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U.S. Department of Justice
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ISSUES & PRACTICES

Partnerships For Neighborhood Crime Prevention

- Why should community organizations and police departments get involved together in neighborhood crime prevention?
- How can the crime prevention program be tailored to specific neighborhoods?
- How can police departments and community organizations build internal and external support for crime prevention?
- How can a strong and durable program be built?
- What kinds of resources are needed for neighborhood crime prevention?
- How can you tell if the crime prevention program is working?

a publication series of the **National Institute of Justice**

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James K. Stewart
Director

PARTNERSHIPS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME PREVENTION

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Issues and Practices in Criminal Justice is a publication series of the National Institute of Justice. Designed for the criminal justice professional, each *Issues and Practices* report presents the program options and management issues in a topic area, based on a review of research and evaluation findings, operational experience, and expert opinion in the subject. The intent is to provide criminal justice managers and administrators with the information to make informed choices in planning, implementing and improving programs and practice.

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FOREWORD

How can communities reverse the escalation of crime and the fear it arouses in the public? This new report by the National Institute of Justice shows that something can be done. A key ingredient is community involvement in crime prevention.

The concept of crime prevention has been around for a long time. But too often in the past, it has simply meant good public relations between police and the community and some advice on locks or alarms. Increasingly, however, it is being recognized as a form of policing characterized by a strong and active partnership between community residents and law enforcement agencies.

The police cannot be expected to control crime on their own. Citizens are an essential part of the equation. Indeed, as this report demonstrates, the role of the average individual in helping to keep the peace is crucial. Unless victims and witnesses report crimes, come forward with information, see the case through, and participate actively in organized efforts to prevent crime, our system of justice cannot function as it should.

Forging an alliance with the citizenry is not easy. It calls for special law enforcement skills, facilitating a "sense of community" in a neighborhood and serving community's needs. In some respects, "crime fighting" is easier for police than listening to citizen complaints or dealing with incivilities. But activities like these are central to building community involvement that can help prevent crime.

The six programs described in this report are all located in high-crime urban areas. They have successfully organized to combat crime. And they have made a difference, reducing targeted crimes in most instances. In addition, these coalitions of police and citizens have restored a sense of safety and order to their neighborhoods. In so doing, they have improved the quality of life in the community as a whole.

The National Institute of Justice is pleased to share information about these workable programs. We hope other interested communities can apply the lessons learned to the benefit of their neighborhood and citizens.

James K. Stewart
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PREFACE

This is a guidebook about crime prevention in urban neighborhoods. Drawing upon contact with many crime prevention efforts around the country, and upon a growing body of materials about anti-crime programs and techniques, it lays out the most important considerations for any organization—whether a police department or a community group—seeking to enhance public safety and reduce fear in urban settings.

More specifically, this book is about *neighborhood crime prevention,* a term we have chosen to designate certain kinds of community crime prevention efforts. Neighborhood crime prevention has two defining characteristics:

1. it is designed for individual neighborhoods—their residents, their physical makeup, and the particular crime problems they are encountering; and
2. it is carried out through a working partnership between police and existing neighborhood organizations or institutions.

These two features appear to be necessary for the viability and success of collective action to prevent crime.

Just as neighborhood crime prevention needs to involve both police and community organizations, so too is this guide addressed to both those audiences. Many police departments already have community relations or crime prevention officers, but their mission and their relationship to the rest of the police force and to residents are often unclear. Other departments face the growing realization that citizen help would enhance their ability to maintain order and safety, yet they do not know how to enlist that support. Community organizations around the country have taken on neighborhood issues such as housing, economic development, or public improvements, but often they have hesitated to involve themselves in crime prevention, even though crime and fear are widely recognized local problems. Crime is thought to be a difficult organizing issue, and the police may be viewed as the problem in some places rather than as a needed ally and valuable resource.

In part, the purpose of addressing this book to both the police and the community is to show *how* working relationships between them can be established and the mutual benefits of doing so. We offer a number of examples of alliances that have overcome initial wariness, or even hostility, to obtain results recognized and acclaimed by both parties.

The topic of this manual is collective, *organized* anti-crime activity. Residents of urban neighborhoods can and do act as individuals to protect themselves, their homes and their families. But many of their actions involve increased isolation and withdrawal from public places and other people, which tend to increase fear and crime rather than reduce them. By contrast, participation in collective anti-crime activity has been shown to be associated with less fear and with belief that local conditions are improving. Such involvement not only gives residents a greater *feeling* of efficacy, it actually makes them an effective force for greater neighborhood safety and security.

This document is not, however, a manual about organizing the community *per se*. Rather, we begin from the premise that there are organizations or institutions already in the neighborhood which will add crime prevention to their agendas once the possibilities for effective action and the methods to achieve it become clear. Pre-existing groups have usually been the primary vehicle for neighborhood anti-crime efforts. Especially in times of economic recession and fiscal constraint, they are better able to mobilize scarce resources, because they have a track record on other issues as well as established leadership and organizational structures. Broader resident participation and greater cooperation among multiple local groups can still be achieved within this framework.

The community crime prevention programs now operating around the country appear to focus most attention on residential burglary. Purse-snatching, larceny, and auto theft are also frequently addressed. These are undoubtedly the most common crimes that affect urban neighborhoods, and they are also crimes which can be prevented by the reduction of opportunities to commit them. But other neighborhood conditions, that are *disorderly* if not actually illegal, also affect how safe residents feel. It is important to realize that some patterns of street use (for example, groups of youths hanging out by the corner store or listening to loud radios on the steps of buildings) may generate fear among other residents, even though crime does not result. Similarly, vandalism and graffiti seem to carry a message about neighborhood conditions that is associated in peoples' minds with reduced safety.

As various examples in this guidebook will show, neighborhood crime prevention can be effectively directed toward a variety of problems. Programs can target other crimes, including arson and rape. Collective crime prevention activity can also deal with issues of public order.

More broadly, neighborhood crime prevention is an important means of reducing *fear of crime,* which can be a very potent influence on residents' feelings and actions, including decisions to move out of the neighborhood. The level of fear may bear

little relationship to rates of crime; indeed, one extensive study indicates that people who are least likely to be victimized are most likely to report being fearful. Whether or not it is factually founded, fear must be treated as part of the crime problem and taken into account in planning neighborhood crime prevention.

Issues for Neighborhood Crime Prevention

Organizers of neighborhood crime prevention efforts face a series of choices or decisions, whether the organizers are residents or police departments. This manual is intended to provide guidance about these choices on the basis of prior research and contacts with operating programs. There are six primary issues discussed here:

- Why should community organizations and police departments get involved together in neighborhood crime prevention?
- How can neighborhood crime prevention be tailored to specific neighborhoods? (What aspects of the neighborhood are important to consider in planning anti-crime efforts? What strategies and tactics have been developed to deal with the crime problems in different communities?)
- How can police departments and community organizations build support for crime prevention? (What motivates police officers and residents to get involved? How does crime prevention relate to action on other neighborhood issues? What ties with other groups are important for crime prevention programs?)
- How can a strong and durable program be built? (What are the internal challenges for police departments? What are the options for neighborhood groups? How can initial enthusiasm be maintained?)
- What kinds of resources are needed for neighborhood crime prevention? (Where can they be found? How can they be mobilized?)
- What kinds of information and procedures are needed to tell whether the program is having its intended effect?

For each of these issues, experience and research suggest that there are various options, with advantages and disadvantages that stem from differences in the neighborhood context, the initiating organization, and the specifics of the crime problem. Therefore, this guidebook tries to provide sufficient detail, particularly in field examples, to assist readers in determining what options can work in their own situations.

Sources of Information

This document is intended for local practitioners, both police and community, and we have drawn heavily on current practice in its development. Previous research, much of it also sponsored by the National Institute of Justice, has given primary attention to the nature and determinants of individual reactions to crime. Collective responses, such as community crime prevention, are only one subtopic in this literature.

Despite the extensive past involvement of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration with funding crime prevention programs, relatively few actual programs have been fully documented and even fewer strictly evaluated. There is little prior research on programs involving a working partnership between the police and neighborhood groups. Most of the literature gives scant attention to the ways neighborhood context affects crime prevention efforts. In addition, some evaluations of crime prevention programs have shown mixed results, but debate continues about what impacts are most important and why research findings are inconclusive. Therefore, while the formal literature aided us in developing the framework and identifying the issues for this guide, much of the content is drawn from discussions with and visits to operating programs.

In the course of the research, we contacted 59 programs across the country, including both citywide and community-based efforts. Extensive information on neighborhood setting, organizational structure, police-community linkages, and choice of tactics was gathered for 22 of them, selected on the basis of neighborhood targeting and police-community involvement. Written materials in use by the programs were collected whenever possible. Finally, we were able to spend time on-site with six programs, chosen for their varied settings, innovative methods, and reported effectiveness.

These visits included interviews not only with people involved in running the programs, but also with component organizations, participating neighborhood residents, and important allied groups. A significant amount of time was spent in the neighborhoods. Most important, in five of the six sites we were able to talk both to police and to community groups about their work together. The structured interviews and data collection have enabled us to turn the wealth of materials from operating programs into the substance of this book.

Organization of the Guidebook

This document is divided into six chapters, each discussing one of the issues listed above. Chapter 1 is an overview of the importance of crime prevention activity and its potential for changing neighborhood conditions. In Chapter 2, the concept of targeting—tailoring crime prevention to the specific local situation—is presented. This is one of the two defining characteristics of neighborhood crime prevention. Effective targeting depends on knowing the neighborhood and its crime problem, then combining tactics into a strategy that fits the situation. Chapter 2 not only details how to use information about the neighborhood; it also introduces the great variety of crime prevention tactics and discusses how a program strategy is built. (The Appendix provides descriptions and further references on over thirty widely used crime prevention tactics.)

The first steps in starting neighborhood crime prevention are the subject of Chapter 3, which suggests how to gain support among police and residents, what kinds of community groups or institutions may be useful program sponsors, and how to establish the needed relationships and alliances. Chapter 4 continues the discussion of organizational issues by examining different options for program structure. It also considers the problem of program durability and the techniques available to maintain crime prevention efforts.

Chapter 5 then turns to the question of resources, especially ways to obtain non-monetary resources. One of the most important tools for mobilizing resources is information about the program, to demonstrate its activities and achievements. Gathering such information—monitoring—is discussed in Chapter 6, which also argues the need to evaluate the impact of crime prevention efforts. There are all too few sound studies of the impact of community crime prevention, yet an evaluation is not necessarily beyond the means of operating programs. And the benefits from monitoring and evaluation—in terms of program durability and effectiveness—can be substantial.

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CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME PREVENTION?

Neighborhood crime prevention is people taking responsibility for themselves, their neighbors, and their community. It is the police and the community working together to make it harder for crime to occur. In urban areas, it is the creation or re-creation of a community atmosphere in which neighbors know neighbors and police officers know the community. It is people helping each other make a better place in which to live.

The United States was at one time a country where most people lived in rural areas. People from similar ethnic and income groups tended to live together in the same communities over a long period of time; their common backgrounds also brought them together in community activities. It was difficult for a stranger to come into this environment without being noticed and difficult for a member of the community to commit a crime without being seen by someone who knew his family or where he lived. In cities, police officers walked their beats and were known to the neighborhood residents. The police officers also knew who might be a troublemaker and whom they could count on in an emergency.

A number of factors have altered that now-idealized community atmosphere. Rural environments no longer predominate. Greater numbers of people have moved into urban areas in order to secure employment. The population has grown increasingly heterogeneous, belying the notion of a "melting pot." Job demands have also changed, so that families relocate more frequently. As a result, today's urban neighborhoods are composed of a variety of ethnic, racial, age, and income groups. They are constantly in transition. In this changing urban environment, informal understandings among neighbors about order and mutual safety are less common and have less impact. It often takes special efforts and formal organizations to replace them in making neighborhoods safer. The challenge is also greater for police, who are faced with a more varied population and a public expecting them to fill the gap.

There is a movement in this country that is working to reverse these conditions through partnerships between police and community organizations. It is called neighborhood crime prevention. The initiative for this movement comes from both community organizations and police departments.

1.1 Community Organizations

Why Do It Yourself?

In many ways, we have become a nation that expects professionals to do things for us. When we are concerned about the increasing crime rate, we turn immediately to criminal justice professionals, without realizing that, to meet our expectations, the police would have to be everywhere at once; the court system would have to attain convictions with little evidence and few or no eyewitnesses willing to testify; and the prisons would be required to keep all criminals locked up for long periods. Meanwhile, the tax revenues to support such systems are dwindling, with public service budgets strained by inflation and fiscal crises, while crime is still increasing. Too often our response is to isolate ourselves in our homes, or maybe to buy a stronger lock, a burglar alarm, or a gun. We change our behavior so that we do not go out at night, and we mistrust or fear even our closest neighbors.

Some people in this country have decided to change this situation. Instead of trying to make their homes into fortresses, they have begun to organize their *neighborhoods* for crime prevention. The groups that are organizing are often of diverse ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds. This book describes a number of these groups, how they have joined together, and what they have done to prevent crime and create better places to live.

Why do it yourself? Because the police cannot do it without you, and you are the only one who can do it for yourself—you and your neighbors. We can no longer afford to insist that the police be the sole force maintaining order and safety without citizen help.

What Can Be Done?

You can *organize to prevent crime and reduce fear.* Organization is the key to taking control of your neighborhood and your own safety. You as an individual can organize a block watch or an arson watch, form a neighborhood patrol or a police/community board. Any kind of group can be formed, and around any geographic unit: along a city block, across an alley, within an apartment building, in a public housing project.

The first step is for residents to take the responsibility for making the place they live more secure. Individuals can talk to

their neighbors, introduce themselves if they don't know each other. They can try to find out what concerns are shared by people in the area. Probably more than one person is afraid of the kids on the corner or of getting off the bus late in the evening. Once neighbors have begun to talk, they can call leaders of local community organizations. There may already be a crime prevention program nearby. Perhaps a community group would start a crime prevention program if they knew people were interested. The next step is to call the local precinct or the city crime prevention unit of the police department. At a minimum, they can provide speakers, pamphlets, and other materials. Try to use existing resources, ideas, and techniques. Start small; you cannot change the whole city, but you can make a difference in your own neighborhood. It may take some effort to get others involved, but you will be surprised at how quickly others will join in when they realize this is something positive, something that *can* work.

Will It Make a Difference?

No one can say whether or not it will make a difference in your neighborhood; that depends on you and your neighbors. However, people who have organized for crime prevention say that people working together can have a positive effect. Here are some examples.

Wise Towers Tenant Security and Education Program—New York City: A Public Housing Project Alters the Common Public Housing Environment

Stephan Wise Towers is a state-subsidized housing project administered by the New York City Housing Authority. Construction of the four 19-story buildings was completed in 1964. It is home to 400 families, with a total population in excess of 1,100 people. The project is 16 percent white, 43 percent Hispanic, 10 percent black, and 30 percent from Asian and other ethnic groups. It includes both families and the elderly; all have low or moderate incomes. On the upper West Side of Manhattan, extremes of income and lifestyle abound; young, upwardly mobile professionals live shoulder-to-shoulder with society's dispossessed—a population of the elderly poor and the young without work or the prospect of work. The neighborhood is susceptible to the crimes of transients, narcotics, and acts of violence.

The Tenant Security and Education Program began in February 1975 when, once again, both elevators were broken in one of the Wise Towers buildings. One of the residents was so angered by the lack of maintenance of the complex that she put up a sign reading: "If you care about the place where you live, come to a meeting tonight in the lobby." About one hundred people showed up for that first meeting. Their major concern was with the upkeep of the building: elevators were frequently "out of service"; stairwells were strewn with garbage, graffiti, and human wastes; broken lightbulbs were ignored; and the heat and hot water were sometimes shut down during the winter months. Meanwhile, rents were increasing, and the symptoms of tenant apathy (especially vandalism) were running high. Public housing projects are notorious for this kind of deterioration, and it looked as though Wise Towers would be no different.

At that first tenant meeting, a building representative was elected, and a grievance committee was formed to approach the project management. They began to get faster response on repairs, and also to learn more about how much of the damage was being done, and thus could be prevented, by residents. Seeing the accomplishments of the tenants from the first building, the other buildings also began to hold meetings, and in February of 1976 a meeting was held at a nearby church for all tenants in the whole complex.

As the meetings continued, and as the buildings were cleaned up, the tenants began to involve themselves with other activities. Among their primary concerns was safety. The four high-rises had no lobby security—not even locking doors. Strangers were loitering in the stairwells and halls, even sleeping there, and making residents afraid to use them. So the people of Wise Towers formed a "sitting patrol" in which residents would sit in groups of two or three at the entrance to each building in order to monitor who came in and out. Strangers were asked what they were there for, and asked to leave if it was thought they might cause trouble. A youth patrol was also formed, in which young adults from the buildings would ride up the elevators and walk down the stairwells, also checking each floor. Outsiders soon learned that the Wise Towers complex was not a place where they could cause trouble or commit crimes.

The residents have continued to be concerned for each other's safety and well-being. Sitting patrols serve a social as well as a safety function. The outdoor space has become a community gathering place, not just a short-cut between two streets. To be a part of the youth patrol is considered a position of status: its members are seen as responsible and mature. Other youths respect and admire those on the patrol and hope to join it. Children become involved with the program's recreation activities at an early age, and they stay involved.

On the block adjacent to the Wise Towers complex are luxury townhouses and high-rises. Some of these blocks have organized their own block watches, and one and one-half years ago they joined with Wise Towers to form the West Side Crime Prevention Coalition. Together they have reached out further into the community, analyzed the overall crime problem and begun to plan how to tackle it. Through this coalition, West Side residents of all races, nationalities, and incomes will be able to cooperate in crime prevention activities.

Southside Neighborhood Housing Services Crime Prevention Program—Minneapolis: A Housing Group Discovers the Need to Address Crime to Stop Urban Flight

For many years the south side of Minneapolis has been the highest crime area in the city. Its neighborhoods are low- and moderate-income, and it has a racially mixed population. In

1976 an organization called Southside Neighborhood Housing Services (SNHS) was formed by residents and local financial institutions to carry out home improvements and stem neighborhood decline.

Although SNHS was successful in helping owners to rehabilitate much of the housing in the area, the hoped-for stabilization of the neighborhood did not occur. Residents were still moving away. The SNHS Board of Directors conducted a survey of residents to discover the reason. They found that residents' fear of crime was the major factor in their movement. In order to combat this fear of crime, SNHS added a crime prevention component to its agenda.

A major complaint from residents, especially blacks and Native Americans, was about the police department. Residents did not trust the police and felt that they were treated unfairly by them. There was also resistance from the police department to dealing with neighborhood groups, because it was felt that organized residents would create demands on the police that they could not meet. In order to open the lines of communication between the community and the police, SNHS's crime prevention coordinator organized a meeting between the two. A new captain had just been assigned to the Third Precinct, which serves the Southside area. Fifteen residents were invited to the meeting, but 45 came, not only to complain about police services but also to describe the neighborhood's needs.

The new captain responded to their concerns by expanding the Third Precinct Advisory Council to include a variety of neighborhood groups. The council now consists of residents, officers from each of the precinct's platoons, investigators, and a crime prevention specialist. This group has brought about significant changes in police operations and in the attitudes of the residents. Many of the bureaucratic procedures which had required residents to go through police headquarters to gain access to local crime information have been transferred to the precinct. The captain has built crime prevention activities into the regular duties of patrol officers, and has added an evaluation of those activities to the patrol officers' performance reviews. Recently, precinct platoons were reorganized to establish a Crime Control Unit for targeting special problems. Essential to the success of these changes in the orientation and duties of patrol officers was their active participation in the decision-making process and the commitment to crime prevention at the command level.

Community residents grew more willing to participate in crime prevention as the Third Precinct changed its orientation. To date, 99 square blocks have been organized by SNHS, emphasizing both housing and crime concerns. Residents' ability to communicate with police and receive a positive response has made them more willing to work in conjunction with the police and to take responsibility for preventing crime on their blocks.

Southside residents are now aware of police procedures and trained to look for potential crime problems; the police are now aware of and responsive to community concerns. Together they have managed to rid the south side of Minneapolis of its dubious distinction as the highest crime area in the city.

Edgewater Community Council Urban Crime Prevention Program—Chicago: An Existing Community Organization Takes on a Special Crime Problem

The years 1979 and 1980 were tragic ones for the Edgewater neighborhood of Chicago. In an 18-month period there were 31 fatalities from fires. Some of these fires were suspected arson; others were accidentally set by vagrants. The Edgewater area had been documented as one of the most arson-prone in the city of Chicago. In the first quarter of 1980 alone there were 61 fires and ten confirmed arsons in the 20th Police District, which covers about one-half of Edgewater. Each fire made this community increasingly fearful.

Edgewater Community Council (ECC), the major community organization in Edgewater for over 20 years, decided it must take action to prevent further tragedy. Crime prevention and community organizing were not new to the ECC: it operated the WhistleSTOP[1] Program; the base station of the area's radio patrol[2] was in the ECC office; and a number of block watch programs in the area were already receiving assistance from the council.

The ECC defined its Urban Crime Prevention Program's purpose: "to build a solid foundation of conscientious, involved citizens united to reduce the incidence of arson, to reduce the fear of arson, to educate citizens of all age levels in how to report arson-prone buildings and to make the community a more secure and safe place to live and work."

After winning a federal grant and hiring a director and organizers, the program began by organizing residents to identify arson-prone buildings and then requesting inspections of those structures through housing court. At the outset, they found that the process from request to actual inspection and court enforcement action could take more than a year. Then one of the buildings that was in the inspection process burned, and 19 people were killed. In response, the ECC targeted another particularly arson-prone building for action. A court date had already been set to request an inspection. At the hearing, so many community people showed up to demand action that they could not all fit into the courtroom. The Edgewater area was shown to be a strong, concerned, and informed community, and the judge ordered an immediate inspection. The process took four months instead of a year. The city subsequently developed a task force approach for arson-prone buildings, in which all the inspections were carried out within a very short period on a 30-day court schedule.

Since that first interaction between the residents and the housing court judge, the program has continued to build in strength and effectiveness. Participants and staff now keep their own files on building conditions, they are in the housing court as observers or witnesses about three days each week, and they

[1]Trademark. WhistleSTOP is a crime prevention tactic in which whistles are blown to scare criminals and alert neighbors to call the police. This and many other tactics are introduced in Chapter 2 and described in the Appendix.

[2]Citizen radio patrols use CB radios to call a base station about suspicious activity or other problems as the patrollers walk or drive through the neighborhood.

have established working relationships with other city agencies such as the Department of Public Safety and the Bomb and Arson Unit of the police department. Through the ECC's Urban Crime Prevention Program, many of the area's buildings have been brought up to code, and several have been rehabilitated for low- and moderate-income renters. The most significant achievement has been that, since the program got fully underway, there has not been a serious fire or any further loss of life.

The Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods: A Citywide Support Structure for Community Crime Prevention

The Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods (NCN) came into being in 1977, when leaders of four local community groups agreed on the need for a citywide alliance of advocacy organizations. The basic concept was to organize, share resources, and act together in order to influence the policies of the public and private sectors on behalf of low-income residents. Crime was one of NCN's first issues, since arson plagued the city and police services were being cut back.

Over the next three years, the coalition helped its component organizations to work in the areas of housing, education, crime, youth, and economic development. It also expanded to eleven members. All member agencies must be non-profit, involved in organizing, and have a neighborhood base or target area. But the composition of NCN is unique: it blends grassroots neighborhood groups with service organizations like community clubs and counseling centers. As a result, there is an exceptionally wide range of skills and other resources within the coalition. In early 1980, NCN drew together proposals from nine of its members for a federal Urban Crime Prevention Program grant addressing arson and property crime. It became the only coalition to win such a grant and act as the monitor to its own member organizations which carry out the work.

Newark's neighborhoods have different problems, which are being addressed in different ways by the community organizations. The James Street neighborhood is 60 percent black, 20 percent Hispanic, and 20 percent white and other groups. A third of the blacks and half the Hispanic residents were below the poverty level in 1980. Many of the elderly live in rooming houses or in the Summit Street senior citizen low-income housing project. Police reports indicate that muggings and break-ins are prevalent crimes in the neighborhood. The muggings and mail thefts increase, especially for seniors, around the time of the month when Social Security and welfare checks are due. The neighborhood is served by the Protestant Community Center, which operates the James Street Neighborhood House and conducts a variety of service and community organizing activities, including crime prevention for youth and the elderly. A youth anti-crime speakers' bureau and a youth escort service for the elderly are in operation.

Newark's Vailsburg neighborhood, with over 30,000 residents, experienced a multiplicity of changes during the 1970s. In the late 1960s the neighborhood was a white ethnic stronghold, made up of many groups who were seeking to maintain a separated position from the rest of Newark. The riots of that period precipitated the exodus of many of these families, so that in 1982 the Vailsburg population is multi-ethnic and multi-racial. This urban exodus has ushered in a time of significant transition as new residents are becoming assimilated into the Vailsburg community.

This neighborhood is comprised primarily of moderate-income residents. Through the Unified Vailsburg Service Organization they are seeking to improve the housing and insurance availability and affordability, are working for improved education, and are instituting programs to address the increasing crime problem. Widespread block watch organizing for crime prevention has led to development of a Block Club Council. This council will continue organizing and will help maintain and strengthen the watches when the federal grant runs out.

In these and nine other Newark neighborhoods, organizations are working to fight crime and rebuild the community with the help of NCN. The coalition will continue to be there as a support structure and resource for its members, with the hope that the unique mixture of members will help each other survive hard times and challenges.

1.2 Police Departments

Beyond Community Relations

Over the years, the role of the police has become almost solely a reactive one: police respond to citizens' calls for aid. As the United States experienced tremendous growth in its cities in the late 1950s and 1960s, the police were required to answer calls for service from a larger population and over a broader geographic area. In order to meet these increased demands, police departments moved away from walking beats toward mobile patrols. While this change in service delivery was thought necessary for new conditions, one unintended consequence was that the daily contact between patrol officers and the community was diminished. They had less chance for interaction with residents and were themselves rarely known as individuals. They also knew less about the community they served. Order maintenance became a less important duty, apprehension of criminals their primary task. As routine police contact with concerned and responsible members of the community became less frequent, citizens came to perceive police officers as enforcers of external rules rather than as people they knew personally and could trust.

Police thinking about crime *prevention* has focused on patrol operations, on the theory that constant police surveillance can deter most crime. Unfortunately, preventive patrol did not prove to be an effective crime deterrent. In the early 1970s, results were released concerning a year-long experiment in Kansas City, Missouri, on the effect of preventive patrol. The study disclosed that increasing or decreasing the level of

routine preventive patrol had no significant effect on crime, citizen fear, or satisfaction with police services.[3]

As a result of this and other experiments on preventing crime solely through police operations, some departments have concluded that it is impossible for the police to prevent crime without the assistance of the community. Fewer resources are required to apprehend a burglar if an observant citizen calls in while the crime is in progress, compared to identifying and apprehending a criminal whose deed is discovered many hours later by the victim. The probability of catching the criminal is also far higher. Recent budget decreases experienced in many police departments make it even more crucial to use those scarce resources in the most efficient manner. Screening of calls for service is made easier when officers know a community.

As patrol officers were drawn further away from positive interactions with citizens, a common police response to public hostility and civil disturbance was the creation of community relations units. Community relations took on a specialized role, typically filled by a small number of officers who attempted to work against negative community perceptions of police. Although many talented and concerned officers worked in these units to gain the confidence and trust of citizens, little or nothing was changed in the ordinary interactions between patrol officers and the community. Community relations was usually an exercise in public relations. A police sergeant in Detroit summed up his experience in both this way: "Community relations is crime prevention without the tools."

Realizing the limits of community relations, some departments have now integrated the concept into daily patrol activities or developed ways to help citizens help themselves. Many departments have begun to educate the public about crime prevention, but all too often their crime prevention efforts consist *solely* of giving talks at public request. In some departments, however, there is two-way communication and growing responsiveness to neighborhood views and priorities. These departments have found it essential to redefine their activities from reactive to proactive: to work with the community on *preventing* crimes rather than only responding after a crime has occurred. Some have even reached out to involve the community by organizing citizens against crime.

The positive experiences of these departments indicate that there can be a real payoff for the police in both effectiveness and morale.

Tapping Neighborhood Resources

The first step for the police in getting citizens involved in crime prevention is to contact the leaders of existing community organizations. It is essential to obtain their support and their ongoing, active cooperation. They are valuable advisors on the makeup and personality of their community. Community organizations may already have established networks through which citizens can be rallied to organize block watches and other crime prevention efforts. In fact, neighborhood crime prevention can *only* succeed in cooperation with residents. Where existing community organizations have not been consulted, such groups have perceived police efforts to organize block watches, for example, as a means of infiltrating and exerting control over their communities—in other words, as competition. Experience has shown that this results in feelings of hostility and a public less willing to be helpful to police efforts.

Churches and synagogues are another important set of contacts in neighborhoods. Religious institutions play a very important leadership role in many areas and are concerned for the welfare of their communities. Church leaders in some cities have allowed the police department to use space in their facilities to set up offices or to hold meetings. They can provide excellent systems of communication and are a valuable source of volunteers. The same is true of non-profit community service agencies.

Leaders of community organizations and institutions are easy to identify and are the most likely people to provide that essential initial guidance for working within a particular neighborhood. The police department, in turn, should be prepared to provide speakers for community meetings, crime analysis data for each neighborhood, and a continuing responsible contact person for the community. The first priority of the police department should be to establish a working partnership with community leaders, based on respect for each other's views and priorities. The two groups should work together starting with the planning phase. The most sophisticated crime prevention program plan will be of no use if it is unresponsive to residents; the most amply funded program will have no impact without full participation of both the police and the community.

Will It Make a Difference?

The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for 1980[4] estimated the number of burglaries in the U.S. at 3.8 million, representing 31 percent of all property crime. One-fifth of these burglaries were unforced, committed through open doors or windows. Burglary is one of the fastest growing reported crimes and one of the least often solved. Yet burglary is one of the easiest crimes to prevent. With these facts in mind, police departments have enlisted community organizations in a proactive approach to crime, especially burglary, by working to prevent it. Here are two examples of what they have done and how they have done it.

[3]George L. Kelling et al., *The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment: A Summary Report* (Washington, D.C.: The Police Foundation, 1974).

[4]Federal Bureau of Investigation, *1980 Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1981).

The Detroit Police Department Crime Prevention Section: Community Involvement Builds Strength

In 1967, sections of Detroit's black neighborhoods exploded in riots. White residents had been leaving the city, and the black population had been growing with southerners seeking jobs in the auto industry. With the riots, old residents fled faster, many leaving their homes empty behind them. Gangs began to operate out of the hundreds of abandoned homes, victimizing black and white residents alike. By the early 1970s, Detroit had come to be called "Murder City." From 1970 to 1974 burglary, larceny, and auto theft increased by 61.1 percent.[5] The almost exclusively white police department responded with massive investments in police manpower, hardware, and tactical mobile units. The heavily-armed police were considered an "army of occupation."

Ironically, the upheaval caused by the riots and high population turnover resulted in changing Detroit from one of the most segregated cities in the U.S. to one with a number of integrated neighborhoods and an integrated police force. As residents looked at their city, they began to realize that the problem was not race, but crime. It also became clear that the police were not the sole solution to the problem.

In 1976, the city's Mayor appointed a new Chief of Police, a man deeply committed to Detroit's people and neighborhoods. The new Chief, seeking to change the department's emphasis from armed mobile units to one of police-community involvement, appointed one of his commanders, an expert in crime prevention, to head a crime prevention unit. The department then set up 50 mini-stations across the city and trained 2,000 volunteers to serve as links to the community and advisors to the department.

The Crime Prevention Section chose to target a single high-crime area of the city for the start-up of the crime prevention experiment. The area's main attraction as the target site was its strong existing community organization. For that organization, the Crary-St. Mary Community Council, a series of rapes in the area had made crime a high-priority issue, but they had not known how to work on crime without scaring people. The next step taken by the Crime Prevention Section was to use crime analysis and demographic data to determine the full nature of the area's problems. For example, it was found that burglaries were the most common crime, that over 35 percent of them occurred through unlocked doors and windows, and that almost 60 percent occurred during daytime hours. Next, the four crime prevention officers assigned to the target area contacted all of the local service clubs, churches, business and community leaders, telling them what they had learned about the problem and requesting their support and resources to take on crime together.

Approaches to the problem were determined jointly by the police and the Community Council. The council had never been active at the block level, yet the crime analysis revealed a natural choice of tactic—a block watch, with residents trained to spot strangers, look out for their neighbors, and report suspicious activity quickly and accurately to the police. So the crime prevention officers canvassed each of the area's 155 blocks requesting citizen involvement. The police had taken on the role of community organizers, and the Community Council grew stronger as resident participation and interest in local issues increased.

The Detroit Police Department's Crime Prevention Section, which started with two officers, has since grown to over 150. Some 3,500 "Neighborhood Watch" organizations have been formed, as well as business and apartment watch groups. The original target area boasts a 61 percent reduction in burglary and a total reduction of 58 percent in all major crimes against persons and property.[6] Citywide, there was a 30 percent reduction in these crimes from 1979 to 1981.

Detroit is no longer listed in FBI tabulations as among the 28 most crime-prone cities. Detroit has taken on a new name, that of "Renaissance City," along with its new strengthening of community support. The orientation of the police department toward the neighborhoods and their partnership in preventing crime have played a major part in the city's sense of rebirth.

The San Diego Police Department Public Affairs Unit: A Growing Program in a Growing City

Sunbelt cities also face a challenge with respect to crime prevention, as they attract diverse new residents and constantly add and change neighborhoods. The population of San Diego has doubled in the past 10 years, and the city now covers over 392 square miles. The rapid increase in population has made it difficult for the police department to keep pace.

The department first began working to set up "Community Alert" groups in 1972, with burglary as the targeted crime. In 1975, the department conducted a comparison of crime in two similar areas: one in which there were active Community Alert groups, and one in which residents were not organized for crime prevention. Finding that crime was significantly lower in the Community Alert area, the department set a goal for 1976 of organizing 500 groups across the city. The need and demand for such a program was so great that 1,000 groups started up that year.

The San Diego Police Department's Public Affairs Unit, including both crime prevention and community relations officers, is comprised of just 25 staff people. However, the crime prevention program is carried out by *all* members of the department. Based on the "community oriented policing" concept, every patrol officer is required to attend and conduct community meetings and to work with Community Alert groups on his or her beat. The department believes that every police officer must be involved in and committed to crime pre-

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[5]Frank Viviano, "Redefining the Police," *Co-Evolution Quarterly* (Spring 1982), p. 87.

[6]These crimes, tabulated in Part I of the Uniform Crime Reports, include homicide, rape, robbery, arson, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft.

Data on changes in crime rates and resident attitudes are presented in "The Detroit Crime Prevention Model" (Detroit Police Department internal document, no date).

vention work in the community for the program and the department to be successful. Although this approach takes a long time to implement, crime prevention becomes truly integrated into daily police operations, and every member of the department must take on a certain commitment to communities as a result.

The San Diego Police Department has achieved a high level of citizen participation in crime prevention by making presentations and providing resources to groups at the block level. There is a community relations officer in charge of a police department storefront (office) in each command area. This officer has the responsibility and discretion for fitting crime prevention efforts to the particular characteristics of that area. In southeast San Diego, which has a concentration of low- and moderate-income blacks and Hispanics, the officer makes many initial crime prevention contacts while handling other problems or just being out on the streets. In the Northern Area, several of the component neighborhoods have "town councils" which act as unofficial representatives of these middle-income communities in dealing with public problems. These councils have been a major means of police contact for encouraging crime prevention activity.

The San Diego program shows a strong commitment to communication between police and residents and to involving the whole department in the partnership against crime. This kind of commitment is an essential element in neighborhood crime prevention. It cannot be provided by the police alone or by residents alone, but must come from both through recognition of mutual needs and common goals. Throughout the rest of this guidebook, we will continue to draw on examples of crime prevention programs that have succeeded in reducing fear, preventing crime, and re-creating a sense of community in urban neighborhoods. They have put the commitment to work in targeting local crime problems, choosing appropriate tactics, building a strategy, and marshalling the resources to do what needs to be done.

CHAPTER 2

TARGETING CRIME PREVENTION

What is targeting? Targeting means doing crime prevention in a neighborhood-specific way—paying attention to *who* lives in the neighborhood, its *physical* makeup, precisely what the crime problem is, and how best to approach it in this situation. Targeting, one of the two key features of neighborhood crime prevention, is the opposite of designing a uniform crime prevention program for citywide implementation.[1] It is the opposite of designing from the top down. Instead, it means:

- involving residents from the program area in determining what the problems and options are;
- adapting tactics from other places which are useful and appropriate to the situation; and
- identifying problems or situations for which new approaches must be developed.

In order to target effectively, there are two very important sorts of information required—information about the neighborhood (its people and its physical characteristics) and information about the crime problem. Even a community organization may not know its people and area systematically. Even when it is the police department developing a crime prevention program, defining the crime problem may not be simple and straightforward. There are several ways to gain the knowledge needed for effective targeting, so that crime prevention tactics can be combined into an overall strategy that matches a neighborhood and its needs.

2.1 Knowing the Community

What is a neighborhood? The word conveys a number of things, including a physical dimension (defined space, recognized boundaries) and a social one (neighborly ties, familiar stores and storekeepers). City neighborhoods often have an historical continuity that derives from the patterns of growth and change as immigrants and rural migrants moved into urban areas. But in any specific place, each of these dimensions may be more or less strong. In fact, in some neighborhoods crime prevention activity has served to help build a social entity—a community—out of what was simply an area with a name from the past.

For the present discussion, the most important defining characteristic of a neighborhood is its existing institutions and organizations. That crime prevention efforts are far more likely to endure and succeed if they start with such structures[2] is not the only point here. In fact, where existing organizations have definitions of neighborhood boundaries, such definitions may well serve for crime prevention, too.

What to Know About the Neighborhood

Three aspects of a neighborhood are salient to targeting crime prevention activity: characteristics of the residents, physical characteristics, and overall condition. Whether the crime prevention effort is begun by a community group or a police department, it will be helpful to gather systematic information on the topics listed in Table 2-1.

Residents. Population characteristics influence crime, fear, and what can be done about them in the neighborhood. For example, many older urban areas have significant proportions of the elderly. As a group, they are especially fearful of crime, may be limited in some respects as to physical activities, but tend to have ample time and warm feelings about the neighborhood as they remember it. Often, they share the neighborhood with newer residents, who may be of a different ethnic or racial background. In areas where rental housing predominates, a mixture of the elderly and the very young—the latter in new families or living with single parents—is common. Newark's James Street Neighborhood House, in just such a setting, targeted its crime prevention activities first to the juveniles and then to reducing fear among the elderly by bringing them together with the youth. The program also grew to play a role in helping some of the single parents cope with family problems.

The racial and ethnic mix of the residents can be an important factor to recognize in crime prevention activities. While "neighborhood" is an organizing unit that can cut across such boundaries, there may be cultural differences that require special consideration. For example, the recent influx of Southeast Asian refugees has posed a challenge to crime

[1] The second key feature of neighborhood crime prevention—police and residents working through existing neighborhood organizations—will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

[2] Aaron Podalefsky and Frederic DuBow, *Strategies for Community Crime Prevention: Collective Responses to Crime in Urban America* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Center for Urban Affairs, 1980), p. 209; Paul J. Lavrakas et al., *Factors Related to Citizen Involvement in Personal, Household and Neighborhood Anti-Crime Measures* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1981), p. 9.

TABLE 2-1

Relevant Neighborhood Characteristics for Targeting Crime Prevention

RESIDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Demographic	Socioeconomic
Age mixture (esp. youth, elderly)	Income
Race and ethnicity	Education
Household composition	Housing tenure mix (owners and renters)
	Mobility (turnover)

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Housing	Land Use
Type of structures (size, configuration)	Boundary characteristics
Density	Commercial or industrial activity
	Major thoroughfares

OVERALL CONDITION

Residential trends
Local business trends

prevention efforts in San Diego, which is being met through the efforts of an Indochinese specialist in the police department. This officer is concentrating his attention on developing communication links with each nationality group and explaining to them what crime means in this country. He also develops materials for the police force so that they can learn to understand how the police are viewed in these cultures and possible ways to overcome the differences.

The mix of renters and owners in a neighborhood is often said to be the most important single factor in organizing crime prevention activity. This is because renters are seen as being mobile, or "transient," and may not develop a strong interest in the area. Since the primary evidence on what brings about collective action against crime points to the individual's concern about the neighborhood and his or her participation in other voluntary action,[3] tenants pose a challenge in terms both of organizing and of targeting crime prevention to their particular situation.

One way of talking about all these population factors is to consider the residents' ties to the community. In essence, each resident's neighborhood ties are a reflection of his or her stake in the area and the options for living elsewhere. The stake may be economic (investment in a home, for example), social (status, friendships), affective (a preference for the architecture, family history) or a combination of these. Homeownership is the most widely recognized of these factors. Options for living elsewhere—i.e., mobility—also differ among individuals and households. In general, younger households and those with greater income are more able to change their residential location; the poor, the elderly, and families with children in school are less able to move.

These factors differ among types of neighborhoods because spatial patterns of residence in cities reflect economic, lifestyle, and life cycle differences. For example, there is a strong relationship between income and housing tenure; renters typically have lower incomes than owners, and the gap has been widening in the past few years. Age and family composition also differ significantly between owners and renters. As a result, neighborhoods composed primarily of rental housing are likely to be inhabited largely by the young, the old, and those of low to moderate income. Young adults are usually mobile and slow to develop community ties. Indeed, among renters, it is primarily those with very limited alternatives—the old and the poor—who form a somewhat stable residential population. By contrast, homeowners typically move less often; their economic interest in the neighborhood is reinforced by social ties that have more time to develop. Connections to community institutions, particularly schools, also reinforce their stake in the neighborhood.

The choice of crime prevention tactics must take these factors into account. For example, it is harder to make block watching an effective deterrent to daytime burglaries in a neighborhood of young two-earner families, because few people are home during the day. Block watching also depends on being able to distinguish strangers from neighbors, which can be hard to do where residential turnover is rapid. However, these difficulties do not mean that crime prevention will not work in such settings, only that it must be carried out differently under the particular local conditions.

[3]Lavrakas et al., *Factors Related to Citizen Involvement*, p. 9.

Physical characteristics. The physical layout of a neighborhood's streets and housing forms the basic setting for fear, crime, and crime prevention. The dense area of apartment buildings in the middle of Chicago's Edgewater neighborhood, with very busy street life, has frightened many of the elderly into isolating themselves indoors. In Minneapolis, the organizers of the crime prevention program found that, even among renters, it was easier to involve those living in small buildings (one to three units) than to involve residents of larger ones. Long, winding corridors in apartment buildings make it harder to run an effective watch, as do houses with entrances hidden by walls or shrubbery.

The nature of a neighborhood's boundaries can be important in two ways. First, such features as railroad tracks, expressways, rivers, or parks form "natural boundaries" and contribute to a shared definition of the neighborhood's territory. The historical accident of a city's limits can do the same; for example, Vailsburg's neighborhood identity is universally recognized in Newark because it is a peninsula jutting out from the rest of the city into the western suburbs.

The second impact of boundaries is on crime patterns. Physical features that prevent or limit passage, whether on foot or by car, can serve to dissuade outsiders looking for crime opportunities; it may simply be easier to go elsewhere. On the other hand, sometimes a boundary like a park becomes an all-too-convenient escape route, as was the case for purse-snatchers in the blocks near Central Park on Manhattan's West Side. An unfenced railroad right-of-way made neighboring houses easy prey in the Midwood section of Brooklyn.

Mixed land use and major thoroughfares are significant for crime prevention targeting, primarily because they increase the legitimate presence of strangers in the neighborhood.[4] Smaller businesses and local shopping streets do not tend to have this effect, but they may also be vulnerable to crime and need to be involved in crime prevention efforts. On streets with heavy traffic, it is not easy for residents to tell who "belongs" there. In Minneapolis' Southside community, which is bisected by two major avenues running between downtown and the suburbs, there were special efforts made to organize those blocks and solidify their ties to the rest of the area.

Overall neighborhood condition. While the population and physical characteristics discussed above can offer specific challenges and opportunities for targeting crime prevention efforts, the overall condition of a neighborhood may be a powerful influence on residents' fears and their willingness to participate in collective anti-crime activity.[5] In general, declining neighborhoods are marked by reduced satisfaction and increased out-migration. The financial resources once available to property owners and businesses are withdrawn, and maintenance of the housing is deferred. Residents cease to feel as if they can affect how their streets look or how they are used. Under these circumstances, it is harder to believe that voluntary action can be effective in dealing with any of the neighborhood's problems. Indeed, decline carries a self-fulfilling prophecy: when residents cease to act, the social and physical fabric of the community *will* break down.

The crime prevention programs cited in this guidebook are at work in a broad spectrum of locales, from neighborhoods experiencing the start of revitalization to some where abandonment is widespread and the residents' problems are as basic as heat and food. The neighborhoods' reputations have also suffered; in more than one city, residents reporting crimes to the police have been asked, "What do you expect if you still live in this area? Why don't you follow the others and move?"

Neighborhood crime prevention must start with someone—a resident, a community organization, a police department—that believes it is possible to affect crime and fear in a specific neighborhood, whatever its condition, not just leave the area behind. The belief that this can be done has a firm basis in experience in other cities, and the models for doing it are available as well. The critical link, then, is to recognize or identify the ways in which the local crime problem and neighborhood characteristics shape what needs to be done.

2.2 What is the Crime Problem?

The exact nature of a neighborhood's crime problem may not be obvious. Actual crime, perceptions of crime, and non-criminal but disorderly conditions or events all contribute to the problem. It is difficult to get information about these factors from only one source. Some of the information is available from police statistics, some from residents' perceptions and observations. Often, an accurate picture of a community's crime problem is only put together after the crime prevention program has gotten started.

Information Sources

Most people have a mental picture of crime in their area built up from the media, knowing or hearing about crime victims, and perhaps being victims themselves. The media and the general reputation of some areas influence the police as well. In addition, police officers have an image of crime in various parts of the city based on their experience with patrols or answering calls. Police departments vary greatly in their geographical rotation policies (some assign personnel to a district or precinct or beat for long periods, while others move them as frequently as every three weeks), so the level of familiarity and experience in any one neighborhood may be rather low.

[4]Stephanie W. Greenberg, William M. Rohe, and Jay R. Williams, *Safe and Secure Neighborhoods: Physical Characteristics and Informal Territorial Control in High and Low Crime Neighborhoods* (Research Triangle Park, N.C.: Research Triangle Institute, 1981).

[5]Richard P. Taub and D. Garth Taylor, *Crime, Fear of Crime, and the Deterioration of Urban Neighborhoods* (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1981).

The police. Because official police priorities may be set citywide with little citizen input (or may be altered by dramatic events), the internal reward system rarely credits police officers for their community knowledge or responsiveness. Sometimes lack of familiarity with an area, or a lack of understanding of minority populations or the poor, may lead the police to act as if a different standard of order or lawfulness applies. This can be a particular problem with those officers who remember the city before decline (often seen as resulting from racial or ethnic change) set in. It is essential for police crime prevention efforts to address such negative attitudes or double standards in the context of defining the crime problem at the neighborhood level.

Police awareness of neighborhood crime problems may also differ because police departments typically look at administrative divisions such as districts or precincts in their ordinary operations, rather than neighborhoods as residents would define them. As a result, the available information may cover too broad a geographic area, and smaller patterns are hidden. Another difficulty is that crime reporting often varies greatly from area to area, even within the same city, so that the police department's knowledge may be very incomplete in some places.

Detailed analysis has led some police departments to surprising discoveries about crime patterns. One example was the identification of alleys as the primary route for burglaries in Minneapolis' Third Precinct. Not incidentally, the alleys were also strewn with garbage, overgrown with bushes and weeds, and ran between unlit backyards. The Southside residents had literally turned their backs on the alleys.

The community. Community organizations are likely to have even less systematic information about crime in their neighborhoods. Assumptions about the nature of the crimes, the patterns of time and location, and the likely culprits may be mistaken. For example, many residents of Manhattan's upper West Side believed that the high school in the middle of the neighborhood was a major source for crime, and that the paths of burglaries and purse-snatching were those followed by juveniles going to and from school. But the West Side Crime Prevention Coalition (formed by the Wise Towers Tenant Association and the 90th Street Block Association) was able to analyze crimes reported to the police. The streets busiest with juveniles (including the school location) turned out to have the lowest daytime crime counts, while quiet, low-density blocks and those with subway exits showed the highest concentrations of incidents.

Resident perceptions may also be influenced by media attention to dramatic but uncommon crimes. Violent crimes that shock or mobilize the public and the police to greater action may not be typical of the broader problem, although their impact on levels of fear adds to it. Many more people may be affected by less dramatic crimes like burglary.

Some conditions that cause or reinforce fears are not technically crimes or may be considered "victimless." For example, loitering, public drunkenness, "hanging out," and verbal harrassment can frighten residents and make them feel they cannot use the streets. The presence of prostitutes and abandoned cars in their neighborhood was an important part of the problem to residents of Hartford's Asylum Hill area. Graffiti and vandalism carry a message about the level of concern and order in the community, a message whose implications, for residents, can extend to safety as well. These problems, which are typically low in police priorities, can be very high in the priorities of those who live there.

Even when a particular crime problem is the catalyst for a major anti-crime effort, some further analysis may be needed. The arson problem in the Edgewater neighborhood of Chicago has already been mentioned. Looking deeper, the Urban Crime Prevention Program of the Edgewater Community Council learned several important things. *Not* all of the fires that resulted in the extreme number of fatalities were arsons. The loss of life resulted from the fires occurring amidst a population with large numbers of the elderly and of deinstitutionalized mental patients, living in buildings whose physical configuration (common corridors running the length of every floor) and deteriorating condition made them especially dangerous if a fire did occur. The buildings lacked fire safety equipment and escape plans, and residents had never been given information or training about action in a fire emergency. Finally, fears in the neighborhood resulted not just from the fires but also from stories of burglaries and purse-snatchings coupled with the dense use and disorder of the streets. The program thus needed to target a broader range of problems than arson alone and to deal with arson as including fire safety and building condition.

Most important for identifying the crime problem in a neighborhood is the acknowledgement that residents' *perceptions* of local problems may not coincide with official figures, but that both perceptions and figures are significant in deciding how to target crime prevention. As two noted researchers put it, ". . . outside observers should not assume that they know how much of the anxiety now endemic in many big-city neighborhoods stems from a fear of real crime, and how much from a sense that the street is disorderly, a source of distasteful, worrisome encounters."[6]

Getting and Using Crime Statistics

Statistics compiled by the police are the most obvious first source of data for targeting crime prevention. However, two issues frequently arise with respect to using police statistics. They are access and geographic matching.

Access. In working out public access to police statistics, the main and legitimate issue is usually *confidentiality*. Police records contain a great deal of information that is collected for the purpose of solving crimes, such as exact addresses, names of victims, and names of suspects. Victims are understandably sensitive about property losses, but especially about physical harm. To analyze a neighborhood's crime problem so that crime prevention can be targeted effectively, these details are not necessary. Location

[6]James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety," *The Atlantic Monthly* (March 1982), p. 31.

by block or block face (side of the street) is enough for learning about geographic patterns. The five pieces of information listed below should be sufficient police data for identifying the local crime problem:

1. the mix of types of crime;
2. whether the crimes were actual or attempted (by type of crime);
3. patterns by time (of the day, of the week, of the month);
4. patterns by location (which streets, whether residential or commercial property, what part of the property); and
5. whether, for burglaries, entry to the property was forced or not.

Keeping in mind that police data only include crimes that have been reported, these items of crime information can go a long way toward establishing what crime is occurring and what opportunities are available to burglars, purse-snatchers, and so on.

This point bears emphasis, because confusion over *what* crime statistics are being requested often leads to communications breakdowns between the police and neighborhood organizations at a very early stage of cooperation. If police are responsive about what geographic matching their data system does support (see below), and if residents are clear about requesting only data that do not violate confidentiality, a major potential friction point can be avoided. Further, volunteers may be able to help overcome some data system limitations by hand calculations. In New York City's 24th Precinct, the crime prevention group's hand tabulation of information of type of crime, time and location led to debunking the myth about school crime in that area.

There is, however, another issue that often complicates public access to police data. Departments may express concern that neighborhood organizations will misunderstand or misuse the information; in particular, they may fear increased pressure for police services. Residents may perceive the police as hiding vital facts from them. The core question here is the *use of crime information*. Residents need to make clear their intention to get involved in crime prevention, with the information a means to do so more effectively. Police need to make clear their willingness to provide the data in a context of a crime prevention partnership.

For example, the Detroit Police Department's Crime Prevention Section routinely takes last year's and this year's crime statistics out to community meetings, largely because it helps build rapport. The officers find that statistics neither scare people ("the media do that") nor make them feel better, except that showing "before and after" data from neighborhoods already active in crime prevention does demonstrate to people what can be achieved. In San Diego, the police officer in charge of the Northern Area storefront reported that he usually takes a crime printout with him to community meetings, but he emphasizes to citizens how much reporting variation can affect the numbers and points to the need for local concern about crime prevention even if little crime is taking place.

Geographic matching. The second issue in using police data is the difficulty of geographic matching, which can pose as much of a problem for police crime prevention efforts as for neighborhood-based organizations. Police department data systems that organize information only by precinct or district impede targeting by the police, too, because these geographic units do not match neighborhoods.

Fortunately, many of the newer computer systems being installed by police departments offer more flexibility.[7] For example, the San Diego Police Department's Crime Analysis Unit routinely provides monthly reports on trends in six major crimes by area command and beat, as well as bi-weekly reports with time and location patterns identified. Reports may be requested for any geographical area—a block, a six-block radius of a particular address, or an area bounded by specific streets. All sworn officers have access to these reports for neighborhood crime prevention use. The Minneapolis Police Department's crime analysis system generates daily reports by precinct and can provide either site-centered or offense-centered reports. It also has an interactive computer graphics capability that allows the analyst to zoom in on very small geographic areas to examine crime patterns or trends. Other departments (Detroit, for example) keep crime data by census tract in order to link with population and housing information, although these do not always match neighborhood definitions.

Where geographical matching to neighborhoods is not possible under a given computer system, simple manual tabulations can be made and compared to the information available on such areas as a whole police district for an initial look at differences. It is important to define a modest first request, since tabulations are labor-intensive, and both police departments and neighborhood organizations are always limited in available personnel. Helping to do such analysis is a useful role that residents involved in crime prevention programs can play.

As working relationships between the police and the neighborhood grow, other mutually beneficial uses for crime information may become evident. In Minneapolis, the Third Precinct is hoping to set up a system of resident alerts ("keep an eye out for three men in a dark blue Chevy van missing a rear bumper") through the organized network of block club captains. In Detroit, with police help, a community group was able to fight redlining by showing insurance companies that block-level crime statistics were lower there than in the adjoining suburbs.

Other Information Sources

Police statistics on crime are by no means the only source of information useful for targeting crime prevention efforts. Three

[7]Many of these systems were developed through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's Integrated Criminal Apprehension (ICAP) Program. Extensive documentation about the ICAP systems can be obtained through the National Criminal Justice Reference Service of the U.S. Department of Justice.

other sources—*victimization surveys, observation,* and *talking to neighbors*—should also be tapped.

A victimization survey is a simple questionnaire that asks residents whether they (or household members) have been victims of a crime during a specific time period. If the answer is yes, a few details (type of crime, location, time) may be requested, and the respondent is asked whether the crime was reported to the police. Usually the resident is also asked about fear of crime. The main value of a victimization survey is that it can provide information on *actual* in contrast to *reported* crime levels, thus going beyond the police data. It is also a method of getting data to match neighborhood boundaries precisely. To be credible, such a survey should be carefully administered (to all residents of a block, for example, or to every tenth house on each block in the neighborhood) and the results carefully tabulated.[8]

Observation can be an extremely valuable source of information, especially on crime opportunity in the neighborhood. It is a simple task to divide up the area and walk a certain street or route, making a list of open garage doors, unlocked bicycles, lobby doors propped open, unlit entrances, dark concealing bushes next to doors or windows, first floor open windows with no one apparently at home. This kind of observation might be done by day or in the evening, alone or in pairs. In Detroit, crime prevention officers have done this as a means of convincing citizens how easy it can be to protect themselves better. Citizen patrols can make such observations while they are on regular patrol. In apartment complexes or public housing projects, observation of foot traffic has shown that sometimes the physical layout of open spaces invites outsiders, while in other complexes layout can give residents a firmer sense of their own territory. In the Hartford, Connecticut, Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program, systematic observation of traffic contributed to the conclusion that non-resident vehicular traffic was a major factor in the crime picture; a set of physical design changes (street closings, narrowings, and traffic rerouting) was chosen as a crime prevention strategy on this basis.[9] Observation is most useful when done *systematically.* There are many crime prevention tactics that can be used to follow up problems identified through observation, as we will discuss later in this chapter.

A final key source of information on the crime problem is *talking to residents.* Although they may not yet be thinking about involvement in crime prevention, their knowledge of local patterns and events can prove very valuable. Increased communication among neighbors is itself an important part of crime prevention efforts. For example, in the Vailsburg neighborhood of Newark, residents forming a block club discovered that they had even more in common than had been supposed. They had actually been buying each other's stolen property from the children of one family on the block.

[8]These surveys can, of course, be more complex and sophisticated, if desired. Chapter 6 discusses them as a means of getting feedback on crime prevention efforts, and references are given on how to conduct them.

[9]Brian Hollander et al., *Reducing Residential Crime and Fear: The Hartford Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program (Executive Summary)* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1980), pp. 10-11.

One of the most important topics for discussion (or for inclusion in an attitude survey) is fear of crime. It will help crime prevention targeting to identify the factors contributing to fear and the ways in which people's lives have been affected by it. To the extent that crime prevention activity can be directed toward the sources of fear, it can have a significant community impact quite apart from actual changes in crime. Identification of fear-inducing spots (such as the liquor store with panhandlers in front blocking the way to the drugstore, or the dark, overgrown block between home and the bus stop) is the first step toward working out tactics for changing them or the ways residents can handle them.

Identifying the crime problem is thus, for police and community organizations alike, an effort that draws upon both factual and perceptual information from a number of sources. Combined with knowledge of the neighborhood, it can provide a firm basis for the development of effective crime prevention activity.

2.3 Targeting

Why Target?

The strongest argument for targeting crime prevention is very simple. Targeting is essential *because the factors contributing to crime and fear of crime can differ even over a small area.* In the Edgewater neighborhood of Chicago, for example, there are two distinct kinds of streets. Winthrop and Kenmore Avenues are lined with large apartment buildings in which there is a high rate of turnover. West of these streets, the neighborhood housing is more typically one- to three-family homes, and there is much less residential turnover. Patterns of crime, and especially the sources of fear, differ between these areas. Yet residents agree that both areas are part of Edgewater and that a crime prevention program for the neighborhood needs to work in both.

Even within the Wise Towers housing project in New York City, there are distinct areas that call for separate targeting. The four large high-rise buildings share a need for greater lobby security and access control. But the Wise Towers complex also includes a scattering of brownstones (small townhouses) in the next block, which were acquired by the Housing Authority and are occupied by public housing tenants. The brownstones' physical security needs are different—the entryways lock, but there are first floor windows and below-grade entrances surrounded by shrubbery. Fear of purse-snatchings or assaults focuses on the street, rather than on the halls or staircases within the high-rise buildings.

What Can Be Targeted?

When there are differences in the factors contributing to crime and fear, within neighborhoods or between them, what aspects of crime prevention can be designed to fit these local situations?

There are at least four:

1. *program structure*—who needs to be involved and around what territory;
2. *the targeted crime (s)*—which part(s) of the problem are to be tackled;
3. *choice of tactics*—the particular crime prevention activities to be undertaken; and
4. *crime prevention strategy*—the combination of tactics into an overall approach to the crime problem.

Crime prevention efforts across the country have targeted program structure and specific local problems. These programs have used a great variety of crime prevention tactics to build overall strategies for reducing crime, disorder, and fear in their neighborhoods.

Targeting program structure. The basic units of crime prevention organization and the way a program is set up in a neighborhood can and should be adapted to the local situation. For example, in the James Street neighborhood of Newark, there was a broad perception that both street and property crimes were largely being committed by local juveniles. Although there were other organizations in the area that could have become involved in crime prevention, the organization that did—James Street Neighborhood House—had one important distinguishing feature. It had a strong, ongoing youth program with education and recreation activities. As a result, it had the credibility to involve juveniles in anti-crime activity and then to work on developing communication between the youth and adults (especially the elderly) in the community. Another instance of structural targeting comes from Chicago. While many of the less dense blocks in Edgewater had long-standing block clubs, the blocks that were heavily built with apartments did not have pre-existing organizations. The Edgewater Community Council worked on crime prevention through the block club structure where it existed, but crime prevention was organized directly by the council in other areas.

The basic working unit of a program can also be tailored to the local situation. Almost all crime prevention programs in the U.S. include a "watch" component, in which neighbors are trained to keep an eye out for suspicious or criminal activity and report it to the police. But the best organization for a watch—that is, the basic structural unit—can vary widely from place to place. An obvious example is the difference between a block watch on a street of homes or small multi-family buildings and an apartment watch for large rental buildings where each floor can be separately organized. In San Diego, the canyons separating many streets call for a different approach, and the police department is planning a canyon watch to add to block watch. The idea is to get cross-canyon neighbors—who would not usually know one another, since their houses are on different roads—to report and communicate with each other about fleeing burglars and illegal dumping in the canyon between. This will help police greatly in tracking and responding to calls. Another instance of targeting the watch unit is found on the south side of Minneapolis. When an analysis of local crime patterns showed that the alleys behind the houses on every block were the access and escape route for a majority of burglaries, it was decided to organize watches across alleys rather than across streets.

Targeting crimes. Most community crime prevention activity in this country focuses on burglary and on street crimes such as purse-snatch and robbery. But neighborhood crime prevention can target crime patterns much more closely and can also deal with other types of crime. Arson is an important example. In many cities, arson occurs under conditions of neighborhood deterioration, where landlords may stand to gain more from the payment on an insurance fire than from collecting rents, or where tenants grow angry at the neglect of their buildings. Organizations in several such neighborhoods are monitoring building conditions and property transfers for early warnings of arson activity. In Boston, New York, Chicago, and Newark, community groups have made significant contributions to criminal prosecutions of arsonists.[10]

Crime targeting can also involve particular local patterns. For example, in neighborhoods with significant populations of the elderly, the days when Social Security checks arrive can be a time of special criminal opportunity. At the Wise Towers project in New York City, elderly tenants were easy robbery targets on those days as they walked directly from the bank to the management office in the complex to pay rent after cashing their checks. Through the Tenant Security and Education Program, an escort service now operates on an informal basis, providing someone to accompany elderly tenants at their request.

2.4 Choosing Crime Prevention Tactics

Targeting tactics is probably the most important way that crime prevention programs are tailored to different neighborhood situations. Tactics are the particular activities undertaken by residents and police to reduce fear and crime and to change disorderly conditions. A program's overall strategy is built by combining tactics to increase effectiveness and to expand the ability to address problems.

Interestingly enough, we have found that the tactics used by programs around the country are often the same ones, but carried out a little differently or in unique combinations. Instead of learning that certain tactics work in certain kinds of neighborhoods and not in others, we have learned that some tactics are like building blocks, which can be put together in a variety of ways to suit the setting. This section will introduce the great range of crime prevention tactics in use by community-based and police-based programs, focus on the most common building blocks, and then consider how a targeted crime prevention strategy is built.

[10]See Richard Ku et al., *Arson Control: A Synthesis of Issues and Strategies* (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc., 1981), Chapter 4.

An Introduction to Tactics

Crime prevention tactics are as many and as varied as the problems they are designed to solve. Because multiple factors help create opportunities for crime and disorder, reducing those opportunities can also be approached in a number of ways. Residents can increase their awareness of what is going on around them, watching for suspicious or criminal activity from their homes or while on patrol through the neighborhood. Escort services can help protect and reassure the elderly or infirm, while block houses (also called safe homes) can provide refuge for children or seniors who feel threatened on the street. Neighborhood beats can make police better acquainted with local conditions and more responsive to them; police mini-stations provide a place for carrying out joint crime prevention activities with residents.

Crime prevention programs can also assist people in making their living spaces more secure and in marking their personal property to discourage thieves. Because the physical environment plays an important role both in how safe a neighborhood really is and in how safe residents feel, there are crime prevention tactics—such as improving lighting or cutting back shrubbery to remove potential cover for burglars—that change the environment to increase security. Crime reporting projects, court watches, and victim/witness assistance are all activities that can increase the chances of a criminal being caught and punished, and perhaps ease the impact of a crime on the victim.

In a telephone survey of 22 crime prevention programs targeting urban neighborhoods, we asked what tactics they used in their work. Table 2-2 shows the responses, according to whether the program was police- or community-based and for both sets combined. Fourteen different tactics (or families of tactics, like physical environment changes) were cited.

Probably the most striking thing in Table 2-2 is the almost universal use of block watch. Operation Identification (property-marking) and home security surveys are also part of nearly all these programs. Other tactics, such as escort services or court watches, appear to be used much less frequently. There are still more tactics that, while not in use by these programs, can be valuable additions to crime prevention efforts.

The "Big Three"

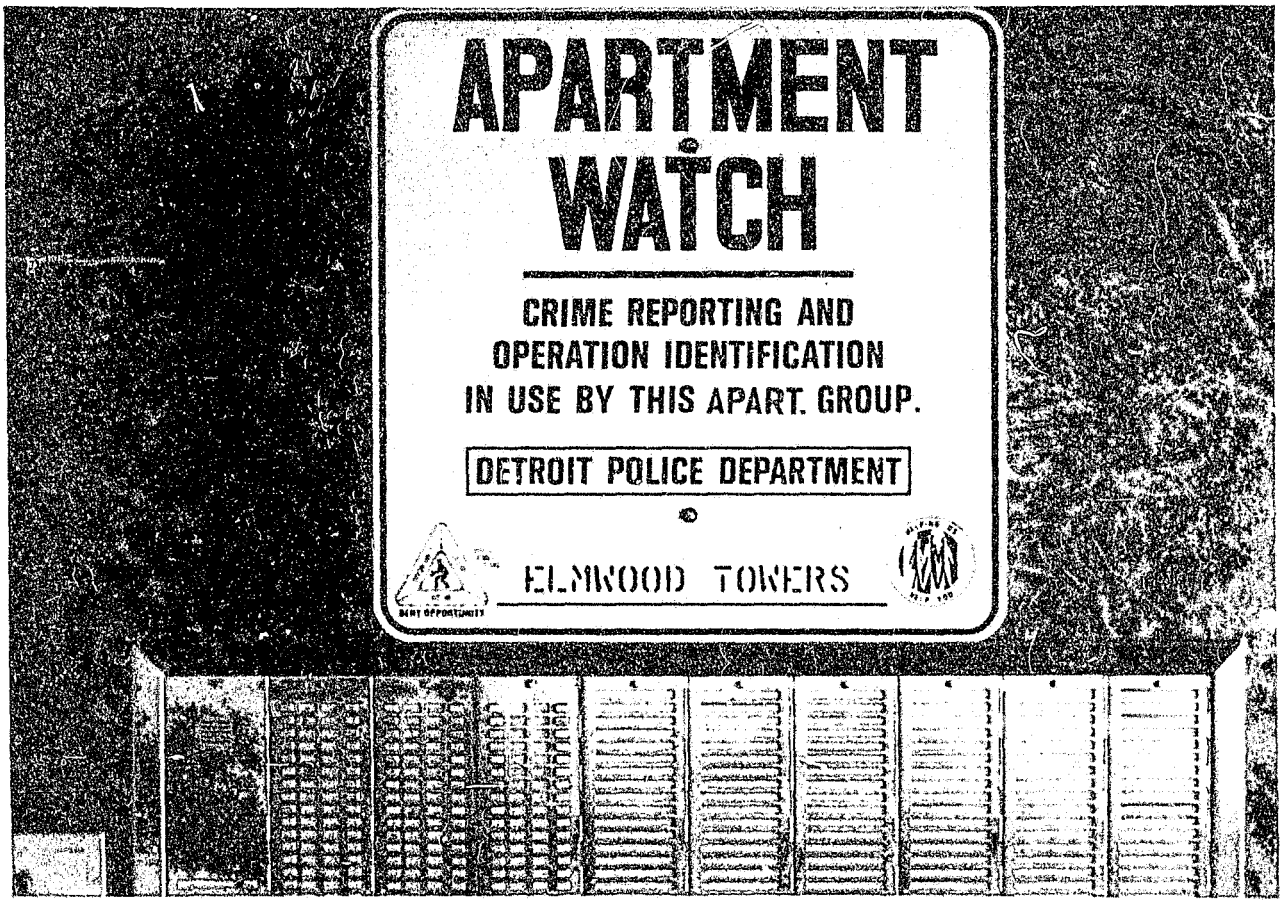
The three tactics topping the list in Table 2-2—block watch, Operation ID, and home security surveys—are so widespread because their features make them good building blocks for crime prevention strategies. In a watch, the central activities are simple and safe—watching the area (from inside the apartment or house, or from porches or front steps), maintaining a neighborhood phone chain (for keeping an eye on suspicious strangers, or sharing impressions, or reassurance), and reporting worrisome or illegal activity to the police. The advantages of watches make them a particularly solid foundation for many other kinds of crime prevention activity.

Watches involve the smallest "natural" organizing unit, whether that unit is a city block or an entryway or floor of a

TABLE 2-2

Tactics Used by Crime Prevention Programs in Twenty-two Cities

Tactic	Ten Community-Based Programs	Twelve Police-Based Programs	Total
Block and Apartment Watches	9	12	21
Operation Identification	8	10	18
Home Security Surveys	7	10	17
Street Patrols	8	5	13
Crime Reporting Projects	5	8	13
Physical Environment Changes	6	6	12
Police/Community Boards	4	7	11
Home Security Improvements	5	4	9
Building Patrols	5	2	7
Escort Services	4	3	7
Crime Prevention Education	3	2	5
Victim/Witness Services	2	2	4
WhistleSTOP	2	2	4
Court Watch	2	1	3



The watch tactic can be adapted successfully even for very large apartment buildings

multi-family building. It is natural because it is based on people's ties to the place they live and their sense of turf. It is also natural because it works by person-to-person, face-to-face contact. Residents get to know their neighbors and so learn to distinguish strangers and recognize when the activity in the next yard or down the corridor may not be legitimate. The watch tactic can easily be adapted to varied geography and crime patterns. The San Diego canyon watches and Minneapolis alley watches show how they can be structured in different ways while still serving as the fundamental organizing unit of a crime prevention effort.

Basically, watches work because there is a clear mutual benefit from cooperation among neighbors: *everyone's* chances of becoming a crime victim are reduced. While some citydwellers first respond to the idea with mistrust of their neighbors or the police, most people are convinced to join watches when they see how easy it is to help themselves by helping their neighbors.

For targeting crime prevention, "the crime problem" needs to be defined on the basis of resident perceptions as well as crime statistics. Watch meetings are a good occasion for sharing views of local problems and generating ideas on what to do about them. They are also a forum in which to meet the police and discuss concerns about order and safety.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of watches, though, is their flexibility for adding other crime prevention activities. They can be thought of as block clubs or tenant organizations that take on watching as one of their first activities. Many groups also get involved in patrols or escort services, sponsor safe houses, carry out clean-ups or street lighting improvement campaigns. They may publish a newsletter. And they usually have social events like block parties and pot-luck suppers to keep spirits up and to get neighbors even better acquainted.

While watches share all of these advantages, adapting this crime prevention tactic for renters can be challenging. Often (though not always), renters feel they have less stake in a neighborhood, unless they have lived there many years. Personal space is easily defined when a homeowner can point to "my garage," "my bushes"; from there it is an easy extension to "my sidewalk," "my block." But in high-rises, willingness to take responsibility for an area (territoriality) may stop at the apartment door. Organizers of apartment watches must recognize the greater need to encourage tenants to get involved, extending territoriality to communal space such as hallways or public areas, sidewalks and blocks.

Once tenants have learned to see themselves as a group of neighbors who can watch out for each other, the next step is organizational. The main difficulty all block watch participants face is their own ability to maintain interest in activities and to cooperate with other crime prevention participants. Apartment groups, however, must also be able to work effectively with landlords or management staff. Some landlords may worry about tenants who organize; they may feel that "crime stories"

will scare tenants away, or they may be concerned about tenant pressures on other issues like rent and maintenance. Gaining management support is a high priority for apartment watch groups. Good rapport—which can develop out of cooperative efforts for building improvements—helps an apartment watch run smoothly and effectively.

Probably the most common activities that crime prevention programs combine with block or apartment watches are the other two tactics of the "big three": home security surveys and Operation ID. Home security surveys are inspections of a living place and its surroundings—doors and windows, locks, lighting, concealing shrubbery or entryways—to identify ways to increase safety and reduce chances of break-in. Operation ID is a tactic for marking valued personal property by engraving it with an identification number. A window sticker warns thieves that the property within the house can be traced. (Operation ID participants have been shown to have lower burglary rates than other households.[11])

These two tactics are often found together with watches because they can combine effectively to target a common crime that is usually high on residents' lists of concerns: burglary. Together they make it take longer for burglars to enter a home, harder to do it unseen, and riskier to fence the stolen goods. By reducing vulnerability to crime, these tactics seem to offer clear benefits to individual residents, and so they help attract people to crime prevention. But it is important to use these tactics as part of a group effort, not only to avoid encouraging a "fortress" state of mind, but also because they are more effective that way. When the Denver Police Department sponsored an Operation ID program which had no connection with neighborhood organizations or group activity, it was found that "the project [had] not been able to 'sell' the Operation ID concept to much of the public to the extent that they will take the initiative to join the program."[12] As part of a watch, where people come together to work for a safer neighborhood, they *do* take the initiative to participate.

Another key reason for finding these three tactics together so often is their flexibility. There are many ways to carry them out, making them useful in crime prevention programs with different settings and resources and adaptable to the local situation as far as cooperation between police and community is concerned. Home security surveys provide an example. Police departments can conduct surveys themselves, train volunteers to do them for the neighborhood, or provide a survey form for residents' own use; neighborhood groups can train staff or volunteers, have surveys done by one volunteer from the group or by each resident, organize security survey drives, or use the tactic as an introduction to a block watch. Either group may increase interest in the effort by providing Operation ID in conjunction with the surveys.

If one of these approaches does not work, another approach can be tried. At Fairview Homes (a public housing project in Charlotte, North Carolina), the police had spent two frustrating years trying to get resident cooperation in marking and recording personal property. In that period, just 51 of the 300 housing units had complied. However, a resident-based crime prevention program established at about that time decided that the key to solving the problem was making property-marking a resident, rather than a police, responsibility. The youth of Fairview Homes were trained to do the work, with notable results: ". . . the youth in the community were bursting with pride when they completed marking and recording the property of residents within a four-month period . . . . In fact, they went to other public housing communities to teach the youths in those communities how to accomplish the same goals."[13]

While the "big three" tactics serve as building blocks for many crime prevention programs, they are only a start. Since targeting relates crime prevention to who lives in the neighborhood, its physical makeup, and its specific local problems, there are always new situations and new challenges to meet. And as more and more police departments and community groups get involved in crime prevention, the inventory of ideas and techniques grows rapidly. Examples will be found throughout the chapters of this guide.

To provide an easy-to-use introduction to the great range of tactics that are now employed in neighborhood programs, the Appendix to this manual contains descriptions of over thirty different crime prevention activities. The entries are brief, but each gives references for further, more comprehensive information. Table 2-3 lists the tactics covered in the Appendix, grouping them into four major sets: direct resident activities, direct police activities, changing the physical environment, and working within the criminal justice system.[14] Tactics that can be carried out by either residents or police are shown in both groups. Of course, the Appendix cannot cover all crime prevention tactics, but—if used along with the advice offered in the text about carrying out neighborhood crime prevention—it can help programs take advantage of existing tactics that meet local needs and identify situations for which new approaches must be found.

From Tactics to Strategy

An effective crime prevention approach is *not* just a collection of tactics, however. Much more goes into building a strategy than simply picking a few activities. A crime prevention strategy not only targets crime prevention efforts to the local setting, but also takes into account other factors like resources, organization, and politics in the way it combines and carries out tactics. For example, it takes more effort in some situations than in others to make home security surveys an effective crime prevention tactic. In the Cass Corridor area of Detroit, large

[11]Nelson B. Heller et al., *Operation Identification Projects—Assessment of Effectiveness: National Evaluation Program Phase One Summary Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, August 1975), p. iv.

[12]John Carr, "Operation Identification, Denver High Impact Anti-Crime Program Interim Evaluation Report" (Denver, CO: Denver Anti-Crime Council, August 1974), p. 10.

[13]John G. Hayes, *The Impact of Citizen Involvement in Preventing Crime in Public Housing: A Report of the Fairview Homes Crime Prevention Program* (Charlotte, N.C.: City of Charlotte, 1982), p. 55.

[14]A valuable source on tactics to change the physical environment is Allan Wallis and Daniel Ford, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: An Operational Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1980).

TABLE 2-3

Crime Prevention Tactics[a]

Direct Resident Activities

Police/Community Boards
Street Observation
Privately Sponsored Crime Hotlines
Block Clubs
Tenants Organizations
Block Watch
Block Watch Variations
Apartment Watch
Citizen Patrols
Radio Patrols
Escort Services
Block Houses
Victimization Surveys
Home Security Surveys
WhistleSTOP
Operation ID
Neighborhood Directories
Self-Defense Courses
Police Directional Aids

Direct Police Activities

Neighborhood Beats
Police Mini-Stations
Crime Analysis Units
Police Department Environmental Design Review
Community Service Officers
Police/Community Boards
Police/Community Relations Programs
Street Observation
Crime Prevention Educational Projects
Police Telephone Projects
Victimization Surveys
Home Security Surveys
Operation ID
Police Directional Aids
Crime Prevention for Business

Changing the Physical Environment

Police Department Environmental Design Review
Home Security Surveys
Improving Street Lighting
Changing Traffic Patterns
Police Directional Aids
Neighborhood Clean-up
Installing Emergency Telephones
Crime Prevention for Business

Working within the Criminal Justice System

Police/Community Boards
Victim/Witness Assistance Programs
Court Watch
Crime Hotlines
Crime Reporting Projects

[a]When tactics can be appropriately placed in more than one column, they have been listed in each. All tactics listed here are described in the Appendix.

apartment buildings stand among vacant, rubble-strewn lots. A core-city neighborhood, Cass Corridor is home to the old, the transient, the alcohol- and drug-dependent. Its blacks, southern whites, and elderly immigrants share poverty, victimization, and fear.

In other parts of Detroit, the Police Department Crime Prevention Section had offered home security surveys, giving advice on ways of reducing vulnerability to burglars. The typical survey was done for a homeowner, who then decided how much to invest for new locks or other changes. When the Crime Prevention Section targeted Cass Corridor, however, they knew that most of the buildings had absentee landlords, and that the rents the landlords collected produced little money for maintenance, much less improvement. Yet the crime statistics indicated security needs. Recognizing the tenant poverty in the neighborhood and the marginal landlords, the section found community development money through City Hall to pay for the actual security improvements recommended by the surveys and arranged for volunteers to do the work. Had they not combined the surveys with extra resources to make the improvements directly, there would have been little or no impact.

Sometimes the resources in the neighborhood suggest a particularly good way to build a strategy. The James Street Neighborhood House in Newark realized that crime and fear were keeping many people locked in their apartments. Many youth in the area were perceived as threatening by other residents. At the same time the youth were capable of helping

out in the neighborhood. The Neighborhood House combined both need and opportunity by launching a youth escort program for senior citizens. Twenty-two young people took part in an eight-week training course conducted by a program manager and a police representative. The group now operates during the evening hours, and has expanded into putting on skits for other youth about crime and arson prevention. Similarly, the Wise Towers Tenant Association in New York City took advantage of the presence of elderly residents in the housing project to set up its lobby patrols.

In each of these examples, the mix of tactics and how they are carried out in a particular setting (resources used, method of organization) are what make up the program's crime prevention strategy. The word strategy may convey the sense of a careful master plan, laid out in advance, but that is not necessarily what is meant here. Sometimes, a crime prevention strategy is planned as a whole, most likely under government sponsorship or funding. More often, whether the program is police- or community-based, the strategy is not formally planned, but grows and changes over time. A look at the strategies of two operating programs and how they developed shows in more detail how strategies get built and the kinds of considerations that go into building them.

The neighborhood crime prevention program in the Asylum Hill section of Hartford, Connecticut is an example of a program that was planned by a government-funded agency, not only to address the crime problem in that area, but also with the idea of testing certain crime prevention techniques. These techniques focused on changing the physical environment in the neighborhood, in order to encourage residents to feel responsible for it and watch over it. The group of tactics is often referred to as "crime prevention through environmental design," or CPTED. In Hartford, CPTED tactics were combined with resident activities (including block watches and a radio patrol) and with changes in policing. The point of mixing all three sets of tactics was that physical changes (such as reducing traffic that cut through the area) would not reduce crime directly; they would only be effective if residents *did* begin to care more about the neighborhood and if police *did* interact more with residents and respond to their calls. Program activities encouraged contact between the community and the police; some tactics were jointly handled (e.g., the police lent out Operation ID engravers for residents to do the property-marking).[15]

The outcome of this three-way strategy points to some caveats and to some successes. On the negative side, residents and local businesses had less input than they wanted in planning the changes, and their resulting opposition set back the schedule for making them. Also, the police were not trained to utilize the physical changes in their work and felt they did little to aid in apprehending criminals. Still, the program succeeded in reducing residents' fear of crime, even when one aspect of the three-way strategy was later changed. In 1979, three years after the first physical design changes, there were substantial reductions of police personnel due to city budget cutbacks. The crime rates for burglary and robbery, which had dropped at first, rose again, returning approximately to a rate consistent with citywide trends. In spite of this, residents reported no corresponding increase in fear. In fact, "residents reported using the neighborhood more, a better ability to recognize strangers, a much higher incidence of actually intervening in suspicious situations and a markedly increased perception of neighbors as a resource against crime."[16]

The conclusion that Hartford's success depended on its *mixture* of resident, police, and physical design tactics is also supported by another example. A CPTED project in Portland, Oregon was designed to revitalize a neighborhood business area by improving surveillance, creating real and symbolic barriers to control movement, and providing activities to increase the area's use. Street lighting, bus shelters, bus routes, and road improvements were among the changes made, but local residents were not involved in the crime prevention activities. Although several million dollars were spent on the project, results were mixed. While both commercial and adjacent residential burglaries were reduced following commercial security surveys, the CPTED approach did not help reduce residents' fear of crime, which depends on much more than crime rates alone. The conclusion: "Until a greater residential cohesiveness occurs . . . the impact of physical strategies (e.g., security surveys) on crime reduction may not be reflected in a proportional decrease in fear of crime."[17]

Hartford Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program

Resident Activities	Police Activities	Other Program Tactics
Block watch	Neighborhood beats	CPTED (reducing street traffic, narrowing streets, making cul-de-sacs, private property fencing)
CB radio patrol	Geographical assignment	
Operation ID	Decentralized command	
Police Advisory Committee	Operation ID	Neighborhood clean-ups
CPTED Monitoring Committee		

[15]The strategy and early success of the Hartford program are described in Hollander et al., *Reducing Residential Crime and Fear.* A thorough discussion of the planning and analysis for the Hartford program is presented in Wallis and Ford, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: An Operational Handbook.*

[16]Floyd J. Fowler and Thomas W. Mangione, *Neighborhood Crime, Fear and Social Control: A Second Look at the Hartford Program* (Boston, MA: Center for Survey Research, n.d.).

[17]Allan Wallis and Daniel Ford, eds., *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: The Commercial Demonstration in Portland, Oregon. Executive Summary* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, November 1980), p.6.

Southside (Minneapolis) Crime Prevention Program

Resident Activities	Police Activities	Other Program Tactics
Block, alley, and apartment watches	Third Precinct Advisory Council	Victim and witness aid
Home security surveys	Operation ID	Building code changes
Home security improvements	Home security surveys	Alleyway clean-ups
Third Precinct Advisory Council	Crime analysis	

Unlike the pre-planned strategy that was put in place in Hartford, the Southside Neighborhood Housing Services (SNHS) Crime Prevention Program has a strategy that has grown and changed and adapted over time. The fear of crime, high burglary rates, and mistrust of police that were the background to the program could have been approached in a variety of ways. What should be done first? SNHS decided to focus on *organization* within the community and on the *politics* of police-community relations.

Although SNHS was a neighborhood-based housing revitalization group controlled by a resident board, it was not originally built on a block club structure. The first tactic adopted for crime prevention, block watching, involved SNHS in helping neighbors form watches. As more blocks organized, the parent organization was strengthened and gained much wider contacts among residents. At the same time, as Chapter 1 described, SNHS's crime prevention coordinator brought about initial meetings between residents and the new captain of the Third Precinct of the Minneapolis Police Department.

It turned out that the police had crime prevention know-how and resources to offer, as well as a great deal of information on local crime patterns. Even while the residents continued to be wary of working with the police, the Crime Analysis Unit recognized the pattern of alley (rear) house-breaks and the program used those facts to orient the watches toward the alleys. This involved helping residents get to know their backyard neighbors, not just the watchers across the street.

The police also offered to do home security surveys in the Southside area. With such a large number of breaking and enterings, SNHS expected a positive response, but many residents did not feel comfortable with having police officers come into their homes. So at first the crime prevention program worked out an indirect way to take advantage of the police offer. A program staff member was trained by the police to do the surveys, and SNHS was able to combine the security inspections with watch organizing (as is so often found). When the trained staff member left, the precinct took over the surveys, with scheduling by the Public Relations Unit downtown. But coordination problems began to interfere with getting the surveys done, and the program's credibility was suffering. Based on the mutual trust and working relationship that had developed between police and community, another shift was made in *how* the tactic of security surveys was used. Third Precinct officers continued to do the inspections, while SNHS coordinated the scheduling.

In the neighborhood served by SNHS's crime prevention program, most of the housing is single-family or two-family (duplex) homes, but there are some small apartment buildings. When tenants began getting involved in watches and receiving security surveys, the program approached their landlords about installing better locks. But the Minneapolis safety code forbade use of dead-bolt locks that need to be opened by an *interior* key, on the grounds that this could make escape too difficult in case of fire. Thus landlords could not legally make the changes needed for the best security against break-ins. While SNHS had never planned to get involved with changing city codes as a crime prevention tactic, that *is* what happened; in the end, key-operated dead-bolt locks were permitted for first-floor apartments.

The Southside crime prevention strategy includes home security improvements in addition to the surveys. In this case, adding the tactic made sense because of resources already available within SNHS: the skills to do home repairs and improvements and some funding to use as an incentive to residents to fix up their housing. This took the form of partial rebates to the people who followed up on security survey recommendations, and outright grants for those who could not afford to make the improvements themselves.

Thus, in a number of ways, SNHS's crime prevention strategy grew and changed over time. Some tactics were added (changing the safety code), some modified (block watches to alley watches), some shifted between police and community (security surveys). Some activities were included because SNHS happened to have resources for them, others were good for crime prevention *and* good for the parent organization. In the end, strategies evolve from the effort to do crime prevention in a particular setting—the neighborhood, the organization, the politics—and from the learning that every program goes through as it tries to target crime, disorder, and fear.

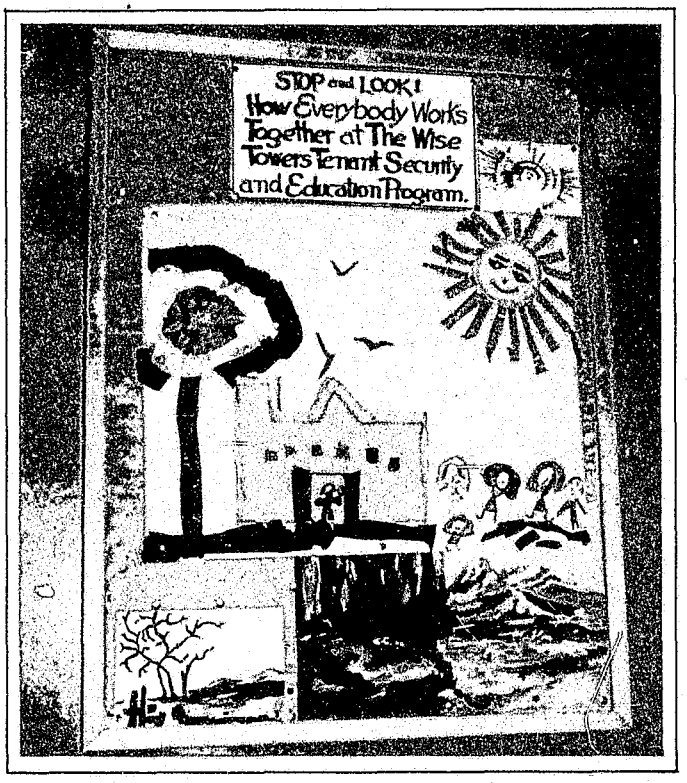
CHAPTER 3

GETTING STARTED

The first steps in organizing a neighborhood crime prevention program can make all the difference to its success. Crime is not an easy organizing issue, because fear and suspicion divide people and make it harder to get them to work together. It is also difficult to show rapid results in terms of crime reduction, although progress on fears and on feelings about the neighborhood can be almost immediate. A crime prevention program is more likely to be both effective and durable if it:

- builds strong support in the neighborhood and the police department;
- starts with existing community organizations; and
- establishes linkages not only between police and residents, but also among other neighborhood organizations, service groups, and city agencies.

How do you motivate residents and police to get involved? Why go with existing organizations? Why are the linkages so important, and what do they offer? This chapter shows how to take each of these first steps toward a program that will succeed and endure.



Everyone shares the sense of community at Wise Towers

3.1 Building Support for Crime Prevention

Building Community Support

Every neighborhood crime prevention program needs the commitment and involvement of residents. This is not the kind of program in which services are "delivered" to passive consumers; here, the community and police will be working together to define the problem and develop the strategy to deal with it. What brings people into such an effort? What gets them started?

For Chicago's Edgewater Community Council, it was the 31 deaths from fires and the wave of fear of arson that swept the neighborhood. The connection between these fires and the deterioration and abandonment of multi-family buildings broadened the problem, as did the fears associated with a dense and diverse population making heavy use of the streets.

For Southside Neighborhood Housing Services in Minneapolis, it was the threat that crime represented to the dream of a stable, revitalized neighborhood. If fear of crime was driving people away, people would just have to drive crime away instead. The tenants of Wise Towers housing project refused to put up anymore with the lack of building security and the frightening, offensive state of the high-rises' stairwells. They sought to make a community again in a place where the old community had been disrupted by urban renewal. In Newark, the James street neighborhood had just about every youth problem imaginable—drugs, truancy and dropouts, vandalism, disorder, street crime, and unemployment—and an elderly population held hostage by fear and crime. It also had an agency that saw the possibility of bringing these groups together.

There is certainly no one motivating factor at work in these examples. The problems and settings are extremely diverse. But the people facing them do share how they took advantage of their situations: they built awareness in their neighborhoods, tapped into residents' feelings, and offered them meaningful crime prevention tasks. Here are some examples of how that can be done.

Building awareness. There are many ways that programs let the community know about crime prevention. Local newspapers can print crime statistics and offer tips on self-protection or home security, as in the Point Loma area of San Diego. Community organizations can canvass door-to-door. A youth speakers' bureau, like the one in Newark, can reach out to other young people with the message that crime prevention is a better bet than crime. Musical groups like the Detroit Police Department's crime prevention band, The Blue Pigs, can perform at community meetings and can put across the crime prevention message in schools. Police departments can offer crime awareness seminars for immigrants and refugees in their own languages, as they do in Chicago and San Diego. Building awareness lets people know that something can be done about the problems of disorder, crime, and fear.

Tapping feelings. Crime and fear can come very close to home for residents of urban neighborhoods. On the east side of Detroit, in 1980, 70-year-old John Petross was injured when an armed robber broke in his front door. Mr. Petross had lived in this house for many years. Although friends and family urged him to leave the neighborhood, he decided he could not afford to move: he would have to stay and fight. With neighbors, he organized a watch and a mobile patrol, in hopes of making the area a safe, livable place again. The Edgewater Community Council's anti-arson program provides another example of turning fear into positive action. When they went looking for a building to target for speeded-up city inspection, a dilapidated building right next to a senior citizens' apartment high-rise was chosen. Program staff knew the level of fear among the elderly; they tapped that fear constructively by bringing the elderly to court as witnesses to the danger, and into the program as watchers for arson and fire emergencies.

Offering meaningful tasks. The Edgewater court watch was a concrete action that residents could take to do something about fear and crime. Block and apartment watches, mobile patrols, crime reporting, working with crime statistics—these and the array of other resident anti-crime tactics described in Chapter 2 and the Appendix provide opportunities for meaningful involvement. They are activities that can have a clear impact: a burglary halted, a crime pattern revealed, a building fixed up under court order. And, as we saw in Chapter 2, they can become components of a larger strategy that benefits participants and the neighborhood in a variety of ways.

Building Police Support

In addition to motivating residents, every neighborhood crime prevention program also faces the challenge of building police support. Community organizations making contact with the police need to stress the importance of cooperating and sharing responsibility with neighborhood residents. Police-based programs must work to enlist the energies and enthusiasm of officers and command staff.

No single force motivates police departments and their personnel to make the commitment to work with neighborhoods. In San Diego, the city's rapid growth left the department continually recruiting and yet still feeling its resources strained by the burgeoning demands for service. Involving the citizens in crime prevention made sense as a means of keeping up with population movement and sharing the job of maintaining public order. Detroit's dedication to crime prevention began with the tarnished image of the city and a new mayor's promise to address racial polarization by bringing the police into the neighborhoods. For individual officers, crime prevention was the answer to the unending frustration of only reacting to calls, complaints, and hostility. Actions for neighborhood crime prevention in Minneapolis' Third Precinct started with a captain interested in improving the effectiveness of policing. Once approached by the community, he saw how cooperation could help him define target crimes and zero in on vulnerable parts of the neighborhood.

In spite of the different situations facing San Diego, Detroit, and Minneapolis, there are common threads in how their police departments built internal support for crime prevention. In each case, a shift was made out of the reactive mode to proactive policing. Individual police were offered a way to become part of the community. And career incentives were altered (though in varying degrees) to motivate these changes and encourage personal commitment to neighborhood crime prevention.

Proactive policing. Many of the changes in policing over the past thirty years sought to serve growing cities by making police more mobile and by improving communications and deployment. But these changes also reinforced a reactive pattern of law enforcement. Responding to calls became the main patrol activity, in a time when city dwellers called the police for an increasingly varied set of problems. Given the conflict-oriented and occasionally dangerous nature of the work, with little chance of following through, it is no wonder that police job satisfaction is low and frustration is high in so many places.

At its most fundamental level, crime prevention amounts to "changing policing in this country," according to Detroit's Chief William Hart. Involvement in crime prevention will not solve all police problems. Still, the conditions are right to encourage the shift from reactive to proactive: strained resources, increasing crime, individual frustration. But motivating the change takes something more.

Incentives for change. Because they have been trained in the reactive mode and are used to a "Wyatt Earp" image of police work, many police officers resist the idea of proactive policing. Proactive policing requires the active cooperation of sworn personnel at all levels of command. Making that commitment will show in the way calls are answered, in the way patrol operations are carried out, and in the treatment of crime victims and the "messages" they are given. Such commitment is encouraged by:

- executive leadership that makes neighborhood crime prevention a top priority;
- cadet training and in-service training that define crime prevention as an essential part of police work;

- clear priorities and lines of authority with respect to how crime prevention duties fit with other duties of precinct personnel; and
- clear promotional paths that reward crime prevention work.

From the earliest evaluations of neighborhood policing[1] to the present, conflicting priorities and authority, narrow promotion criteria, and negative views of prevention have been identified repeatedly as obstacles in obtaining broad police participation. The Third Precinct captain in Minneapolis took a number of related actions to avoid these problems and create incentives for his officers. He placed directed foot and car patrol in parts of the neighborhood that were active in crime prevention. He made it clear that every patrol officer was expected to spend a specified amount of time each week on foot patrol. He joined that task to training in investigative techniques, so that it held distinct career benefits. Finally, he made assignment to the special targeting platoon (which blends crime prevention and surveillance) a reward for good performance.

In addition to career enrichment and rewards, there is another motivation that works to draw some personnel to crime prevention. Proactive efforts in the neighborhood let officers meet the public on a person-to-person basis and be perceived as individuals rather than "the long arm of the law." According to some crime prevention officers, this amounts to humanizing police work. Further, where there are residency rules that make police personnel live within city limits, crime prevention can help make them feel a genuine part of the city and offer them a way to participate in their own neighborhoods.

Building police support for crime prevention in a department and among individual officers may be a slow process, and motivating the change, providing the incentives, does take executive leadership. Police departments should not feel they must resolve all these issues before getting involved in crime prevention, nor should neighborhood groups feel discouraged if developing a solid working relationship with the police takes time.

3.2 Starting with Existing Organizations

Anyone wishing to start a crime prevention program should first look to established neighborhood organizations. Members of neighborhood-based organizations can suggest that the issue of crime be added as one of their concerns. Those who do not already belong to such an organization can find out who is active in the community and join the group they feel is most strongly connected to the people in the area. If crime prevention is not one of the organization's activities, they can work to make it become one.

[1]See, for example, Peter B. Bloch and David I. Specht, *Evaluation of Operation Neighborhood* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1973), pp. 8-20.

It is especially important for police departments undertaking neighborhood crime prevention to look for strong community organizations in the target neighborhood. The program will move more quickly and more effectively by tapping into existing structures than by trying to create new ones.

Advantages

Past and current experience has shown that most sustained anti-crime efforts begin within existing community organizations. These groups tend to have a broad focus on neighborhood revitalization, improvement, and/or stabilization. While few groups are first organized around the crime issue, and crime is seldom the first issue addressed,[2] anti-crime activities become part of an organization's agenda because neighborhood crime is perceived as a problem.[3]

Anti-crime activities are most effective where there is strong participation by the community. Because existing neighborhood-based organizations can be highly attuned to the needs and concerns of the people in their areas, they provide a structure within which collective responses can be organized and carried out. In addition, an existing community organization with strong neighborhood support has already established a system of communication which can serve as a vehicle for getting residents informed about crime prevention. It may already have a newsletter or bulletin to use for this. Often, it has leaders who are known and respected by community members, and who have experience in making maximum use of local resources.

The most important offering of an existing community organization is durability. It is certainly true that many community groups come and go, as the challenges facing the neighborhood change over time. Single-issue organizations are the most fragile, since their existence is justified only by progress or "victories" on that issue. When it is one without easy victories, like crime, the effort cannot always be sustained long enough to show results. An organization with a history or track record of benefitting the neighborhood in other areas is a more promising vehicle for anti-crime activity because its very reputation for success will help keep the effort going.

Along with these advantages, there are also caveats to consider in choosing an existing organization to house a crime prevention program. In some neighborhoods, there are competing groups with different agendas and/or different memberships. Partisan feelings can run quite high. While it is important to assess the relative leadership strengths, track records, and breadth of support within the neighborhood, it is probably more important to attempt to bridge the differences and develop an alliance on the crime issue. Especially for a police-initiated program, this must be very carefully done. Unless the early contacts are inclusive of all local organizations and completely uniform, there is the risk that one group will make the police the issue because they perceive the other being favored.

[2]Podalefsky and DuBow, *Strategies for Community Crime Prevention*, p. 209.

[3]Lavrakas et al., *Factors Related to Citizen Involvement*, p. 9.

Where polarization is strong, it may be preferable for a third, more neutral organization or institution to be chosen. However, part of the program-building effort must then be directed toward involving both the competing groups.

These considerations also raise the question of prior relations between police and community. Many neighborhood advocacy groups have had differences with the police in the past, whether over crime and safety or because of demonstrations related to other issues. In some cities, such as Chicago, police departments exercised undercover surveillance over community groups in the '60s and early '70s, leaving a deep legacy of distrust. In other cities, such as Detroit, distrust stemmed from racial polarization. Even where no explicit conflicts have taken place, there is typically a mutual wariness between police and neighborhood groups. The police are often concerned about who really represents a neighborhood, especially if there are competing groups. It may seem easier for police to work with a new group rather than trying to overcome past differences. But ultimately, the strongest crime prevention program will be the one that joins the energies of police and as many neighborhood organizations and institutions as possible into a working alliance or formal coalition against crime.

Crime Prevention and Other Neighborhood Issues

Tenants formed the Wise Towers Tenant Association in New York City to approach the Housing Authority on building maintenance issues. The organization developed into a community center for residents of the housing project. Although many other public housing projects in New York have some form of tenant patrol, Wise Towers incorporated theirs into the tenant organization. They also started a youth patrol as an offshoot of working on education and recreation for children in the complex.

The example of Wise Towers and its wide focus points up a final, extremely significant advantage to working on crime prevention within an established organization. Anti-crime activity and efforts on other issues can be complementary and indeed strengthen each other. For police departments planning a crime prevention program, it might seem more efficient and safer at first to get involved with a group organized around crime alone. Likewise, citizens concerned about crime might assume that existing groups will not want to divert resources from the issues currently on their agendas, and these organizations themselves may not be sure whether or how crime prevention can fit with their present activities. All these participants in neighborhood crime prevention need to be aware of the benefits that can come from working with multi-issue community organizations.

Some neighborhood issues bear a clear connection to the causes of crime or to conditions that encourage crime and disorder. The most obvious examples—such as unemployment and poverty—are not easily tackled at the neighborhood level, although community development and revitalization efforts may include job creation as a goal. Other crime-related issues are more accessible to local effort. For example, housing deterioration may lead to arson, whether for profit or for spite and revenge; and residential or commercial property abandonment is often associated with vandalism, drug traffic and use, and sometimes with gang activity. The Brightwood Development Corporation in Springfield, Massachusetts, explicitly addresses unemployment, deterioration, and drug problems as causes of crime. Problems with juveniles, from loitering and vandalism to purse-snatching and burglary, are also frequently addressed through neighborhood-sponsored youth programs like that of Wise Towers.

In this context, it is worth noting that many police departments, through crime prevention, community relations, or special purpose programs, are also active on these kinds of issues. Table 3-1 shows the results of surveying twelve police departments around the country on this question. While six restrict their efforts to crime prevention more narrowly defined, the others run youth athletic and recreation programs, provide phone reassurance for the elderly, or help residents gain access to other city services.

TABLE 3-1

Other Neighborhood Issues Addressed by Police Crime Prevention Units[a]

Schools (activities for dropouts and truants)
Youth (athletic programs, cadet corps, runaways)
Elderly (telephone reassurance, senior assistance)
City Services
Housing (landlord-tenant relations, abandoned building security, emergency housing)
Employment

[a]Based on a telephone survey of 22 targeted crime prevention programs. Table shows results for twelve police departments.

Crime prevention is strengthened in a number of ways by becoming part of a multi-issue agenda. First, it can gain credibility. For example, the James Street Neighborhood House in Newark could hardly have launched Youth Against Crime had it not been for the respect earned through earlier tutoring and recreation programs. Second, a crime prevention program can share staff and other resources within the organization. Southside Neighborhood Housing Services in Minneapolis had identified skilled, reliable contractors to do home repairs and improvements. Crime prevention seed money was used to hire community organizers, a staff member was trained to do home security surveys, and the rehab contractors were available to make the security improvements. In the Midwood section of Brooklyn, citizen car patrols were also asked to report other neighborhood conditions that required city attention. They reported fallen tree branches and burnt-out street lights to the base station, and the Midwood-Kings Highway Development Corporation followed up on them with city agencies.

A third advantage for crime prevention when it is part of a multi-issue organization is the likelihood of broader participation. While concern about crime may lead some residents to become active in the neighborhood for the first time, there are also those who place a higher priority on other issues or who feel they can protect themselves. A mixed agenda may be the only way to get them involved in crime prevention efforts. For example, the Crary-St. Mary Community Council in Detroit held a clean-up to get rid of the graffiti that covered garage walls throughout the neighborhood. Every marked garage was painted over the course of a summer, with owners contributing labor, lemonade, or money for paint. The clean-up brought the Community Council a broadened base of support. It also removed a major sign of disorder in the neighborhood, since once all the garages were cleaned of graffiti they *stayed* clean.

Sometimes, crime prevention can form part of a two-pronged approach to neighborhood improvement. Within the Edgewater Community Council, Operation Winthrop-Kenmore is a housing rehabilitation project directed at the same geographical target area and many of the same problems as the arson prevention and fire safety work. It was developed as a counterpart to the Urban Crime Prevention Program, because research had shown that the three best predictors of arson-prone buildings were previous fires, uncollected taxes, and code violations. The arson prevention program staff found that, even when they could identify those buildings and take landlords to court, they also needed to find investors to take over the buildings for rehabilitation. Without new, responsible investors, the landlords could delay improvement or could sell the properties to investors interested only in short-term cash flow, and the court process would have to begin again.

At first, the arson prevention program staff tried looking for investors directly. Understandably, however, they were not very popular with area landowners because of their housing court work. The reinvestment and rehabilitation efforts were then separated from the arson prevention program to become Operation Winthrop-Kenmore, which assists landlords and developers in securing loans for property improvement, maintains files on building conditions, and works to improve the image of the community. The two programs share the goal of making the community a better place to live, but can wear different hats. In addition, some people who were not active in arson prevention were interested in housing revitalization and, seeing the negative effects of arson on community image, have become involved in crime prevention as well.

A final advantage to joining crime prevention with other issues is the enhanced capacity to mobilize resources.[4] At first, volunteer and/or staff resources developed for other issues can be applied to planning and starting up anti-crime efforts. Later, the support the organization gains from its crime prevention work can benefit its other activities. For instance, the Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods has established a relationship with a major insurance company and a public utility company as a result of its members' work on crime and homeowners' insurance. These corporations have offered to do printing for any of the coalition's activities.

Table 3-2 shows the range of issues being addressed by ten neighborhood organizations with targeted crime prevention programs. Clearly, the consensus of prior research and current practice argues in favor of starting with established organizations and institutions, and then designing a crime prevention program to take advantage of (and, in turn, benefit) the organization's work on other issues.

3.3 Joining Forces For Crime Prevention

The creation of working relationships among various elements in the police department and the neighborhood serves an important function for any crime prevention program: it helps groups meet mutual needs, accomplish common goals, and make the most of scarce resources. Linkages need to be established between the police and the neighborhood, and with other organizations and institutions within the community.

Linkages Between Police and Neighborhood

The linkage between police and neighborhood organizations is essential for neighborhood crime prevention. At a minimum, the community needs the police to carry out enforcement, and the police need the community as a source of information about area problems. If the police have had regular contact with residents, they are more likely to be appropriately informed about the source of problems in the area. The Deputy Chief for Investigations in Detroit says that crime prevention has brought a new and valuable flow of tips to his agents. Members of the community often know who is involved in criminal activities and can warn police officers when they are entering potentially dangerous situations. Police officers who are familiar with the community can tell when force is inappropriate in responding to a local call. The possibility of *avoiding violence* may also be greater. In New York City's Operation Neighborhood, contacts made between the police neighborhood team and Black Muslims in a community meeting paid off for both:

> Subsequently, tactical police units became involved in an incident in front of their mosque. The tactical police were attempting to arrest a man who was driving without headlights at night. Men inside the mosque were angry at the treatment being given to their 'brother,' and they were leaning out of the windows making threatening remarks. At that point, two neighborhood team policemen arrived. They introduced themselves to two of the men whom they had previously met and managed to control the situation, with the result that the tactical police left the scene. The next day the minister from the mosque thanked the precinct commander for averting bloodshed.[5]

[4]For a full discussion of resources for crime prevention, see Chapter 5.

[5]Bloch and Specht, *Evaluation of Operation Neighborhood*, p. 15.

TABLE 3-2

Other Neighborhood Issues Addressed by Community Organizations Active in Crime Prevention[a]

Housing

- rehabilitation
- improvement
- tenant protection
- absentee landlords
- abandonment
- rental management

Community Development

- commercial revitalization
- job creation

Energy Conservation

Environment

- pollution
- parks
- vacant lots
- community gardens

Unemployment

- job training

Youth

- job training
- alcohol and drug abuse
- recreation

Daycare

Taxes

Social Service Delivery

- emergency services
- food

Elderly

- transportation
- recreation
- nutrition

[a]Based on a telephone survey of 22 targeted crime prevention programs. Table shows results for ten crime prevention programs housed in multi-issue community organizations.

The person-to-person contact and mutual respect brought about by increased neighborhood involvement are as essential for community groups as they are for police. This is especially important to remember in neighborhoods that have a history of distrust of the police. Residents must realize the need for cooperation from the police in order to carry out successful anti-crime efforts. Even when police are hesitant about community input at first, community organizations should continue to work toward more positive relations. They can reassure the police that they are not trying to tell them how to do their jobs, nor are they involving citizens in actions that could endanger anyone. Police departments will respond more favorably to groups taking on responsibility for the prevention of crime than to those who talk to them only when demanding increased police services.

The Edgewater area of Chicago, for example, has been trying for several years to gain access to crime data and to secure a foot patrol officer for their neighborhood. Although there are strong disagreements between the police and residents over these issues, the Edgewater Community Council's Urban Crime Prevention Program has established a working relationship with the police department's Bomb and Arson Unit and its Preventive Programs Division. The ECC radio patrol has gained the respect of precinct commanders and patrol officers through accurate reporting and continued efforts to build a safer community. Residents meet on a regular basis with precinct commanders, through a Precinct Advisory Board, to discuss neighborhood problems and their solutions.

Members of the Edgewater area feel that police services have improved, although some problems are still unsolved. One resident reported that two years ago the patrol officers would not even have gotten out of their cars when answering a call. Now, response seems more rapid, and the officers show more concern for residents in their daily activities.

Effective working relationships seldom arise by themselves. An important question for police departments and community organizations is, therefore, how to start creating linkages for neighborhood crime prevention. For police departments, the first step is to find out who in the community has the know-how and the interest to help get a program going. There are several ways to do this. Existing community organizations, in addition to their own leadership, tend to have contacts in other groups. Police officers who live in the neighborhood are likely to be able to identify active residents. Local clergy are often aware of the leaders in their community. Even newspaper clippings may identify residents who have expressed concern and are acting to improve neighborhood conditions. When necessary, a very direct approach can be taken as part of organizing; police officers in Detroit canvass house-to-house to identify natural leaders for block watches. These approaches can provide the police with solid contacts in the community and with a great deal of information about it.

A community group thinking of approaching the police department on crime prevention issues will need to obtain some basic information. Does the department have a crime prevention unit? Does it have a crime prevention education program? Are there crime prevention officers in the precinct? In the neighborhood? Calling the police department can also help identify whom to approach and suggest how receptive the police may be to initiating a new program. In some cities, groups have gone directly to the police chief or to others in police headquarters; elsewhere, the contact has been made at

the precinct level. Some groups may even want to go through City Hall—this was the course taken by Point Loma Acts Now (PLAN) in San Diego, since they already had political access there.

At the programs we visited, community organizations generally adapted their approach to the receptivity and structure of their local departments. In New York City, the Wise Towers tenants work with the precinct community relations officer, but they have no support or recognition from higher levels. At the Midwood-Kings Highway Development Corporation in Brooklyn, crime prevention staff found that two of the three precinct commanders in the area were interested in working closely with them on crime prevention. In Detroit, the contacts tend to be made with the Chief or the head of the Crime Prevention Section, because they are the leaders in commitment to neighborhood crime prevention.

Forming linkages can be a delicate matter, requiring understanding of the concerns and capabilities of the group being approached. Police departments developing working ties with community organizations must be careful to establish the relationship as one of alliance rather than attempting to make the group an arm of the department. Such an approach would probably be perceived as cooptation. The Detroit Police Department has defined its role as "one of support [which allows the community] to use police resources in their programs. We [police] do not attempt to usurp their power or leadership."[6]

Similarly, community organizations should stress their interest in cooperating with police and providing reciprocal help rather than merely demanding increased services. A police department that is not yet organized to participate in neighborhood crime prevention may be concerned about being tied to one group or one neighborhood to the neglect of others. Even the concept of targeting may seem hard to reconcile with serving the whole city. Such concerns are natural at a time when police resources are stretched as tightly as those of community groups. But recognizing issues like these may make them easier to overcome. One method of clarifying the relationships between the police department and the community organization is for both to write down their understandings of their own and the other's responsibilities when first beginning to work together. Then the two sets of perceptions can be compared and the differences worked out. In this way, misunderstandings can be avoided and the allies will know that success depends on the actions of both.

Linkages Within the Neighborhood

In addition to the central linkage between police and existing neighborhood groups, many crime prevention programs have benefitted from working with other community institutions and organizations. Some linkages have occurred naturally in the course of community work. Others have been sought out and developed by both police- and community-based programs. The establishment of linkages is not a new idea, especially to most neighborhood groups; "networking" has become a widely recognized concept. But police departments may be less used to the idea that their efforts can be aided by a broad range of other local organizations.

A great deal of support for many crime prevention programs is provided by churches and synagogues. In Detroit, several churches have donated space to the Crime Prevention Section for target area offices. One pastor in a particularly deteriorated area has played a large role in organizing many of the residents, by introducing crime prevention while providing other services. The Wise Towers Tenant Association has no large meeting room, so it holds project-wide meetings in the church across the street. The church has also allowed its basketball courts to be used for the tenants' summer youth program.

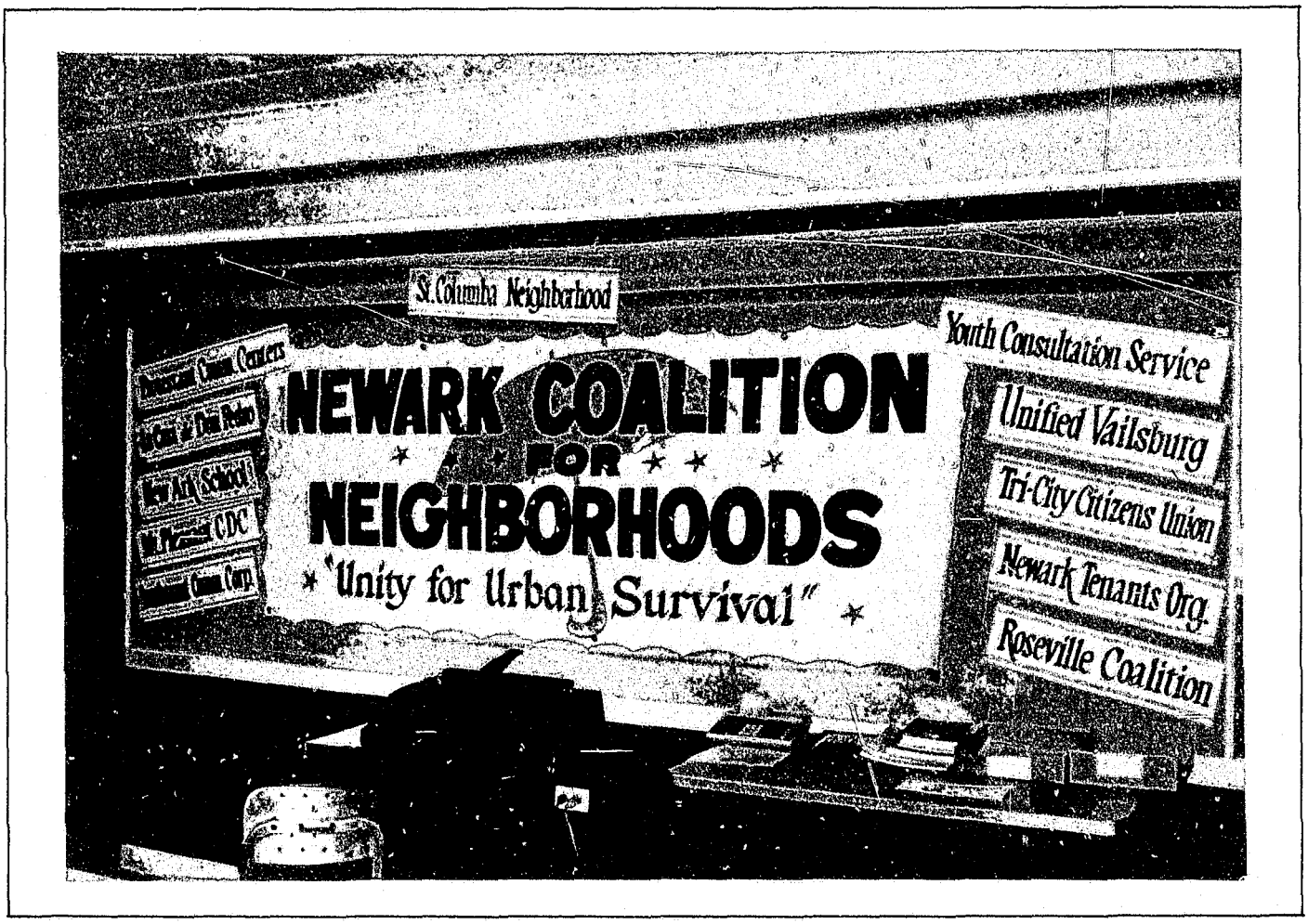
Although churches and synagogues can be good sources of aid, there may be drawbacks. When a local church was invited to participate in a Minneapolis crime prevention picnic, some of the residents thought the church was sponsoring it and felt uncomfortable going to an event run by a church not of their affiliation. In neighborhoods with significant religious divisions or several important religious institutions, it will be important to try to rotate meetings or provide some other means (such as a clergy committee) for broadening the involvement to all of them.

Service organizations are another source of assistance for neighborhood crime prevention. It is well known that becoming a crime victim is an important factor in motivating people to participate in crime prevention. When the police answer calls for service, they have the chance to discuss crime prevention with victims, but rarely the time or training to do so. Many cities have specialized victim assistance programs, but community organizations do not usually have access to the names of victims.[7] The Minneapolis Southside Neighborhood Housing Services was concerned that crime victims would become so fearful that they would distrust their neighbors and decide to move away. Reasoning that if victims could be quickly involved in crime prevention they would be better able to deal with their fears and remain in the community, the organization contacted the area's Crime Victim Center. Crime victims are now also referred to the Southside crime prevention program, which helps with home security improvements and phone reassurance. This cooperative relationship has channeled many victims into crime prevention activities, helping them to overcome their fears and learn about protecting themselves from further victimization.

Other kinds of neighborhood institutions that can contribute to crime prevention include schools, boys' and girls' clubs, scout troops, hospitals and health centers, community centers and business associations. Schools are a very important means of reaching young people to teach them about crime prevention and self-protection. Moreover, communities that have experienced influxes of refugees or immigrants have found that crime prevention materials can be explained and distributed to

[6] "The Detroit Crime Prevention Model" (Detroit Police Department internal document, no date).

[7] Confidentiality of police reports usually prevents disclosure of the names of victims, unless the community organization is a recognized provider of victim services.



NCN provides a formal structure for cooperation among eleven diverse community organizations and agencies

the whole group through the school children, who often learn English sooner than the adults. Community centers can also work crime prevention into their youth recreation programs. Business associations in urban neighborhoods often identify crime as a major factor in the decline of local shopping areas, but only rarely join forces with community groups against crime. Yet many crime prevention tactics, such as block watching and security surveys, are also useful in commercial settings, and resident support can be of significant value in convincing city government to make physical changes such as improved lighting on commercial as well as residential streets.

The relationships between crime prevention programs and other institutions or organizations (whether in the community or citywide) can take different forms and serve various purposes. They can exist on a formal or an informal basis. They can involve information-sharing, pooling of other resources, and even technical assistance or provision of services.

Coalitions are the most formal, structured way of joining different groups together for a particular purpose. Forming a coalition involves setting up a separate entity (even if that is a volunteer staff) with certain responsibilities distinct from those of the member groups. Members may be schools, community centers, or religious institutions as well as grassroots organizations. The Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods illustrates how this kind of structure can evolve and expand its role over time. In 1977, four neighborhood organizations in Newark realized that each could benefit from more formal association with the others. All of the organizations were working on the arson problems in their own neighborhoods and had been sharing ideas and strategies on an informal basis for several years. The coalition first served as a formal communication system. Then it received a grant for arson prevention and was able to hire a central staff. It moved to provide technical assistance to the member organizations. In 1981, the coalition expanded its services to provide central leadership for a citywide crime prevention program. In addition to its other functions, the coalition is now able to offer monitoring and evaluation of programs, fiscal management assistance, and help with fundraising.

The more usual way to recognize formal ties among organizations is for them to hold seats on each others' boards and committees. Not only does this ensure that each group keeps informed of the other's activities, but it means they can influence policy toward common concerns. If a separate advisory board or steering committee is established for a crime prevention program, there are a number of organizations that can be recognized through membership:

- police and community
- criminal justice service agencies (e.g., victim or witness assistance, prisoner re-entry)
- programs for youth

- programs for the elderly
- clergy
- business owners
- city agencies (e.g., planning, human services)
- schools and universities.

At the least, regular contacts among such groups foster information-sharing.[8] Sometimes joint action can result—an event or an ongoing effort. Sustained relationships to provide technical assistance or services are less common, but there are some examples. Over the years, the Edgewater Community Council had developed strong ties to Loyola University, on its northern boundary. They had cooperated on area security concerns and a Walk to Work program to encourage faculty to live in the area. ECC was able to use computer time, survey research specialists, and student interns from the school to develop data for targeting anti-arson efforts in the neighborhood.

Linkages can also focus on neighborhood services. In Minneapolis, SNHS not only plays a role in victim support (described above); it also provides a desk for the use of the city housing inspector, who patrols for proper house and yard maintenance in the area. In Chicago, the director of the city's Department of Human Services noted that, "This agency used to be a resource to neighborhood groups. Now we spend an equal amount of time getting assistance from them." He was referring to programs such as the ECC's food pantry, which has seen a great increase in demand as the city's emergency food program has shrunk. The Wise Towers Tenant Association has been a summertime hot lunch provider for several years, another activity which draws children into the Education and Security program at a young age.

While linkages for information-sharing, technical assistance, and services can be of great value to crime prevention efforts, there are some pitfalls of which to beware. Political partisanship is one of them. In Newark and other cities, organizers of crime prevention programs have been careful to avoid formal ties where these connections have the potential to divide the community. Crime appears to be a fairly universal issue, and people with diverse opinions on other issues can be brought together for crime prevention. But formal support of a political candidate or affiliation with a strongly partisan organization can divide the target neighborhood about the crime prevention program as well. One way around this problem is to develop a neighborhood platform—a set of policy recommendations for candidates concerning how the office they are seeking can support crime prevention or other community programs—and let any or all candidates choose to support it.

The second significant pitfall in developing linkages is the danger of competition between the crime prevention program and other organizations. One reason for emphasizing so strongly the need to reach broadly into the neighborhood is that real inclusiveness is the *only* protection against charges of invading someone else's "turf." If all such groups lend their voices and efforts to shaping the crime prevention program, it will end up being more responsive to community needs and concerns and potentially more effective in promoting order and safety.

[8]These relationships also have a role in mobilizing resources, as Chapter 5 explains.

CHAPTER 4

BUILDING THE PROGRAM

The issues of program structure and maintenance tend to be neglected in the burst of enthusiasm or urgency that first gets neighborhood crime prevention underway. Many programs start on an ad hoc basis, without much planning. However, long-term effectiveness and durability can be impaired if programs do not address two crucial areas:

- building an organizational structure which makes the best use of resources, whether in the community or in the police department, and
- developing techniques to maintain participants' interest and commitment to the crime prevention effort.

No one model of program structure is best for crime prevention efforts. Community-based crime prevention programs will have very different organizational concerns from those of police departments, which are already highly structured. More specifically, as with tactics, a program's structure must be adapted to the local environment, needs, and political context. Techniques to maintain participants' interest should also be tailored to the community. This chapter examines the experiences of operating programs to look at different models and common elements of crime prevention program organization. It also describes a number of techniques they have found helpful in maintaining the neighborhood's interest and involvement.

4.1 Program-Building in the Neighborhood

In the neighborhood, organizing crime prevention focuses on involving community residents and setting up a program structure that makes the most of volunteer activity. Issues that face program organizers include the most productive ways to involve residents, both in police-based and community-based programs, the ways in which staff can help pull together the various parts of a crime prevention program, and the types of community organization structure that can best channel the efforts of both.

Resident Participation

Participating means taking part in or having a share of some activity. For crime prevention, the core of that sharing is *shared responsibility* for making the program work and bringing about desired changes. It is more than just benefitting from others' efforts; people who receive program services, such as home security surveys, without taking part in related activities are simply consumers. No give-and-take, no return to the neighborhood as a whole, results from that service having been provided.

In the past, it was very common for crime prevention programs with ample funding (especially programs run by police departments or other local government agencies) to consist of paid staff providing services to city residents.[1] This mode of operation has two disadvantages. It is cash-intensive and thus vulnerable to funding difficulties. Far more important, it does not draw upon neighborhood ties and social bonds in a way that makes the program more likely to be effective. The evidence suggests that collective action has its own effect on the outlook of participants, making them less fearful and more optimistic about the prospects for the neighborhood.[2] Programs that treat residents as consumers forego at least some of this impact.

For neighborhood residents, volunteer effort is the central means of sharing responsibility for crime prevention. One of the clearest lessons we learned from contacting programs all around the country is that volunteers have a key place in virtually every sustained crime prevention effort. In part, this is because their donated skills and time fill the gaps left by fluctuations in funding. More broadly, volunteers are essential to many of the most widely used crime prevention tactics (such as block watching and crime reporting), and they can extend the reach and scope of program activities no matter how large or small the official budget.

In police-initiated programs, volunteers from the community can play a variety of roles in addition to their block watching and other direct citizen activities. When the Newark Police Department's Crime Prevention Section lost its secretary through budget cuts, the processing of block watcher numbers (which protect household identity in reporting a crime) fell way behind. The officers in the unit could not keep up with the demand for presentations at community meetings, much less the paperwork each meeting generated. So a system was

[1]Fred DuBow et al., *Reactions to Crime: A Critical Review of the Literature* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1979), pp. 52, 73-74.

[2]Wesley G. Skogan and Michael G. Maxfield, *Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1981), p. 233.

worked out in which volunteers from each group developing a block watch were asked to assist with the clerical work. All of the preparation of materials, mapping of blocks, and recording of participating households is now routinely done by volunteers; only the assignment of the actual numbers, the final step, is done by the officers.

When the Detroit Police Department established its mini-stations, citizen volunteers were an intrinsic part of the concept. Volunteers keep the storefronts open while the officers patrol (on foot or scooters). They take routine referrals from other citizens, work on community contacts, and make out neighborhood watch location sheets. One mini-station officer developed a handbook that guides the volunteers in an even broader set of office procedures.

The head of Detroit's Crime Prevention Section offered one important suggestion about volunteers in police-initiated programs. He believes that the residents should understand, from the start, that they will not be passive consumers of additional police services. In exchange for special targeting by the police, it should be made clear that shared responsibility for numerous program activities is expected. It is equally important that police officers support volunteer efforts. A crime prevention program's open communication with the police union or association can make it clear that volunteers are supplementing officers' efforts, not taking away their jobs.

Several police-based programs in California report some ways to make effective use of volunteer effort. The Los Angeles Police Department has trained citizen volunteers, who now take charge of between one-third and one-half of all neighborhood watch meetings in their geographic areas. A patrol officer still stops by at some point during the meeting, but much of the preparation and meeting time are now handled by volunteers. The Ventura County Sheriff's Department found a way to expand crime prevention without straining already tight operating funds. The department reports, "contact with coordinators of the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) . . . resulted in the discovery of a large pool of willing, able, and reliable citizens who were eager to serve their community on a volunteer basis and could be trained to provide professional crime prevention programs to the community." Twenty-six volunteers, with an average age of 67, participated in an intensive training course. They assist with home security surveys and vacation house checks, spread information on the Sheriff's bad check program, and conduct a foot patrol in the business area to help cut down on shoplifting.[3]

Volunteers can also fill many roles in crime prevention and related efforts through community groups, which typically have volunteer leadership even if there is a paid staff. They can maintain records and books or tabulate crime statistics; they can run patrols or serve as court watchers; they can be trained to organize blocks or buildings. In short, there is virtually no part that cannot be played by volunteers, although there can be advantages to having certain functions filled by paid staff.

A number of the community programs already cited in this manual were entirely volunteer efforts for several years before they were able to pay a single staff member. The Wise Towers Tenant Association had developed its vertical patrol, sitting patrol, and youth activities before it received a small grant from the state of New York. Over the course of its 20-year history, Chicago's Edgewater Community Council has been all-volunteer at some times and had paid staff at others. The WhistleSTOP program is still an all-volunteer effort; each Tuesday morning, a group of retired women settles around a large table in the ECC office to assemble packages of whistles, chains, and written materials, filling requests from all over the country. In Newark, as federal funding comes to an end, the Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods is preparing to help those of its member groups which will lose all staff in maintaining operations with volunteers.

In neighborhood crime prevention, volunteers get involved because of their concerns for the neighborhood, its people, and their safety. When a community organization is active on other neighborhood issues as well, it is likely to be able to mobilize a wider range of volunteers than for any single program. Chapter 3 described some natural links between crime prevention and other issues. Similarly, volunteers active on other issues can make a real contribution to crime prevention, as some neighborhood clean-up efforts (alleys in Minneapolis, garages in Detroit) illustrate.

Volunteers can also be a source of special skills that are useful to programs involved in certain crime prevention activities. For example, an urban planner could be helpful in work on physical changes to reduce crime opportunity in the neighborhood. A lawyer could assist in training volunteers for court watching or giving testimony. Research skills could be applied to analyzing the crime problem or surveying neighbors' attitudes (see Chapters 2 and 6). When such skills are needed, there are a number of sources that most community groups can tap. First, senior citizens represent a pool of potential volunteers with often-unrecognized skills and training as well as time to give. Second, in hard times for the local economy, unemployed residents can be approached; often, volunteer involvement can help *them* through a difficult period. Finally, students from local colleges and universities have aided many neighborhood groups with surveys or research, either as class projects or on their own. Such specialized assistance supplements the ongoing, day-to-day volunteer input which is the base of a neighborhood crime prevention program.

Community Organization Staffing and Structure

In many community organizations, there is a strong ethos for "pure" volunteer effort. This results in part from the natural tension that usually exists between volunteer leadership (whose contribution must be fit into the demands of work and family) and staff who are paid to devote their work time to the group's activities. Staff are technically answerable to the elected leadership, yet it is not unusual for leaders to feel that the staff are leading them.

[3]These examples are recounted in The California Crime Resistance Task Force, Office of Criminal Justice Planning, *Crime Prevention Exemplary Programs* (Sacramento, CA: Crime Resistance Task Force, n.d.), pp. 19, 54.

The volunteers of the Wise Towers youth patrol ride up the high-rises' elevators and walk down, checking stairwells and corridors

Despite this natural tension, and despite the increasing difficulty of obtaining funding to support staff positions, it is worth pointing out the advantages of having paid staff. There are two primary areas in which even a single staff member can greatly enhance the effectiveness of a volunteer group: communications and organizing. Difficulty in sustaining frequent contacts with participants and other residents is often responsible for a loss in momentum and volunteer effort. A paid staff member can more easily maintain the regular contact that is necessary for program durability. This is especially important if the program chooses tactics like court watching, which involves continuous tasks such as keeping track of trial dates and informing residents when to appear in court.

It is in the area of organization-building that paid staff can make their greatest contribution:

> Experience documents that paid organizing staff is essential for active multi-issue community organizations to be effective, with a few rare exceptions .... Typically, staff are required not only to do the normal housekeeping chores of any active voluntary association, but most important, they staff voluntary leadership on issues and strategies, which entails consistent and extensive research and communications and construct participatory entities such as issue committees, and neighborhood and block associations.[4]

Beyond their organizing and communications work within a crime prevention program, paid staff can be an important source of broader skills and contacts. In two of the community-based programs we visited, the choice of top staff gave the programs access to a set of linkages that would have required substantial time to build anew. The crime prevention coordinator for Southside Neighborhood Housing Services had been very active in Minneapolis politics. As a result, she was able to get access to city funding outside the citywide crime prevention program, which had not succeeded in the Southside neighborhood. When it won a federal anti-arson grant, the Edgewater Community Council hired a director who had done extensive anti-arson work as a volunteer in neighboring Uptown. Because the director had already become known to Chicago's police, fire, and public safety departments and was respected for his expertise and dedication, the Edgewater program was able to make a fast start and gain broad credibility.

While paid coordinators and, often, paid organizers are especially helpful at the outset, it is also important that the community take on the role of organizing itself. There are dangers to becoming too dependent on paid staff. If funding is lost or staff move on, the program risks falling apart. This, along with costs and the importance of resident input, is a good

[4]Gerson Green, *Who's Organizing the Neighborhood?* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Community Anti-Crime Programs, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1979), pp. 18-19.

reason to limit staff functions. Many can eventually be taken over by residents. For example, the Minneapolis SNHS crime prevention program began with three paid organizers. After the initial organizing effort (about 18 months), SNHS found no need for the organizers to remain, because members of the community had taken over the responsibility for getting others involved.

A major aim in organizing for crime prevention should be to help people do for themselves and take responsibility for their own community. Therefore, organization leaders should carefully define and limit the functions that paid staff perform. People will rely on others to act for them if that is convenient, and they will put blame for failure on program staff. Residents must be impressed with the fact that this is their program and their neighborhood. The primary role of staff should be as a resource to the resident volunteers. At Wise Towers, for example, some residents have attempted to have program staff take care of their problems (including reporting crime to the police). The program has a policy of non-intervention until after residents have attempted to solve a problem on their own.

In addition to paid staff, there are some other ways to supplement residents' efforts. If necessary, the police department can expand its role in the program to include organizing. Then police staff can be the catalyst that keeps volunteers active and interested. This added push can be another important reason for linking closely to the police.

While staff definition is important, the most important structural issue for crime prevention efforts initiated by neighborhood groups is the unit of organization. Most neighborhood crime prevention groups are, in fact, organizations of organizations. As we have seen, virtually all crime prevention programs seem to include a watch of some kind, and each watch becomes a component of the main group. Experience indicates that watches are best based at the block level. One Newark community group tried to organize residents on an area-wide basis without success. When they approached the problem at the block level, however, a much higher level of participation was reached. In block-level organizing, creation of a community feeling begins with the smallest unit—one home or apartment—and spreads from immediate neighbors throughout the community. Neighborhoods with apartment buildings or complexes need to create that same dynamic, using the building as the basic unit (although within it, each floor or each wing of each floor may have a watch captain). The link to the wider community comes when the organized building also starts to focus on the street, and to cooperate with residents of other dwellings in its crime prevention efforts. The means by which a broader community organization supports its block and apartment watches—regular communication, new ideas, and assistance in solving problems—are discussed in Section 4.3 on crime prevention maintenance techniques.

When gathering together the component parts of the community organization structure, whether in setting up a program or expanding an existing one, it is important to create a means for sharing thoughts and setting goals democratically. Community forums or congresses bring residents together to define issues and priorities for future activity. It was through an annual community forum that the Unified Vailsburg Service Organization in Newark decided to begin crime prevention work. Formal representation or voting within community groups can serve as a mechanism for goal-setting. Existing block clubs can be polled on concerns and priorities; this was the method chosen by SNHS in Minneapolis. (It does have the limitation of excluding those residents not already involved.) Some of these structures and methods are also important for reaching out into the broader community for additional resources, as Chapter 5 will show.

4.2 Program-Building in the Police Department

The Challenges

Developing a crime prevention program structure in police departments entails different questions than for community organizations. The issue is how to incorporate crime prevention into a very formal and complex organization. There are also constraints on how crime prevention will be combined with the way the department operates. Thus, although neighborhood crime prevention can ease a number of the problems faced by urban police departments, and many departments have the motivation to start such a program, it is often difficult for them to do so. The most important challenges are these:

- it involves changing the priorities of current police work;
- it depends on convincing officers that crime prevention is a major goal and that it works; and
- it requires different skills on the part of police officers.

The change in priorities concerns shifting the hierarchy of crimes that guides departments in allocating resources and guides officers in their response to calls. There are typically no rewards for dealing with disorderly streets or vandalism, since this rarely results in credit for arrests. But problems like these are at the heart of what makes many residents fearful. Neighborhood crime prevention involves a broad definition of crime-fighting and a willingness to respond to what residents see as the crime problem. This can entail even less glamorous police tasks than the usual. At the same time, neighborhood crime prevention may seem a more costly approach for departments, since it requires the police to expand their scope of attention. Although resident participation and shared responsibility can balance this demand, shifting to this kind of policing is made more difficult by the pervasive shortage of funds and personnel in urban departments.

In addition to changing departmental priorities, it is often necessary to convince individual police officers that crime prevention is worthwhile. This may take some effort, since attitudes and expectations about policing will not change overnight. The feeling that crime prevention is not "real" police work can be tackled with an awareness program to

Police officers need strong person-to-person skills for working in partnership with neighborhood residents

convince all officers that crime prevention is important and that it works. Part of this program might involve selecting outstanding officers for crime prevention assignments. Their good reputation and the respect they command can help impress other officers that crime prevention is a significant part of police work.

A third important challenge for police is the different skills required for officers involved in neighborhood crime prevention. They are primarily the person-to-person skills of communicating and organizing. Many officers would feel awkward or uncomfortable talking to a citizens' group or giving a presentation at a meeting. Departments with community relations or more conventional crime prevention programs tend to have a few sworn personnel who specialize in addressing the community, relieving everyone else of the obligation. But in neighborhood crime prevention, all the officers involved need skills, not just to *address* residents, but to foster two-way communication. There may even be a need for officers to act as community organizers, reaching out to convince people that collective action against crime can work. These person-to-person skills are important to a program's success. They are essential for establishing a real partnership between the police and the community—the cornerstone for neighborhood crime prevention.

In Chapter 3, we discussed some incentives for change in police departments. Reorienting the reward system, building in career paths, and providing additional training are ways to help make the police willing and able to be full partners with the community. There are also important structural options for combining crime prevention with other aspects of police work. Police managers will need to consider how their departments can meet these challenges and what kind of structure will most help them do so.

Police Crime Prevention Structure: Two Models

The two primary models for police crime prevention programs discussed in this manual are drawn from Detroit, Michigan, and San Diego, California. Although the programs in these two cities have very different structures, both are based on a strong orientation toward neighborhood crime prevention, with high community involvement. Changing priorities and encouraging new skills have helped both departments build their programs.

The Detroit Crime Prevention Section is probably the largest police crime prevention unit in the country. It is housed in police headquarters and reports to the Chief. The department has assigned 150 officers to the section and dedicates a budget of $8.5 million to crime prevention. Officers are detailed to the central section, the precincts, 50 mini-stations across the city, and special target area offices. Before crime prevention began, there was only a precinct structure with community relations officers.

The Crime Prevention Section has identified three target areas

in which current program efforts are concentrated. In these areas, crime prevention officers act as community organizers, in conjunction with local neighborhood organizations whenever possible and on their own if necessary. Also in the target areas are special tactical enforcement units to help increase police visibility.

The Crime Prevention Section has responsibility for taking the idea of crime prevention to the community and gaining neighborhood residents as allies against crime. However, the organizational structure of crime prevention in the department reflects certain internal tensions. Although new police officers receive crime prevention training at the Police Academy, the more senior officers are often resistant to the idea, feeling it is not "real police work." As a result, it has proven difficult for crime prevention activities to be carried out through the precincts. For example, mini-stations were originally staffed by the precincts, with the result that the officers were sometimes rotated daily and their duties to the precinct command took precedence over community contacts. In 1980, the mini-stations were reorganized so that they report to the central Crime Prevention Section. Permanent assignments were made so that officers could develop working relationships in the neighborhoods, and the demands of calls for service (except emergencies) were removed so that full time could be devoted to crime prevention. Even now, although each precinct still has a crime prevention officer, this officer's time is divided between crime prevention duties and regular precinct work.

The Detroit Police Department has basically made three choices about the structure for crime prevention:

- it has *centralized* crime prevention administration under a highly supportive Chief of Police;
- it has made *permanent, non-rotating staff assignments* to the target area offices; and
- it has fostered *specialization* in crime prevention work among its personnel.

These choices, in combination with the high priority placed on neighborhood policing by the Chief and his willingness to allow the exercise of discretion by officers in how they meet community needs, have created a formidable example of police-based neighborhood crime prevention.

The San Diego Police Department's Public Affairs Unit contrasts strikingly with Detroit's Crime Prevention Section, yet it too serves as a potential model for departments that seek to establish or expand crime prevention work in urban neighborhoods. San Diego's central Crime Prevention staff, part of Public Affairs, is comprised of only six people. The crime prevention program, however, is carried out by virtually *all* members of the department. Every patrol officer is required to attend or conduct community meetings and to work with Community Alert groups on his or her beat. The department believes that every police officer must be involved in and committed to crime prevention work in the community for the program to be successful. Although this approach takes a long time to implement, crime prevention becomes truly integrated into daily police operations.

Resistance from citizens *and* from department personnel had to be overcome during program implementation. Although the crime prevention effort began in 1972, it has only been in the last two years that the program actually encompasses the entire city. Residents' willingness to take on responsibility for crime prevention has become stronger as crime has become a greater problem and as they have gained trust in the police.

Resistance from within the department came from older personnel, with a more traditional view of police roles and functions. In order to overcome this resistance, the Chief of Police created procedures that require all patrol officers to do crime prevention work. The major factors that made it possible for this approach to succeed in San Diego are the youth and growth of the department. The average patrol officer is in his or her early 20s. The department has been able to incorporate the theories of community-oriented policing and crime prevention into the training of new recruits, who appear to accept this broadened definition of police responsibilities. But the biggest selling point in gaining cooperation from police personnel is the positive experiences of the patrol officers in their daily work; they have become more effective in their jobs because the community is an ally in crime prevention, and the department has rewarded them for that increased effectiveness.

Most of the police-initiated crime prevention activity in San Diego begins in one of the eight area storefronts. These offices are run by permanently assigned community relations personnel, with community service officers as aides. They report to the central Public Affairs Unit but are responsible for generating and scheduling the neighborhood meetings at which area-based patrol officers take the lead. Patrol officer shift assignments typically last about three months and beat assignments about a year, allowing some familiarity with residents to develop. Area commanders are required to staff community meetings with officers from the second shift.

Thus, the San Diego Police Department's structural choices for crime prevention have involved:

- considerable *decentralization* of crime prevention administration through area commands;
- *full rotation of staff assignments* for community contacts, except for the eight storefront officers; and
- *specialization limited* to the central staff and the storefront officers.

However, these choices are not totally clearcut. A brief experiment with full decentralization (area commands taking charge of the storefronts and community contacts) showed great differences in the attitudes, support, and commitment of the area commanders to crime prevention. As a result, these responsibilities were transferred back to the central unit.

Despite contrasts in *centralization, rotation,* and *specialization,* these two models of police-initiated crime prevention work have important similarities. The Chiefs of both departments have given their full support to the philosophy of neighborhood crime prevention through community involvement. They have shown their commitment by

dedicating large numbers of officers and staff time to crime prevention activities. They have built the political support from the mayor and city council which is necessary for having budgets approved. The head of the San Diego program points out that support from the Chief is also required to buffer against the continuous demands of other police work. Second, both programs are managed for results: clear objectives are set with assigned responsibilities and implementation time frames, and crime prevention work is credited toward officer performance and promotion. Both target on a neighborhood level and both work in cooperation with individual neighborhoods to develop tactics and strategies. Also, both have built-in maintenance procedures (discussed below) designed to provide long-term support to residents involved in crime prevention.

One other parallel is less obvious but very important. In both programs, the personnel responsible for making community contacts and helping the neighborhood organize have *considerable discretion* in how they do so. It is this discretion, coupled with knowledge of local problems and concerns based on person-to-person contact, that allows the program to target effectively by approaching crime and disorder differently in each neighborhood.

The two models presented here are by no means the only structural options for police departments developing neighborhood crime prevention programs. Size, age, fiscal situation, and leadership priorities will influence each department differently. The examples illustrate innovative methods developed in two very different cities to create an alliance against crime between residents and the police.

4.3 Keeping Going

Whether a crime prevention program is based in the police department or in a community organization, it can be effective only as long as neighborhood participation is maintained. Neighborhood Watch signs and Operation ID stickers do not prevent crime. These outward signs of neighborhood organization may have a deterrent effect initially, but if they are not backed up by citizen awareness, it will take little time for a criminal to determine that no one is really watching the neighborhood. Whistles and shriek alarms do not function in a void either. They will be of no use to the victim if neighbors are not trained to take proper action when they hear them, or if residents' concern for helping each other is not maintained.

Crime prevention programs must therefore be structured for durability. Even if crime and disorder are reduced in the neighborhood, they will recur without continuing efforts toward prevention. Crime prevention activity by itself is difficult to maintain. People become bored with watching and patrolling. The more successful the program is at reducing crime, the more difficult it will be to keep people involved. Once the problems of crime lessen, people begin to feel secure, to feel that the problems will not return to their neighborhood, and thus they slacken their efforts. Crime prevention efforts must therefore have other activities and events structured into them, making maintenance techniques an integral part of the program.

Maintaining Interest in Crime Prevention

In Detroit, several volunteers active in crime prevention received a special boost: they were featured in a national television commercial with McGruff, the trench-coated crime prevention dog, showing how they help "take a bite out of crime." The commercial was based on the real incident involving John Petross' decision to stay in his neighborhood and organize a mobile patrol. In the commercial, he is shown with another patrol member, reporting an attempted burglary to the police by CB radio. For John Petross, teaming up with McGruff was a sizeable reward for his efforts in working with the community. It was the Detroit Police Department that brought him this recognition.

Not many crime prevention programs can offer a national television spot to their participants, but they can all offer its main component: recognition. The usual rewards for volunteer effort lie mostly in satisfaction at a job well done, at small changes in the neighborhood, at occasional thank-yous from people helped. One very important function for any program is to increase those rewards, recognizing volunteer efforts more publicly through awards, certificates, an annual dinner, or a party. Events co-sponsored by the police department and the community to acknowledge volunteer work were cited by many of the volunteers we interviewed as a real boost to morale and continuing involvement. And continuing involvement is what makes volunteers so valuable a resource.

In Detroit, the Chief of Police has developed two mechanisms for recognizing major contributions from volunteers. His Crime Prevention Advisory Committee includes representatives of many community organizations, who have the opportunity to discuss problems and solutions with the Chief and representatives of other groups at least once a month. Second, there are community meetings held in a different neighborhood each month, with the Chief presiding and giving out awards for volunteer work. These meetings are also having an impact on the way crime prevention is viewed in the department; precinct commanders, who initially attended them under orders, seem to be gaining enthusiasm about the value of the crime prevention effort.

Many groups also cite community events as an enjoyable and effective means of maintaining interest. Flea markets, fairs, parties, pot-luck suppers—whether at the block level or for a whole neighborhood—keep people involved in local activities and help them get to know their neighbors better. A number of neighborhoods have held races in which both police and residents ran. These events can also be an occasion for recognizing the efforts of active volunteers.

Informal events like these can make a surprising difference in sustaining residents' enthusiasm and keeping a program going. There are also more formal means of maintenance which can become part of the program's structure.

Crime Prevention Maintenance Techniques

In terms of program activities, we have seen that crime prevention is an ongoing effort rather than a set of activities which is started and completed. The nature of many crime

Detroit's Chief of Police presents certificates to crime prevention volunteers at a community meeting

prevention tactics—watches, patrols, escort services, Whistle-STOP—demands continuing volunteer commitment. Even when disorder, fear, and crime in the neighborhood are noticeably reduced by citizen involvement, the passage of time and the demands of ordinary life seem to erode volunteer effort. In addition, people move and new neighbors must be recruited. As a result, it is universally recognized that crime prevention programs must have a way to help maintain participation and support the active components to keep them alive and working.

Probably the most basic maintenance technique is to recontact activity leaders—block and apartment watch captains, patrol coordinators, etc.—on a regular schedule. Similarly, these volunteers also need to keep in touch with all of their watchers and patrollers. Especially when they first become involved, neighbors may have a "wait and see" attitude about whether the effort will be serious; frequent contacts will encourage their greater commitment. Later, those contacts are needed to refresh their interest.

Different programs have set up their recontacting systems in a variety of ways. In San Diego, the patrol officer who helped start a community alert group is responsible for reporting on its activities to the area commander and the area storefront every three months. In Minneapolis, a telephone chain was established among block captains; there is a coordinator for every two to four blocks, who is called by the coordinator for a larger area, and so on. (However, the program was careful to ask each volunteer's agreement before the names were shared.) In Detroit, the volunteers who help staff the mini-stations do a great deal of recontacting to find out about activities and problems. The police officers in the mini-stations and target area offices then work with watches to solve problems of motivation or follow-through.

In Seattle, when research showed that the crime prevention program's effect on burglary only lasted 12 to 18 months, a maintenance program for the block captains was devised. It had four elements:[5]

1. a short questionnaire, to help the captain identify problems and areas needing followup (e.g., how many families actually made home security improvements);
2. personal visits to block captains by staff, to talk about problems with turnover, training, or leadership and to help develop solutions to them;

[5]Abt Associates Inc., *Exemplary Project Validation Report—Project Candidate: City of Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program* (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc., May 13, 1976), pp. 206-218. For more documentation on the Seattle program, see Paul Cirel et al., *An Exemplary Project: Community Crime Prevention Program—Seattle, Washington* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, September 1977).

TABLE 4-1

Summary of Maintenance Techniques for Crime Prevention Programs

For Watch Captains, Patrol Leaders, etc.	For Watchers, Patrollers, etc.
Regular contacts from program (leaders or staff)	Neighborhood events, such as fairs or picnics
Phone chain or captains' network	Volunteer recognition
Volunteer recognition	Meetings with films or speakers
Personal visits	Regular contacts from captain
Steering committee of captains	Leadership development
Evaluation and technical assistance	Meetings with other blocks and organizations
Organizing of adjacent blocks/buildings	Activities around other neighborhood issues
Advanced formalized training	Community organization newsletter

3. a network of block captains, to introduce them to those on adjacent blocks or to ask their aid in organizing those blocks; and
4. a neighborhood-wide meeting of captains, to acquaint them with each other and with new police personnel in the area.

Although a questionnaire may seem somewhat formal, it can help captains locate problems. This, when coupled with support in creating solutions, may well be a more effective kind of maintenance for the long term than simply steady recontacting.

In addition to recontacting and assisting block and apartment watches, and along with the community events discussed above, there are other ways to maintain local effort. For tenant patrols, the New York City Housing Authority helps instill pride and maintain participation by providing armbands, identification cards, and T-shirts and nylon jackets inscribed with the names of the housing project and the tenant patrol group. A headquarters is found for the patrol whenever possible, and socializing is encouraged with light refreshments.[6] In Detroit, the police department has invited some community participants to attend its basic crime prevention training course; block captains and community leaders are offered post-training with advanced crime prevention information.

Crime prevention programs can sponsor meetings at which speakers or films are presented on related subjects. Self-defense, fire safety, and the criminal justice system are some of the topics used. Block or apartment watches can meet to share information on events or activities. However, too regular a schedule of meetings or only short intervals between them seems to exhaust energies early rather than sustaining them for the long run.

Community or crime prevention program newsletters can be a helpful maintenance tool, since news and information about crime prevention activities, and especially accounts of program achievements, encourage further effort. Some newsletters, like that of the Crary-St. Mary Community Council in Detroit, have included local crime statistics with police commentary. If block or building captains deliver the papers, it provides a natural occasion for keeping in touch with participants and recruiting new ones. Finally, blending crime prevention with work on other neighborhood issues may be the most important maintenance technique of all. As we discussed in Chapter 3, a broad agenda helps sustain interest and generates many more opportunities for impact on the neighborhood.

Table 4-1 summarizes the techniques discussed here for maintaining the energies of crime prevention participants. These activities can themselves be carried out by volunteers. They help ensure a long-lived and successful anti-crime effort.

[6]Robert Ledee, "Tenant Patrol," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* (July 1975): 29-31; reprinted in National Crime Prevention Institute, *Community Crime Reporting Programs: Information Package* (Louisville, KY: National Crime Prevention Institute, n.d.).

CHAPTER 5

MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR CRIME PREVENTION

We have discussed the importance of volunteers and staff in running a neighborhood crime prevention program. People are a program's main resource, but there are other important resources which you can learn to recognize and tap. This chapter identifies critical types of resources — neighborhood businesses and organizations, "in-kind" donations, training and technical assistance, and funding — and suggests how you can mobilize them to help your program run as effectively as possible.

These are difficult times for setting up or expanding programs, even within existing organizations. A deep recession has compounded the economic difficulties of many large cities; growing cities in the sunbelt also face fiscal constraints due to the "tax revolt." Inflation has strained police department budgets, making it necessary to look outside for additional resources. The series of federal programs that provided substantial grants to police departments and community organizations through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has come to an end. There is increasing competition for state and local resources, and the economic downturn is likely to limit private sector contributions.

This, then, is the bad news. The good news is that crime prevention programs all over the country are surviving by taking maximum advantage of existing resources. Some of these resources went relatively unnoticed when grants were plentiful and budgets growing. In other cases, opportunities have actually improved (for example, more and more retired people with useful skills are staying active). There is a range of ways to maintain and expand crime prevention efforts despite hard times, as examples from operating programs suggest.

What does neighborhood crime prevention cost? There is no single answer; programs vary greatly in scale. Each program's needs depend on its setting and the strategy developed to combat the crime problem. No matter what a program's scope, we have found that official budgets actually tell very little about what goes into effective crime prevention, because in no case do they really show the full range of certain kinds of support, especially volunteer time, donated skills, and in-kind contributions. Budgets are usually accountings of cash allocations only, while the resource question is much broader than that. In fact, this chapter considers cash needs and fundraising last, because programs will have to draw upon other means of support to the greatest extent possible. Fundraising is certainly important, but there are other (and, in these times, easier) ways to support many facets of crime prevention efforts.

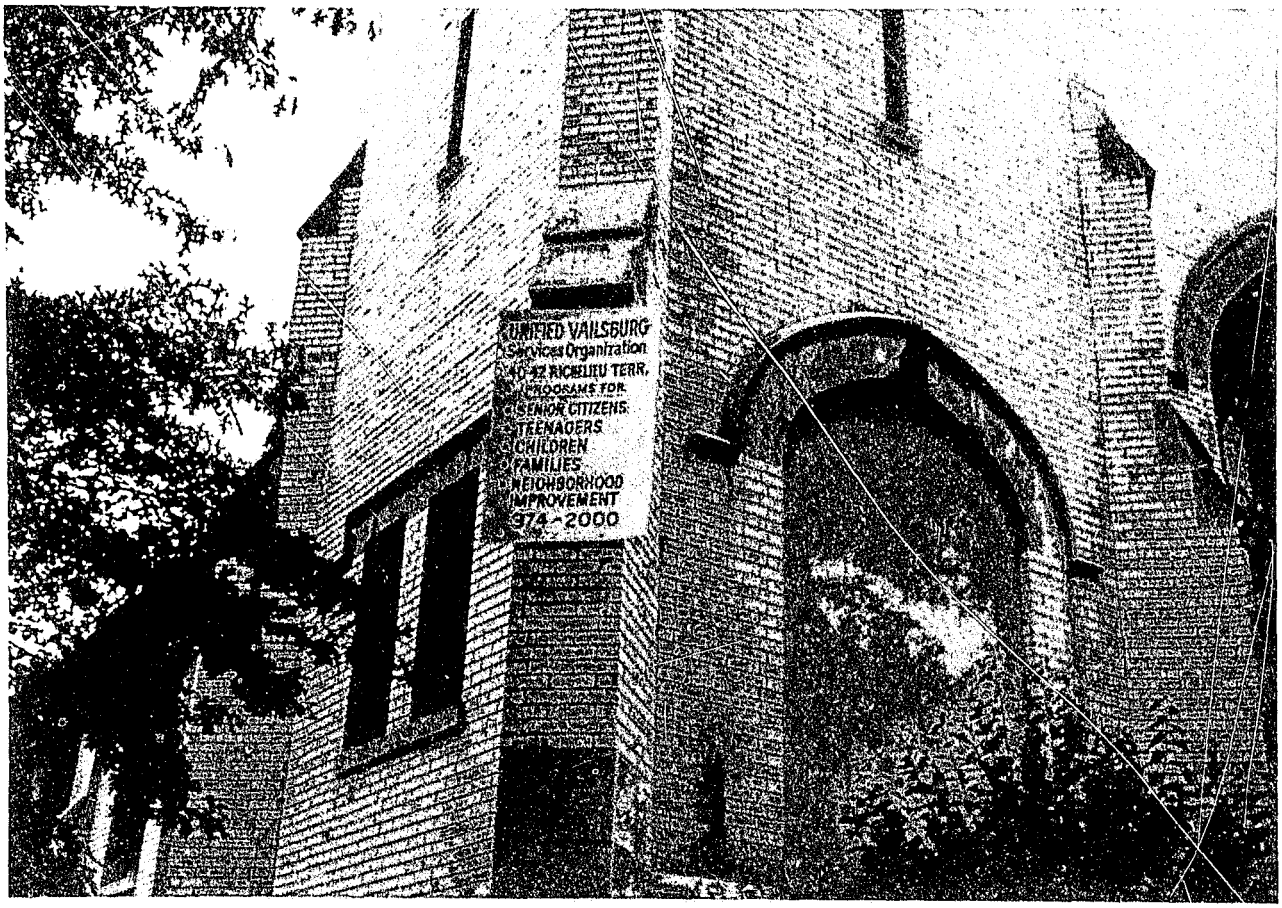
Mobilizing resources means taking a careful look at your own program. If you can talk about how you will increase security or the sense of community your program will promote, you can show businesses and organizations that it is in their self-interest to help, whether through in-kind assistance or financial contributions. The program is a valuable resource for them, too. Setting clear goals will help to explain what you hope to do, and monitoring the program as you go along can demonstrate what has been accomplished. (See Chapter 6 for information on monitoring.)

As previously noted, the resource issue is one of the strongest arguments for working through existing organizations in the community. The leadership, membership, contacts — in fact, the organizational structure itself — provide a core of ready resources and the means to tap others. As you read this chapter, begin by thinking about the kinds of support that are already available through the police department and through neighborhood agencies and groups. Consider all the non-cash options. You may find the resource picture as a whole far more encouraging than the times would suggest.

5.1 Resources in the Neighborhood

A broad range of neighborhood elements can become involved in crime prevention efforts. A crime prevention program should try to reach and involve them all: business, industry, religious institutions, social service agencies, unions, schools, scout troops, and other organized groups. The mutual exchange involved in crime prevention may generate the greatest interest. Perhaps these groups have particular crime problems — a series of church vandalisms or an incident of child molesting near an elementary school — which can become a focus of crime prevention activity. In return, they can become sources of participation, volunteers, small contributions, and useful skills and contacts.

Local businesses and industry can be involved in crime prevention programs. In a number of police departments, the central crime prevention unit is active in industrial and commercial as well as residential security. Efforts can be made to link this business-oriented crime prevention work with resident activity in the surrounding neighborhood, to everyone's benefit. For example, in San Diego, where theft of heavy equipment from construction sites is a growing problem, the Crime Prevention staff suggested that reciprocal block watching — construction workers keeping an eye on nearby houses during the day, and neighbors keeping an eye on the building sites at night — would be to everyone's advantage. In Detroit, police in the crime prevention target areas work with both business associations and residents,



Community institutions often help out by providing space for crime prevention programs

who sometimes need to be brought together to dispel each group's belief that the other is to blame for local crime.

Community-based programs also frequently work with local businesses. In Minneapolis, another part of SNHS's work involves trying to help businesses revitalize a small commercial area in the neighborhood. The intersection is avoided by many residents because of loitering and purse-snatching, and fixing it up should help solve these problems and improve business. In the Edgewater neighborhood, the Edgewater Community Council is trying to help a local jewelry store owner set up a blue light program (which alerts the next store if a crime is in progress) on a busy commercial street.

Religious institutions can provide a wide range of resources to crime prevention efforts in the community. They can be a prime means of communication; in Edgewater, an association of clergy works closely with the crime prevention program, and anti-crime activities and achievements are discussed from pulpits throughout the neighborhood. Churches and synagogues provided meeting space to the Wise Towers, Southside Minneapolis, and Edgewater programs, and an empty church became the headquarters for the Unified Vailsburg Services Organization in Newark. The Baptist Center in Detroit not only houses the crime prevention office in Cass Corridor but has drawn almost 400 volunteers from congregations all over the metropolitan area to assist with free installation of locks for poor and elderly tenants.

A governing or advisory board may be the most effective way to mobilize these resources in the neighborhood. Boards vary in their responsibilities. Some have actual authority over the program activities by virtue of election or charter (usually within a neighborhood organization), while others have input or act more as sounding boards for decisions made by another body or individual. In either case, boards are an excellent means of communication and access to resources. Table 5-1 gives three examples of crime prevention program boards from the sites we visited. In each, board positions have been used to recognize important actual or potential contributors to crime prevention efforts (such as staff from city offices or youth programs), make firm linkages with other programs that help residents (such as those for the elderly or crime victims), and create communications channels.

5.2 In-Kind Help

"In-kind" donations are actual goods and services, as distinct from cash gifts, that are given to crime prevention programs. It can be far easier to obtain in-kind help than to raise money for certain items. For example, people are often reluctant to give funding for such a basic expense as rent, but institutions in the community may well have extra space that a program can use for free or for a

nominal cost to cover utilities. When budgets are tight, it is hard to pay for the little things, like coffee and doughnuts, that help people feel more comfortable at a first block club or tenant organization meeting. However, a local grocery or bakery might well be willing to donate the food. In Knoxville, Tennessee, the police department has received contributions of soft drinks and potato chips for community meetings from the Coca Cola Company. The San Diego Police Department Public Affairs Unit has a 35-foot mobile van for use at county fairs; lock displays and brochures were provided by San Diego companies, and a local foundation grant paid for the van. Michigan Bell Telephone aids the Detroit Police Department's telephone reassurance program for the elderly: approximately sixty Bell secretaries contact seniors during each working day. Speidel contributed medical ID bracelets for a police department senior citizens program in Chicago, and in Minneapolis, a lumber company contributed materials for SNHS's security workshops — which were conducted by an ex-burglar!

Be creative in looking for forms of in-kind help in the community. There are numerous possibilities. In Chicago, for example, a group of volunteer accountants, called CPAs for the Public Interest, provides free technical assistance in accounting and bookkeeping to local non-profit organizations. Other forms of in-kind assistance from local businesses can include loaning audio-visual equipment; offering advertising advice for brochures or newsletters; contributing used office equipment and supplies; providing legal advice; printing and copying program materials on company equipment; using the mailroom for postage, mailing, or shipping; and loaning company vehicles or helping with other forms of transportation.[1] Time on radio and television and space in newspapers and community newsletters for articles on crime prevention are also valuable forms of in-kind assistance.

Mutual help often plays a role in getting in-kind gifts. For example, a shopping center may be willing to offer a storefront at reduced rental because of the benefit of having a police mini-station there. The small printing plant that has received a security survey from a police crime prevention unit may be willing to donate the labor to print brochures on home security. Local businesses that benefit from a program's work on physical security, street order, and even street clean-ups are likely to respond positively to requests for in-kind help.

TABLE 5-1

Examples of Crime Prevention Program Boards for Resource Access

Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods, Urban Crime Prevention Program Advisory Board

- Nine NCN member agencies with crime prevention programs
- Police Department
- Fire Department
- Mayor's Office
- Newark Redevelopment and Housing Authority
- Insurance companies
- State Insurance Department
- Youth programs
- Board of Education
- Public utility companies
- Banks

Southside (Minneapolis) Neighborhood Crime Prevention Advisory Council

- Neighborhood residents
- Police Department Third Precinct
- City of Minneapolis Community Crime Prevention Program
- Crime Victim Center
- Juvenile Advocate Program
- Sabbathani Community Center

Chief's Crime Prevention Advisory Committee, Detroit Police Department

- Community organizations
- Business associations
- Security industry representatives
- Churches
- Programs for youth
- City of Detroit Senior Citizen Department
- Programs for the elderly

5.3 Training and Technical Assistance

Training and technical assistance can help police departments and community organizations with certain aspects of neighborhood crime prevention. They help programs set up or improve their work in community organizing, holding public meetings, management, record- and bookkeeping, fundraising, crime prevention tactics, and program planning. From the range of topics covered in each of these areas, some may address your group's specific needs. For example, the National Crime Prevention Institute's courses include crime prevention technology and programming, burglary and armed robbery prevention, physical and electronic security, and crime prevention theory, practice, and management. The institute trains police and neighborhood groups. At Boston's Community Training and Assistance Center (CTAC), these points are a focus in program planning and development: needs assessments, program planning and monitoring, using resources — human, material, financial — cost-effectively, citizen participation in program development, interagency collaboration, and evaluation.

[1]This list is compiled from Sam Sternberg, Regional Young Adult Project, *National Directory of Corporate Charity, California Edition;* quoted in The Grantsmanship Center, *A Source Book: A Catalog of Training Programs, Publications, Resources, and Ideas on Fundraising and Management from The Grantsmanship Center* (Los Angeles: The Grantsmanship Center, n.d.), p. 4.

Assistance is available whether your group wants overall guidance or help on a specific topic. In addition, some training and technical assistance is aimed at specific population groups. For example, the American Association of Retired Persons offers programs which train law enforcement personnel to work effectively with older persons — whether as victims, witnesses, people in need of assistance, or as volunteers. One of their courses shows how to set up an older volunteer/worker program in crime analysis.

Local, State, and National Sources

The organizations offering training and technical assistance in areas like those mentioned above include local groups, state agencies, and national organizations. As federal funding for crime prevention has been reduced, some centers which were active in providing such assistance to police departments and community organizations have closed down. Fortunately, a fair number remain in business, and other innovative ways have been found to meet training needs.

On the local level, neighborhood resource centers exist in several cities. These centers provide written materials and information about other groups involved in similar activities, so that problems can be discussed and solutions shared. For example, the Neighborhood Development and Conservation Center in Oklahoma City does workshops on organizing, networking, non-profit formation, and volunteer mobilization (among other topics), as well as running a library and a tool-lending project. In Detroit, the Neighborhood Information Exchange publishes a newsletter with information on forums, workshops, and community meetings; runs a 24-hour telephone recording of upcoming events; and works with the neighborhood resource centers in public libraries to provide up-to-date publications of use to neighborhood organizations. In the Boston area, CTAC found that many organizations had limited access to information and relevant technical assistance; the agency responded by offering conferences, information sharing, and a resource pool of 40 specialists in areas such as funding, organizational development, and networking.

Another significant local initiative in providing technical assistance was launched in Newark, when the police department's Crime Prevention Unit taught a training course for neighborhood volunteers through the local community college. The course concentrated on crime prevention organizing and tactics. It not only enabled new groups to start anti-crime efforts, but also allowed the police department to reach more neighborhoods within a tightly constrained budget.

Most states also offer assistance to local crime prevention groups through state crime prevention programs and associations. Their services range from distributing crime prevention brochures and other printed materials to offering in-depth training and technical assistance. Many states have offices that provide technical assistance specifically for police departments interested in expanding and/or reorganizing crime prevention activities, and a number of associations of police personnel also give crime prevention courses. For an up-to-date listing of the crime prevention agencies in your state and the services they offer, an essential source is the *International Crime Prevention Directory*, from the International Society of Crime Prevention Practitioners.[2]

A number of national programs provide training and technical assistance on crime prevention to both community groups and police departments. Some offer materials, others sponsor workshops or provide on-site consultations. Some, like the National Crime Prevention Institute, focus exclusively on crime prevention, while others, such as the Grantsmanship Center, offer more general services which can help crime prevention sponsors with broader organizational issues.

Table 5-2 lists organizations that provide training and technical assistance. The list is by no means exhaustive. Instead, it suggests the types of assistance available and the kinds of organizations to which police- and community-based programs can turn for assistance.

Table 5-3 lists a number of national crime prevention organizations; again, the list is not exhaustive. These organizations may provide a basic framework on which to build local programs, give a sense of the broader crime prevention picture, and help communities share tactics and approaches. Some of them also provide training and technical assistance. They may offer ways of helping and adding to your local program. For example, taking advantage of the booklets and pamphlets provided by the National Neighborhood Watch or the Crime Prevention Coalition might save your group from duplicating the effort to produce similar materials. Many police departments take advantage of CRIME STOPPERS and advertise a "crime of the week." Materials from these programs are widely available, but they will need to be adapted and used according to local neighborhood conditions.

5.4 Funding

We have put funding at the end of this discussion because it is probably the most difficult resource to obtain. Only after you have determined the very furthest you can get in crime prevention activities with volunteers, donated skills, local resources, in-kind help, and technical assistance is it possible to assess the level of funding absolutely essential to the effort. Knowing *why* you need the money is an extremely important part of approaching funding sources in a convincing manner. This is one of the most persuasive arguments for monitoring and evaluating the program as you go along. Community organizations do not approach local industry as often as they might, because they are not used to "packaging" the organization as one that deserves investment. If you can demonstrate what the program has done and what it can accomplish — costs it will save local taxpayers, increased security, a stronger sense of community — investors will be more interested in funding your work.[3] This is why basic steps in fundraising

[2]The guide was compiled by the Crime Prevention Center in the Office of the California Attorney General. For copies and more information about the society, contact the Executive Secretary: Jill E. Walters, P.O. Box 1001, 30 E. Broad St., Columbus, Ohio 43216.

[3]Doug Skowron, "Raising Money From the Business Sector," in David Tobin and Gerson Green, eds., *Organizing Against Crime* (Washington, D.C.: VOLUNTEER, The National Center for Citizen Involvement, January 1980).

TABLE 5-2

Selected Sources of Training and Technical Assistance in Crime Prevention

The *American Association of Retired Persons, Criminal Justice Services,* provides crime prevention training manuals and slide/tape presentations as a public service, and offers a structured course on helping law enforcement officers deal more effectively with senior citizens.

Criminal Justice Services
Program Department
American Association of Retired Persons
1909 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20049
(202) 728-4363

The *Civic Action Institute* offers training, crime prevention materials, and technical assistance to community groups and local government personnel to plan and implement crime prevention programs.

The Civic Action Institute
Box 39208
Washington, DC 20016
(202) 279-6717

The *Grantsmanship Center* offers small group training workshops on grantsmanship, fundraising, and program management, and publishes the bi-monthly *Grantsmanship Center News,* along with newsletters and reprints.

The Grantsmanship Center
1031 S. Grand Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90015
(213) 749-4721 or (800) 421-9512

Midwest Academy provides training and consulting services for organizations of low- and moderate-income people in areas such as organizing, planning, staffing, and fundraising.

Midwest Academy
600 W. Fullerton Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 975-3670

The *National Center for Community Crime Prevention* features conferences and workshops to help community groups and law enforcement officials learn to plan, develop, implement, and evaluate community crime prevention programs.

The National Center for Community Crime Prevention
Box 37456
Washington, DC 20013
(202) 783-6215

The *National Crime Prevention Institute* offers an extensive array of training courses for law enforcement personnel and community groups, and serves as a clearinghouse for crime prevention books, films, and brochures.

National Crime Prevention Institute
School of Justice Administration
Shelby Campus
University of Louisville
Louisville, KY 40292
(502) 588-6987

The *National Criminal Justice Association* gives assistance in the development and implementation of statewide crime prevention programs. In particular, it offers management, administration, and organizational training for these programs.

The National Criminal Justice Association
Suite 305
444 North Capitol Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 347-4900

The *National Foot Patrol Center,* funded by the C.S. Mott Foundation and housed in Michigan State University's School of Criminal Justice, will provide training and technical assistance on a national level to law enforcement agencies and communities interested in establishing foot patrol programs.

National Foot Patrol Center
Michigan State University
School of Criminal Justice
560 Baker Hall
East Lansing, MI 48824
(517) 353-7133

The *Texas Crime Prevention Institute* conducts a broad year-round curriculum of crime prevention courses for the Texas law enforcement community and crime prevention practitioners nationwide. It also distributes brochures, course manuals, and films.

Texas Crime Prevention Institute
The Institute of Criminal Justice Studies
Southwest Texas State University
San Marcos, TX 78666
(512) 392-0166

TABLE 5-3

National Crime Prevention Organizations

The American Coalition Against Crime. Criminal justice specialists and corporation executives have formed this organization to emphasize successful practices in community and business crime prevention programs. It is selecting 100 cities in which to offer relevant materials and training programs.

The American Coalition Against Crime
1210 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 452-1156

Crime Prevention Coalition. The coalition, a group of more than 70 national and state organizations and federal agencies, sponsors the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" campaign featuring McGruff, the crime prevention dog. This public education program includes public service advertising, pamphlets, booklets, and other written materials on a wide variety of crime prevention topics. The coalition also provides training and technical assistance.

Crime Prevention Coalition
805 15th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 393-7141

CRIME STOPPERS. Local chapters of this Albuquerque, New Mexico-based organization sponsor "crime-line" telephone reporting projects, which offer anonymity, rewards for information on crime, and additional rewards for those who testify in court. Television spots on an unsolved "crime of the week" are also featured. The program defines distinct roles for citizens, the police, and media.

CRIME STOPPERS
4137 Montgomery NE
Albuquerque, NM 87109
(505) 841-6556

HANDS UP Program. HANDS UP, sponsored by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, is a national volunteer effort. Through educational programs on crime, adult and juvenile crime prevention programs, and juvenile justice and court-related projects, HANDS UP aims to increase national awareness of the citizen's role in crime prevention and to encourage the formation of local groups.

General Federation of Women's Clubs
HANDS UP Office
1728 N Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 347-3168

National Association of Town Watch. The National Association of Town Watch serves as a clearinghouse for community groups to exchange crime prevention techniques and tips, and to disseminate local crime prevention news. The program aims to provide national affiliation and recognition for local crime prevention efforts, and offers fundraising programs, promotional material, training guides, and technical assistance.

National Association of Town Watch
P.O. Box 769
Havertown, PA 19083
(215) 649-6662

National Neighborhood Watch. National Neighborhood Watch provides guidelines and materials for implementation of local neighborhood watch programs by law enforcement agencies and citizens' organizations. In addition, this anti-burglary program includes security inspections, Operation ID, citizen crime reporting projects, and citizen patrols. Decals, stickers, and booklets are among the materials available.

National Neighborhood Watch
National Sheriffs' Association
1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 872-0422

include recordkeeping in the organization as well as researching the funding sources to be approached. It is also important to be able to tell potential funders what the program hopes to achieve. Articulating goals may not have been necessary when setting up the program and getting underway, but it is essential when looking for funds.

Because there are a number of guides to fundraising already available,[4] what follows is a capsule summary of the main potential sources of funds for crime prevention.

Local businesses and manufacturers often make contributions to non-profit groups or charitable causes. Identify companies that have some link to the neighborhood, or that have benefitted from the police department's crime prevention work. Find out whether your state, like Pennsylvania, offers tax credits for corporate contributions to neighborhood causes.[5] Request a *matching* grant against the volunteer effort and in-kind help you have mobilized. Be able to discuss what you are providing the community in return for funding. Raising money from local corporations may make

[4]Doug Skowron, "Raising Money From the Business Sector," and "Organizing for Local Fundraising"; and Jessie Bond, "Private Philanthropy," in Tobin and Green, eds., *Organizing Against Crime;* and Joan Flanagan, *The Grassroots Fundraising Book* (Chicago, IL: Swallow Press, 1977). Also, The Grantsmanship Center can provide excellent information on fundraising; see the listing in Table 5-2.

[5]This is the Pennsylvania Neighborhood Assistance Program, which gives a 50 to 70 percent tax credit to corporations for contributions to non-profit community improvement programs or projects.

them more involved with the community and your group. The more money you are able to raise within your "turf," the more participants will be able to determine your group's direction; heavy dependence on outside sources for funds may mean adjusting your plans to theirs.[6]

Local foundations are far more likely to be concerned about the quality of life in your city than the well-known national foundations. You need to convince them that neighborhood crime prevention can make a significant contribution to enhancing or improving the quality of life locally. Use the public library to identify small foundations set up by local families and businesses. In some cities, there are local grantsmanship libraries. Again, a matching grant can be requested; good records of volunteer time will help your chances.

Voluntary agency fund drives, such as the United Way, have traditionally divided their funds among social service and charitable agencies, rarely supporting community groups. In a number of cities, however, they have begun to recognize community needs and neighborhood organizations. By developing working relationships (or even formal ties, such as a coalition) with agencies that already receive this support, a crime prevention program can gain access to them. Another, complementary approach is to gain a seat on the planning or needs assessment committee of a drive. The Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods took both these initiatives.

Various *city government offices* may be approached by either the police department or the neighborhood organization for crime prevention-related funding and other resources. In Portland, Oregon and in Detroit, community development block grant monies provided home security hardware to tenants and owners unable to pay for it themselves.[7] In New York City and elsewhere, housing authorities that manage public and subsidized housing offer small stipends to tenant patrol coordinators. In Minneapolis, a closed public school became the community center housing the crime prevention program. There are also some opportunities to win contracts from local governments for providing neighborhood-level services. Examples include a hot lunch program for the elderly or pre-school children, or a board-up and maintenance service for city-owned abandoned property. If there is a city-sponsored crime prevention effort, it may be possible to become the designated group in your neighborhood. Naturally, strong police-community working relationships improve your chances of obtaining local government monetary support. So do efforts to keep the neighborhood's city council representative informed about the program's activities and achievements.

Business activities developed by some crime prevention programs provide a small flow of extra funds for general operations. People's Firehouse, in Brooklyn, sells fire alarms and smoke detectors at low cost in association with its anti-arson work. The Edgewater Community Council runs WhistleSTOP; some other groups run tool rentals. On a larger scale, many neighborhood groups around the country have become involved in development activities (especially residential and commercial rehabilitation) that have the potential for economically sustaining the organization as well as revitalizing the neighborhood.

Events such as fairs, flea markets, raffles, and bake sales are a mainstay of many community groups. They rarely raise large sums of money, but they help sustain operations, and they can be quite important to organizational spirit. For these reasons, they should not be overlooked. They are also well-suited to being run by volunteers. *The Grassroots Fundraising Book* points out the importance of careful organizing in putting on a successful fundraising event. This includes keeping in mind what your group already has to make the fundraising project a success (such as members, leaders, seed money, time considerations), what the project hopes to achieve (such as money raised, new members brought in, publicity generated, sources of new income reached, fun), and basic preparations (notification of police, cash boxes, literature on your program, a first-aid kit, etc.).[8]

Formal membership and dues are a feature of some, but not all, crime prevention programs. On the one hand, dues may give residents a sense of vested interest in the anti-crime effort and make them more likely to be active in other ways. Membership can mean a formal (usually voting) voice on issues. Small amounts from dues can be used for coffee, doughnuts, and such. On the other hand, a membership structure can create divisions between insiders and other residents or competition with other local groups. If dues are more than a small amount, they may exclude people who cannot afford them. In general, membership drives should be used as a means of reaching and involving the whole community more than as a means of raising funds.

Mobilizing resources for neighborhood crime prevention takes planning, some research, and a lot of hard work. It is an effort that should not be put aside when things are going well; that is the *best* time to seek additional help and funding. It is best approached steadily, throughout the year, *not* only when a grant is ending or a donation has been used up.

Despite these caveats and despite hard times, crime prevention programs are in a good position to meet their resource needs. The awareness of crime is still increasing, and crime prevention is a new and exciting idea to many people. Nationwide, there is a growing emphasis on volunteer effort. Neighborhood crime prevention efforts can take advantage of these trends and put together the resources to build even more effective, more durable programs.

[6]Skowron, "Organizing for Local Fundraising," p. 6.

[7]Block grant funds are given by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development directly to cities, which are then responsible for distributing the money locally. These funds are most applicable to making physical improvements.

[8]"Organizing a Fundraising Event," from Joan Flanagan, *The Grassroots Fundraising Book;* quoted in the Grantsmanship Center, *A Sourcebook,* p.14.

CHAPTER 6

IS CRIME PREVENTION WORKING?

Monitoring and evaluating are two ways to examine a crime prevention program's efforts to reduce crime, disorder, and fear in the neighborhood. Monitoring means keeping track of the crime prevention activities being carried out. Evaluation means asking whether the activities are having the effect that was intended and are meeting the program's goals—either formal goals or the informal goals implicit in its work. The information gathered from monitoring and evaluation can pinpoint trouble spots and suggest more effective ways to run the program. Together with a clear description of goals, that information also provides the details necessary for rounding up resources, especially funding.

Unfortunately, most crime prevention programs—even some of the most widely praised—put little effort into monitoring and evaluation. While police crime prevention units routinely report on their activities to the departmental chain of command, it is still rare to see a unit take advantage of its crime analysis capabilities and other resources to evaluate the program's effects. In community-based programs, good record-keeping is the exception and not the rule. Evaluations are widely seen as very expensive to carry out, and they are not usually attempted except under grant requirements. But there are some less resource-intensive ways to find which parts of your program are working and how to improve the parts that need help. The effort that does go into monitoring and evaluation is amply rewarded by the program's greater effectiveness and credibility—its ability to convince others that the crime prevention program deserves their help.

6.1 Why You Need to Know

There are four main reasons to pay attention to monitoring and to undertake some evaluation in crime prevention programs. First, monitoring and evaluation are essential tools for mobilizing new resources and making better use of existing resources. They help mobilize resources because:

- they provide documentary evidence of what is being done already;
- they measure the value of volunteer time and other in-kind resources which can be used as a match against grants;
- they show what goals are being met and, where necessary, help in making goals more realistic; and
- they establish the crime prevention program's overall track record.

Chapter 5 mentioned a number of ways in which the information gained through monitoring can be used by community organizations in raising funds. Crime prevention units in police departments can also use monitoring information—for example, the backlog of neighborhood meetings awaiting a crime prevention presentation or the impact of crime prevention work on calls for service—to seek further resources of sworn personnel and support staff within the department. The Chief may be able to obtain commitments of resources from other city agencies by presenting evidence about the neighborhood impact of crime prevention to the mayor or city council.

In addition to mobilizing other resources, monitoring can help the program make better use of existing resources. For example, if an organizer trying to start an apartment watch schedules a second meeting within a few days of the first one, only part of the group initially attending might be able to come. The second meeting does little to speed up the watch's formation, and it takes a third meeting to gain enough participants. Whether the organizer is a police officer, a paid staff member, or a volunteer, that person's time can be more usefully spent than in putting together an unnecessary meeting. This may be a general problem, but no one will recognize the pattern unless someone is *monitoring* the turnout and timing for all the buildings being organized.

Improving the program is a second benefit of monitoring and evaluation. For example, a program which hopes to organize a certain number of block watches in a specific time period and involve a certain number of households on each block can use a record of contacts and attendance to measure its success. If there are problems with the program, staff or volunteers making the contacts can provide some feedback on negative responses. With such monitoring, the organizers can get together with program leadership and examine the problem. Perhaps the way that crime prevention is being introduced makes it sound frightening to the elderly. Perhaps the face-to-face contacts have only been attempted at hours when many people are not home. Identifying even such simple difficulties requires knowing whom the crime prevention program is approaching, at what hours, and their response. Perhaps information obtained for one of the blocks being organized may help work out solutions for other blocks having the same setbacks. Monitoring can show where else the help is needed.

Put more broadly, improving the crime prevention effort requires a thorough flow of information about all parts of the program, coupled with information about what difference each part is making. If the police have conducted a great many home security surveys but few of their suggestions have been followed, it is not likely that opportunities for burglary are being reduced. The police or community group might become disillusioned as burglars continue to strike surveyed homes. However, if someone monitors the number of surveys being done and checks how many households have followed survey recommendations, comparing the figures will indicate one reason why burglaries haven't stopped. This evaluation could also point to possible program improvements, such as providing a list of companies that will install new locks, finding funds to assist those who cannot afford new locks themselves, or having the program (rather than individual tenants) approach a landlord about better building security.

For police-based crime prevention efforts, monitoring and evaluation also aid in transferring program experience from one neighborhood to others. They provide some of the information needed to assess which program components work in particular settings, and they guide the development of schedules and budgets. Of course, the nature of resident concerns in a new area and the neighborhood's social and physical characteristics also affect how well program experience will transfer.

Organizational maintenance is the third area in which monitoring and evaluation benefit crime prevention programs. Good records and the tracking of progress toward goals help insure program continuity when the people involved—leaders, volunteers, or staff—move on. Changes in leadership can be very disruptive, especially if they are sudden and the new leaders have not had time to prepare for assuming the positions. The more there is a written record of how the program is actually functioning, the easier it will be for new board or staff members to get up to speed. Volunteers will also find a written description of their tasks helpful, and monitoring can provide the material for those descriptions. The Southside program in Minneapolis used descriptions of past block club meetings to develop a manual for new block captains. More generally, the adjustments and improvements that can be made on the basis of monitoring and evaluation strengthen a program and make it more likely to endure.

Finally, monitoring and evaluation are beneficial in *identifying unintended consequences* of program activities. Sometimes a plan backfires, leaving bad feelings or a more difficult situation than the program initially faced. Once problems are recognized, activities can be modified to better suit the situation. For example, in a neighborhood starting a youth patrol, elderly people fearful of groups of youth on the street might not feel safer as a result of the patrolling and might be even more reluctant to leave their homes. If the crime prevention program were monitoring community reaction, even informally, this problem could be identified. Efforts could then be made to introduce the patrol members to groups of elderly people and reassure the latter about the purpose and procedures of the patrol.

6.2 What is the Program Doing?

What to Monitor

The idea of monitoring is to keep track of what activities are taking place within the neighborhood crime prevention program. Table 6-1 provides a list of many of the kinds of items that a program might monitor. The list is long, and a good deal of "paperwork" would be involved if one crime prevention effort had to do it all. However, each program really needs to monitor only the activities which are relevant to its own goals. For example, a program trying to reduce fear by involving the elderly in anti-crime activity will want to count how many participants at meetings are senior citizens. Another program, if it does not focus on the elderly, will not need to keep track of their involvement.

In addition to making a record of what the program is doing, monitoring provides much of the information needed for evaluation. Because it is a key information source for evaluation, what is monitored will end up *defining* what the program is doing and what can be learned from it.[1] At the same time, monitoring provides feedback on how to improve the program's operation.

Getting and Using Feedback

Feedback from residents—their attitudes toward the crime prevention effort, their views on organizing and other activities—can also be a critical input to recognizing program strengths and weaknesses. A formal attitude survey is usually considered part of evaluation, and we will discuss the topic in the next section. However, informal feedback should be considered in combination with monitoring because they can easily be accomplished together. Often, just asking volunteers to be aware of comments and questions and to pass them along will provide program leadership with a fuller view of community reaction. For program staff, reactions may seem routine, but they are still important. For example, at initial block meetings for organizing Neighborhood Watch, Detroit crime prevention officers have learned to anticipate mistrust among neighbors and toward the police. But it is still worth noting these reactions and whether they vary with different presentations, since this could help the program identify which crime prevention materials (topics covered, films shown) may work best to put people at ease.

6.3 Is the Program Working?

How Evaluation Differs from Monitoring

While monitoring answers the question, "What is the program doing?", evaluation asks the questions, "Is this what should be

[1]Robert K. Yin, "What is Citizen Crime Prevention?" in *How Well Does It Work? Review of Criminal Justice Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1978), p. 116.

happening?" "Are the crime prevention activities having the intended effect?" To address these questions, evaluation can focus on different types of goals.

TABLE 6-1

Possible Items to Monitor in Neighborhood Crime Prevention Programs [a]

In the Neighborhood

- Number of crime prevention meetings; number and composition of residents attending
- Number of home security surveys received by residents
- Number of households borrowing property-marking equipment
- Number of patrols (radio, car, walking, sitting, vertical, etc.); number of patrollers; days and times of patrols
- Number of requests for crime prevention information
- Number of escort service runs; days and times of runs
- Number of court sessions attended
- Number of garages cleaned of graffiti
- Number of apartment and block watches organized
- Number of streets with improved lighting
- Number of emergency telephones installed

In the Police Department

- Number of crime prevention presentations requested; number completed
- Number of organizing meetings conducted
- Number of home security surveys conducted
- Number of requests for crime prevention information
- Use of personnel time on crime prevention in the neighborhood, on crime prevention elsewhere, and on other police duties
- Other resources used on crime prevention in the neighborhood

In the Community Organization

- Number of home security surveys conducted
- Number of crime prevention meetings held
- Number of loans of property-marking equipment
- Use of staff and volunteer time among activities
- Other resources used on crime prevention activities

[a]This list does not cover all the crime prevention tactics discussed in Chapter 2 and the Appendix, nor does it suggest all possible facts about crime prevention activities that could be usefully monitored. Activities may be organized differently; not all these items will be relevant to any one program. Programs should consider their own goals and strategy and compile their own lists.

Most organizations embarking on crime prevention efforts tend to have overly ambitious expectations. The most common aim, of course, is to reduce crime. However, it is very difficult to *show* actual reductions in crime rates, especially in the short term, and without other ways to demonstrate progress, people may become frustrated and lose interest. Measuring progress against a specific set of program goals can guard against this frustration. For purposes of demonstrating success, two types of goals are useful: process goals and impact goals.

Process goals refer to organizational objectives: what the program will try to do, such as reaching a membership of a certain number of residents or training sworn personnel for a specific number of crime prevention positions. Process goals are usually easy to track through monitoring, although sometimes other information is needed. *Impact goals* refer to the effect the program seeks to have on crime problems or on the neighborhood's ability to cope with crime. They are more difficult to achieve and typically must have a longer time frame. Impact goals—such as increasing crime reporting, reducing the fear of crime, and increasing the ability of residents to work together on local issues—require a different approach to seeing if they are being achieved. Evaluations tend to ask about impact rather than just about process.

Information gained in identifying the crime problem underlies the choice of impact goals. For example, although burglary was statistically the largest crime problem in Detroit's Crary-St. Mary neighborhood, the crime causing the greatest fear was rape. Many rapes occurred during burglaries. Had the Detroit Crime Prevention Section conducted its analysis without communication with area residents, the police might have decided to announce a burglary prevention program for the area. Had the connection between burglary and rape not been explained, a goal of reducing burglaries would have made little sense to the residents, and the program probably would not have gained the same high level of participation.

Table 6-2 gives several illustrations of the difference between process and impact goals. Crime prevention activities are meant to bring about other changes; newsletters can only make people more aware of self-protection if they are read, and organizing a building does not improve security unless people actually watch for suspicious activity. The impact goals listed in the middle column of Table 6-2 are an intermediate stage. Having residents read newsletters, and making them more aware of self-protection, is part of the attempt to create a more concerned community and thus a more active one, as the last column (ultimate impacts) reflects.

The second difference between monitoring and evaluation is that evaluations frequently require more information than monitoring can provide. Monitoring records will be the source of program activity information, but facts about residents and their responses are also likely to be needed. To illustrate this point, Table 6-3 lists a small sample of process and impact crime prevention goals. For each one, it shows what part of the information needed to see how the goal is being met comes from monitoring, and what part needs to be gathered especially for evaluation purposes.

TABLE 6-2

Types of Crime Prevention Goals

Process Goals	Impact Goals	
	Intermediate	Ultimate
Newsletters to be distributed	Newsletters read by residents	Residents less fearful
Security surveys to be conducted	Security improvements made	Burglary reduced
Garages to be cleaned of graffiti	Garages remaining clean	Better quality of neighborhood life
Street lighting to be improved	Streets used by more residents at night	More residents active in neighborhood

TABLE 6-3

Crime Prevention Goals and the Information Needed to Evaluate Achievement

Crime Prevention Goal	Information from Monitoring	Other Information Needed
Involve 60 percent of neighborhood residents in personal property marking	1) Number of times property engraver lent 2) Number of households borrowing engraver	1) Total number of households in neighborhood 2) Number of borrowers actually marking property
Establish police department storefront in the neighborhood to increase police-community contact and develop mutual trust and respect	1) Storefront location and hours 2) Resident visits to storefront (number, purpose) 3) Time spent in neighborhood by storefront officers	1) Officers' views about residents and value of contact with them 2) Residents' views about officers and value of contact with them 3) Residents' views of storefront
Develop escort service for the elderly to reduce fear and increase their street use	1) Dates and times of escort operations 2) Number of elderly using escort service 3) Response of users to the service (informal)	1) Change in fear among the elderly 2) Change in street use by the elderly
Improve fire safety of arson-prone buildings	1) Identification of arson-prone buildings 2) Actions to bring about landlord safety improvements 3) Landlord compliance with requests or court orders 4) Actions to educate tenants on emergency procedures	1) Incidence of fires in targeted buildings 2) Use of emergency procedures by tenants

Sources of Information for Evaluation

There are a number of different methods or sources that can be used to gather the additional information required to evaluate a crime prevention effort. They will sound somewhat familiar to readers who have thought about the data needed for targeting crime prevention (discussed in Chapter 2). Here they are discussed in the context of how to evaluate progress toward program goals, with the advantages and disadvantages of each.

Police crime statistics. Police incident reports are collected on a regular basis, and summaries of them are available to police crime prevention units and often to community-based programs.[2] They typically provide figures on the number of reported crimes, by type, for a certain time period. Attempted crimes and crimes-in-progress are usually tabulated separately. Some systems also keep count of calls from watch groups. These statistics will be useful for evaluation whenever program goals focus on crime reporting, crime rates, or increasing the proportion of thwarted crimes. Their advantages include: regular collection; long history of collection; low cost. Disadvantages include: not all crime is reported; reporting practices can change; police recording of incidents can change; reporting units may not match neighborhood boundaries; some conditions that cause concern and fear in the neighborhood are not considered crimes for the statistical reports.

Survey of neighborhood residents. A crime prevention program can sponsor a survey of residents to gather information on their attitudes and feelings about the community, crime and disorder, the police, and the efforts being made to improve local conditions. A survey need not be given to everyone in the neighborhood; a small sample can provide valuable data, although it should be picked carefully to ensure that no parts of the population are left out. It is especially important to survey residents who have *not* participated in crime prevention activities. Advantages of resident surveys include: ability to assess progress on goals that concern fear and other attitudes; ability to gather information on behavior related to crime and crime prevention; ability to measure how much (and what parts) of the community the program is reaching; no large sample needed. Disadvantages include: some resources are required to plan, carry out and analyze the survey (although less than for a victimization survey, described below); people may report more crime prevention-related effort than they have actually made, if the program is sponsoring the survey; progress toward goals that focus on changing attitudes cannot be assessed unless a survey is done before the anti-crime activities begin and then again after they are well underway.

Survey of police personnel. Many crime prevention programs have goals related to changing police attitudes or improving communication between residents and police. Personnel involved in the neighborhood, whether they are crime prevention specialists, patrol officers with crime prevention duties, or officers just assigned to local beats, can be surveyed to find out about attitudes, communication, working conditions and job satisfaction. The advantages of police surveys include: ability to assess progress on goals that concern police attitudes and behavior; ability to identify obstacles to police involvement in crime prevention. Disadvantages include: difficulty of obtaining frank responses unless the survey is conducted by a group outside the police department (and perhaps outside the allied community organization); need to obtain police department consent to doing the survey; resources required to plan and conduct the survey, especially if an outside group must be involved.

Victimization survey. This is a survey of residents aimed specifically at measuring crime in the neighborhood, regardless of whether it was reported to the police. Reporting practices are often a topic as well. Programs with crime reduction and crime reporting goals are therefore the ones who will need this source for evaluation. The kinds of attitude questions found in a resident survey can also be included in a victimization survey, but a resident survey costs less: a much larger proportion of residents must be surveyed to gain accurate estimates of crime rates than for purposes of gathering information on attitudes. Advantages of victimization surveys include: ability to assess resident exposure to disorderly conditions (harrassment, vandalism) as well as to crime; best source of data for evaluating program impact on crime; possible to see if program participation affects victimization.

Disadvantages include: specialized skills necessary to design a reliable victimization survey; cost of large sample; actual data collection best done by an outside group to avoid biased response.

Observation in the neighborhood. To assess changes in street usage, control of graffiti, posting of Operation ID stickers or Neighborhood Watch signs, and so on, it is relatively easy to gather information by observation. It is important that the observation be systematic. Advantages include: no requirement for residents to be at home or to respond to a survey; can be done by students from junior high school age up, with training. Disadvantages include: stickers and signs are *not* good stand-ins for actual block watching and property-marking; only a limited set of crime prevention goals have components that can be observed.

Census and other population and housing data. Useful information on neighborhood residents, such as their race, age, and income, as well as counts of households, housing units, and total number of residents, can sometimes be obtained from the Census or other government-sponsored surveys. In large cities, there may even be data for each block. Advantages of using these sources include: comprehensive coverage; high reliability; no need to gather basic facts directly. Disadvantages include: the information gets out of date, especially if a neighborhood has high turnover; there may be expense involved in using these data if they are on a computer or if special tabulations are needed. However, it may be possible for the police to obtain them from the city planning department (or other city agency) at no cost.

[2]The question of access to police data is explored in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2).

Issues in Crime Prevention Evaluation

The discussion of different information sources for crime prevention evaluation made brief reference to some important issues in how to assess program impact. It is widely agreed that proving a program's impact is very difficult. So many other factors affect crime and neighborhood conditions, and crime prevention programs so often use a number of different tactics to build their strategies, that the task of connecting activities to changes in crime or disorder (and excluding other possible reasons for the change) is a great challenge. While evaluation efforts need to be encouraged, we would do no service to the reader if we did not describe the most important problems involved.[3]

Crime reporting. Many are aware that not all crime is reported to the police. But the real problem is that:

> reported crimes are not necessarily representative of those [committed]. Whether a victim calls the police depends on such factors as [how serious the crime is] (either in terms of dollar loss or extent of injuries), whether the [criminal] was known to the victim, whether a weapon was used, and whether the victim was insured. Another complication is that the program's crime prevention activities, in sensitizing residents to the need for vigilance and quick notification of the police, may lead to an increase in the number of reported crimes independent of any change in their actual incidence. In addition, whether the police themselves actually file a citizen's complaint depends on a number of factors: the seriousness of the crime, the complainant's social class, whether the victim knows the [criminal], and the victim's wishes in the matter.[4]

When a crime prevention program seeks both to increase reporting and decrease crime, it can be very difficult to assess the results of program activity. One researcher studying a crime prevention effort in Portland, Oregon found that "although their burglary rates were lower, participants generated more reports for the police than did nonparticipants."[5] Thus, changes in reporting that seem to raise the crime rate when crime is really being reduced pose a problem to evaluation, and a victimization survey is really required to sort them out.

Displacement. The term displacement refers to the possibility that crime will be pushed out of one neighborhood by a crime prevention program but will simply move to another area, usually next to the target neighborhood. Some feel that if a program only displaces crime, it is not really being effective. In particular, if crime trends in the program neighborhood are compared to those in nearby areas to show relative impact on crime, there will always be someone objecting that the program's impact is just to displace crime, creating the observed difference. However, supporters of neighborhood crime prevention often say that displacement just shows the next community that it also needs to get organized. Still, if the crime prevention program is police-based or has a city-wide perspective, displacement may need to be seriously considered as an issue in carrying out an evaluation.

Comparisons for evaluation. One very commonly used evaluation approach is to compare facts about crime, fear and so on under the crime prevention program with the same items in another time or for another group of people. Before-and-after (or pre-post) comparisons in the target neighborhood are often made, although they require the evaluation work to begin before program activities start, and there are always other things happening in the neighborhood that could make a difference to the results. It is also possible to compare crime prevention participants with non-participants in the neighborhood, or all residents in the target neighborhood with residents of a similar area in the same city. The following information can help in making the choice:

- A participant/non-participant comparison is useful for activities that affect individual households (such as Operation ID), while comparisons of neighborhoods yield more information on the impact of car patrols and other activities affecting the area as a whole.
- With tactics affecting individual households, a participant/non-participant comparison is especially informative if the program has reached a relatively small percentage of households in the target area.
- If the start-up of a crime prevention program has coincided with other changes, such as increased law enforcement activity, a participant/non-participant comparison can suggest what effect the crime prevention program is having beyond the other, area-wide changes.

Defining program participants. Any time the analysis involves a comparison between participants and non-participants, whether those non-participants live within the target neighborhood or not, a decision must be made as to which households will be counted as "participants" in the program. Is a household that makes *any* security improvements to be counted, or only those that put in "high-priority" improvements, or those who follow a certain number of the security recommendations? Are those who attended a single community meeting part of the program, or only those who became actively involved? Evaluations that compare participants with other neighborhood residents must be particularly careful to choose a definition which is

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[3]This discussion draws heavily upon that in William DeJong and Gail Goolkasian, *The Neighborhood Fight Against Crime: The Midwood-Kings Highway Development Corporation* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, in press).

[4]Ibid., with information from D. Black and A. Reiss, "Patterns of Behavior in Police and Citizen Transactions," in *Studies of Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, Volume II* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

[5]Anne L. Schneider, "Evaluation of the Portland Neighborhood Based Anti-Burglary Program" (Eugene, OR: The Oregon Research Institute, 1975); cited in Wesley G. Skogan, "Community Crime Prevention Programs: Measurement Issues in their Evaluation," in *How Well Does It Work? Review of Criminal Justice Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1978), p. 156.

consistent with the way the program's goals are stated and with the likely effects of the program's tactics.

Getting Help With Evaluation

It should be clear by now that evaluations of the impact of crime prevention programs can be quite complicated. Rather than discouraging such efforts, we want to suggest some sources of help in carrying them out.

As the first part of this chapter emphasized, monitoring will be the source of a great deal of important information. A review of Table 6-1 will serve as a reminder that much can be done to gather and apply program information, even with limited resources.

In the following areas of evaluation, it may prove useful to have specialized help:

- *research design* — the set of decisions about what comparisons to make, who is counted as a program participant, and what sources of information or methods of collecting it to use;
- *survey design* — deciding what kind of survey (resident, police, victimization) to do, how large an effort will be needed, how to pick respondents so they are truly a cross-section of the area(s) being compared, and how to phrase questions to get the desired information;
- *data collection* — help is needed here only when a bias in responses may be introduced if program sponsors or participants collect the data; and
- *analysis* — if a sophisticated design or large survey is chosen, some assistance should be obtained in going through all the responses and determining what they mean.

The best source of help in these areas will be a local college or university. Professors who teach criminal justice, sociology, politics, or urban affairs are often glad of opportunities to give students experience with the neighborhoods around them and how to study them. Their students can serve as data collectors and do some analysis. Graduate students can give vital help in research design and may be willing to take on the evaluation (or part of it) as a thesis. Some personnel in police crime analysis units may also have training in evaluation or research design. Professional survey groups are often too costly for helping a small program, but they may be able to answer very specific questions at little expense. Professional assistance in planning and evaluation can make the results more convincing. If reliable statistics or generalizable knowledge is desired, such assistance is especially important. But for many purposes, such as budget justifications, non-professional evaluations are sufficient.

Because there is a great deal to be learned from past efforts at crime prevention program evaluation, the following impact studies should be examined:

P. Cirel et al., *Community Crime Prevention Program: Seattle, Washington—Exemplary Project* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1977).

William DeJong and Gail Goolkasian, *The Neighborhood Fight Against Crime: The Midwood-Kings Highway Development Corporation* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, in press).

Floyd J. Fowler, Jr. and Thomas W. Mangione, *Neighborhood Crime, Fear and Social Control: A Second Look at the Hartford Program* (Cambridge, MA: Center for Survey Research of the University of Massachusetts-Boston and the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University, no date).

John G. Hayes, *The Impact of Citizen Involvement in Preventing Crime in Public Housing: A Report of the Fairview Homes Crime Prevention Program* (Charlotte, NC: City of Charlotte, January 1982).

Brian Hollander et al; *Reducing Residential Crime and Fear: The Hartford Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1980).

Marci Rasmussen et al., *Evaluation of the Minneapolis Community Crime Prevention Demonstration* (Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board, 1979).

They can help program leadership or staff make the basic decisions about what an evaluation can do for the program and what the use of resources for evaluation should be. Several good sources on evaluation can also be consulted:

Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research* (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally & Company, 1970).

Harry P. Hatry et al., *Practical Program Evaluation for State and Local Government Officials* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1973).

Michael D. Maltz, *Evaluation of Crime Control Programs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1972).

Wesley G. Skogan, ed., *Sample Surveys of the Victims of Crime* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976).

Allan Wallis and Daniel Ford, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: An Operational Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1980), "Phase Five: Evaluation," pp. 123-232.

Carol Weiss, ed., *Evaluating Action Programs: Readings in Social Action and Education* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1972).

Even if specialized help is obtained, the program's sponsoring organization and leadership should have the final say on the purpose of the evaluation. After all, it is for them—for improving the crime prevention effort as a way to help the neighborhood—that all this is being done.

APPENDIX

TACTICS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME PREVENTION

This appendix presents an overview of the tactics police and residents can use in neighborhood crime prevention. The listing is not complete—the sheer number of possible crime prevention tactics precludes mentioning them all—but it covers the most frequently used tactics along with some of the more distinctive and area-specific variations we have observed. The brief entries are meant as a short introduction to the tactics. Source materials which can provide more substantial information are identified by the numbers in brackets at the end of most entries and listed at the end of the appendix. Not all entries have further references; little written information is available on some of these tactics, and the best information may come from seeing how they have been used in various programs, as described in this document.[1]

In Chapter 2 of this manual, we described how to decide which tactics are appropriate for a specific neighborhood context (people, physical layout, and crime problem) and set forth the broader view of crime prevention strategies, suggesting how a program can combine certain tactics to work toward crime prevention goals. That chapter provides an essential background for understanding the uses and limits of the tactics described here. In organizing this appendix, tactics that can shed some light on each other have been grouped together; they appear in the order shown in Table A-1.

TABLE A-1
Tactics

1. Neighborhood Beats
2. Police Mini-Stations
3. Crime Analysis Units
4. Police Department Environmental Design Review
5. Community Service Officers
6. Police/Community Boards
7. Police/Community Relations Programs
8. Street Observation
9. Crime Prevention Educational Projects
10. Police Telephone Projects
11. Privately Sponsored Crime Hotlines
12. Block Clubs
13. Tenants Organizations
14. Block Watch
15. Block Watch Variations
16. Apartment Watch
17. Citizen Patrols
18. Radio Patrols
19. Escort Services
20. Block Houses
21. Victimization Surveys
22. Home Security Surveys
23. WhistleSTOP
24. Operation ID
25. Neighborhood Directories
26. Self-Defense Courses
27. Victim/Witness Assistance Programs
28. Court Watch
29. Improving Street Lighting
30. Changing Traffic Patterns
31. Police Directional Aids
32. Neighborhood Clean-ups
33. Emergency Telephones
34. Crime Prevention for Businesses

1. Neighborhood Beats

While patrol officers have traditionally been rotated by shift or beat, the stable assignment of officers to neighborhood beats is important for neighborhood crime prevention. Citizens have a chance to get to know the officers in their neighborhood. This can increase their sense of safety and their willingness to report suspicious activities or crimes. Officers on neighborhood beats can gain a sense of involvement with, and responsibility for, the neighborhood. Their familiarity with the area and knowledge of trouble spots may facilitate crime detection and apprehension. Officers may spend an entire shift on foot patrol, or they may intersperse car and foot patrols. Some potential problems can be avoided if officers on neighborhood beats receive special training (for example, in working with residents, or in utilizing any special environmental design tactics on their beats), and if dispatchers are required to learn and respect neighborhood boundaries so that officers are not dispatched outside their patrol areas. [11,20,29,30]

2. Police Mini-Stations

Police mini-stations, or storefronts, are a way to bring police into the neighborhood outside of the precinct structure, for special purposes or for added patrol resources. As the Detroit Police Department states, "Mini-stations can most readily be viewed as analogous to parked scout cars. They are fixed positions from which officers may reach out within certain

[1]For information on crime prevention through environmental design, see in particular the catalogue of tactics in Wallis and Ford, *Crime Prevention through Environmental Design: An Operational Handbook.*

prescribed geographic limits to render police service." For crime prevention, this service can include scheduling block watch formation meetings, loaning out Operation ID engravers, arranging for home security surveys, and other proactive efforts. Personnel for these 24-hour-a-day stations can be supplemented by trained community service officers, interns or volunteers (including bilingual staff as necessary); use of volunteers can free sworn officers for patrolling or crime prevention organizing. [8]

3. Crime Analysis Units

Crime analysis units within police departments compile information on types, times, and locations of crimes in a given area, on trends in area crime over time, and on case status and resolution. Crime evaluation, crime maps, and monthly or six-month reports can usually be generated, routinely or by request. Crime prevention groups may arrange for routine information and special reports on crime in their area. Groups should realize, however, that certain information is confidential and cannot be provided to civilian organizations (see Chapter 2). By recognizing the nature and patterns of crimes and offenders, police and residents can build crime prevention strategies more effectively and monitor the impact of anti-crime activity.

4. Police Department Environmental Design Review

Some police departments have a review procedure for checking the security aspects of new construction or public works projects. In San Diego, the police department's Public Affairs Unit reviews designs for planned parks and residential and commercial developments. Their review covers street design, building security, lighting, and other crime prevention components and pinpoints any needed changes before construction starts. [19]

5. Community Service Officers

Some police departments hire and train neighborhood youth, senior citizens, or other civilians to do police/community liaison work. These community service officers can staff mini-stations, give educational presentations, assist with Operation ID services, perform home security surveys, and help set up block patrols. They are also a way to supplement sworn personnel and relieve them of certain support functions, but they are not a substitute for the participation of officers in crime prevention programs. [29]

6. Police/Community Boards

A police/community board, or chief's advisory committee, increases contact between the police and community leaders and helps achieve full support of crime prevention programs by both essential participants. Citizens present their priorities and concerns, police representatives share information on departmental resources and services, and joint crime prevention efforts can be planned.

7. Police/Community Relations Programs

Programs for citizens to ride in officers' cars, walk along on their beats, and visit police communications centers can provide a better understanding of police duties and capabilities, although they do not increase the citizen's role in crime prevention.

8. Street Observation

Street observation is a simple technique for identifying and closing off opportunities for crime. Police officers or residents, while walking or driving in the neighborhood, note systematically where they see vulnerability to crime: open garage doors, keys left in cars, overgrown shrubbery, lobby doors propped open. They inform residents of trouble spots and how to improve them. In Detroit, police officers on patrol leave Courtesy Security Awareness "Tickets," maintaining a copy for the Crime Prevention Section. When followed by more information, observation reports can introduce residents to other crime prevention activities, from home security surveys to block or apartment watching.

9. Crime Prevention Educational Projects

Crime prevention fairs, audiovisual presentations, singing groups, puppet shows, pamphlets on topics from home safety to rape, presentations for civic groups, churches, and P.T.A.'s—these activities can increase crime awareness and familiarize the community with crime prevention techniques. For police departments, they provide some interaction with the community; for both police and community group organizers, they can be a lively, effective introduction to other, more active, crime prevention tactics. [22,26,34]

10. Police Telephone Projects

Special telephone lines or services may increase crime reporting and help police officers use their time most effectively. Crime reporting lines, with a number different from that for regular emergency calls, can utilize a 24-hour staff (perhaps civilians) or recording devices that are frequently checked. A separate number for reporting crimes no longer in progress helps dispatchers free police officers for emergencies. [17,26]

11. Privately Sponsored Crime Hotlines

Privately sponsored telephone crime hotlines aim to increase reports of crimes, suspicious behavior, or suspected arson by offering callers anonymity and/or cash awards. While they

hope to increase the number of calls in part by offering an alternative to calling the police, these crime lines provide the police with all relevant information. (See the CRIME STOPPERS listing in Chapter 5.) [14]

12. Block Clubs

Block clubs are associations of neighbors on a block which includes both sides of a street from intersection to intersection. Usually, there is an elected captain or two co-leaders. A block club can educate residents about crime prevention, improve relations with the police, serve as a mini-station contact, help represent the neighborhood at precinct meetings, increase surveillance through a block watch or patrol, initiate clean-ups and block parties, and sponsor crime prevention activities like WhistleSTOP, home security surveys, escort services, and Operation ID. Often, block captains are representatives on police/community boards. Through these activities, a block club can help neighbors get acquainted and learn the advantages of working together. Block clubs can be the building blocks of a larger neighborhood organization, or they can be organized by a larger group. Isolated organized blocks do not survive very well, so they should become part of a larger community organization. An association made up of no more than twenty-five blocks in close geographic proximity, with representatives from each block meeting monthly, can become the backbone of a crime prevention program. Several national programs provide information on launching block clubs (see the listings for National Neighborhood Watch, HANDS UP, and the Crime Prevention Coalition in Chapter 5), and many police departments provide valuable material and informational assistance. [6,9,23,34]

13. Tenants Organizations

Tenants organizations can sponsor the activities described above (see Block Clubs), keeping in mind the special concerns of apartment dwellers and the need to work effectively with landlords or management staff. Tenants organizations are often formed around issues of building maintenance, services, and rents. Crime prevention concerns will include the adequacy of door and window locks and the safety of common areas: entrances, elevators, halls, laundry rooms, and parking lots. [17,34]

14. Block Watch

Organizing a block watch may spring from a block club, or even amount to setting one up, but it takes block club activities a step further: residents can help protect each other by acting as the eyes and ears of the police. Watchers look out their windows equipped with the following: neighborhood maps and directories to pinpoint trouble; a telephone to report crimes or suspicious activity immediately to the police and neighbors; suspect identification aids; and log sheets, so a group can try to construct a complete picture of what is happening on the street or in the ailey. Whistles can be used to alert neighbors if the group participates in WhistleSTOP. Some police departments give block watchers special identification numbers to guarantee anonymity and speedy response when they call. A daytime block watch can be difficult to organize in a neighborhood of two-earner families, or where the mixture of business and residential uses makes it hard to distinguish outsiders from residents. However, even in these circumstances there are often residents and business people who will be able to carry out the watch. [See Block Club sources]

15. Block Watch Variations

Watches need not be restricted to city blocks. In San Diego, police found offenders were crossing from area to area by way of canyons, and a canyon watch was planned, complete with cross-canyon maps and phone directories. If alleys are a trouble spot for criminal activity, neighbors may keep an eye on each other's back entrances through an alley watch. In some areas, a porch watch, stoop watch, or street level subway watch makes sense.

16. Apartment Watch

An apartment watch serves the same purpose as a block watch, but an apartment building's structure and the organization of apartment management create special requirements. Large buildings should organize watches by floor, with elected floor representatives or captains who also participate in building-wide meetings. Each building will have distinctive requirements: buildings with long L-shaped corridors will need to set up separate watches for both ends of the hall, and those with multiple entries rather than corridors will be concerned with an entry watch. Watches in apartment complexes will function not only by building, but also as a confederation, including the open spaces between buildings in their focus. There is ample reason for watchers to operate in apartment buildings. The Westside (New York) *Crime Prevention News* from January 1982 notes, "Some nasty recent burglaries in our area, where burglars smashed hallway *walls* to get past safety-locked doors or removed doors from hinges entirely, could have been prevented by alert Neighborhood Watchers calling 911 . . . ." Windows that face streets can be used to observe outdoor activity and building entrances. Whistles or freon horns can be heard through apartment walls and down corridors. Chapter 2 discusses some of the special challenges of organizing in apartment buildings. [See Block Club sources]

17. Citizen Patrols

Resident patrols report crimes and suspicious actions; by their presence in public areas they reduce the fear of crime and return these areas to residents' use. Patrols can be designed for different types of neighborhoods. Areas with single-family houses or duplexes could consider either vehicle radio patrols or pedestrian patrols. Pedestrian patrols can stop at "check-in houses" along their routes to stay in contact and make reports, or they can carry walkie-talkies. Organizations in high-rise

apartment buildings can set up lobby guards or sitting patrols, as well as vertical (stairway) patrols covering all floors. Blocks, neighborhoods, and apartment buildings can organize special patrol groups, such as trained youth patrols or radio patrols. While paid guards can be hired, they are expensive and will not have the same vested interest in what happens in the community as volunteers would. Volunteer patrol members only report crimes, they *do not* intercede personally. In fact, too much intervention—pushing crime prevention to the point of vigilantism—is a block patrol's greatest danger. Apartment patrols may face the reverse problem: tenants are sometimes reluctant to get involved, partly because they live in such close proximity to each other that they fear their space will be invaded. Knowing this, an organizer can point out that such fears are needless. People will work together to make all the residents safer, but they will not be together every moment, and privacy will not be threatened. [6,17,27,33, 34]

18. Radio Patrols

Neighborhood radio patrols report crimes, suspicious activities, and emergencies to the police over two-way radios. Organizing existing two-way radio owners or citizen band radio clubs into walking or driving patrols saves the considerable expense of purchasing new equipment. Cab drivers and others who can report on two-way radios through their dispatchers can also prove a valuable ally to police and community groups. [17,26]

19. Escort Services

Escort services attempt to reduce both fear of and vulnerability to crime. Trained volunteers or reserve police officers may accompany or drive senior citizens to collect and cash checks, pay rent, shop, or go to the doctor. Vans may require reservations or have limited hours. A safety-in-numbers shopping program arranges for a group of older people to shop and bank together. Escorts can also walk children to school or provide moral support to witnesses who appear in court. Escort services can sometimes be built into neighborhood pedestrian or car patrols. [2,4,34]

20. Block Houses

Block houses (also called safe homes or block parents) provide refuge for children or elderly people who feel threatened on the street. Trained participants display a distinctive window sign, notify parents and/or the police when someone seeks aid, and offer comfort until help arrives. While block houses allay the fear of crime, a certain risk is involved for the people who open their homes. [17]

21. Victimization Surveys

Many crimes are not reported to the police. In order to supplement police statistics, a door-to-door neighborhood victimization survey can provide a more accurate picture of the type and amount of crime (and of people's fear of crime) in a neighborhood. This information can then be a foundation for choosing and implementing other crime prevention tactics. (Victimization surveys require careful planning; see Chapter 6 for further discussion.) [21, 35]

22. Home Security Surveys

The security survey is an in-depth, on-site inspection of a home or apartment and its surroundings to determine their safety status, recommend improvements, and thus reduce the chances of break-in. Security surveys for those recently burglarized cut down on recurrences and reassure the fearful. Surveys include inspecting outdoor shrubbery (which can obscure vision and conceal criminals); checking basement and first floor windows; examining door jambs, strike plates, and other hardware; and seeing if there is sufficient lighting. The survey can be conducted by a police officer, but volunteers or paid civilians can also be used to conduct surveys, if sufficient training is provided. Also, some organizations provide detailed, illustrated checklists for do-it-yourself home security surveys. Security improvements can be expensive, and it is important for survey technicians to suggest small improvements if that can help. If residents need financial assistance for completing improvements, funding sources should be sought to carry some of the cost. The survey by itself does nothing, and checking back at residences for a survey follow-up may provide additional incentive for completing needed improvements. [13,22, 23,28]

23. WhistleSTOP

WhistleSTOP participants receive whistles to blow either on the street or at home when they see or experience trouble. Other residents hear the whistle, call police, and then blow their own whistles from open windows. They carry the whistles with them when they go out and keep them by the phone at home. Any group using WhistleSTOP lets the police know the project is in operation.

Some groups use freon horns or other hand-operated noisemakers. One community in Newark uses several whistle codes to indicate what kind of crime is occurring, though there is a chance codes will be forgotten under stress. WhistleSTOP may be a potent supplement to a citizen watch or neighborhood patrol and may especially help senior citizens signal distress. For information on WhistleSTOP, contact:

The Edgewater Community Council
1112 West Bryn Mawr
Chicago, Illinois 60660

24. Operation ID

A participant in Operation ID engraves valued property with a traceable identification number--usually a driver's license number and a state code--and displays a window sticker to show property is marked. Some police departments or community groups mark property themselves, while others provide instructions and rent or loan the electric engraving pencil to individuals. In addition, engraving pens can be donated by businesses, and they can be available at block leaders' houses, libraries, fire stations, and other places. Television and stereo repair shops can be enlisted to help by marking items for free as a public service. While Operation ID participants have been shown to have lower burglary rates, the markings have not yet been shown to increase the recovery of stolen goods. If Operation ID is used, the police department must be alerted to look for numbers on recovered property. [31]

25. Neighborhood Directories

Neighborhood directories or maps provide names, addresses, and phone numbers for each house on a block. They are used by many block watches. If a person sees suspicious activity on a neighbor's property, or feels that someone on the street represents a threat, a phone call passes this information along to neighbors. Maps also facilitate accurate reports of addresses to the police.

26. Self-Defense Courses

Neighborhood residents, especially members of patrols and escort services, can be trained in karate, judo, the use of mace, and other methods of self-defense. The primary benefit may be psychological reassurance. The main danger is feeling overly confident or acting brashly when faced with a more powerful assailant or an armed offender. In such cases, the risks of self-defense may be too high.

27. Victim/Witness Assistance Programs

There are two basic types of victim/witness assistance programs: those centering on court appearances and those set up to reduce the trauma and fear felt by recent crime victims. The former seek to increase witness appearance rates and to familiarize witnesses with court terms and procedures in order to improve the quality of their testimony. These are usually based in prosecutors' offices. One program in Minnesota places victim/witness aid offices in urban centers for easy access by residents nearby. Victim/witness programs can also be sponsored by neighborhood groups. Their services might include transporting a witness to the prosecutor's office or court, providing psychological support, and babysitting for a witness's children.

The second type of program helps crime victims get the emotional and material support they need just after a crime. The Westside (New York) Crime Prevention Program's Community Resource and Assistance Committee aids victims by calling the police, helping to establish what was stolen, finding the building superintendent for temporary security repairs, checking up on victims several days later, and, if necessary, referring victims to counseling services. [16,34,37]

28. Court Watch

Court watchers (or court monitors) demonstrate their interest in a particular case and its outcome by appearing in court, keeping track of proceedings, and at times providing evidence. Most court monitoring groups focus on criminal convictions, but the Edgewater Community Council project with a housing court (see Chapter 1) suggests the range of court watch possibilities. Because courts may resist citizen involvement, good preparation (including training courses and handbooks on court procedures) is important and good behavior is essential. [3,7,10,15]

29. Improving Street Lighting

Improved street lighting encourages the use of outdoor areas and increases opportunities for observing what is going on in the neighborhood. Different sorts of street lights, such as high-intensity or sodium lighting, may be considered, along with the need for additional lighting on buildings and along walls and fences. Residents' perceptions of the area and its trouble spots should be taken into account in planning lighting changes. [22, 24, 25, 32, 35, 36]

30. Changing Traffic Patterns

Vehicular and pedestrian traffic can be modified to increase residents' use of their neighborhood. In some cases this means reducing traffic to make the area feel more residential. In Hartford, Connecticut's Asylum Hill area, roads were narrowed and cul-de-sacs created to make strangers more noticeable and to create a physical sense of neighborhood boundaries. Streets can also be made one-way to reduce through-traffic. In some neighborhoods where there are mainly apartment buildings, however, people may use outdoor space rarely. *Increasing* street activity could make the area safer, reducing the chance of being alone in a dangerous spot. Residents and local business people will have valuable information on neighborhood conditions, important background for any potential changes. [24, 25, 35, 36]

31. Police Directional Aids

Large, clear house numbers facing the street and legible at night, as well as painted house numbers at the back of a building or in the alleyway, can help police officers find what they are looking for faster. In Oakland, California, "Operation Roof-top" consists of painting addresses on roofs to aid police helicopters. Numbers painted on truck or van roofs can help police spot stolen commercial vehicles from the air.

32. Neighborhood Clean-ups

There are many reasons for neighborhood clean-ups: a cleaner neighborhood feels safer; people will want to use outdoor space more; a clean-up keeps block groups active and boosts morale; and a clean neighborhood signals an attentive, concerned community. Both street and alleyway clean-ups open areas for observation. Turning vacant lots into mini-parks, flower gardens, or vegetable gardens opens them up for use by residents. Organized drives to paint over graffiti on walls or garage doors can discourage further defacing. One group funded an anti-graffiti drive by offering those whose property had been damaged by graffiti three options: help paint, pay $2.00, or provide lemonade. Appropriate city offices may be contacted to schedule a special trash pick-up after a clean-up, and in some cases a street closing permit can be obtained for the day of the clean-up. Businesses may donate or offer discounts on trashbags, brooms, paint, and other supplies. Community groups should organize these supplies, and may also provide a list of whom to contact about related questions such as alley and street lighting. [5]

33. Emergency Telephones

Neighborhood patrols can use check-in houses on each block to stay in contact and make reports when there is no emergency, but in some cases individuals will want to make faster contact with the police. Groups can approach the phone company about installing dial-free, toll-free phones which signal appropriate authorities as soon as the receiver is lifted. Area colleges, hospitals, or other institutions may agree to install emergency phones in the surrounding area.

34. Crime Prevention for Businesses

Business crime prevention tactics include the following: business security surveys; information on store theft and safe cash register and banking procedures; and two-way foot alarms which activate a light or bell in a neighboring store. Environmental design changes can also be instituted, including better street lighting, bus shelters and bus routes for reducing street risk; activity areas, such as mini-parks, can increase community use of commercial strips. Environmental changes are costly, but the other tactics are not. These tactics are intended to combat crimes typically committed on commercial strips and at corner stores, which can fan out into the surrounding neighborhood. Residental crime can also affect businesses. Stores and factories can promote neighborhood crime prevention efforts by offering discounts on materials for security improvements or for neighborhood clean-ups; by donating skills or services (e.g., printing) to neighborhood groups or the police; and by making small cash contributions for crime prevention program activities (e.g., volunteer recognition—see Chapter 4). [12, 18, 28]

APPENDIX SOURCES

The National Criminal Justice Reference Service of the National Institute of Justice maintains an interlibrary loan program for documents on a wide variety of topics. When the sources listed here, on crime prevention tactics, are available through NCJRS, an "NCJ" number follows the reference. These numbers can be used to order materials on interlibrary loan from NCJRS. Loans for four weeks can be requested through a public, organizational, or academic library from:

National Institute of Justice/National Criminal Justice Reference Service
Document Loan Program
Box 6000
Rockville, Maryland 20850

The Reference Service also compiles bibliographies, such as that listed here [1] on citizen crime prevention tactics. The National Evaluation Reports from the U. S. Department of Justice also contain extensive bibliographies on their particular topics [26,27,28, 29,30,31,32,37].

[1] U.S. Department of Justice, National Criminal Justice Reference Service. *Citizen Crime Prevention Tactics: A Literature Review and Selected Bibliography,* by J.T. Skip Duncan. Washington, D.C.:U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980. NCJ 65156.

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[4] Cala, Michael. *The Older Person's Handbook: Ideas, Projects and Resources for Neighborhood Action.* A Mutual Aid Project Handbook. New York: Mutual Aid Project, 1979.

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[7] Crime Watch of Broward County Inc. "Court Monitoring Project, Monitor's Handbook." Fort Lauderdale, FL: Crime Watch of Broward County, n.d.

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[9] Henke, Shirley, and Mann, Stephanie. *Alternative to Fear: A Citizen's Manual for Crime Prevention Through Neighborhood Involvement.* Berkeley, CA: Lodestar Press, 1975. NCJ 18258.

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[16] Minnesota Department of Corrections. *Crime Victim Crisis Centers, 1981 Legislative Report.* St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Department of Corrections, February 1981.

[17] National Crime Prevention Institute. *Community Crime Reporting Programs: Information Package.* Louisville, KY: National Crime Prevention Institute, n.d. NCJ 51116.

[18] Portland Police Bureau, Crime Prevention Division. *Commercial Crime Prevention.* Portland, OR: Portland Police Bureau, n.d. NCJ 77143.

[19] San Diego Police Department, Crime Prevention Unit. "City of San Diego, Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program, Final Report." September 1979.

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[21] Skogan, Wesley G., ed. *Sample Surveys of the Victims of Crime.* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1976. NCJ 38961.

[22] Texas Crime Prevention Institute. *Principles and Practices of Crime Prevention, an Introduction.* San Marcos, TX: Texas Crime Prevention Institute, Southwest Texas State University, 1976. NCJ 45707.

[23] U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research. *A Community Guide to Crime Prevention,* by Alicia Christian. Washington, D.C.: Citizen Involvement Network, August 1977. NCJ 45258.

[24] U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. *Design For Safe Neighborhoods: The Environmental Security Planning and Design Process,* by Richard A. Gardiner. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office September 1978. NCJ 50335.

[25] U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, with the assistance of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research. *Design Guidelines for Creating Defensible Space,* by Oscar Newman. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April 1976. NCJ 32646.

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