NEIGHBORHOOD TEAM POLICING

IN THE UNITED STATES

ASSESSMENT SUMMARY
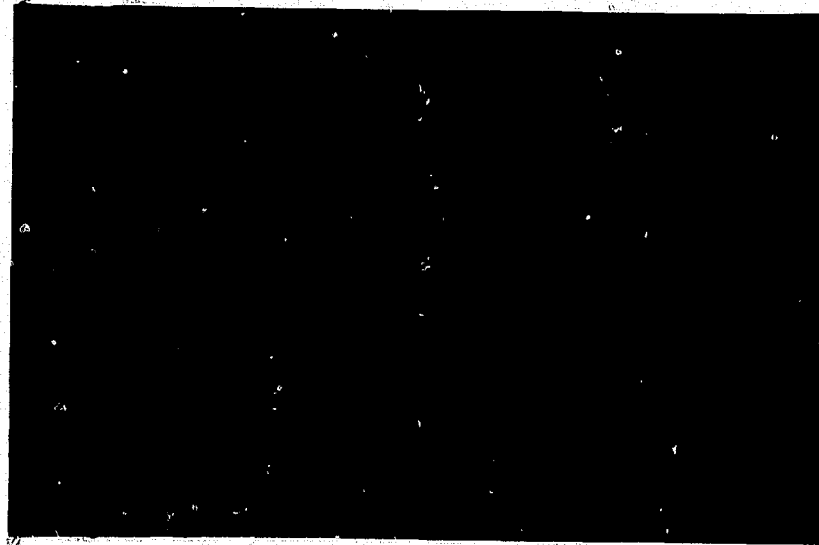
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ASSESSMENT SUMMARY

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ASSESSMENT SUMMARY

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The National Sheriffs' Association has prepared this summary of NEIGHBORHOOD TEAM POLICING IN THE UNITED STATES: ASSESSMENT SUMMARY, under Grant Number 75 NI 99-0065, of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. It is one in a series of reports in the area of patrol operations and is part of the Institute's National Evaluation Program.

NEIGHBORHOOD TEAM POLICING IN THE UNITED STATES: ASSESSMENT SUMMARY presents the results of a critical review of efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of Team Policing Programs in expanding the role of the patrol officer, combatting crime and improving police-community relations. The information contained in this report relies heavily upon formal evaluations of Team Policing Programs in fourteen cities. The report provides a "snapshot" of the characteristics of Team Policing Programs, assesses the state of the knowledge about Team Policing and indicates what additional information is needed to fully evaluate Team Policing.

Our review of team policing programs indicates that several team policing programs have failed because of the inability of departments to implement the most basic components of the program. Where team concepts have been operationalized, however, several departments have demonstrated that team policing can improve the performance of patrol, investigative and community service activities. The most serious shortcomings in the evaluation of team policing has been the failure of evaluators to carefully monitor the extent to which planned program activities have actually been implemented by team managers and officers. Because of this shortcoming it has not always been possible to determine whether the concepts of team policing or extraneous variables are responsible for the evaluation results reported.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years neighborhood team policing programs have received considerable attention from the criminal justice community. Both the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in its comprehensive report The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals have strongly recommended that law enforcement agencies consider the adoption of team policing programs. A National Strategy to Reduce Crime specifically recommended:

> ...that every police agency examine and test the team policing concept to determine its value in improving the agency's efforts to reduce crime, improve the quality of police service, and enhance police-community cooperation. (NACCJSG, 1973, p. 78).

The National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice has taken an active role in the implementation of team policing programs. The Institute's Prescriptive Package Neighborhood Team Policing (Bloch & Specht, 1973) and its more recent publication Full-Service Neighborhood Team Policing (Public Safety Research, 1975) have been designed as planning guides to acquaint the law enforcement administrator with the concepts of team policing and to describe procedures by which to implement a team policing program. Further, the Institute is now funding six demonstration projects, and it has held seminars throughout the country to familiarize law enforcement officials with team policing.[1] The Police Foundation is also vitally involved in the potential of the team policing concept. It has supported the preparation of Team Policing: Seven Case Studies (Sherman et al., 1973) and has enabled several cities to develop, implement and evaluate team policing programs.

This report represents an attempt to gather and evaluate information about the effectiveness of team policing. Our goal is to provide law enforcement administrators and planners with a comprehensive assessment of team policing as a system designed to deliver patrol, investigative and community services. The information presented in this report is derived from a critical synthesis of formal evaluations conducted in fourteen cities which have implemented team policing. We think this assessment will enable criminal justice officials at the Federal, State and Local levels to make more knowledgeable decisions about the funding, planning and evaluating of team policing programs.

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[1] For information about the implementation and evaluation of these demonstration projects in Boulder, Colorado; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Hartford, Connecticut; Multnomah County, Oregon; Santa Ana, California; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, contact the Office of Technology Transfer of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A variety of methods were used in gathering information for this state-of-the-art assessment. Law enforcement literature and published team policing materials were reviewed during the first phase of the project to develop a background understanding of team policing activities, relevant patrol and community relations issues, and the likely effects of team policing programs upon the delivery of basic law enforcement services. The report Issues in Team Policing presents the results of this literature review.

During the second phase of the study, the project staff augmented its knowledge of team policing programs by reviewing and analyzing evaluation reports of fourteen team policing projects. Field site visits to twenty-one team policing programs supplemented the information obtained from these reports.

On the basis of our site visits and a critical review of the evaluation reports, nineteen team policing programs were selected for extended analysis. Table 1, Characteristics of Programs Analyzed, presents background information about the team policing programs analyzed in this report. The primary criterion for selecting a team program for analysis and assessment was the existence of program documentation and evaluation reports. All of the departments provided program documentation. Fifteen of the nineteen programs were formally evaluated, usually by a university or private consulting firm. Four programs that were not evaluated were included in this report because they represented distinct types of team policing programs worth the attention of law enforcement planners and managers.

The second criterion for program analysis was the size of the department. Earlier descriptions of team policing programs have tended to describe them as a phenomenon only of larger cities. Our review of over sixty team policing programs indicated that team policing has been adopted by large, medium and small cities in approximately equal numbers. The tendency to disproportionately analyze the larger departments in this report reflects the fact that large departments have evaluated their programs more frequently. This is probably attributable to the greater success of the larger departments in attracting grants from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, State Planning Agencies or private sources like the Police Foundation to both implement and evaluate their programs. Eleven of the nineteen programs have had implementation grants. Although Detroit, New York and Rochester implemented their programs without outside support, their evaluation reports were funded by grants. Team programs have been implemented in both urban and suburban areas, and, although the Table does not reflect it, several sheriff's departments have also implemented team policing.[1] Finally, the programs selected for analysis represent all geographic areas of the United States.

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[1] Multnomah County, Oregon has implemented the program county-wide; while San Diego and San Joaquin Counties, California are using team policing in selected areas to service communities separated from major urban areas of the county.

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Table 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAMS ANALYZED

CHARACTERISTICS \ CITY	ALBANY/ARBOR	ALBANY/SOUTH	ALBUQUERQUE	CHARLOTTE	CINCINNATI	DAYTON	DETROIT	HARTFORD	HOLYOKE	LOS ANGELES	MENLO PARK	NEW YORK	N. CHARLESTON	PALO ALTO	RICHMOND	ROCHESTER	SAN BRUNO	SAN DIEGO	ST. PETERSBURG	SUMMARY
PROGRAM DOCUMENTATION																				
Program Description	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	19
Quantitative Evaluation	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●				●	●	●	●	15
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS																				
Small Department (0-149)								●		●		●	●			●				5
Medium Department (150-399)	●	●				●								●						4
Large Department (400 up)			●	●	●		●	●		●		●				●		●	●	10
Urban	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●				●	●		●	15
Suburban											●		●	●			●			4
GEOGRAPHIC SPREAD																				
Northeast	●	●						●	●			●				●				6
Southeast				●									●						●	3
Midwest					●	●	●													3
West Coast			●							●	●			●	●		●	●		7
FUNDING CHARACTERISTICS																				
LEAA or Private Grant	●	●	●		●	●		●	●	●								●	●	10

ASSESSMENT METHODOLOGY

Evaluation reports provided the most extensive information about the outcomes and impacts of team policing programs. Twenty-three formal evaluation reports, which describe fifteen team policing programs, were analyzed in preparing this report. These reports vary greatly in type and quality, ranging from brief one-time surveys to multi-year intensive research studies culminating in a series of reports. Despite the relatively large number of studies, there have been no cost-effectiveness analyses and no comparative evaluations of two or more team programs.

A standard set of criteria was developed to assess the various data sources used in the evaluation studies. These criteria permitted us to judge, with some degree of confidence, whether the results reported by an evaluation were likely to be accurate and attributable to the particular team policing program. The criteria were not given equal weight in rating a report's reliability. The adequacy of the research design, particularly the comparability of control groups and the collection of pre-post data, was considered most important. In addition, because the different types of data used in a single report might vary in quality, the data sources for each report were assigned a rating of High, Medium or Low.

For a data source to receive a High rating, the research design had to be complete, the measures appropriate, the instruments validated and the data sources audited. Only four sources received a High rating: the Officer Survey in Cincinnati, the Citizen Surveys in Cincinnati, the Departmental Records used in the Study of Investigative Effectiveness in Rochester and the San Diego Officer Survey. These sources have been relied upon most heavily in the preparation of this assessment. Fifteen data sources received Medium ratings. Most of the reports were rated as Low primarily because of inadequate research designs which made it difficult to determine if the reported effects could be attributed to the team policing program evaluated. It should be cautioned that a high rating does not mean perfect and a low rating does not mean poor. The ratings should be considered only as guides. Table 2 lists the evaluation reports by cities and indicates the type of report and the rating assigned to each data source.

The reliability rating assigned to each data source indicates our confidence in the changes evaluators attributed to the team policing programs. Data given a Low reliability rating have been reported as a Qualified Change, while data assigned a Medium rating have been reported as a Probable Change. If a data source had a High rating, it was reported without a qualifying modifier. Table 3 summarizes this system.

Table 2

EVALUATION REPORT SUMMARY

CITY	AUTHOR	TITLE	TYPE OF REPORT	RATING
Albany/Arbor	Crasap, McCormick & Pager, Inc.	Albany Police Department: A Management Evaluation of the Arbor Hill Neighborhood Police Unit.	Case Study Crime Records Department Records	Low Medium
	Forer & Farrell	The Impact of the Neighborhood Police Unit on the Arbor Hill Community of Albany, New York: A Sociological Evaluation.	Ex Post Facto Citizen Survey Department Records	Medium Low
Albany/South	Candeub, Fleissig, & Associates	Evaluation of Changes in Police and Resident Attitudes: Neighborhood Police Unit Project, Albany, New York.	Ex Post Facto Officer Survey Citizen Survey	Medium Low
	New York State Institute for Governmental Executives	Training Neighborhood Police: The Report on the Training Program for the Albany Neighborhood Police Unit Conducted May 17-June 11, 1971.	Case Study Officer Survey	Low
Albuquerque	Sears & Wilson	Crime Reduction in Albuquerque: Evaluation of Three Police Projects.	Ex Post Facto Officer Survey Department Records	Low Low
Charlotte	Gill	Police Organizational Questionnaire (Memorandum Reporting Results of Administration of Questionnaire Evaluating Officer Attitudes).	Quasi-Experimental Officer Survey	Low

CITY	AUTHOR	TITLE	TYPE OF REPORT	RATING
Cincinnati	Cincinnati Police Department	Report on Investigative Effectiveness: A Comparison of Three Investigative Models.	Quasi-Experimental Officer Survey Crime/Dept Records	Medium Medium
	Cincinnati Police Department	Community Sector Team Policing: An Examination of the Model's Operational Components Based Upon Six Months of Experience.	Case Study Officer Survey Crime/Dept Records	Medium Medium
	Cincinnati Police Department	Community Sector Team Policing: An Examination of the Model's Operational Components Based Upon Eighteen Months of Experience.		
	Schwartz et al.	Evaluation of Cincinnati's Community Sector Team Policing Program - A Progress Report: After One Year, Summary of Major Findings.	Quasi-Experimental Officer Survey Citizen Survey Department Records Victimization Survey	High High Medium Medium
	Schwartz & Clarren	Evaluation of Cincinnati's Community Sector Team Policing Program - A Progress Report: The First Six Months Summary of Major Findings.		
	Clarren & Schwartz	An Evaluation of Cincinnati's Team Policing Program.		
	Urban Institute	Urban Institute Evaluation Activities Associated with the Community Sector Team Policing Program in Cincinnati, Ohio: A Collection of Papers.		
	Schwartz et al.	Evaluation of Cincinnati's Community Sector Team Policing Program - A Progress Report: Baseline Data.		
	Schwartz et al.	Cincinnati's Team Policing Program: Eighteen Months of Evaluation.		

Continued

CITY	AUTHOR	TITLE	TYPE OF REPORT	RATING
Dayton	Cordrey & Kotecha	Evaluation of the Community Centered Team Policing Program, 1971.	Ex Post Facto Officer Survey Citizen Survey Department Records Officer Interviews	Low Low Low Low
	Tortoriello & Blatt	Community Centered Team Policing: A Second Year Evaluation.	Ex Post Facto Citizen Survey Department Records	Low Low
Detroit	Bloch & Ulberg	The Beat Commander Concept.	Ex Post Facto Officer Survey Department Records	Low Low
Holyoke	O'Malley	Evaluation Report on the Holyoke Team Police Experiment of Holyoke Police Department.	Case Study Citizen Survey Department Records Officer Survey	Low Low Low
Los Angeles	Los Angeles Police Department	An Evaluation of the Team 28 Experiment.	Quasi-Experimental Officer Survey Citizen Survey Crime/Dept Records Security Inspection Survey	Low Low Medium Medium
Menlo Park	Feist & Luft	Menlo Park Community Attitude Survey Report.	Ex Post Facto Citizen Survey	Low
New York	Bloch & Specht	Evaluation of Operation Neighborhood.	Quasi-Experimental Officer Survey Citizen Survey Department Records	Low Low Low

CITY	AUTHOR	TITLE	TYPE OF REPORT	RATING
Rochester	Bloch & Bell	How Detectives Contributed to the Increased Effectiveness of Police Patrol Teams in Rochester, New York - Draft.	Quasi-Experimental Department Records Officer Survey	High Medium
	Bloch & Ulberg	Auditing Clearance Rates.	Ex Post Facto Department Records	Medium
San Bruno	San Bruno Police Department	4/40 - Basic Team Concept.	Ex Post Facto Department Records Officer Survey	Low Low
San Diego	Boydstun & Sherry	Final Evaluation Report of the San Diego Police Department's Community Profile Project.	Quasi-Experimental Officer Interviews Citizen Survey Field Observation Department Records Crime Records	Low Low Medium Low Low
	Stamper et al.	Performance Assessment: An Analysis of Current Problems and a Proposal for Change.	Case Study Officer Interviews Citizen Survey Field Observation Department Records Crime Records	Low Low Medium Low Low
St. Petersburg	Murphy	Research Report: Impact of St. Petersburg Public Safety Team Adam.	Ex Post Facto Citizen Interviews	Low
	Vetere	Final Report: Comprehensive Police Improvement Project (Period of April 1972-April 1973).	Quasi-Experimental Citizen Survey Officer Interviews Crime/Dept Records	Low Low Low

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Table 3

DATA ASSESSMENT FORMAT

REPORT RATING	PROGRAM EFFECTS
Low	Qualified Change
Medium	Probable Change
High	Change

This system has been used to summarize all of the evaluation data presented in
this report. In addition, in the summary assessment tables for each section
we note whether the element being measured indicated the program was a success
(+), no change (0) or a failure (-). If, for example, evaluators reported that
team policing significantly improved police-community relations and the report
had a High confidence rating, the result was reported as a success (+). If the
confidence rating was Low or Medium, we reported the outcome as a Qualified or
Probable Success.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF TEAM POLICING

Goals are much more than convenient reference points by which to measure the success or failure of a program. Goals determine what a program is and, if the program is successful, whether the end result is worthwhile. Team policing programs have generally adopted goals in the following areas:

> Organizational Development
> Officer Role and Responsibilities
> Traditional Law Enforcement Services
> Police-Community Relations

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The organizational development of team policing has been aimed largely at one fundamental goal: decentralizing the delivery of law enforcement services. This is most frequently attempted by a downward shift of decision making and a tendency to increase the management and operational responsibility of team leaders and first-line supervisors. Further, in order to establish account-ability for operations at the lowest level possible, team programs have encouraged participant decision making and the involvement of patrol officers in planning, investigative and community relations activities. In addition, decentralization of service delivery usually includes assigning a clearly defined and relatively small geographic area of responsibility to each team.

OFFICER ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The organizational changes brought about by team policing have frequently generated new goals for the patrol officer. Team policing programs have tried to enhance the officer's role by expanding his responsibilities. They often stress the development of generalist officers who, although their primary responsibility may be responding to calls for service, perform some of the work traditionally assigned to specialists. Team officers have sometimes engaged in follow-up investigative work, taken responsibility for developing community relations contacts and helped their sergeants plan and coordinate team activities. The model for many team programs has been a more professional officer who can capably perform a variety of tasks with a minimum of super-vision. The expansion of the patrol officer's role usually has two objectives. First, some teams assign the officer more responsibility in an effort to increase the level of service delivered by the officer and the team. Second, enlarged job responsibilities have been viewed as a method by which to increase job satisfaction.

TRADITIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT SERVICES

Police administrators have been seeking ways to more efficiently manage the patrol and investigative workload. Reducing crime is one of the most

frequently stated goals of team policing programs. Most team leaders have attempted to reduce crime by demanding better quality preliminary reports, encouraging officer-investigator coordination and permitting patrol officers to engage in some investigative work. A second goal of team administrators has been to more effectively manage the patrol workload by improving manpower allocation, increasing the number of dispatch calls serviced and decreasing response time without assigning additional personnel to the team area. Some have looked upon the decentralization of patrol and investigative activities to teams as a means of increasing the level of service delivered without appreciably increasing inputs.

POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

A final goal of most of the teams here has been to enhance the relationship between the police and the public. Team policing community relations objectives have usually included attempts to initiate crime prevention programs, improve police-citizen cooperation and encourage citizen involvement in and concern with public safety issues. Team policing administrators have attempted to improve police-community relations by making the patrol officer responsible for initiating police-citizen contacts and for carrying out activities designed to reduce police-citizen conflicts.

TEAM ORGANIZATION

The organizational structure of the team is an important criterion for dividing the various team programs into types and developing a conceptual framework. Departments have organized their officers into teams responsible for either an area within the city on a twenty-four hour basis or for a specific block of time during the day - usually an eight hour shift. Area Teams are responsible for providing law enforcement services around-the-clock and are usually headed by a lieutenant. Twenty-four hour responsibility permits a single team leader to coordinate all patrol activities in the team area. It has usually facilitated cross-shift planning and coordination. In addition, twenty-four hour responsibility frequently gives the team leader considerable flexibility in deploying officers to meet the changing level of service demands experienced throughout the day. Area Teams generally have from seventeen to forty-nine officers and are larger than teams organized by shifts. Shift Teams are usually led by a sergeant or corporal and usually have from eight to twenty-two officers. Unlike the Area Team organization, no formal chain of command has been established to coordinate the various shifts serving a single area. The sergeant directing a shift team usually reports to a watch commander who, like the sergeant, is responsible for only a single shift within a twenty-four hour period.

The permanent assignment of officers to the team is an important element in the decentralization scheme and has been a common feature of team policing programs. Unlike traditional patrol systems where officers are frequently dispatched throughout the city, team programs have attempted, not always successfully, to assign most calls for service in the team area to team officers. Permanent assignment has led police administrators to hold team officers accountable for the delivery of law enforcement services in the team area. All of the team programs described in this report feature permanent

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assignment, and most assign officers to a specific beat within the team area. The assignment to a specific beat has meant that the beat officer is responsible for preventive patrol in that beat and may participate in community relations, and investigative and traffic activities in the same area. Team policing has frequently been accompanied by efforts to decentralize management and planning functions to the team level. Most teams have made an attempt to establish procedures that would enable first-line supervisors and officers to plan and coordinate patrol strategies. Many team programs have also attempted to better coordinate investigative and community relations activities within the team area.

The primary mechanism for planning and coordinating has been regular and periodic meetings of team members. In most instances the traditional roll call has been replaced by less formal gatherings where team members and first-line supervisors can discuss and plan activities for the team area. These meetings also provide a mechanism for team members to participate in decisions made by team leaders and first-line supervisors.

TEAM RESPONSIBILITIES

The organizational and managerial aspects of team policing described in the previous section provide the base upon which departments have decentralized the delivery of basic law enforcement services in the field. Most team programs have sought to replace random roving patrol with patrol activities designed to achieve specific objectives. Teams have been assigned additional duties so that when officers are not responding to service calls they can perform community relations, investigative or crime prevention activities.

We have developed a functional typology to describe the kinds of services that various team programs have provided to citizens. Table 4, Program Aspects of Team Policing, presents a visual display of the functional responsibilities that have been assigned to teams. In addition, the Table indicates the type of officers and specialists that have been assigned to teams. Analysis of functional responsibilities of each team has made it possible to group the nineteen team policing programs into four categories:

> Basic Patrol Teams
> Patrol-Investigative Teams
> Patrol-Community Service Teams
> Full Service Teams

BASIC PATROL TEAMS

The simplest form of team policing has involved the reorganization of departments into teams responsible for basic preventive patrol, radio dispatch service and traffic duties. North Charleston, Richmond and San Bruno have adopted this organizational structure.[1] Each of these cities has viewed team

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[1]Richmond is planning to develop a Full Service Team program.

Table 4

PROGRAM ASPECTS OF TEAM POLICING

TEAM RESPONSIBILITIES	BASIC PATROL		INVEST	COMMUNITY RELATIONS				FULL SERVICE TEAM POLICING												SUMMARY
									MULTI-SPECIALIST						GENERALIST					
	N CHARLESTON / RICHMOND	SAN BRUNO	ROCHESTER	ALBUQUERQUE	HARTFORD	NEW YORK	SAN DIEGO	ALBANY/ARBOR	CHARLOTTE	CINCINNATI	DETROIT	LOS ANGELES	PALO ALTO	ST. PETERSBURG	ALBANY/SOUTH	DAYTON	HOLYOKE	MENLO PARK	
FIELD SERVICES																			
Investigations		•						•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	12
Community Relations				•	•	•	L	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	15
Traffic	• •			•	•	•		•	•	•		•	•		•	•	•		13
PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO TEAMS																			
Detectives		•						•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•				8
Community Relations Officers								•		•			•						3
Traffic Officers						•					•								2
Evidence Technicians	•							•											2
Generalist Officers															•	•	•	•	4

L = Limited

policing as an organizational form which could more efficiently deliver basic patrol services to the community. In these cities improved manpower allocation, reduced response time and the clearance of service calls have been primary objectives. Unlike the other programs described in this report, the officers in the Basic Patrol Team do not have community relations or investigative responsibilities. Except for evidence technicians in Richmond, specialists have not been assigned to these teams. All three Basic Patrol Teams employ a shift organizational structure.

PATROL-INVESTIGATIVE TEAMS

The Patrol-Investigative Team combines the features of the basic patrol team with the assignment of follow-up investigative responsibilities to the team. The single example of this system is Rochester, where most investigative work has been decentralized. The Rochester reorganization has involved the transfer of approximately one-half of the centralized investigative bureau's detectives to teams. Although most of the team follow-up investigations are performed by detectives, patrol officers have been responsible for conducting more complete preliminary investigations and have occasionally been assigned investigative follow-ups. The Rochester team is an Area Team responsible for patrol and investigative duties around-the-clock.

PATROL-COMMUNITY SERVICE TEAMS

The Patrol-Community Service Team incorporates the features of the Basic Patrol Team with responsibility for community relations. By assigning community responsibilities to team officers, administrators have hoped to increase the level and kinds of service delivered to the community. The community relations focus of team policing has been an important step in replacing traditional reactive patrol with a more focused proactive patrol strategy.

Three of the surveyed departments - Albuquerque, Hartford and New York - have adopted this approach. Although the San Diego experimental Community Profile Program emphasized individual officer rather than team responsibilities and organization, we have chosen to include it in this group because of the profile program's emphasis upon community service. Team officers in Hartford and San Diego have also been assigned some responsibility for traffic services. Although each team has performed community relations activities, personnel from the centralized community relations units of these departments have not been reassigned to the teams. Even in San Diego, for example, which has extensively enlarged the role of the team officers' community relations responsibilities, community service officers working in the team area are attached to the centralized community relations office and not to the team. Hartford, because of its satisfaction with team policing, has diminished the role of its centralized community relations units and has contemplated the transfer of community relations personnel to its teams. Albuquerque implemented a Shift Team while Hartford and New York implemented area teams.

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FULL SERVICE TEAMS

The most complex team policing programs have involved the decentralization of patrol, investigative and community relations responsibilities to the team. Eleven of the nineteen programs analyzed in this report have adopted this mode of team policing. A number of these programs have also decentralized some traffic duties to the team. The transfer of personnel from centralized bureaus to the team unit has usually involved detectives and to a lesser extent community relations and traffic personnel. The usual tendency has been to assign between three and four detectives to each team. Because of the relative size of the detective bureau in most agencies, the transfer of personnel from that bureau to the team has frequently had the most impact upon a department implementing team policing.

The Full Service Teams can be classified into two distinct groups by the types of specialist duties assigned to team members. Seven of the eleven teams - Arbor Hill in Albany, Charlotte, Cincinnati, Detroit, Los Angeles, Palo Alto and St. Petersburg - have developed a Multi-Specialist approach. These agencies have deployed mixed teams of patrol officers and specialists (detectives and community relations officers) who are under the direction of the team leader. Although team patrol officers frequently participate in investigative and community relations activities, the specialists assigned to the team have taken primary responsibility for these activities.

South End in Albany, Dayton, Holyoke and Menlo Park have adopted a Generalist approach to team policing. In these agencies all team officers have been expected to perform both basic patrol and specialist duties. When the Generalist mode has been adopted, the number of personnel and functions assigned to centralized bureaus has been severely reduced. With the exception of Menlo Park and Palo Alto, the Full Service Teams have been organized as Area Teams.

OFFICER ROLE AND JOB SATISFACTION

The attempt to redefine the role of patrol officers by expanding their job responsibilities is a major element in team policing programs. With the exception of Basic Patrol Teams, all of the departments reviewed in this report have used team policing as a vehicle to replace traditional reactive patrol strategies with proactive techniques designed to make the patrol officer responsible for the delivery of a wider range of services to the community.

Team policing supporters believe that expanding the patrol officer role will accomplish two objectives. First, because team officers are assigned specific service and investigative responsibilities, it was felt that team policing would enable an agency to deliver a higher level of service to the community. Second, team policing planners have generally believed that permitting officers to participate in planning, investigative and community service activities would increase the officer's interest and satisfaction.

OFFICER ROLE PERCEPTION

In recent years a number of law enforcement analysts have emphasized that crime related problems occupy only a small part of the patrol officer's time (American Bar Association, 1973, pp. 32-35; Bittner, 1970, p. 29; Wilson, 1968, p. 19). The contemporary law enforcement officer has been called upon to provide a wide range of social services to the citizens in their communities. Some observers have referred to the police as a twenty-four hour social service agency capable of providing assistance when other agencies are not available. In spite of this recognition, patrol officers have sometimes been reluctant to abandon their crime fighter role perceptions and accept their job as encompassing the provision of many non-crime services.

In every team policing program an effort has been made to increase the officer responsibility for traditional law enforcement functions and to add new responsibilities, primarily in the area of community service, to the patrol role. Team officers have, for example, assumed new responsibilities for making referrals to other social agencies, conducting security inspections, providing crime prevention information and performing community relations work.

Although New York has provided information about how team officers regard their job role and the community, only San Diego has made an extensive assessment of the changes in role perceptions have have occurred among profile officers. San Diego planners assumed that any change in patrol operations could only come about if patrol officers changed their ideas about what the role of an officer should be. When the attitudes of profile and control officers were compared, the evaluators found that profile officers regarded police-community relations as a significantly more important activity, and that profile officers

had developed a significantly greater level of support from the community (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, p. 50). According to officer self reports, profiling brought substantial changes in their patrol methods and their orientation toward patrol. Their assessment of "roving patrol" declined significantly as they adopted analytical techniques designed to facilitate the identification and solution of problems in the team area. When not responding to calls for service, profile officers frequently planned patrol strategies or engaged in proactive community relations activities (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, pp. 62-63).

Evaluators of Operation Neighborhood in New York found that officer role orientation changed in the opposite direction of what was predicted and desired. Team officers rated radio patrol more highly than did the control group, and the attitudes of team officers toward community service deteriorated during the course of the evaluation. Moreover, team officers rated aggressive patrol tactics more highly than did officers in the control group (Bloch & Specht, 1973, pp. 67-75). Table 5, Summary Assessment of Officer Role Changes, indicates that only San Diego's Community Profile program has achieved success in altering the officer's perception of his role. A large part of the success in altering the officer role in San Diego can be attributable to the department's profile training program and the fact that profile officers were assigned specific patrol activities in order to implement the profile program.

Table 5

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF OFFICER ROLE CHANGES

MEASURE / CITY	ROLE CHANGE	ASSESSMENT
New York	−	Qualified Failure
San Diego	+	Success

OFFICER JOB SATISFACTION

Increasing the satisfaction of officers with their jobs has been a goal of most team policing programs. Team planners have assumed that the addition of new responsibilities to the patrol function would alleviate the boredom which many police officers consider characteristic of traditional preventive patrol. Variety and added responsibility have been injected into the patrol role by assigning officers responsibility for helping team leaders to plan patrol strategies, carry out community relations activities and participate more fully in the investigative process. Increased job satisfaction has been important not only for the officer but also for the department since it has been recognized as a critical element in increasing the efficiency and productivity of organizations.

The National Commission on Productivity has identified five techniques for measuring job satisfaction. Four of these measures are behavioral: job turnover, absenteeism, employee misconduct and the responsiveness of employers to employee suggestions. The final measure of job satisfaction is based upon attitudinal information gained from questionnaires and interviews (NCOP, 1973, p. 60). Five team policing programs have made an attempt to measure officer job satisfaction. With the exception of four programs which monitored sick leave, none of these programs has measured other behavioral indicators of job satisfaction. The tendency has been to rely upon questionnaires to collect attitudinal data.

Four programs have presented comparative data about officer use of sick leave. Cincinnati and New York presented positive results. ComSec officers consistently used less sick time than officers in the control area, while officers in New York used only one half the sick leave of non-team officers in the precinct (Bloch & Specht, 1973, p. 99; TPIESCPD, 1974, p. 32). Evaluators of the Dayton program reported that there was little difference in the use of sick leave by team and control officers (Tortoriello & Blatt, 1973, p. 103). In Holyoke, although sick leave for both team and non-team officers rose dramatically, team members used less sick leave than other officers in the department (O'Malley, 1973, pp. iii-iv).

The most extensive analysis of officer job satisfaction has been performed by the Urban Institute in Cincinnati. ComSec officers felt that their independence to perform non-routine duties without direction from superiors had increased, that they had a greater ability than officers in non-team units to influence decisions affecting them and that their freedom had also increased. In spite of these changes, however, they did not report increased satisfaction with their work. Results similar to Cincinnati were also found in San Diego. Both profile and control group officers expressed less, but not significantly less, satisfaction with their assignments at the end of the evaluation than at the beginning. Throughout the evaluation, however, the expressed levels of satisfaction remained at approximately seventy percent (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, pp. 46-52).

Police Foundation reviewers of both the Cincinnati and San Diego programs have noted that factors extraneous to the team policing and community profile programs may have interferred with the job satisfaction of program participants. In Cincinnati, officer job satisfaction was adversely affected by efforts to re-centralize operations and to place restrictions upon officer's responsibility. In San Diego officer morale was tested during a period when rumors abounded that the profile program would be abandoned at the end of the experiment.

Only the evaluators of the Charlotte program have reported positive changes in officer job satisfaction with team policing. Although team officers thought that getting ahead in the department was more difficult since team policing was implemented, they expressed slightly more interest in patrol work, a substantial increase in their desire to stay on the job until retirement, satisfaction with the four/ten schedule and a belief in the value of police work (Gill, 1975, pp. 5-6). Of the four programs which surveyed officer job satisfaction, only

New York reported negative results. Eighty percent of the Operation Neighborhood officers felt their jobs were getting worse (Bloch & Specht, 1973, p. 99).

Table 6, Summary Assessment of Officer Job Satisfaction, indicates that team policing programs have had only a limited impact upon the satisfaction of team officers with their jobs. Only Charlotte indicated officers were more satisfied with their work after team policing was implemented. Cincinnati and San Diego reported virtually no change, while officers in New York expressed less satisfaction.

Table 6

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF OFFICER JOB SATISFACTION

MEASURE CITY	SICK LEAVE	ATTITUDINAL	ASSESSMENT
Charlotte		+	Qualified Success
Cincinnati	+	−	No Change
New York	+	−	Qualified Failure
San Diego		0	No Change

UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS

The indicators of job satisfaction discussed in the previous section have been very general in nature. None of the evaluators has attempted to ascertain the level of job satisfaction derived from the various functional responsibilities added to the patrol officer role. To identify the source of dissatisfaction in the officer role, one would need to know more about the officer attitude toward:

- Participant decision making and planning responsibilities;

- Investigative responsibilities; and

- Community service assignments.

Job satisfaction information about these topics would appear to be a valuable tool enabling planners not only to understand job satisfaction but also to achieve changes in the officers' role that are consistent with team policing goals.

PATROL WORKLOAD MANAGEMENT

An important goal for seven of the nineteen team policing programs reviewed in this report has been improved management of the patrol workload. Because law enforcement is a highly labor intensive activity, program planners and administrators have been concerned with the impact team policing might have upon manpower utilization and patrol workload management. Only seven of the nineteen programs, however, have evaluated any measures of workload management effectiveness. These programs have attempted to measure the impact of team policing upon the:

- Stable assignment of officers to the team area;

- Flexible scheduling of patrol officers; and

- Ability of the team to manage service calls by evaluating changes in the number of calls serviced, response time and the amount of time spent on calls.

STABLE ASSIGNMENT TO THE TEAM AREA

The permanent assignment of an officer to a particular beat is designed to decentralize the patrol function and increase the officer's responsibility for a well defined area of the community. In support of permanent assignment, departments have attempted to assign radio calls from a particular beat to the officer responsible for that beat and to limit the number of team calls handled by non-team units.

Cincinnati and Detroit experienced considerable success in maintaining stable assignment of officers to the team area. An examination of Departmental Records in Cincinnati indicated that only ten percent of the calls in the team area were handled by non-team units (Watkins, 1973, p. 1). Similar results were achieved in Detroit where the number of outside runs was between five and ten percent (Bloch & Ulberg, 1972, p. 59). Maintaining radio assignments within the team area, however, was a problem in New York. Team units were dispatched out of the team area on approximately fifty percent of their calls. In spite of efforts to modify dispatch procedures to limit the amount of out-dispatching of team units and the amount of in-dispatching of non-team units to the team area, little progress was made (Bloch & Specht, 1973, p. 10).

Information about stable assignment in San Diego's Community Profiling program indicates that assigning officers to a single beat, rather than a group of beats is counterproductive. Whereas Cincinnati, Detroit and New York evaluated only the extent to which officers were dispatched within the team area, San Diego evaluators developed a more stringent measure of stable assignment. San Diego's Community Profiling evaluation measured the extent to which an officer was dispatched to his assigned beat rather than to the entire squad area.

Analysis of calls-for-service indicates that only thirty-three percent of the service calls were answered by the profile officer assigned to that beat (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, pp. 23-24). Given the low level of beat response, it is unlikely that profile officers were able to adequately use their knowledge about the beat to answer calls or initiate services.

Table 7 summarizes our knowledge about stable assignment. Although New York experienced difficulty in implementing stable assignments, the results from Cincinnati and Detroit suggest that dispatch procedures can be developed to assure that officers assume responsibility for and provide service to the team area. Evidence from San Diego suggests that stable assignment to a specific beat may be impossible. The stable assignment of officers to a patrol area requires that dispatchers recognize team boundaries and that team officers have responsibility for and work in a multi-beat area.

Table 7

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF STABLE ASSIGNMENT

CITY \ MEASURE	STABLE ASSIGNMENT TO TEAM AREA	STABLE ASSIGNMENT TO BEAT AREA	ASSESSMENT
Cincinnati	+		Probable Success
Detroit	+		Qualified Success
New York	−		Qualified Failure
San Diego		−	Probable Failure

SCHEDULING FLEXIBILITY

As part of their improved workload management goal, some departments have looked upon team policing as a way to more effectively match manpower assignments to workload requirements. Although the data is limited, our site visits and literature review suggest that whether a team is organized on an area or shift basis is important in determining the ability of the team leader to match manpower with workload demands. Area team leaders with twenty-four hour responsibility have a greater capability to allocate patrol resources in accordance with changing service demands than do leaders of shift teams.

Area teams appear to have two advantages over shift teams in achieving deployment flexibility: First, area team leaders are responsible for the twenty-four hour period and can alter the schedule of individual officers to match service demands. Second, area teams have a larger manpower pool from which to draw. With the advent of team policing in Cincinnati, planning and deployment decisions have been pushed down to the team level.

As a result, team leaders have used their discretion and departmental information about service demands to deploy their officers more flexibly. One team leader has used as many as ten starting times to achieve a better match-up of officers and service demands. It also appears that the larger Cincinnati teams are better able to achieve flexible deployment schedules (TPIESCPD, 1974, pp. 20-24; Watkins, 1973, p. 19). In Detroit, the team area generally had more units available for dispatch than did the traditionally organized patrols (Sherman et al., 1973, p. 95).

Our site observations indicate that departments organized into shift teams have been less able to accommodate even short-term changes in service demand, especially those generated by holidays and special events. Because all shift teams have less manpower than area teams and because members usually have the same schedule, it is impossible to change a shift's manpower without changing the number of personnel on the team. Administrators in Richmond indicated that to increase manpower on a shift, personnel had to be assigned from one team to another. This movement of personnel could easily disrupt the concepts of permanent assignment and beat accountability.

East Hartford, North Charleston, Palo Alto and San Bruno introduced the ten hour/four day week when team policing was implemented. There are indications that the four/ten system will further complicate the ability of shift teams to deploy manpower in accordance with service demands. Evaluators in San Bruno noted that patrol force deployment did not match department service demands simply as a result of the rotation of officers' duty schedules (San Bruno, n.d. [1972], pp. 17-18). This same problem was also observed during field visits in Charlotte, Palo Alto and East Hartford.

Because the information is so limited, it is impossible to make any final judgments. Although the results in Cincinnati indicated that area teams can achieve some degree of flexibility in deploying officers, the evidence is not strong enough to support any generalizations. As the evaluation in Cincinnati noted, the tools to evaluate service demands are so limited that flexibility in scheduling does not imply the ability to match manpower with service demands (Watkins, 1973, p. 19). The anecdotal and evaluative information about shift teams indicates that they have a limited capability to meet changing service demands without altering the number of personnel in the team.

SERVICE CALL CLEARANCE

The major activity of traditional patrol divisions has been responding to calls for service. Because this activity consumes so much of the patrol officers' time, police administrators have been concerned with the ability of their team officers to clear service calls and return to service as rapidly as possible. The limited data suggests that the amount of responsibility assigned to team patrol officers, particularly in the area of follow-up investigations has a definite bearing upon the way service calls are handled. Teams of generalist officers who perform both preliminary and follow-up investigations will probably increase the amount of time required to complete service calls. Evaluators in Dayton reported that team officers spent an average of eighteen

minutes longer on dispatch calls involving Part I crimes - larceny, rape, auto theft and frauds/forgery. The evaluators attributed this difference to the fact that team officers, unlike control officers, carry out both preliminary and follow-up investigations which require more time. On calls not requiring follow-up investigation there was little or no difference in the amount of time team and control officers spent (Tortoriello & Blatt, 1973, pp. 105-107). Even though team members assumed investigative responsibilities, Dayton evaluators discovered that team members were responding to more service calls than officers in comparable non-team areas (Cordrey & Kotecha, 1971, pp. 9-10).

Albany and Detroit attempted to compare the amount of time team and non-team officers spent on service calls. Unlike the results from the generalist program in Dayton, these teams of patrol and specialist officers were usually more efficient than non-team control areas in clearing service calls and returning to duty. In Detroit, where team patrol officers were expected to collaborate in investigations with detectives assigned to the team, team patrol officers spent less time on dispatch calls and returned to service more rapidly after dispatch calls than did the units used for comparison (Bloch & Ulberg, 1972, p. 61). Evaluators of the Arbor Hill unit in Albany found little significant difference in the average amount of elapsed time team and non-team members devoted to service calls (Cresap et al., 1974, p. G-2).

The results of the San Diego experiment with community profiling indicate that patrol officers can be given greater responsibilities without impairing departmental ability to respond to radio calls. Profile officers were responsible for preventative patrol and radio dispatch as well as citizen contacts on a regular basis, developing written descriptions of social, crime and traffic conditions on their beats and referring citizens to social agencies for assistance. In spite of these added responsibilities, profile officers in San Diego reported less out of service time than control officers even though the profile officers were assuming more initiative in community relations. In addition, the profile team responded to approximately the same number of calls for service as did officers in the control group (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, III 47-50).

Although the response time of police patrols to emergency calls is a conspicuous feature of police interactions with the public and a common indication of police efficiency, the empirical literature on team policing provides little insight into the effects of team patrol organization upon response times. Only Albany evaluators have collected response time data. Team units in Arbor Hill had significantly better response times than comparison patrol units (Cresap et al., 1974, p. E-2).

Table 8 summarizes our assessment of a team unit's ability to respond to calls for service. The results in Albany, Dayton and Detroit are suggestive of what impact various configurations of team policing might have upon the amount of time officers need to clear service calls. The Dayton results suggest that a department intending to assign generalist investigative responsibilities to patrolmen must anticipate some increase in the time required for officers to complete calls requiring an investigation. Where officers have not been

assigned investigative responsibility, however, there has been little change in the time required to clear calls. The results from San Diego and Dayton suggest that additional responsibility does not impair the officer's ability to handle calls for service. In both cities, experimental officers were responding to more calls for service than officers in traditionally organized control units.

All of the information reported in the calls for service section is piecemeal and refers to programs established under different organizational constraints and with different objectives. The lack of similar and comparable information about critical workload management outputs from more departments points up a critical shortcoming in the ability of agencies to monitor and evaluate patrol activities.

Table 8

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF SERVICE CALL CLEARANCE

MEASURE / CITY	SERVICE CALL CLEARANCE			ASSESSMENT
	TIME SPENT ON CALLS	NUMBER OF CALLS	RESPONSE TIME	
COMMUNITY				
San Diego	+	0		Qualified Success
MULTI-SPECIALIST				
Albany/Arbor	+		+	Probable Success
Detroit	+			Qualified Success
GENERALIST				
Dayton	+	+	0	Qualified Success

INVESTIGATIVE EFFECTIVENESS

Team policing advocates maintain that teams can be used to transfer investigative functions from highly centralized and specialized detective bureaus to more locally oriented teams of officers with generalist responsibilities. Twelve of the nineteen teams described in this report have used team policing to decentralize their investigative bureaus. With the exception of Rochester, all are Full Service team policing programs.

Table 9, Team Investigative Goals and Activities, indicates the extent to which the various departments have decentralized investigations. Although twelve teams have decentralized investigations, only Charlotte, Cincinnati, Palo Alto and Rochester have adopted improved investigative effectiveness as a program goal. All of the teams with investigative responsibility have permitted the team leader to close cases, while most have also provided team patrol officers with crime analysis information.

Two general strategies have been developed by team programs to decentralize investigations. Both involve the degree to which investigative cases have been assigned to team members. Investigative operations have been decentralized by the creation of Multi-Specialist or Generalist Teams. Multi-Specialist Teams are composed of patrol officers and detectives who are supervised by the team leader. Although patrol officers conduct preliminary investigations and occasionally complete follow-up investigations, team detectives do most of the investigative work. Table 9 indicates that seven Full Service Teams plus Rochester have adopted the Multi-Specialist approach. Generalist Teams have been implemented by four Full Service team policing programs. These teams do not make any distinction between patrol and investigative officers. As a consequence, team officers are expected to have wide-ranging capabilities to perform both patrol and investigative work.

A general belief underlying nearly all team programs is that the incorporation of investigative responsibilities into team patrol units will coordinate patrol and investigative processes and develop a more effective departmental investigative capability. Team policing advocates believe that the assignment of patrol and investigative functions and personnel to teams has two advantages. First, supporters maintain that team policing contributes to the breakdown of officer-investigator isolation and hostility found in many traditionally organized departments. The combining of patrol officers, investigators and, in some cases, community relations personnel into cooperative teams has broken down the functional barriers that have separated these units in traditionally organized departments. Team policing can provide an organizational context in which officers and investigators coordinate their activities. Second, since most crime is locally committed, it is only natural, according to team policing advocates, that officers and investigators who are permanently assigned to a small number of beats can acquire knowledge of the team area and its people that will increase investigative effectiveness.

Table 9

TEAM INVESTIGATIVE GOALS AND ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY / CITY	GOAL	CASE CLOSURE	CRIME ANALYSIS	INVESTIGATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES					
				JUVENILE	BURGLARY LARCENY AUTO THEFT	ROBBERY	BUNCO	VICE & NARCOTICS	HOMICIDE
BASIC PATROL									
N. Charleston									
Richmond		•							
San Bruno									
INVESTIGATIONS									
Rochester	•	•	•	L	•	•			
COMMUNITY RELATIONS									
Albuquerque	•								
Hartford				•					
New York			•						
San Diego			•						
FULL SERVICE TEAM POLICING									
Multi-Specialist									
Albany/Arbor		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Charlotte	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	
Cincinnati	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	
Detroit		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Los Angeles		•	•			•	•		
Palo Alto	•	•	L	•	•	•			
St. Petersburg		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Generalist									
Albany/South		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Dayton		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Holyoke		•		•	•	•	•	•	
Menlo Park		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

By permanently assigning officers to a specific area, team leaders have attempted to create a situation where officers and citizens become familiar with one another and begin to share information about law enforcement problems in the community. Evaluating the effectiveness of team policing upon investigations involves knowledge about the extent to which team policing has:

- Led to improved clearance rates; and

- Led to the prosecution of those arrested.

CLEARANCE RATES

In evaluating investigative effectiveness we have chosen to report information about the ability of team policing units to clear crimes by making arrests.

MULTI-SPECIALIST TEAMS

Clearance rates for team policing programs in Cincinnati and Rochester have been carefully monitored. Both programs have reported encouraging results, but it should be noted that along with team policing they also developed a system for screening out investigative cases with a low probability for solution. These screening systems probably contributed to the teams' investigative effectiveness.

An audit of clearance rates for burglary, robbery and larceny in Rochester revealed that both team and control areas increased their clearance rates. However, the teams were more successful in clearing burglary and larceny cases. In addition to implementing team policing, Rochester also developed a novel method for supervising detectives within one of its teams. Rather than assign cases to a detective, he assigned individual tasks of a case to different detectives and officers and carefully monitored the progress being made on each case. Perhaps, becuase of this rigorous and innovative case management system, Team C in Rochester was able to achieve higher clearance rates than its sister team policing unit. In Team C investigators and officers increased their arrests per man year substantially more than did their counterparts in the other team and the control areas (Bloch & Ulberg, 1974, p. 9). Although the data for the Rochester teams is largely positive, before final conclusions can be drawn one would want to know more about the differences in performance between Team C and the other Rochester teams. Why, for example, did Team C increase its arrests/man year substantially more than did the other team or the control area? Perhaps the case screening system and the method of task assignment in Team C accounts for its effectiveness as much as team organization.

Cincinnati, like Rochester, also monitored clearance rates as a means to guage investigative effectiveness. In the area policed by teams, District I, approximately twenty-four percent of all crimes were cleared by arrests compared to sixteen percent in other divisions of the department. The clearance rate for Part I crimes was 48.7 percent in the District I team area compared to 31.3

percent for the rest of the city which was serviced by the centralized criminal investigations division (ComSec Evaluation Section and The Urban Institute, 1974, pp. 2-3). The Cincinnati results also indicate that team officers who worked closely with investigators were more successful in clearing cases than were officers who were not working in team policing units. In fact, one can attribute the success of the ComSec teams in clearing cases to the superior productivity of team patrol officers rather than team investigators in making arrests (Cincinnati Police Department & The Urban Institute, 1973, pp. 2; 5; 7). Limited information about clearance rates for the Arbor Hill team in Albany indicated no significant change in the number of arrests made by the team (Forrer & Farrell, 1973, pp. 31-34). Although the results reported from Albany are limited and largely negative, both cincinnati and Rochester, on the basis of more extensive data and analysis, have indicated that team policing can contribute to a department's investigative effectiveness.

GENERALIST TEAMS

Of the four Generalist Teams, only Dayton has collected information about clearance rates which would permit an evaluation of the team's investigative effectiveness. Evaluators in Dayton found no difference in clearance rates for the first six months of the team policing program compared to a corresponding period of the preceeding year in the same area. However, the second year, evaluators concluded that team officers were more efficient at clearing crimes than were officers in the control district (Tortoriello & Blatt, 1973, p. 124).

CASES PROSECUTED

Making arrests is only one step in the process of adjudicating those suspected of committing a crime. For a department to successfully meet its goal of combatting crime, care must be taken to insure that prosecutors view with merit the cases against those arrested. Evidence from Cincinnati and Holyoke suggests that it is probably an unreasonable expectation that officers without investigative training and experience can be expected to prepare cases as well as seasoned detectives. In Cincinnati, it was the view of the City Prosecutor that ComSec officers were less well trained to build court cases properly and that they did not do as good a job of following through on leads (Bloch & Weidman, 1975, p. 89). The Holyoke approach indicates, however, that officers can be trained to handle court cases competently. In Holyoke, when the first police team was formed, a number of the court-recognized "experts" were assigned to the team. The expert assistance may have had much to do with the judgments of the Clerk of Courts and the Prosecutor for the Holyoke District Court that the team members seemed to be functioning on a par with detective bureau personnel (O'Malley, 1973, pp. 175; 93).

Albany and Dayton evaluators have presented some quantitative information on the degree to which teams have made arrests that were eventually prosecuted. The Dayton evaluators noted that under team policing, the percentage of processed

cases that were dropped because of withdrawals, acquittals or dismissals had not changed (Cordrey & Kotecha, 1971, pp. 32-36). In Albany the number of arrestees who were eventually prosecuted dropped by more than ten percent (Forrer & Farrell, 1973, pp. 31-34).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Evaluation of the investigative effectiveness of teams indicates that, at the very least, teams with investigative functions have performed as well as and, in some cases, better than non-team control units. Table 10 summarizes our assessment of the Investigative effectiveness of team policing. The Multi-Specialist Teams in Rochester and Cincinnati have reported the most positive findings. Teams in both cities have been quite successful in clearing cases within the team area and increasing the number of arrests made by both officers and detectives. The results from Albany, on the other hand, indicate that few changes have accompanied the implementation of team policing in that city. The only Generalist Team to report results on investigative effectiveness has been Dayton, where arrests/man increased but the percentage of cases prosecuted did not change.

Table 10

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF INVESTIGATIVE EFFECTIVENESS

CITY / MEASURE	CLEARANCE RATES					ARRESTS/ MAN	CASES PROSECUTED	ASSESSMENT
	BURGLARY	LARCENY	AUTO THEFT	ROBBERY	ALL PART I CRIMES			
MULTI-SPECIALIST								
Rochester	+	+	0	0		+		Probable Success
Cincinnati					+	+		Probable Success
Albany/Arbor					0		−	Qualified No Change
GENERALIST								
Dayton						+	0	Qualified No Change

CRIME TRENDS ACCOMPANYING TEAM POLICING

An important rationale for the introduction of team policing has been its presumed effects upon the ability of police to reduce criminal activity. Most programs have adopted the reduction of crime as an important team goal. The reduction of crime by team policing programs has been a presumed effect of two major components of team policing: improved police community relations and greater cooperation between patrol and investigative personnel.

Although several team policing programs have collected and analyzed crime data to evaluate their programs, there are serious conceptual and methodological problems in using reported crime as a criteria for measuring program effectiveness. Conceptually, it is unreasonable to assume that team policing will have a major impact upon crime trends. Law enforcement activity is only one factor which affects the level of crime. Changes in crime are, in significant part, a function of social conditions, the economy and the effectiveness of other social services in the community. Quite apart from the conceptual problem of linking program activity to impacts upon crime are problems in measuring crime itself. Most police agencies have relied upon reported crimes as a measure of program effectiveness. Victimization surveys have illuminated the serious under-reporting found in reported crime data. In addition, studies have shown that reported crime is a function of the actual crime level as well as citizen perception of what should be reported to the police.

VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS

Cincinnati, Hartford and Tacoma have undertaken victimization surveys to evaluate the effectiveness of their team policing programs. The most extensive studies of criminal victimization in team policing communities have been undertaken by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Urban Institute in Cincinnati. However, differences in the levels of victimization found by each survey have made comparisons virtually impossible (Clarren & Schwartz, 1975, pp. 5-17). Although Hartford and Tacoma have conducted baseline surveys, follow-up victimization data has not yet been collected.

REPORTED CRIME RATES

Rochester, Los Angeles and Cincinnati collected the most extensive information about crime rates. When crime rates in Rochester for the teams were compared with similar data from the entire city, there were significant differences in the areas of burglary and larceny, although robbery rate changes were smaller. Burglary rates declined by a third in the team areas, while they rose slightly in the rest of the city. Larceny dropped by thirty-three percent in the team areas but only twelve percent in the rest of the city (Bloch & Ulberg, 1974, pp. 17-18). Crime in the Team 28 area of Los Angeles declined substantially (LAPD, 1974, pp. 89-96). In Cincinnati, however, both the team and control

areas reported similar reductions in the crime rate, while St. Petersburg evaluators found that team policing had no apparent effect upon crime levels in the community (CPDTPIES, 1974, p. 35; St. Petersburg Police Department, 1973, pp. 187-190). Evaluators in Holyoke reported that crime declined in the team area, while the rest of the city experienced an increase in crime rates. The evaluators in Holyoke, however, cautioned department officials that the decline in the team area could not be conclusively attributed to team policing (O'Malley, 1973, pp. 55-57). The evaluators of New York's Operation Neighborhood were unable to conclude that the slightly greater decline in crime in the project area was a result of the team program (Bloch & Specht, 1973, p. 14).

Table 11, Summary Assessment of Reported Crime, indicates that crime in Rochester, Holyoke and Los Angeles improved relative to the rate in control areas while Cincinnati, New York and St. Petersburg reported very little difference between team and control areas. More detailed examination of the projects reporting some level of success does not strengthen the argument that team policing will reduce crime. In Rochester, for example, crime dropped substantially in one team area while the control area for the other team experienced a greater reduction in crime. Not enough is known about the Holyoke evaluation to attribute high reliability to the positive results reported in that city. Since Holyoke used the entire city as a control area, it is impossible to know how changes in crime rate in the team area might compare with those in a control area of similar characteristics. Because of contradictory evidence and the methodological problems in some of the studies analyzed here, it is impossible to assess the impact of team policing upon crime rates. More studies of team policing need to be conducted before a definite positive or negative assessment would be appropriate.

Table 11

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF REPORTED CRIME

CITY \ MEASURE	AUTO THEFT	BURGLARY	LARCENY	ROBBERY	INDEX CRIME	ASSESSMENT
Rochester	+		+	O		Probable Success
Los Angeles	+	+				Probable Success
Holyoke					+	Qualified Success
Cincinnati					O	Probable No Change
New York					O	Qualified No Change
St. Petersburg		O		+		Qualified No Change

COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAMS

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals suggested that one of the most serious problems confronting law enforcement agencies is the isolation of police from the community. The report goes on to describe team policing as a modern program to reduce police isolation and involve the community in solving law enforcement problems (NACCJSG, 1973, pp. 161; 154). Recognizing the crucial role of the community in effective law enforcement, most team programs have placed a strong emphasis upon improving police-community relations. With the exception of the three Basic Patrol Teams and the Investigative Team in Rochester, all the teams analyzed in this report have adopted goals dealing with improved police-community service and relations.

A desire to improve police-community relations by providing additional services to the community is not, of course, unique to departments instituting team policing. What is unique is the context within which these activities have been conducted and managed. Team policing has generally implied the decentralization of community-related responsibilities to the team leader and to patrol officers. Two problems arise in trying to assess these various community service activities. The first problem has been estimating the extent to which each of these activities has been implemented, and the second deals with evaluating the impact the activity had upon the community and the team. Observations during numerous ride-alongs with team officers indicate some of the program activities, particularly efforts to stimulate increased officer-citizen contact and to provide crime prevention information, were not being implemented. Two factors may account for these omissions. First, most of the programs have redefined patrol officer responsibility without providing adequate training supports. Only nine programs have developed pre-start-up training programs to acquaint officers with the concepts and methods of community oriented team policing. Second, with the exception of San Diego, none of the team programs altered the way in which officers were evaluated when new team policing concepts and activities were adopted. Thus, although team officers were expected to change their job role, they continued to be evaluated by criteria that did not reflect the new emphasis in team patrol operations and responsibilities.

PERMANENT ASSIGNMENT

One of the most conspicuous features of team policing has been the assignment of the team and its members to a specific area or neighborhood for an extended period of time. Permanent assignment has played an important role in team policing community relations. Team planners have assumed that if the team and its officers were permanently assigned to a community, they would increase their knowledge of the community and would be able to provide more effective enforcement and community services.

Although team planners have assumed that permanent assignment would enable a department to meet a number of community relations goals, only the San Diego evaluators attempted to evaluate its likely impacts. The results from the San Diego evaluation suggest that permanent assignment, by itself, may not be sufficient to increase officer awareness of the community. In San Diego both control and experimental officers were permanently assigned to their beats. However, only the team officers increased their knowledge about community services (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, pp. 39-44). If permanent assignment were the critical factor in acquiring beat knowledge, then control officers would have increased their community knowledge. The results from San Diego suggest that if an agency wants to increase officer beat knowledge, it should not only assign officers to that beat for a period of time, but more importantly, require them to formally analyze and describe conditions on that beat.

COMMUNITY OFFICE

A second way by which team programs have sought to increase their community outreach has been by establishing an office in the community. Of the nineteen programs reviewed, only the two Albany programs, Albuquerque, Dayton, Holyoke and Los Angeles established offices from which teams could conduct community service work. The major assumptions underlying a team community office have been that it would create greater team visibility, would provide the community with easier access to law enforcement services and would result in improved police-community cooperation.

Of the six programs which have utilized community offices as a focus for their team community service programs, only the effectiveness of the Albuquerque and Los Angeles offices was monitored by program evaluators. The Los Angeles evaluators reported that although the initial response to the community center was enthusiastic, after several months the center was used less frequently and was eventually closed (LAPD, 1974, pp. 74-75). Evaluators of the Albuquerque program noted an opposite effect but still recommended that the community office be closed. In Albuquerque the evaluators suggested that because of the lack of funding and planning supports for the office, civilian agencies might better meet the heavy demand for neighborhood social services (Sears & Wilson, 1973, pp. 57-60).

In both Albany programs the team office has been operated with success (McArdle & Betjemann, 1972, p. 10). Unlike the other team office, the Albany teams have used their offices not only as a focus of community service, but also as a basis for all team administrative and operational activities. Our site visits indicated that the Albany South End team office offered a variety of community services and appeared to be interacting with the community quite successfully.

The results from Albuquerque and Los Angeles, as well as our observations in Albany, suggest that a team office is more likely to be successful if it is

adequately staffed and is the basis for all team operations, not just community services. Before a final judgment is possible, more evaluative information is needed about the relationship between the functions of the team office and their viability.

NON-CRIME RELATED SERVICES

Ten of the fifteen teams with a community focus have increased the responsibility of patrol units for non-crime services. In many departments the change to team policing has resulted in attempts to handle more non-crime related service calls, refer citizens to social agencies for assistance and implement crime prevention programs. Team planners have generally agreed that assisting citizens with their non-crime related problems would improve citizen attitudes toward the police and result in increased citizen cooperation with and support for law enforcement.

SERVICE CALLS

Team officers in Albany, perhaps more than any others, were encouraged to assist community residents with a variety of problems. As a result, calls for police service to the Arbor Hill team in Albany doubled over a two year period. In addition to the "overwhelming" increase in calls for assistance in interpersonal disturbances, there was also an increase in calls for assistance in other non-criminal matters: auto accidents and missing persons (Forer & Farrell, 1973, pp. 22-26). Although Dayton and Holyoke had planned to increase non-crime services to the community, this policy was not reflected in a review of departmental calls for service (O'Malley, 1973, p. 67; Tortoriello & Blatt, 1973, pp. 111-113).

REFERRALS

Cincinnati and San Diego evaluators monitored programs to refer citizens with problems to social agencies for assistance. Both evaluations indicated that the programs were seldom used. Although team officers in Cincinnati expressed support for the referral program, evaluators found that few referrals were being made (Schwartz et al., 1975, pp. 5-6; Watkins, 1973, p. 30). Evaluators in San Diego reported that team officers felt the available social services were of a poor quality. As a result, the team's use of referrals was similar to that of the control group and actually declined slightly over the course of the project (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, p. 4).

CRIME PREVENTION

The Los Angeles evaluators carefully monitored the number of security inspections that were conducted by team members. They found that although most team officers felt the security inspections were of limited value, nearly fifty-three percent of the homeowners complied to some degree with the recommendations to

target harden their property. In spite of this, Los Angeles evaluators
concluded that security inspections were not cost effective and when the
grant funds were spent the inspection program was dropped (Los Angeles Police
Department, 1974, pp. 68-69).

Table 12 summarizes what is known about the extent to which non-crime service
programs have been implemented and what impact they have had. The evalu-
ations indicate that most programs have had almost no impact. Only Albany
was able to increase its ability to handle non-crime service calls. Referral
of citizens to social agencies for assistance was an important focus in
Cincinnati and San Diego, however, officer response to the program was limited.
Finally, although the Team 28 experiment in Los Angeles was successful in
conducting a large number of security inspections and burglary rates dropped
substantially, program administrators recommended that the security inspections
be dropped because of their cost.

Table 12

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF NON-CRIME SERVICE PROGRAMS

CITY \ MEASURE	SERVICE CALLS	REFFERALS	CRIME PREVENTION	ASSESSMENT
COMMUNITY RELATIONS				
San Diego		O		No Change
FULL SERVICE TEAM POLICING				
Multi-Specialist				
Albany/Arbor	+			Probable Success
Cincinnati		O		No Change
Los Angeles			+	Qualified Success
Generalist				
Dayton	O			Qualified No Change
Holyoke	O			Qualified No Change

BLAZER UNIFORM

Efforts to change the symbolic image of the police have accompanied several team programs. Special vehicle marking and coloring schemes have been used in Albany, Dayton and Los Angeles. In addition, five agencies - Albany, Dayton, Holyoke, Menlo Park and St. Petersburg - have adopted civilian type blazer uniforms. Most of these experiments have been based on the assumption that the informal uniform would increase citizen identification with the police, decrease citizen-police isolation and enhance police communication with the public.

Only Holyoke and Menlo Park have attempted to evaluate the impact of the blazer uniform. Citizen surveys in both communities indicated an acceptance of the new style (Fiest & Luft, 1974, p. 19). None of the evaluators assessed how officers felt about the informal uniform. Our site visit to Albany, however, indicated that officers and citizens had adapted to and liked the informal attire worn by team members.

COMMUNITY RELATED EFFECTS OF TEAM POLICING

The previous section discusses what has been done to measure the extent to which teams have actually implemented community-related activities and the impact that these activities had upon team members and the community. The information reported in this section is of a more diffuse nature. In the absence of clearly defined and tested behavioral measures to monitor the impact of team policing programs, evaluators have relied heavily upon attitudinal surveys.

POLICE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY

The most complete information about officer assessment of team impact upon community support for law enforcement is available from San Diego and Cincinati. Both programs reported positive effects. In San Diego profile officers developed a significantly higher level of confidence in having the support of the community than did control officers. The profile officers also reported significantly greater cooperation from citizens in their day-to-day patrol work (Boydstun & Sherry, 1975, p. 53). In Cincinnati, more than seventy percent of the team officers agreed that ComSec increased the degree of community support and citizen involvement (Schwartz et al., 1975, p. 28). In addition, ComSec officers felt they were doing a better job in improving police-community relations (Schwartz, 1975, p. 36).

Evaluators in Albany, Albuquerque and Los Angeles also reported that team officers felt the community was more cooperative and interested in law enforcement activities (Sears & Wilson, 1973, pp. 48-49; Candeub & Fleissig, 1972, pp. 22-23; Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 64).

Table 13 summarizes our assessment of officer attitudes towards the impact of the program upon the community. With the exception of New York, it indicates that officers generally felt the community was more cooperative with the law enforcement since team policing had been implemented (Bloch & Specht, 1973, p. 63).

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

Improving police-community relations has been a goal of all of the teams in this report except the three Basic Patrol Teams and the Investigative Team in Rochester. Evaluators have attempted to assess attainment of this goal by surveying changes in citizen attitudes related to satisfaction with police services, and support for, or hostility towards, law enforcement. Albany and Los Angeles evaluators reported that community attitudes improved. In Albany/Arbor Hill, citizen attitudes were consistently more positive than the attitudes of citizens in the control area, particularly regarding police fairness, dependability and trustworthiness (Forrer & Farrell, 1973, pp. 50; 54).

An evaluation of Albany/South found that people in the community more frequently described team officers as being "nice" or as doing a good job of protecting citizens (Candeub & Fleissig, 1972, pp. 19-21). Evaluators of the Los Angeles Team 28 program found that citizen perceptions of police fairness and impartiality in enforcing the law improved during the program (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, pp. 58-59).

Evaluators in Cincinnati, Holyoke and New York found that team policing had no impact upon citizen attitudes. After one year, citizen satisfaction and belief in the honesty of officers in Cincinnati remained high, but did not increase as much as program planners had expected (Schwartz et al., 1975, p. 4). Although initial surveys in Holyoke indicated that community attitudes toward the police were improving, results over a two year period indicated no change in citizen perceptions of police quality (O'Malley, 1973, pp. 131-132; 152). The evaluators in New York concluded that Operation Neighborhood had little success in reaching hostile citizens (Bloch & Specht, 1973, pp. 15; 95-96). Finally, Dayton evaluators found that citizens in the control area were generally happier with police services and viewed officers as more help-oriented than did team area citizens (Tortoriello & Blatt, 1973, pp. 36; 38; 95).

Table 13

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF POLICE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COMMUNITY

CITY / MEASURE	POLICE ATTITUDES	ASSESSMENT
COMMUNITY RELATIONS		
Albuquerque	+	Qualified Success
New York	O	Qualified No Change
San Diego	+	Success
FULL SERVICE TEAM POLICING	.	
Multi-Specialist		
Cincinnati	+	Success
Los Angeles	+	Qualified Success
Generalist		
Albany/South	+	Qualified Success

Table 14 summarizes our knowledge of citizen attitudes towards team policing programs. Citizen responses have been mixed. Evaluators of programs in Albany/Arbor and South, Los Angeles and San Diego have reported positive results. Holyoke and Cincinnati reported no changes, while Dayton and New York evaluators reported a decline in citizen satisfaction with the police. Care must be taken in interpreting these results. The programs in Dayton, Holyoke and New York were implemented during periods of stress in the department. In Dayton and New York the programs were implemented very quickly by new chiefs and with little planning. In addition, neither of these cities was able to successfully increase the level of crime and non-crime related services to the community. In Holyoke, although citizen attitudes improved initially, they dropped as many community-related grant-supported activities were curtailed at the end of the project's first year. Finally, the evaluators of the ComSec program emphasized that citizen attitudes toward the team did not improve because many team policing community activities had already been implemented when the baseline community survey data was collected. Although four programs failed to produce a favorable impact upon community attitudes, further analysis indicates their failures may have been the result of departmental problems that interfered with the full implementation of the team programs.

Table 14

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

CITY \ MEASURE	COMMUNITY ATTITUDES	ASSESSMENT
COMMUNITY RELATIONS		
New York	0	Qualified No Change
San Diego	+	Probable Success
FULL SERVICE TEAM POLICING		
Multi-Specialist		
Albany/Arbor	+	Probable Success
Cincinnati	0	No Change
Los Angeles	+	Qualified Success
Generalist		
Albany/South	+	Qualified Success
Dayton	—	Qualified Failure
Holyoke	0	Qualified No Change

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT

In the previous chapters we assessed the effectiveness of team policing programs by analyzing individual measures of police performance such as clearance rates, response times and crime rates as well as surveys of officer and citizen attitudes. In this chapter we will present an aggregate of what we currently know about team policing programs and what evaluators need to focus upon in order to present an accurate and full assessment of team policing. Table 15 summarizes much of the information reported in this assessment. The table also indicates the many gaps in our knowledge about team policing. The strategy in this chapter is to discuss the many gaps in our knowledge of specific team policing outcomes and then to use the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2 to describe the impact of the five basic types of team policing programs.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION RESULTS

A review of Table 15 indicates that evaluation information has been collected in only a small number of categories for each team program. Two measure categories are particularly important for understanding the results achieved by the team programs analyzed here. These are the measures of officer role and the provision of community services. Unlike the other six measure categories, which assess program effects, the officer role and community services measures were designed to monitor the extent to which planned program activities have actually been implemented. The tendency for program evaluators has been to assume that program activities have been implemented and then to measure, for example, the effects of the program upon job satisfaction, workload management, crime control and police and community attitudes. More attention needs to be given to monitoring the extent to which program activities have been implemented. Knowing what has changed is essential for determining whether the concepts of team policing or extraneous variables are responsible for the evaluation results reported. In evaluating a program two questions need to be asked:

1. Have the planning program activities actually been implemented?

2. What has been the impact of these activities?

An analysis of the officer role and community service measures will illustrate the problem of attributing evaluation results to team policing.

Only two departments have attempted to assess changes in the role of the police officer. We think knowing how team policing changes the officer's role and knowing what the officer is doing in a team program is especially critical in determining whether the program or other factors are responsible for the results reported by evaluators. In San Diego where evaluators noted that profile officers have altered their job roles and were, in fact, implementing the planned profile activities the program was quite successful. Although measures of job

Table 15

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF TEAM POLICING PROGRAMS

MEASURE / CITY	OFFICER ROLE	JOB SATISFACTION	WORKLOAD MANAGEMENT	INVESTIGATIVE EFFECTIVENESS	CRIME CONTROL	COMMUNITY SERVICES	POLICE ATTITUDES	COMMUNITY ATTITUDES
BASIC PATROL								
N. Charleston								
Richmond								
San Bruno								
INVESTIGATIONS								
Rochester				Success(P)	Success(P)			
COMMUNITY RELATIONS								
Albuquerque*						Failure(Q)	Success(Q)	
Hartford								
New York*	Failure(Q)	Failure(Q)	Failure(Q)		No Change(Q)		No Change(Q)	No Change(Q)
San Diego	Success	No Change	Success(Q)			Success	Success	
FULL SERVICE TEAM POLICING								
Multi-Specialist								
Albany/Arbor			Success(P)	No Change(Q)		Success(P)		Success(P)
Charlotte		Success(Q)						
Cincinnati		No Change	Success(P)	Success(P)	No Change(P)		Success	No Change
Detroit*			Success(Q)					
Los Angeles					Success(P)	Success (Q)	Success(Q)	Success(Q)
Palo Alto*								
St. Petersburg*					No Change(Q)			
Generalist								
Albany/South							Success(Q)	Success(Q)
Dayton*			Success(Q)	No Change(Q)		No Change(Q)		Failure(Q)
Holyoke*					Success(Q)	No Change(Q)		No Change(Q)
Menlo Park								

*Departments which have discontinued team policing.   (P) Probable; (Q) Qualified

satisfaction showed "no change" profile officers in San Diego improved their workload management, increased community services and adopted a more positive attitude towards the community. However, in New York, where officers did not change their job roles and continued to police in a traditional manner, evaluators found decreased job satisfaction and workload management capabilities and no change in measures of crime control, community services and community attitudes. One can venture that the New York Program failed not because team policing was faulty but because program administrators and officers failed to implement the most basic components of team policing.

An examination of the extent to which community services were implemented by the various team programs indicates that where community services were increased, police and community attitudes towards each other improved. Increased community service activities on the part of officers in San Diego, Albany/Arbor Hill and Los Angeles affected both the officers and the community in a positive way. In Dayton and Holyoke, however, where planned community service aspects of team policing were not implemented community attitudes towards the police remained largely unchanged.

Our review of the extent to which team programs have affected the officers' job role and the provision of community services should caution planners, administrators and evaluators to carefully monitor program activities to insure that planned changes are actually being implemented. One cannot assume that because a program has been planned and adopted by a department that it has also been operationalized. Knowing the extent to which a particular program has been implemented is a prelude to determining the effect of that program.

Some care must be taken in interpretating the results in Table 15. Three of the programs were notable failures - New York, Dayton and Holyoke. In each case the departments were unable to operationalize the team program. We have already indicated that the New York program was not implemented. Although quantitative information was unavailable our field observations and evaluation reviews in Dayton and Holyoke revealed that these team programs were never implemented. In Holyoke budgetary and labor problems, internal department disputes and low officer morale undermined the program. Similar problems affected the Dayton program. The failure of the New York, Dayton and Holyoke departments to implement team policing was the result of general departmental problems that would have greatly hampered any effort to alter the way patrol, investigative and community services are delivered to the public.

ASSESSMENT OF PROGRAM TYPES

BASIC PATROL TEAMS

None of the Basic Patrol Teams have collected the kinds of evaluative information which would make it possible for us to judge whether or not the program was effective. Only San Bruno conducted an evaluation, but its quality was so poor it virtually precluded its use in this report. A proper evaluation of the Basic Patrol Team would demand, at a minimum, that information be collected about changes in the officer's role and job satisfaction and the ability of the

team to manage its workload. Since the Basic Patrol Team does not have investigative or community relations responsibilities, its impact in these areas does not need to be monitored.

INVESTIGATIVE TEAMS

Rochester was the only city to implement a team unit with an investigative focus. Evaluation of the Rochester program has provided the most reliable and complete information about investigative effectiveness. The teams have been successful in improving clearance rates and reducing crime.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS TEAMS

Three of the four Community Relations Teams have been evaluated, and the fourth, Hartford, has recently embarked upon a major evaluation effort. Albuquerque and New York have already discontinued their programs. In both instances the failures may have been the result of intervening variables and general departmental problems rather than the team policing program itself. Evaluation of the Albuquerque program indicated that although police attitudes towards the community changed, the team was unable to provide a higher level of community services. In New York the evaluators concluded that the teams failed in a number of areas. The New York program failed to change the patrol officers' role or increase their job satisfaction. In addition, the team appears to have had little impact upon police and community attitudes towards one another. Unlike Albuquerque and New York, the San Diego profile experiment operated with a high degree of success. Officers in San Diego adapted to their new role, delivered increased community services and improved their attitudes toward the community. The San Diego program is one of the more promising projects reviewed in this report.

FULL SERVICE TEAMS - Multi-Specialist

Three of the Full Service Teams - Albany/Arbor, Cincinnati and Los Angeles have been extensively evaluated and generally have received successful ratings. The Cincinnati program has been the most carefully and heavily evaluated team program. Its impact has been mixed. While indicators of workload management, investigative effectiveness and police attitudes towards the community have improved, there have been no changes in officer job satisfaction and community attitudes. Although there was no change in the Albany/Arbor team's investigative effectiveness, the team provided additional community services and improved police-community relations. The Los Angeles program has been credited with lowering crime rates and improving police-community relations. The remaining cities in this group have not provided enough information to assess their programs. It should be noted that Detroit, Palo Alto and St. Petersburg have dropped their team policing programs.

FULL SERVICE TEAMS - Generalist

The limited evaluation of Albany/South has indicated the program succeeded in improving police-community relations. The programs in Dayton and Holyoke had

only a minimum impact and were eventually abandoned. However, both of these programs were implemented during periods of departmental turmoil and under severely constrained budgets which contributed heavily to the failure of the team programs. The evaluative information and our reasoned judgment suggest that the Generalist concept is more difficult to implement and maintain than is the Full Service Multi-Specialist approach to team organization.

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