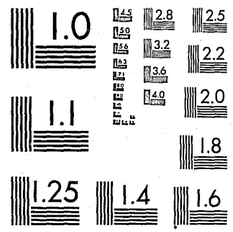

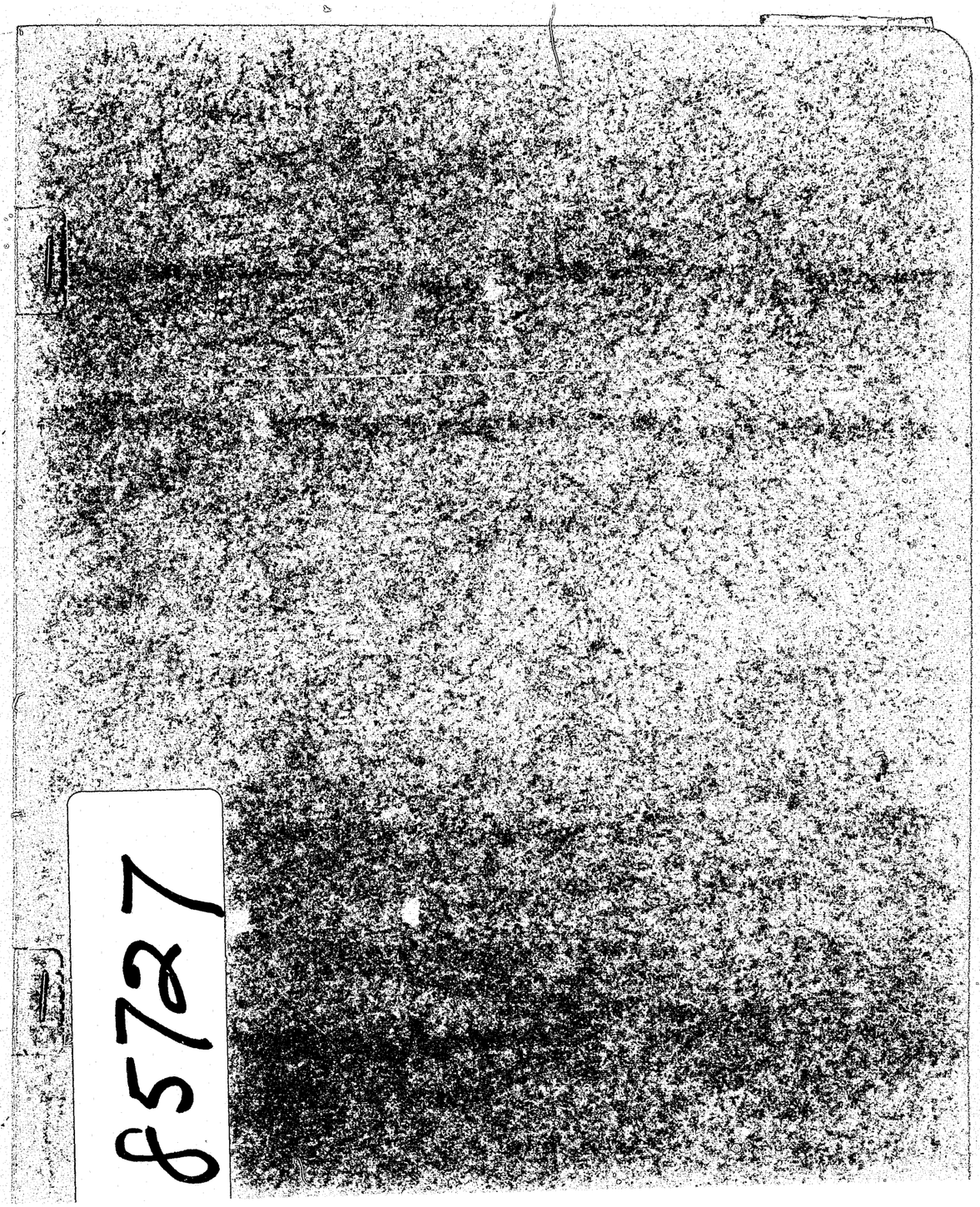

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NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

FELONY CASE DETERIORATION: PROCESS AND CAUSE

The Manhattan Complaint Room Project
May - July 1981

Office of the Deputy Commissioner Legal Matters
Criminal Justice Section
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INTRODUCTION

In New York City during 1980, the police made 98,923 felony arrests. The five district attorneys' offices secured a total of 20,041 indictments. Hence the survivorship rate of felonies through indictment was 20.2%. In other words, almost 80% of all felony arrests ultimately deteriorate in the criminal justice system to misdemeanors or violations or fail completely through dismissals (after the filing of a complaint) or decline prosecutions (before the filing of a complaint).

There have been a number of unverified assertions as to why such a percentage of felony arrests fail, ranging from turnstile justice to poor arrest quality by police. It is quite evident that there is no single or simple reason why felony arrests fail in such large numbers. In view of the large number of felony arrests made in New York City, felony level prosecution decisions are undoubtedly influenced by prosecutor policies shaped by overall resource constraints as well as by the legal sufficiency and strengths of individual felony arrests. The manner in which the prosecutor responds to police felony arrests is determinative of what offenses the court will ultimately be able to deal with as serious or minor matters. Intake and screening decisions by the prosecutor and arraignment disposition are matters of great significance touching government's primary responsibility

and reason for being - public safety and order. Surprisingly, there is little definitive data on this complex dynamic and no precise measurement of the resource and legal issues as causative factors in felony prosecution and felony case failure.

Accordingly, the New York City Police Department designed and implemented a pilot project in New York County to track and analyze the dynamic in the case process that routinely impacts upon felony arrests in the District Attorney's complaint room.

With the cooperation and support of the District Attorney's staff, Department lawyers monitored non-narcotic felony arrest cases brought to the District Attorney from May 18, 1981 through July 22, 1981. Exactly 3,000 cases over the sixty-six day period were examined.

In each case, police counsel interviewed the arresting officer, made an assessment of the evidence, conferred with the prosecutor, and made notes on the reasons given by the prosecutor for charging and disposition decisions. Independent assessments of legal sufficiency were made in each case by police counsel.

The case review sheets used in the Project, and approved by the District Attorney's office, incorporated the fifteen (15) dispositional reasons utilized by its Decline to Prosecute

Report, and three additional categories: "nature of the crime", "prior relationship between victim and defendant" and "no, or minor criminal history of the defendant".

For purposes of review and analysis, the specific reasons for declination or reduction were arranged under three general categories: legal issues, witness issues and policy issues.

The category "legal issues" contains evidentiary matters, such as illegal search, or a necessary element of the offense lacking, which give rise to case failure and which may be indicative of poor police performance. The other two categories concern issues not directly controlled by police officers, or affected by evidentiary strengths or deficiencies. Of course, in practical effect, these discrete categories often interact and jointly contribute to case resolution. For example, cases involving doubt by the prosecutor as to the complainant's credibility raise legal considerations regarding the future case outcome, notwithstanding the fact that the complainant's statements and assertions may be sufficient to permit the initial preparation of a criminal complaint.

I. SURVIVORSHIP RATES

Of the 3,000 felony cases brought to the District Attorney, 96.1% resulted in the preparation and filing of a criminal complaint. Felony charges were filed in 45% (1,351 of 3,000) of the cases, and misdemeanor charges were filed in 51.1% (1,533 of 3,000) of the cases. In only 3.9% (116 of 3,000) of the cases did the District Attorney decline to prosecute (D.P.).

The prosecutor indicated that he declined to prosecute 2.4% (71 of 3,000) of the Project cases for legal deficiencies, 1.2% (37 of 3,000) of the cases because of witness problems and 0.3% (8 of 3,000) of the cases for policy reasons.

The prosecutor indicated that 33.8%(1,013 of 3,000) of the Project cases were reduced to misdemeanors (RTM) for policy reasons, 13.6% (409 of 3,000) for legal reasons, and 1.1% (32 of 3,000) for witness problems. The reasons for the remaining 2.6% (79 of 3,000) of the reductions were not reviewed with the prosecutor.

The police counsel found that 2.4% (73 of 3,000) of the cases were legally insufficient for any charge and should not have been booked, which is the precise percentage of cases that the prosecutor declined to prosecute because of legal deficiencies.

However, police counsel found that only 6.6% (199 of 3,000) of the felonies were legally insufficient as felonies and should have been booked as misdemeanors, compared to the 13.6% (409 of 3,000) that the prosecutor reduced to misdemeanors because of legal insufficiency.

II. RATIONALE FOR CHARGING DECISIONS

a. Almost two-thirds of the cases reduced by the prosecutor for legal insufficiency involved three crimes: theft of autos (112), burglary (88), and grand larceny (non-auto) (52) (252 of 409).

For all cases reduced or D.P.'d for specific legal deficiency, the category "unable to establish necessary element of the crime" was stated by the prosecutor in 94% (452 of 480) of the cases, unlawful search and seizure in 3% (14 of 480), no probable cause in 1.4% (7 of 480) and inconclusive identity in 1.4% (7 of 480).

In declined prosecutions, the "legal element which could not be established" primarily involved fact supporting an "acting in concert" arrest in a multiple defendant case.

Stolen Auto arrests accounted for 28% (112 of 402) of all cases reduced for the legal reason "unable to establish necessary elements of the offense", followed by burglary (22%) (88 of 402).

Burglary reductions represented the highest rate (84%) of legal disagreement between prosecutors and police counsel in reduction cases (74 of 88); the issue as to the ability to establish the necessary "intent to commit a crime" in entering the premises was the major point of disagreement.

Stolen Auto cases were the second largest body of cases reduced for "lack of necessary element" (either knowledge that vehicle was stolen or value) with a disagreement by the police attorney in 72% of these cases (81 of 112).

b. Two thirds of the cases reduced for policy reasons involve three crimes: grand larceny (non-auto) (363), felonious assault (208), and auto theft (110) (681 of 1,012).

The policy reason most frequently indicated was "nature of the crime" (52.7%) (534 of 1,012), followed by "prior relationship" (24.4%) (247 of 1,012), and "no, or minor prior criminal history" of defendant (18.8%) (190 of 1,012).

Grand larcenies accounted for almost one-half of all arrests reduced for "nature of the crime." (249 of 534).

43% of those grand larcenies reduced for "nature of crime" involved police decoy arrests in the Times Square area (108 of 249).

11% (58 of 534) more of those grand larcenies reduced for "nature of crime" involved stolen auto cases.

64% (265 of 415) of <u>all</u> felonious assault arrests were reduced and <u>policy</u> factors were cited in three-quarters of these cases (208 of 265).

The principal policy factor cited in reducing felonious assault arrests was "prior relationship" (67%) (139 of 208).

Additionally, felonious assault arrests comprise over one-half of all cases reduced for "prior relationship" reasons (139 of 247).

Grand larceny (69) and stolen auto (40) arrests constitute 57% of all cases reduced for "no, or minor prior criminal history" reasons, (109 of 190).

One-half of the 32 cases reduced for "complainant problems" were because the complainant failed to appear in the Complaint Room.

III. POLICY REDUCTIONS

a. <u>"Nature of the Crime"</u>

"Nature of the Crime" as used by assistant district attorneys in reducing felony cases, means that as a general rule, the prosecutor elects to proceed with the case as a misdemeanor irrespective of the legal strengths or proof of the case. This designation may be utilized broadly with

respect to particular Penal Law offenses, such as stolen autos valued in excess of the statutory $250.00 felony threshold, or due to the manner in which the felony is committed, such as certain "decoy" arrests involving larceny from the person (decoy officer). This category designation was perceived to be rather fluid, and not subject to definition with precision.

Grand Larceny arrests account for 19% of all Project arrests reviewed (563 of 3,000), and are exceeded in number only by robbery arrests (727 of 3,000). Grand Larceny cases also account for almost one-half of all arrests reduced for "nature of the crime" (47%) (249 of 534).

Forty-three percent (43%) of grand larceny arrests reduced for "nature of the crime" involved police decoy arrests (108 of 249). These decoy arrests involved a police officer posing as a tourist, or an "easy mark" such as a sleeping person, or a person standing by a telephone booth in the Times Square area with personal property exposed to public view, for example, a wallet partially in pocket, or radio in hand. When a defendant grabbed such property and attempted to flee he was arrested by backup police officers. These larcenies from the person constitute Grand Larceny in the third degree, Section 155.30 of the Penal Law (a Class E felony offense) and are supported by the observations of the officers who make the arrest.

Included within the Project review were 140 decoy arrests (all categories) of which 108 (71%) were reduced due to the "nature of the crime". A smaller number of decoy arrests were reduced on the ground that the defendant had "no, or a miror prior criminal history", a policy rationale discussed more fully infra.

Included within the grand larceny arrests are 42 shoplifting cases. The prosecutor prepared a felony complaint in 5 cases (3 defendants/$900 worth of shoes, and 2 defendants/$300 worth of womens' silk blouses). Thirty-five (35) cases were reduced to misdemeanors, and 2 were D.P.'d because the complainant refused to cooperate.

Almost all of the reduced shoplifting cases involved dollar amounts between $250-$600 (31 of 35). The other 4 cases involved dollar amounts of $625, $800, $1200 and $2130. The last case involved a major department store with an unusually high dollar amount.

On the whole, shoplifting grand larcenies are legally viable felonies. The fair market value of the stolen property is rarely subject to dispute, and many retail mercantile establishments usually are quite cooperative in the prosecution of such cases.

Stolen Auto arrests (including criminal possession of a stolen car) constitute the second largest class of cases reduced for "nature of the crime" (11% or 58 of 534 cases).

A large majority (84%) of all stolen auto cases are reduced to misdemeanor offenses (257 of 307 cases). These decisions are founded almost equally upon legal (112 cases) and policy (110 cases) reasons. Where a legal deficiency is not present, the policy reductions are for "nature of the crime" (52%) (58 of 110), and "no, or minor prior criminal history" (36%) (40 of 110).

Felony gambling arrests account for 23.5% of the "other crime" category arrests (48 of 204). In reviewing these arrests, the District Attorney prepared one felony complaint, reduced 44 to misdemeanors, and declined to prosecute in 3 cases. These cases are generally reduced for "nature of the crime", irrespective of the background of the defendant, except in those cases where the criminal history is particularly extensive.

b. "Prior Relationship" Cases

The utilization of a "prior relationship between the victim and defendant" as a rationale for reducing a felony arrest is apparently predicated upon the determination, or assumption, that the relationship creates either a mitigating circumstance or a contributing factor to the crime occurrence. While "relationships" may raise collateral legal issues such as the degree of complainant veracity, or likelihood of future cooperation in the prosecution of the cases,

these issues are usually not sufficiently acute to require a reduction in the Complaint Room. In cases where the "relationship" of the parties gave rise to serious credibility issues, that reason is usually cited by the prosecutor as the basis for his actions.

There are apparently no specific categories of relationships, nor concrete criteria with respect to the length or intensity of the relationship. The concept is fluid and difficult to define with precision, ranging from longstanding formal relationship (husband/wife) to relatively brief, casual or informal encounters (prostitute/client, restaurant manager/patron).

Almost one-quarter of all cases reduced for policy fall within this category (247 of 1,012). The crime of felonious assault constitutes more than one-half of all arrests reduced for "prior relationship" reasons (139 of 247).

A large percentage (64%) of all felonious assault arrests are reduced (265 of 415), and a policy reason is cited in the vast majority (78%) of these cases (208 of 265), with the principal and specific reason given being "prior relationship" (139 of 208, or 67%).

While only a small percentage of all reduced grand larceny arrests are on the grounds the parties had a "prior relationship" (37 of 363) (10.2%) of those cases reduced for that reason, grand larceny, next to assault cases (139 of 247 - 56.3%) constituted the second highest percentage of offenses in this category (37 of 247, or 15%).

Generally, in prior relationship larceny cases the parties are known to each other over a period of time (e.g., former commonlaw spouses alleging thefts of each other's property). There are, however, cases where the parties were not known to each other for any significant period of time, e.g., prostitute/John larcenies, which are almost universally reduced for prior relationship reasons.

Burglaries also fall into the prior relationship category, constituting 9% of all cases reduced for prior relationship (22 out of 247). The major portion of these cases involve entries into the apartments or homes of the complainant by former lovers, spouses and commonlaw spouses.

The apparent rationale for the prior relationship reduction is that the defendant will rely on that relationship to establish that his entry was based on some form of consent, such as former live-in lover returning weeks later to recover his property. However, where consent is clearly not an issue, as in one case where a former live-in lover returned to the apartment, broke down the door and assaulted the complainant with a 2 x 4 piece of wood, it was reduced nonetheless on this ground. Seemingly, once a "prior relationship" becomes evident from the preliminary assessment of a larceny or burglary case in the Complaint Room, it was reduced for that reason.

For example, in one case, the defendant who had dated the complainant for a period ending two years before, entered her apartment by climbing a fire escape and breaking a window. He then proceeded to wreck the complainant's furniture. This case was reduced because of the "prior relationship".

While some of these relationship cases can involve legal questions with respect to title to the property taken, that is usually not the case, since reduction of misdemeanor larcenies also requires sufficient proof of title. Where title to property is in serious doubt, the prosecutor quite properly D.P.'s the case.

c. "None or Minor Prior Criminal History"

This ground was the decisive factor in 19% of all cases reduced for policy reasons (190 of 1,012).

Grand Larceny and stolen auto cases constituted 57% (109 of 190) of the cases reduced for "criminal history" reasons. The reason for this high percentage can be partially attributed to the use of the "criminal history" rationale in police decoy arrest cases as previously discussed. In decoy cases assistant district attorneys will draw a felony complaint where there is an indication that the defendant has an extensive or serious history. In most other cases, they are reduced for "no or minor prior criminal history" or because of "nature of the crime".

Of all stolen auto cases reduced, 36% (40 of 110) were because of lack of prior criminal history. This rationale worked an unusual result in at least one case, where the arresting officer observed the defendant in possession of a "slammer" (a device used by professional car thieves to remove ignitions) and inside a stolen 1981 custom Ford van valued at $14,000. The ignition was removed in this case. The case was reduced because the defendant has "no or minor prior criminal history".

There was one attempted homicide case wherein a misdemeanor assault complaint was prepared. In that case,

there were three arrest charges: attempted murder second degree, assault third degree (misdemeanor) and possession of a knife (misdemeanor). Based upon a totality of the circumstances, the prosecutor prepared a complaint on the last two charges only. In this case the police officer responded to a crowd on the street and was told by people in the crowd that a man had attempted to stab a woman on the street, and was prevented from doing so only because the crowd intervened. The officer located the individual a short distance away, who was identified by the woman complainant as her husband, and the person who had attempted to stab her. He had a knife in his pocket. In addition, she told the officer he had punched her in the face causing minor injuries.

By this time, the witnesses had left the scene, with the exception of an acquaintance of the complainant. The complainant did not appear in the Complaint Room and the misdemeanor assault and weapons offense were lodged by the prosecutor. The complainant did not appear at arraignment the next day, and the court dismissed the case.

IV. DECLINE PROSECUTIONS DECISIONS

Pursuant to Section 927 of the New York State County Law and court decisions, district attorneys have broad discretion in determining whether and how to prosecute criminal complaints. It is the exercise of this broad discretion as well as cases wherein a legal complaint cannot be prepared, that produces the "decline prosecution" category. Only 116 (4%) of the 3,000 cases were declined prosecution by the District Attorney.

Robbery arrests constituted 24% (28 of 116) of the total cases declined, while the remaining major crimes of burglary (16 of 116), grand larceny (16 of 116), stolen auto cases (11 of 116) and weapons offenses (12 of 116) ranged from 10% to 14%.

There were 4 attempted homicide arrests declined by the prosecutor. These 4 arrests involved two incidents, each involving 3 defendants. In both incidents all 4 D.P.'d defendants were companions of the defendants who did the actual shooting and were present at the scene. In both cases the actual shooters were prosecuted by the District Attorney. The other defendants were D.P.'d because the necessary element "acting in concert" could not be established. Legal Bureau attorneys concurred that criminal complaints could not be drawn against the companion defendants.

A review of 9 robbery and 11 burglary cases revealed similar legal issues. In 8 of the 9 robbery, and 10 of the 11 burglary cases, the defendants were charged with acting "in concert" with a defendant(s) against whom prosecutions were instituted.

These cases involved defendants who were arrested as "lookouts". The Legal Bureau agreed with the prosecutor's assessment that the facts did not sufficiently support that theory to permit the preparation of a criminal complaint.

Police attorneys concurred with the prosecutor's actions and rationale in 70% of the cases (50 of 71).

Witness-related problems prompted the District Attorney to decline prosecution in 37 cases of 116 (32% of all D.P.s). This occurs where the complaining witness fails to appear at the Complaint Room and the facts indicate that he will probably not appear in the future (26 of 37 cases, 70.3%). These cases usually involve a robbery or larceny from an out-of-towner. There is little, if any, consideration given in these routine cases to compelling attendance of these complainants. The cost of bringing an out-of-state complainant into New York for a prosecution is undoubtedly an underlying concern and consideration in determining how to process these cases, particularly in view of the marginal probability of a successful prosecution where a complainant is being compelled to cooperate and testify.

V. POLICE FINDINGS

The police attorneys reviewed all 1,570 cases that were reduced to misdemeanor or declined prosecution by the District Attorney. This review was conducted with the purpose of finding and identifying legal problems with a view towards taking corrective measures for deficiencies within the control of the Department. This resulted in a finding that 199 felony arrests should have been booked as misdemeanors, and 73 should not have been booked and the arrest voided at Central Booking.

Of these arrests, the police attorneys found that the majority involved police case preparation failures (208 of 272). The remaining 64 cases had legal deficiencies which were beyond the control of the arresting officer. These cases are discussed, infra. Accordingly, the legally defective felony arrest rate as a result of police performance failure is 7% of the total Project cases (208 of 3,000, and in the great majority of these cases, the arrest was sound even though the charging level was not.

Of the 208 arrests where the Legal Bureau found police case preparation deficiencies, three-quarters were reduced to misdemeanors (164 of 208 cases) and the rest were D.P.'d (44 cases).

Overcharging is the principal police failure (124 of 272 cases, 45.6%). Overcharging occurred most often in felonious assault cases (29 of 124) which should have been booked as misdemeanor assaults or harassment. One-half of these arrests (14 of 29) involved assaults upon the arresting officer. Under the law, assault on a police officer in the performance of his duties is a felony where physical injury is caused.

Physical contact, pushes, shoves or even kicks, in and of themselves, do not amount to physical injury under the law, even though there may be some physical discomfort or minor pain. In these cases, the facts did not give rise to the legal requirements necessary to charge felonious assault. Uniform police officers who are punched, kicked or otherwise subject to physical contact in the performance of their duty are placed in the dilemma of either charging the defendant with Assault in the Second Degree (a felony) or issuing the defendant a universal summons for Harassment (a violation).

It is apparent that there ought to be an offense more serious than Harassment when an officer of the law, in the performance of his duties, is publicly pushed, shoved or kicked, even though no legal physical injury results. Harassment as a petty and summonsable offense does not

protect officers, or deter such physical contacts, but conversely felonious assault, in the case where no physical injury is sustained, is too severe and not prosecutable. The Legal Bureau is studying the feasibility of proposed legislation making intentional kicking, shoving, punching an officer a misdemeanor even though no physical injury results.

Lack of probable cause was found in 22 cases and lack of a "necessary element" was found in 51 cases. For the 51 cases where an essential element of the charged felony was not established, as a result of police case preparation deficiencies, the prosecutor reduced 72.5% (37 cases) to misdemeanors and D.P.'d the rest. Grand Larceny and felonious assault are prone to this deficiency. In felonious assault cases, the usual element that cannot be established is serious physical injury, which is a term not clearly defined by statute or court decisions.

In 14 grand larceny cases the element that could not be established was property value exceeding $250.00.

There were cases where police attorneys found legal defects which, in their opinion, were attributable to factors beyond the arresting officer's control. Thirty-five were reduced to misdemeanors and 29 were declined prosecutions. The principal deficiencies were that the

complainant left the scene and could not be located (19 cases) and the inability to establish necessary elements of crime (16 cases).

VI. POLICE - PROSECUTOR DISAGREEMENT

Police attorneys did not agree with the prosecutor's decision in 63% (255 of 402) of the reduction cases, with Burglary, Robbery, Possession of Stolen Property and stolen auto cases being the offenses exhibiting the greatest difference of legal opinion.

Burglary cases represented the highest rate of disagreement (84%) involving 74 out of 88 cases. There were primarily two "elements" found lacking by the prosecutor: (1) the intent of the defendant to commit a crime at the time he entered the premises (42 cases), and (2) whether or not the entering was unlawful (without license or privilege) (38 cases). Those two "elements" account for 80 of 88 cases reduced. Police review of these cases indicated that the defendant's unlawful intent could be established by circumstantial evidence. For example, in one case, the facts revealed that the defendant entered a trucking garage by breaking through a skylight at 1:20 a.m. and was found by the police hiding under a truck inside the otherwise secure premises. This case was reduced to a criminal trespass on the grounds that it could not be established that he intended to commit a crime in the garage. This defendant had two prior burglary arrests.

In Robbery, the District Attorney identified "force" in the taking of property, as the missing element in 29 of the 44 cases. Police lawyers were of the opinion that this element could be established in 68% (20) of those cases. However, it must be kept in mind that robbery has an overall low reduction rate (21%)(150 of 727), with the District Attorney prosecuting the majority of such cases as felonies. These reduced robberies did not generally involve weapons or injuries, although they did involve the forcible taking of property.

In 72% (81 of 112) of the stolen auto cases, the police attorneys did not agree with the prosecutor that an element of the offense was missing. The District Attorney identified "knowledge that the vehicle was stolen" or "value" as the elements not established in 81 of 112 cases (60 knowledge, 21 value).

VII. COURT RESPONSE TO THE FELONY CASELOAD

Of those Project cases in which felony complaints were filed in Court by the prosecutor, 93% (1,254 of 1,351) survived arraignment as felonies. Reductions occurred in 6% (85) of the cases and dismissals occurred in 1% (12) of the cases at arraignment.

Subsequent to arraignment, the prosecutor secured indictments in 664 of the Project cases (22%) and consented

to reductions in 195 cases (6.5%). Six cases were transferred to Family Court, four cases were dismissed by the Grand Jury, and 292 cases (9.7%) were dismissed by the court on subsequent adjourned dates. It is important to bear in mind that the prosecutor had concluded at both the Complaint Room and arraignment stages that these cases were legally viable felonies. As of the date of this report, 93 cases (3.1%) were still pending as felonies in the Criminal Court, with bench warrants having been issued for the defendants in 35 of these pending cases.

CONCLUSION

The experience gained by this Project clearly underscores not only the complexity of the initial criminal justice processes, but also the extraordinarily intricate fact patterns and legal issues associated with routine felony arrests.

While the Project was limited to an examination of the criminal complaint preparation process, and in basic terms, subsequent court action on surviving felony cases, it does answer some critical police management questions concerning the impact of police performance upon felony arrest deterioration. While there is clearly room for differences of opinion, and ad hoc cases may be argued over subtle or conflicting court opinions or legal theories, poor arrest quality or

broad scale incompetency was not found to be a significant reason for so few felony arrests proceeding into the Supreme Court.

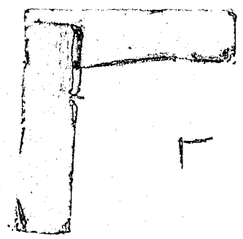
That is not to say that the Project has concluded that the arrests drawn or surviving arraignment as felonies all exemplify the epitome of police performance and are free of any legal issues troublesome to the prosecutor, and which may influence the ultimate case dispositions. Many arrests involve instantaneous police response, often in situations presenting a danger to the arresting officer and others, and involving areas of the law which are not well settled or covered by adequate court guidelines. The cases reflect all these realities.

The Project has demonstrated what many persons may find obvious. Overall criminal justice institutional resource restrains and the sheer volume of arrests made in New York City, without question, influence prosecutorial policy in deciding which and how many cases to indict. That is the principal and underlying factor in most case reduction decisions.

Findings by police attorneys that certain cases could have been prosecuted at a felony level, does not necessarily mean that they were also of the vies that the prosecutorial decision to prosecute at a lower level was improper from a practical or resource perspective. The Project was not designed to evaluate or judge policy practices by the prosecutor, nor would it have been proper to do so.

The second most significant Project finding is that even in the small number of cases found legally defective as felonies by the prosecutor, more than 80% (409 of 480) of them resulted in a misdemeanor complaint being prepared. From either the prosecutor or police viewpoint, only a very small percent of the felony arrests should have been voided by booking personnel (2.4%)(71 of 3,000).

Legal Bureau attorneys who reviewed these 3,000 felony arrests found a generally high level of arrest screening and proper charging by Central Booking personnel. Those areas where legal misconceptions and error result in improper arrests, or overcharging, or failure by booking supervisors to terminate an arrest, will be brought to the attention of Central Booking personnel and supervisors in all boroughs.



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