeed, in a community where people do not trust their police, crime rates may plunge merely because residents become increasingly reluctant to call the police.

How much can police affect crime rates? The rise and fall in the rates of various crimes may have less to do with police activity than with other factors beyond police control, ranging from changes in the local unemployment rate to the effectiveness of courts and corrections.

Is crime the measure that average citizens use to assess the police? There is little doubt that people often enjoy grumbling about how the police should do more to get all the bad guys off the street, but most people understand the limitations under which the police operate. Indeed, most people develop their impressions of police because of contacts that have nothing to do with serious crime—they are stopped for a traffic violation, or they call the department because of a problem with a barking dog or a loud party next door.

Traditional Versus Community Policing

Traditional police departments have long defined their primary mission and therefore their overall effectiveness in terms of crime-fighting. This all too often leaves police officials no choice but to apologize for increases in the crime rate that are not their fault—and to claim victory for declines that may or may not have much to do with police activity.

The danger is that this will lead to policing by and for the numbers—overvaluing quantitative results and undervaluing qualitative outcomes. It promotes an evaluation system that, for example, would ignore the contribution of an officer who takes the time to convince a youngster suspected of burglarizing dozens of homes to enroll in drug treatment, and who cuts the red tape to get him in. At the same time, the system would record and reward an officer who arrested the youngster as a user, even if that was likely to do little more than engage the rest of the expensive criminal justice system to little effect.

Community Policing, in contrast to the traditional system, focuses on solving the problem rather than on generating arrest statistics—quality, not quantity. Community Policing rests on the belief that the police must become partners with the people in the community, so that together they can address local priorities related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay. Instead of making it difficult for an officer to find the time and opportunity to intervene with that youngster who needs drug treatment, Community Policing restructures the department so that Community Officers have the face-to-face contact required to effect such solutions. Community Policing shifts creative problem solving—which the police have always done—from being an informal part of the job to recognition as the essence of formal police work, while at the same time, the Community

Policing approach allows police the continuity they need to make the most of community-based problem solving.

The challenge is to find ways to capture and present Community Policing's successes to others, along with the traditional kinds of data that the police have always kept. How do we record, compile, and codify incidents such as when the officer got that young man into drug treatment? How can the police use such examples to help people understand how Community Policing works?

Persuading Public Policymakers

This booklet is an attempt to find new ways to gather, analyze, and express qualitative information about police performance in an easy-to-understand format, because the reality in a complex society is that data drives policy. The police must compete for scarce resources in a political environment where other agencies are also building cases to justify receiving more funds.

Particularly in times of recession, dollars grow tighter as social ills multiply—more homeless, more crime, more runaways, more domestic violence, more substance abuse, more unemployment and poverty. All too often, public policymakers do not recognize the role that the police play in dealing with all of these problems because of the perception that the police should focus on crime, as if they were not all part of the same matrix.

Now that Community Policing makes dealing with a broad spectrum of problems an integral part of the police mission, departments must find ways to collect and analyze data that reflect this commitment, as a means of educating public policymakers about the need for strong financial support. The chief should tell that story about how the officer steered the young man to

treatment, and how that will cut the number of burglaries in the area overnight. But civic officials and representatives of funders also want cumulative data about how many, how much, how often.

How Is Your Department Doing?

Basic Ideals

Community Policing appears unstoppable, and estimates suggest that as many as two-thirds of police departments that serve communities of 50,000 population or more have already embraced Community Policing or plan to do so within a year. Yet, questions persist concerning the actual depth and breadth of this commitment.

Many departments, especially those in big cities, adopt Community Policing first as a limited experiment, all too often applying sterile and outmoded measures to assess its relative success or failure—primarily before and after analysis of response time, clearance rates, arrests, number of citations issued. Unfortunately, as well, because Community Policing is not always fully understood, departments eager to climb on the bandwagon often claim every new initiative is Community Policing, whether or not it accurately reflects the Community Policing philosophy. . . .

Evaluating the Community Officer

Purposes and Functions

Adopting Community Policing as a department-wide approach requires modifying the performance evaluations of virtually everyone in the department to reflect how well they are expressing the Community Policing philosophy in

their work. However, it is the Community Officer out on the beat who most completely and directly expresses the Community Policing philosophy, so if we can structure a valid and workable performance evaluation for the Community Officer's job, the changes that should be made in all the other performance evaluations would logically flow from that example.

Yet, before we struggle with the question of how best to assess the performance of the Community Officer, we should discuss some of the reasons that performance evaluations are kept. Indeed, many employees resent or ridicule the effort as a waste of time. Others think that management documents performance merely to avoid litigation or defend their decisions in a lawsuit or grievance procedure if someone is fired.

However, as noted earlier, well-crafted performance evaluations provide the department the data that they need to justify budgets to public policymakers. The most basic purpose, however, is to give the employee honest feedback to the question of "How'm I doing?"

Yet, the problem is that many employee evaluations fall far short of accomplishing even these basic goals. All too often, formal evaluations over-value those who "play the game" by generating the numbers. Indeed, too many performance evaluations penalize those who innovate. As one former police officer noted, officers who do little more than show up on time, neatly dressed, may well score better than the creative officer willing to take a risk. In professional jargon, the evaluation process in most police departments is risk averse—just don't let us hear any bad or embarrassing news and you will score OK. The winners are those who best play CYA—Cover Your "Anatomy."

This kind of performance evaluation process stifles creativity and impairs morale. Admittedly, as well, it is far easier to craft a performance

evaluation that measures and rewards busyness, efficiency, and speed rather than effectiveness.

So, the attempt to create performance evaluations for Community Officers that accurately reflect the virtues of the approach is indeed a challenge. On the one end of the spectrum is the performance evaluation employed in a small department in Texas where the Community Officers are asked to write one or more sentences every few months about what they are trying to accomplish. While that may be enough to satisfy everyone inside and outside the department in a small town where everyone knows each other, consider the challenge of fashioning fair and effective performance evaluations for Community Officers in a department like New York City's, which employs upwards of 27,000 police officers.

The best way to proceed to address the challenge of developing a suitable performance evaluation for the Community Officer requires identifying the many objectives that an ideal evaluation would meet:

- To document the individual Community Officer's performance (for purposes of raises/promotions/commendations/censure/dismissal, etc).

- To provide some basis for comparing one Community Officer's performance to another's.

- To serve as a foundation for future goals for the individual Community Officer evaluated.

- To gather and document effective strategies and tactics that can be shared with others.

- To collect and analyze efforts that failed, to warn others of potential pitfalls.

- To contribute data to assessments of the impact and effectiveness of all Community Officers within the department.

- To serve as a foundation for decisions concerning Community Officers, such as those related to training, deployment, etc.

- To contribute to assessments of the impact and effectiveness of Community Policing as a department-wide commitment.

- To provide documentation useful to public policymakers/funders.

As this suggests, combining the individual Community Officer's evaluation with others demands finding ways to express quality as quantity—in other words, to make quality a countable commodity. The optimal approach would supplement this information with an essay, to capture anecdotes and to flesh out the data. But the challenge is to identify quantifiable outcomes that truly relate to the job and to ensure that this does not corrupt Community Policing into policing by the numbers.

Opening up the Process

Part of the solution in reassuring people inside the department that the performance evaluations are meaningful and fair requires allowing Community Officers input into the process of developing their own performance measurements. Once they understand the range of purposes that a performance evaluation must meet, they will appreciate the difficulties involved, and supervision will have gone a long way toward allaying their anxiety about its uses. There will always be cynics who will carp at the process, but Community Policing recognizes the importance of opening up dialogue as a means of enhancing trust. However, for the opportunity to be meaningful, the department must be willing to allow Community Officers to make substantive contributions to developing the measurements by which they will be judged.

Also vital is ensuring that the evaluations focus on behavior—not on character or personality—as a means of enhancing objectivity in the process. Every department wants officers to be hard-working, honest, fair, dedicated, brave,

compassionate—but the challenge is to find ways to measure the relevant behavior without resorting to subjective judgments. First-line supervisors can tour the area and ask residents for feedback on how often they see the officer, do they know him or her by name, and has the officer been courteous to them—focus on what the officer does, not on who he is.

Indeed, no doubt many departments have hired individuals who have hidden prejudice toward one group or another—minorities, Jews, Moslems, gays. But the issue is not what the person thinks or feels, but what he or she does on the job. If people allow their personal feelings to influence their behavior on the job, their misbehavior must be uncovered and dealt with. But if they can overcome their biases and behave appropriately on the job, difficult as that may be, then their personal feelings and attitudes are irrelevant in a performance evaluation.

The other consideration in soliciting support for performance evaluations concerns how they are used. It doesn't take long for employees in any organization to figure out when the performance evaluations are used for punitive rather than constructive purposes. One function of performance evaluations is, indeed, to provide documentation to justify disciplinary action, but this use should apply to only a handful of cases.

Performance evaluations are not a bludgeon to whip people into shape, but rather a tool that can be used to set goals for the future. The challenge is to make the officers a real part of the process, so that they do not feel that they are being coerced by supervisors who have no feel for their problems and potential.

Enhancing Quality

We have the example of U.S. automakers to remind us that quality is not something you tack on like chrome, it must be everyone's job. When

the top brass loses touch with the consumer, when the system pits workers against bosses, quality suffers, and people balk and begin buying from someone else if they can, as happened when American car buyers switched to Japanese and German cars.

The public police have also found that they do not have a lock on the market, but those consumers who can afford to do so are shopping elsewhere for safety. We see the exodus from major cities to the suburbs—taxpayers voting with their feet, leaving urban police with smaller and smaller budgets. Indeed, the most affluent typically choose gated and walled communities patrolled by private security, where the residents receive decentralized and personalized policing for a fee. Given the choice, people want police officers they know—officers they can hold directly accountable.

So police managers should borrow from the experiments and innovations taking place in the private sector, as companies struggle to find new ways to involve workers in the process of producing quality. As Alvin Toffler notes in *Power Shift,* Ford Motor Company discovered that the traditional system of looking for defects and correcting them after the fact just wasn't working. "Only by allowing workers more discretion—no longer programming their every move—could the goal of zero defects be approached . . . and this . . . meant recognizing the power of the operators right down to shop floor level."[1]

In *In Search of Excellence*, Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, Jr., insist that the best organizations recognize the importance of treating all employees as adults. They note that one reason that the Roman Empire survived so long, even though managers back in Rome couldn't pick up the phone to issue orders, was that this meant that they had to assign someone to a "beat" and then trust them to run the show on their own.[2]

Goal-setting and Problem Solving

As this suggests, the real function of the performance evaluation for the Community Officer should be that it provides him or her the structured opportunity to talk with management about how to make even more of the job. Indeed, as one management expert said, the biggest mistake that managers make is to use performance evaluations as a way to dwell on weakness rather than to enhance strengths.

As a case in point, the expert noted that Ted Williams was a great batter and a lousy fielder, but Williams didn't waste much time practicing fielding. Williams' coach figured that, no matter how hard he tried, Williams could only make a minimal improvement in his fielding, from poor to fair perhaps, but that focusing on the negative would add to his frustration and self-doubt. So Williams instead spent his time working on batting—his strength—and that allowed him to progress from good to great to fantastic.

All too often, managers use performance evaluations primarily to identify weaknesses. Then the hapless employee spends the next few months struggling to improve—often to the detriment of the person's strengths.

Obviously, if the problem is serious (excessive use of force) or easily rectifiable (chronic tardiness), managers must demand immediate, positive change. But consider the department that urged its Community Officers to write a newsletter for their beats. Now, think of gregarious Community Officer Tom, who is a superstar on the beat when dealing with people face-to-face, but who cannot put pen to paper without gritting his teeth in agony. Yet, each time there is a performance evaluation, Tom is told that he must concentrate on putting out that newsletter—his boss spends more time talking about that than about all of Tom's wonderful new projects. So instead of

concentrating on what he enjoys and does well, Tom spends hours in the office, struggling to put together a newsletter which is likely to be poor at best.

The solution? Encourage Tom to find someone else—a citizen volunteer, the local minister, a teacher—to write the newsletter, freeing Tom to spend more time doing what he does best. In essence, this means applying Community Policing's personalized, problem-solving approach to the problem of producing a good newsletter.

The danger, of course, is that some may perceive "letting Tom off the hook" as a serious fairness issue. A fellow Community Officer who spends the time to produce a newsletter may resent seeing Tom "get away" with "sloughing the job onto someone else." Indeed, because the department will want to document the production of that newsletter, Tom may even be able to claim credit for it, even though it does not take much of his time.

At a certain level, this is reminiscent of squabbling among kids in a family ("Why does Tommy get to stay up later than I do?"), but the issue of fairness must be addressed, to reduce internal friction and maintain morale. And the best explanation is that tailoring the performance evaluation process to the individual, when feasible, will ultimately prove to be the fairest system.

Again, if officers are involved in the process of developing and modifying performance evaluations, they will begin to recognize that they may lose in one instance, but that they can gain in another. Also of importance is the reminder that the goal is to move beyond the family model, where "Daddy" tells "Junior" what to do, to one where adults reason together about how best to proceed, and that requires greater flexibility.

Identifying Tasks and Activities

As noted in the Preface, the National Center for Community Policing will be working to produce a job description/role definition for the Community Officer. However, the real world cannot wait for research before proceeding, so the following is a tentative list of duties and activities commonly performed by Community Officers, as a starting point for discussion. The more reference points for the job, the more foundation for building a quantitative measurement of quality.

The Community Officer's Duties & Activities

1. Law enforcement

The Community Officer performs general duties common to all police patrol assignments.

2. Directed patrol

Though increased visibility on the street is an added plus, the main reason for removing the Community Officer from the patrol car is to allow the officer the time and opportunity to work behind the scenes, involving the community in efforts to make the beat a better and safer place in which to live and work.

3. Community involvement

The Community Officer attempts to build an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust, so that average citizens and community leaders form a new partnership with the police to address the problems of crime, drugs, fear of crime, and social and physical disorder, including neighborhood decay.

4. Identifying and prioritizing problems

The Community Officer works with community residents to identify and prioritize problems.

5. Reporting

The Community Officer shares information, including information about problems in the beat, with officers who are part of the team and also with the rest of the department, including special units (such as narcotics).

6. Problem solving

Because of the knowledge that the Community Officer has of the neighborhood and the people who live there, he or she can be the catalyst to develop creative solutions to problems that do not focus exclusively on arrest.

7. Organizing

The Community Officer rapidly moves beyond organizing activities such as Neighborhood Watch to organizing a number of community-based initiatives and activities aimed at specific problems and at enhancing the overall quality of life in the community.

8. Communicating

The Community Officer gives formal and informal talks to individuals and groups to educate people about crime prevention techniques, to discuss problems in the beat, etc. The Community Officer also employs writing skills to communicate with residents in the beat, and the Community Officer may also be empowered to communicate directly with the media.

9. Conflict resolution

The Community Officer mediates, negotiates, and resolves conflicts formally and informally (and challenges people to begin resolving problems on their own).

10. Referrals

The Community Officer refers problems to appropriate agencies: code enforcement, social services, drug treatment, animal control, sanitation, etc.

11. Visiting

The Community Officer makes home and business visits to acquaint individuals in the beat with Community Policing, to enlist their help and to educate them about crime prevention.

12. Recruiting and supervising volunteers

The Community Officer must solicit, train, and supervise paid and/or unpaid community volunteers, ranging from individuals who assist with clerical duties to people who provide technical assistance, help in coaching youth, etc.

13. Proactive projects

In addition to efforts that focus on solving immediate problems, the Community Officer works with the community on short- and long-term efforts to prevent problems and enhance the quality of life.

14. Targeting special groups

Part of the Community Officer's mandate is to protect and assist groups with special needs—women, juveniles, the elderly, the disabled, the homeless, etc.,—as well as to target other groups, such as youth gangs, for special attention.

15. Targeting disorder

Unlike traditional police officers, the Community Officer's mandate includes emphasis on developing solutions to problems of social and physical disorder and neighborhood decay.

16. Networking with the private sector

The Community Officer contacts and solicits the active participation of business, ranging from donations of goods from small business to broad corporate support for new initiatives.

17. Networking with non-profit agencies

The Community Officer acts as both liaison and facilitator with non-profit agencies, ranging from food banks to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts.

18. Administrative/professional duties.

The Community Officer participates in:

- **training**

- **roll call**

- **office duties** (answering mail, phone calls, reports)

Note: For an example of a job description for Community Officers, please see Sample A, provided by the Lansing Police Department, which is used when the job is posted.

Building an Evaluation

To understand how we can proceed to produce a performance evaluation for Community Officers that includes countable items, it pays to look at the kinds of measures used to assess the performance of the traditional motor patrol officer. While we can debate how well these parameters actually relate to success in the job, the fact remains that most motor patrol officers are evaluated on countable items such as:

- **Radio calls**—Number and types of calls, alarm responses (true and false), disposition, reports written, time spent, follow-up required.

- **Arrests**—Number and types of felonies and misdemeanors (self-initiated and assigned); warrants; juvenile apprehensions; DUI's.

- **Traffic**—Number and types of traffic stops (moving and non-moving), including seatbelt and child-restraint violations (self-initiated and assigned), accidents, injuries, citations issued, action taken, time spent, motorist assists, parking tickets issued.

- **Suspicious persons/situations checked/ investigated**—Number and type (self-initiated and assigned), number of persons contacted, action taken, disposition, time spent.

- **Property recovered**—Type and value, time spent.

- **Desk/other assignments**—Number and type, time spent.

- **Administrative/miscellaneous**—roll call, court appearances, prisoner transport assignments, subpoenas served, patrol car maintenance, reports written/taken, bar checks, etc.

Community Officer Performance Evaluation

In addition to the items listed above, the performance evaluation for the Community Officer must take into account factors directly and indirectly related to the officer's performance. The following is an initial attempt to contribute to a model.

Outcomes Indirectly Related to Officer Performance

- **Crime rates**—Number and types of crimes in beat area; trends up or down from previous month, year; crime analysis.

- **Agency involvement**—Number and types of other public and private social service agencies operating in the community (including agencies working out of a Neighborhood Network Center).

(Statistics for crimes in the Community Officer's beat area are a valid part of any performance evaluation; however, it is important to recognize that this may be only indirectly related to the specific officer's performance. Also, while the participation of other public and private social service agencies in community-based problem solving is a valid goal, the Community Officer may lack the power to make this happen.)

Sample A

Sample Job Description
(Posted for Openings)
Community Policing Officers • Lansing Police Department

The position of the Community Policing Officer will be responsible for a variety of duties which will include, but not be limited to, the following:

1. Perform the duties of a police officer assigned to the Uniform Patrol Bureau as necessary.
2. Gather and report intelligence-related information in reference to the officer's assigned neighborhood.
3. Provide a sense of security for businesses and citizens within the assigned neighborhood.
4. Become acquainted with the merchants, businesses, and citizens within the neighborhood and assist them in identifying problem areas or concerns.
5. Enforce local and state laws, particularly those related to, or specifically drafted for, the assigned neighborhood.
6. Respond to all calls for service within the assigned neighborhood when available.
7. Respond to and investigate reports of criminal offenses within the assigned neighborhood when available.
8. Be responsible for building security, where applicable, particularly for vacant or temporarily-closed businesses and residences.
9. Develop and conduct speaking presentations on topics which have been identified as concerns and/or problems within the neighborhood.
10. Research and develop materials for preparing outlines, newsletters, and citizen training programs, as well as in-service training programs.
11. Conduct interviews with representatives of the media.
12. Serve as a member of various organizations and committees at the direction of the administration.
13. Conduct security surveys, complete business cards and crime risks reports, and provide follow- up contacts on commercial/residential burglaries and robberies which occur within the assigned neighborhood.
14. Prepare and coordinate the tasks to be accomplished within the neighborhood on a weekly basis.
15. Prepare weekly evaluation reports describing task accomplishments related to program goals and objectives.
16. Coordinate the services of various governmental and private agencies in an effort to resolve identified problems within the neighborhood.
17. Due to the nature of the assignment, it is anticipated that the officer selected will have to work a flexible schedule of 40 hours per week with variable leave days. Authorized functions or activities above 40 hours will be compensated as overtime.

Selection Criteria

1. The expression of interest and qualifications for the position.
2. Seniority insofar as possible.
3. Be able/willing to physically withstand the rigors of walking throughout the assigned neighborhood.
4. The willingness to work flexible hours as community needs dictate.
5. The demonstration of an ability to communicate effectively with all levels within the department and with the general public.
6. The demonstration via previous work history of his/her dependability.
7. The demonstration via previous work history of the ability to work independently with a minimum of direct supervision.
8. At the time of selection, all eligible applicants will submit a one-page handwritten document as directed, to demonstrate an ability in the use of written communication skills.
9. Participate in an oral interview board to demonstrate interest in the position and the ability to communicate effectively.

Examples of Problem-Solving Approaches

- Use of community surveys to identify problems and their solutions.
- Citizen surveillance (with or without cameras) at peak times of crime and disorder.
- Drug hotlines for reporting drug-related activity.
- Education and recreational programs for neighborhood children (including such activities as tutoring and playground participation).
- Conflict-resolution training for citizen volunteers.
- Self-esteem enhancing classes and activities for neighborhood children.
- Fingerprint identification programs.
- Eliminating abandoned vehicles from the neighborhood that are being used by prostitutes.
- Community Policing Officer involvement in the Special Olympics.
- The CPO being a member of a community problem-solving team.
- Community volunteers escorting the elderly and new neighbors to businesses and resource centers.
- Use of the media to provide safety tips, especially at special times of the year like Halloween.
- Cleaning up vacant lots that attract drug dealers, prostitutes, and other undesirables.
- Tearing down buildings that are havens for problem people.

- Using "No Parking or Standing" signs to reduce congestion and undesirable "vendors."
- Using volunteers to collect clothes for the homeless.
- Enactment of loitering laws to keep streets clear of problem people.
- Encouraging churches, businesses, and volunteers to provide food, clothing, and shelter for street people.
- CPOs using different types of transportation to facilitate movement, including all-terrain vehicles, dirt bikes, ten-speed bikes, horses, and golf carts.
- Enforcing park restrictions and hours to control undesirable persons.
- Development of exchange programs between urban and suburban churches.
- Recreational programs for inner-city youth in rural areas.
- Identification of absentee landlords and holding them responsible for their building code infractions and unkempt property.
- Closing up houses and apartments that have more than one drug violation.
- Removing telephones or limiting them to only out-going calls to eliminate their use for drug dealing.
- Use ID cards for residents of crime-ridden apartments to keep non-residents from misbehaving.
- Establishing Neighborhood Network Centers to decentralize and personalize other service providers.
- Use of volunteers to supervise recreation activities at neighborhood school gymnasiums during non-school times.
- Educating the youth on their legal rights and responsibilities.
- Educating senior citizens on how to avoid and deal with "con" artists.
- Encouraging residents to use their homes as "safe havens" for children going to and from school who may be targets of deviant behavior.
- Supervision of community service/prisoners.

Outcomes Directly Related to Officer Performance

- **Rates of targeted crimes**—Number and type, monthly and annual trends.

  (With input from the community, the Community Officer may have prioritized specific crimes: drug dealing, burglary, vandalism, etc.)

- **Neighborhood disorder:**

- **Social disorder**—open drug use/sales, panhandlers, runaways, addicts, "winos," truants, curfew violations, prostitution, homeless, mainstreamed mental patients, unlicensed peddlers, gambling, loitering, unsupervised youngsters, youth gangs, etc.

- **Physical disorder**—graffiti, abandoned cars, abandoned buildings, potholes, trash in yards, litter on streets, building code violations (residences and businesses), etc.

  [The first-line supervisor and the Community Officer can work together to decide which items apply, then they can develop ways to measure progress. Some items will be countable (see below); the Community Officer can tabulate how many abandoned cars are tagged and towed, but the overall perception of improvement in neighborhood decay will require an on-site assessment from the first-line supervisor. If resources are available, the department could also survey residents periodically to assess their perceptions of progress toward improving the safety and quality of life in the beat.]

- **Calls for service**—Number and type; monthly and annual trends.

  (Experience shows that a new Community Policing effort typically results in an increase in the number of calls for service from that area, as people begin to look to the police for solutions to problems more than in the past.

However, over time, most effective Community Officers discover that the number of calls for service declines, as people wait to tell the Community Officer about problems in person, or because residents begin handling more conflicts informally. Monitoring calls for service not only helps verify whether the Community Officer is doing a good job in the beat, but public policymakers should also appreciate that the time saved allows the police to do more with the same resources.)

Quantifiable Activities (Community-based Problem Solving)

(**Note:** There is some redundancy and overlap among categories.)

Communications

- **Community meetings**—How many, what kind, number of people in attendance. Did officer attend, organize, or both?

- **Newsletter**—Size, frequency, number of readers.

- **Organizing**—Number and type of block/watch groups formed, monthly and annual trends, number of other kinds of groups and projects formed, number of participants, demographics of participants, time spent.

- **Telephone calls**—Number, type, time spent.

- **Speeches**—Number, kind of group, size of audience, time spent.

- **Home and business visits**—Number, type, time spent.

- **Personal contacts** (on the street, drop-ins at office)—Number, type, time spent.

- **Media contacts**—News releases, interviews, etc.

- **Other outreach**—Surveys, feedback from community leaders, etc.

Social Disorder

- Number and types of individual efforts undertaken by the officer aimed at the problems of social disorder listed above.

- Number and type of group projects aimed at the problems of social disorder listed above; number of people involved; demographics of participants (race, income, etc.); participation of youth, area businesses, public agencies (Social Services, etc.), non-profit groups (Salvation Army, etc.)

Physical Disorder (beautification)

- Number and type of individual efforts undertaken by the officer aimed at the problems of physical disorder listed above.

- Number and type of group projects aimed at the problems of physical disorder listed above; number of people involved; demographics of participants (race, income, etc.); participation of youth, area businesses, public agencies (code enforcement, etc.); non-profit groups (Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, etc.)

Anti-drug Initiatives

- Number and type of individual and group initiatives aimed at drug use (demand); number of people involved; demographics of participants; participation of youth, area businesses, public agencies (drug treatment counselors, etc.), non-profit groups (12-Step Programs, etc.).

- Number and type of individual and group initiatives aimed at low-level drug dealing (supply); number of dope houses closed; number of open drug markets closed; number of arrests; number of people involved; demographics of participants; participation of youth, area businesses, public agencies, non-profit groups.

Special Groups

Juveniles, youth gangs, women, the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed, the poor, etc.

- Number and types of individual and group proactive initiatives aimed at the special needs of fragile, troubled, or uniquely vulnerable groups; number of people involved; demographics of participants; participation of youth, area businesses, public agencies, non-profit groups.

- Note in particular those occasions when the Community Officer provided specific support to families, including single-parent families (individual or group initiatives aimed at individual families or groups of families to reduce problems of domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, etc.)

Networking

- Number and types of contacts (in person, telephone, correspondence) with: citizens, community leaders, business owners/managers, corporate officials, other social service or city service providers, agents of non-profit groups, church officials, teachers/educators, print and electronic media, etc.

Referrals

- Number and types of referrals, number and types of agencies involved, number of referrals per agency.

Intelligence Gathering/information Sharing

- Number of occasions when the officer received useful information that contributed to resolving a crime, drug, or disorder problem; amount and kinds of useful information generated about a crime, drug, or disorder problem (aliases, street names of drugs, availability of different kinds of drugs, etc.);

contribution to crime analysis; number of occasions information was shared with others in the department (name of unit, type of information).

Innovation

- Documentable incidents when the Community Officer has demonstrated an imaginative approach to problem solving, through new projects, new use of technology, etc.

- List specific proactive initiatives: educational, athletic, and social activities for youth and families, etc.

Teamwork

- If Community Officers work as part of a team with other police officers (motor patrol, narcotics, etc.), the performance evaluation should reflect the number of contacts/joint activities, outcomes, time spent.

- If the Community Officer is part of a Neighborhood Network Center, document the interaction with other public social service providers who work from the facility. Note separately those occasions when the Community Officer's role was specifically to protect the other social service agents and when the officer was a participant in group problem solving.

Solicitation of Resources

- Number and kind of donations from: individuals, foundations, private funders, corporations, small businesses, government agencies, etc. (Options can range from donated paint for a fix-up project to a monetary grant.)

Other Parameters

There are also a number of standard measurements of an officer's performance that should be part of the Community Officer's performance profile:

Administrative Duties/responsibilities

- Attendance (at roll call, on the beat, at meetings, etc.)

- Promptness (or tardiness)

- Courtesy to the public and to fellow officers

- Cooperation with others in the department

- Reports (meets deadlines, completeness, etc.)

Professional Improvement

- Participation in in-service training

- Attendance at other training seminars/workshops

- College course work (number of hours, topics, grades)

- Other efforts toward improvement of knowledge or skills (specify details)

Use of Technology

- Has the officer demonstrated mastery of the appropriate technology (computer, radio, etc.)

- Has the officer attended workshops/classes on technology when available.

As noted earlier, in addition to the measurements available through this model, the performance evaluation for a Community Officer should also include an opportunity for the officer to write a brief essay concerning any anecdotal evidence of success. It might also be useful to ask the Community Officer to use the essay format to provide anecdotal evidence of success, to document how he or she expresses sensitivity for diversity in the job, how he overcomes vigilantism and apathy on the part of citizens, etc. Quantifiable assessments measure who, what, where, and when, but the essay format allows delving into the how and why.

The officer should also have the opportunity to affix transcripts or tapes of any media coverage of initiatives in the beat. Community Officers can also solicit letters of support from local residents.

As you will see in Sample B (Management by Objective—MBO), Dr. Bruce Benson, Director of Michigan State University's Department of Public Safety, has developed a simple form that asks officers to identify three goals for the upcoming evaluation period, with space at the bottom for follow-up. Benson says that the goals can be as vague as "increased contact with the community," or as specific as "start new basketball league for youth by May 1." The goal is for the officer and supervisor to negotiate items that are appropriate to the challenges in the beat and to determine how progress toward the goals will be monitored.

Sample C provides a sample log sheet, as used in the Aurora (CO) Police Department. It provides a reference that first-line supervisors can use to document critical incidents related to the Community Officers they supervise.

Opportunities for Understanding

An individual Community Officer's performance evaluation should give a useful snapshot in time of that particular officer's activities. Yet, performance evaluations must also contribute to a bigger picture, the effectiveness of Community Officers in the field. Toward that end, top command can begin to aggregate information, so that a broader picture emerges.

Obviously, because Community Policing often sparks an explosion in creativity, no one can anticipate all the unique efforts that Community Officers will undertake. However, we find, for example, that Community Officers, many of whom are assigned to low-income areas with a

high percentage of renters, spend significant time trying to deal with the disorder problems associated with low-income rentals. The following is the kind of analysis that could be done by combining information from a number of Community Officers' performance evaluations:

Affordable *housing*—*In the past X months, XX Community Officers have spent more than XX hours dealing with the disorder problems associated with the low-income rental housing in their beats. An immediate sign of success was that such initiatives led directly to the closing of XX dope houses, as well as the arrest of XX suspected dealers.*

XX Community Officers also held a series of XX meetings with landlords, instructing them on how to avoid renting to dealers and other undesirables. One Community Officer is even working on developing a database that they can use to warn each other of problem tenants.

XX Community Officers had XX contacts with code officials, so that they could work together to upgrade housing stocks—without triggering gentrification that can put affordable housing out of the reach of the poor. The officers were able to effect improvements in XX homes, and they were able to assist in resolving XX landlord/tenant disputes. Community Officer X is planning to host a community meeting on the rights and responsibilities of landlords and tenants. The officer has also found a donor who will supply those tenants who need a deadbolt lock.

Community Officers had XX contacts with city officials about improving the street lighting, as an assist in keeping dealers and prostitutes off the street. The officers also made XX contacts with City Sanitation to improve the timeliness of garbage removal.

As this suggests, the individual performance evaluations of Community Officers can provide

Sample B

MBO (Management by Objective)

Work Plan

Department of Public Safety • Michigan State University

Date: _____

My main objectives for the period _____ through _____ for my beat are:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Officer _____

Supervisor _____

Community leader _____

Date: _____

Evaluation of progress toward above objectives:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Officer _____

Supervisor _____

Community leader _____

Developed by Dr. Bruce Benson—10/90

Sample C

Community Officer Significant Incident Log
Aurora (CO) Police Department

Note: This is kept by supervisors on the employees—this is a copy of actual handwritten entries by supervisors (with names X'ed to maintain confidentiality).

Name: _____

Evaluation Date From _____ to _____

Date	Empl	Sup	Incident
2/14	X	X	Received a good letter from Jackie X regarding assisting them in December on 1989.
3/19	X	X	Corrective action for loss of gas card.
5/8	X	X	Gave me a letter on Community Policing project update.
6/8	X	X	Good letter from Adams County DA office.
6/8	X	X	Good letter from Det. Sgt. X on project.
2/16	X	X	Talked to X about unacceptable sick leave. I gave him an order to bring in doctor's slip on future sick days.
7/16	X	X	Good letter from Det. X from citizens.
8/6	X	X	Gave me a Community Policing memo update for month of July.
8/9	X	X	Went over 6 month evaluation.
8/27	X	X	Inspection today, all in order—all cards, uniform, etc.

the raw material for a sophisticated presentation on a variety of topics. Some topics are obvious—efforts aimed at the demand side of drugs, for example—but, since Community Policing tailors its efforts to local needs, the topics targeted for breakout may differ, department to department. For example, some departments may have enough data to justify an entry on public housing, while others may not. In other circumstances, the department may want to keep track of efforts aimed at youth, at the homeless, etc. Departments in states like Florida may need to document efforts to protect tourists. Indeed, the reason for keeping the categories listed above so general is that no one listing could possibly anticipate all the items that might be worth keeping track of.

Blending quantitative and qualitative information in this manner can also go a long way toward making the case for Community Policing within the department and also to public policymakers. Moreover, this kind of report would make an excellent news release to the media on the department's efforts in providing affordable housing. If there is a suitable site, the release of this information might be a good occasion for a news conference. The department must make the case to reporters that footage and photos of officers standing in front of a huge seizure of drugs, guns, and cash tell only part of the story.

A few tips borrowed from the field of journalism: Remember to go from the general to the specific, the specific to the general, as a way of making your point, while maintaining interest. In addition, an opening (or closing) anecdote (culled from the Community Officers' essays) would help humanize the effort and drive home the impact that Community Officers have on the lives of real people.

The First-line Supervisor

A performance evaluation for the sergeant who assists and supervises the Community Officer must obviously build upon the model provided above. To avoid repetition, it goes without saying that the performance of the first-line supervisor can also be measured on the same list of **Quantifiable Activities (Community-Based Problem Solving)** listed above, in terms of the supervisor's activities in the same regard (communication, contacts, etc.) or in terms of actions that the supervisor takes to facilitate the activities of the Community Officer in that regard (such as securing resources that Community Officers can use). The first-line supervisor will also, of course, be evaluated on traditional measures, just as Community Officers are also evaluated on these measures.

In addition, the first-line supervisor can be assessed on:

Contacts with Community Officers

- Number of face-to-face meetings with Community Officers, time spent.

- Number of suggestions made for innovation/ problem solving.

- Number of trips to the beat (announced and unannounced) with and without the Community Officer in attendance, time spent.

- Number of "assists" with other groups; with citizens, community leaders, community groups, civic officials, public agencies, church officials, teachers/educators, non-profit agencies, the media; outcome; time spent.

Career Development of Supervisers

- Number of occasions that supervisor facilitates training opportunities and/or secures resources for training Community Officers.

- Appropriate maintenance and updating of records on supervisees.

- Development/execution of an appropriate reward/recognition program for supervisees.

- Efforts to acquire appropriate technology; disposition.

- Maintenance of technology.

Political Issues

- Efforts to shield Community Officers from political pressure/interference.

- Activities designed to educate politicians about the benefits and trade-offs implicit in Community Policing.

Qualitative Issues

- Does the supervisor juggle rotation/fill-ins so that Community Officers are interrupted as little as possible?

- Has the supervisor cut red tape for Community Officers?

- Has the supervisor run interference for Community Officers with critics inside and outside the department?

- What has the supervisor done to shield Community Officers from local politics?

- Has the supervisor found ways to determine how well Community Officers express respect for diversity?

- Has the supervisor investigated complaints/rumors—about misbehavior, discourtesy, excessive use of force, unethical behavior?

- Has the supervisor supported the Community Officer when he or she made well-intentioned mistakes?

- Does the supervisor act as the Community Officer's ombudsman with top command?

- Does the supervisor "share glory" with the officers?

- Is the supervisor alert to the danger of burnout among Community Officers?

- What steps has the supervisor taken to reduce the stress/workload on Community Officers?

- What has the supervisor done to enhance the autonomy and flexibility of the Community Officer?

- Does the supervisor ignore petty concerns?

- Has the supervisor attempted to tailor performance evaluations to the specific problems in different beats?

Conclusion

This booklet should be considered the first word—not the last—in an ongoing attempt to develop performance evaluations that document Community Policing's impact without burying those who must administer them under a blizzard of paperwork and red tape. Again, there is some happy medium between asking Community Officers to write a sentence about their efforts versus an eight-hour marathon session to fill out a 20-page report. But when we consider all of the disparate purposes that performance evaluations serve, the importance of the challenge cannot be denied. We look forward to your input, advice, and criticism. How're we doing so far?

Endnotes

1. Toffler, Alvin, *Power Shift* (New York: Bantam Books, 1990), p. 206
2. Peters, Thomas J., and Waterman, Robert, Jr., *In Search of Excellence* (New York: Warner Bookers, 1982), p. 277.

Resources

State Agencies

Office of the Attorney General
Crime and Violence Prevention Center
1300 I St., Suite 1150
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 324-7863
www.caag.state.ca.us/cvpc

Statewide Community Oriented Policing
Clearinghouse
Office of the Attorney General
Crime and Violence Prevention Center
1300 I St., Suite 1150
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 322-2728
www.caag.state.ca.us/cvpc/clearing.htm

The School/Law Enforcement Partnership Cadre
c/o Office of the Attorney General
P.O. Box 944255
Sacramento, CA 94244-2550
(916) 324-7863

California Commission on
Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST)
1601 Alhambra Boulevard
Sacramento, CA 95816
(916) 227-3909
www.post.ca.gov

Office of Criminal Justice Planning
1130 K Street, Suite 300
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 324-9100
www.ocjp.ca.gov

Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs
1700 K Street
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 323-1706
www.adp.gov

Statewide Organizations and Associations

California Crime Prevention Officers Association
P.O. Box 6644
Orange, CA 92863-6644
(714) 633-3509

California Peace Officers Association and
California Police Chiefs Association
1455 Response Road
Sacramento, CA 95815
(916) 263-0541
www.cpoa.org

California State Sheriffs' Association
2125 19th Street, Suite 103
Sacramento, CA 95818
(916) 448-4242

League of California Cities
1400 K Street, Suite 400
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 658-8200
www.cacities.org

Federal Agencies

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Community Oriented Policing
Services
1100 Vermont Avenue N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 616-3589
www.usdoj.gov/cops

U.S. Department of Justice
Bureau of Justice Assistance
810 Seventh Street, NW
Washington, DC 20531
(202) 616-6500
www.ojp.usdoj.gov

National Institute of Justice
Office of Communication and
Research Utilization
810 Seventh Street, NW
Washington, DC 20531
(202) 724-2492
www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Training Academy
Behavioral Sciences Unit
Quantico, VA 22135
(703) 632-1140

HUD Drug Information and Strategy
Clearinghouse
P.O. Box 8577
Silver Springs, MD 20907
(800) 955-2232

Center for Substance Abuse Prevention
Division of State and Community Systems
Development
5600 Fishers Lane, Parklawn Bldg.
Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 443-0369
www.samhsa.gov

Office of National Drug Control Policy
Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500
www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov

National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug
Information
P.O. Box 2345
Rockville, MD 20847-2345
(800) 729-6686
www.health.org

National Organizations and Associations

Police Executive Research Forum
1120 Connecticut Avenue., N.W. Suite 930
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 466-7820
www.policeforum.org

Community Policing Consortium
1726 M Street, N.W., Suite 801
Washington, DC 20036
(800) 833-3085
www.communitypolicing.org

National Center for Community Policing
School of Criminal Justice
Michigan State University
324 Nisbet Bldg.
1407 S. Harrison Rd.
East Lansing, MI 48823
(800) 892-9051
(517) 355-9648
www.cj.msu.edu

National Crime Prevention Council
1700 K Street, N.W.
Second Floor
Washington, DC 20006-3817
(202) 466-6272
www.ncpc.org

International City/County Management
Association
777 North Capitol St., N.E., Suite 500
Washington, DC 20002-4201
(202) 289-4262
www.icma.org

International Association of Chiefs of Police
515 N Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314-2357
(800) 843-4227
www.theiacp.org

National Parents' Resource Institute for
Drug Education, Inc. (Pride)
3610 DeKalb Technology Parkway, Suite 105
Atlanta, GA 30340
(800) 853-7867
www.prideusa.org

California Regional Community Policing Institutes

Regional Community Policing Institute -
Los Angeles
Los Angeles Sheriff's Department
11515 S Colima Road, Room F-114
Whittier, CA 90604
(800) 659-8985
www.lasd.org/rcpi

Regional Community Policing Institute -
San Diego
San Diego Police Department
2820 Roosevelt Road
San Diego, CA 92133
(619) 531-2629
www.sannet.gov/police/crime-prevention/rcpi

Regional Community Policing Institute -
Sacramento
P.O. Box 233500
Sacramento, CA 95823-0443
(916) 433-4006
www.sacpd.org/rcpi

Acknowledgements