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The Memphis Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiatives (SACSI) Project: A Case Study

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The Memphis Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiatives (SACSI) Project: A Case Study

I. Overview

The Memphis Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) entailed a collaborative effort among law enforcement, criminal justice, university researchers, community representatives, victims' advocates, city government, social service agencies, and the schools to heighten awareness about sexual assault and reduce the incidence of victimization among teenage girls. An initial analysis revealed that the rate of sexual assaults in Memphis has been among the highest in the country for several years and, unlike the rest of the country, the rate has showed no signs of declining. Further analysis by the research team identified several categories of sexual assault in Memphis, leading the problem-solving team to focus on addressing specific forms of sexual assault categorized as opportunistic, vindictive, and exploitative.

Compared to the problem-solving efforts in other SACSI cities,¹ Memphis selected a crime problem that called for novel participation by federal law enforcement entities (primarily the U.S. Attorney's Office) in a crime that is traditionally in the purview of state and local authorities. This posed some challenges for the Memphis SACSI project, as well as some unique opportunities for multi-agency and multi-level collaboration. The Memphis SACSI team conducted an in-depth assessment of the sexual assault problem prior to developing problem-solving initiatives, examining offense, arrest, and victimization data covering a five-year period preceding the SACSI project and studying geographic (crime mapping) patterns as well. In

¹ At the time of this research in Memphis, four other cities were participating in the federally funded SACSI program -- New Haven, Indianapolis, Portland, and Winston-Salem. Separate case studies have been prepared for these sites as well (see Coldren et al., 2001).

addition a lengthy collaboration with a variety of federal, state, and local agencies and organizations was undertaken, to both build the local partnership and explore the sexual assault problem through qualitative research methods. Following this effort, the Memphis SACSI team developed a three-pronged approach to reducing sexual assaults, incorporating suppression (law enforcement), intervention, and prevention approaches.

By the year 2001, several years after the initiation of SACSI in Memphis, and after approximately two years of research for this case study,² the SACSI program in Memphis continued. Several new programs and initiatives were in place -- most notably an enhanced program linking Memphis police officers with sexual assault victims' advocates when responding to reported sexual assaults, a prevention-oriented school education program, focused interventions with repeat sexual assault offenders, and enhanced crime analysis capabilities through a greatly improved relationship between local universities and law enforcement agencies in Memphis. In addition, at the conclusion of this research, the SACSI project had undergone major organizational changes. It moved from the U.S. Attorney's Office to the local Memphis-Shelby County Crime Commission and, with additional funding from several sources, became linked with a new Center for Community Criminology at the University of Memphis.

Following a review of the case study research conducted in Memphis by the SACSI National Assessment Team (NAT), this report describes the development and implementation of SACSI in Memphis, focusing on the formation and functioning of the collaborative partnership, analysis and utilization of information, and the problem-solving process undertaken. A final section summarizes the strengths of the Memphis SACSI initiative, as well as the challenges and lessons learned through this particular experience.

II. Methodology

This case study of the SACS I implementation in Memphis, Tennessee represents a key product of the research conducted by the National Assessment Team (NAT) at the University of Illinois at Chicago, selected by the National Institute of Justice to study SACS I implementation in five cities across the U.S.³ The NAT utilized four research methods to conduct case studies in each SACS I site:

- Interviews – two-person researcher teams visited each SACS I site three or four times during an 18-month period, and conducted interviews with key personnel involved with SACS I, including core group leaders, agency directors and managers, line personnel from law enforcement and social service agencies, research team members, and others.
- Observations – during site visits, NAT researchers attended meetings and intervention activities of various types to observe the SACS I partnership and SACS I interventions in action. In addition, the NAT funded local researchers in four of the five sites, to enhance and increase observations.
- Surveys – the NAT surveyed key SACS I participants in each SACS I site twice, once during the initial stages of the National Assessment and again (with a nearly identical survey instrument) approximately three-fourths of the way through the Phase I National Assessment.

² Memphis continued its operations after the case study was concluded, and after the federal grant which established the program expired.

³ Originally, the National Assessment of SACS I involved three key research organizations – the Center for Research in Law and Justice at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), the Hindelang Research Center at the University at Albany – State University of New York, and the Justice Research Center (JRC) in Pacific Grove, California. During the course of the research, one senior scientist on the project moved to UIC; hence the National Assessment project is now a joint effort between UIC and JRC. In the Phase I implementation of SACS I, five sites received DOJ

- Document Review – the NAT obtained and reviewed copies of many pertinent planning, analysis, descriptive, and media accounts pertaining to SACSI in each site.

III. Introduction

A. Brief Profile of Memphis

Memphis is the 18th largest city in the United States with a population of just over 650,000 people according to 2001 Census information; this is the same rank Memphis held after the 1990 Census, when it's population was approximately 640,000. From 1990 to 2000, Memphis' population increased by just under 40,000 people, a +6.5 percent increase.⁴ Located in the Mid-South of the United States, the Memphis Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) is comprised mainly of Shelby County in Tennessee but notably extends across the Mississippi River into West Memphis, Arkansas, and South to DeSoto County, Mississippi. The Memphis MSA ranks 40th in the United States with a population of about one million and one hundred thousand people.

Memphis was incorporated in 1826 and is best known as the “home of the blues” and of Elvis Presley. Memphis has such big city amenities as major festivals and cultural events, and also offers quiet, attractive, and friendly neighborhoods and parks. Overton Park and Zoo is the second largest urban park in the United States.

It costs less than the national average to live in the Mid-South. According to the American Chamber of Commerce Researcher's Association statistics for the third quarter of 1998, Memphis scored a 92.9 for cost of living based on an average of 100. The median sales price of existing homes in Memphis is \$109,700.

funding and technical assistance for their SACSI programs – Indianapolis, Memphis, New Haven, Portland, and Winston-Salem. The Phase II SACSI sites include Albuquerque, Atlanta, Detroit, Rochester, and St. Louis.

The 1998 average unemployment rate in Memphis was 3.7 percent in Memphis, which compared favorably to 4.2% in Tennessee and 4.5% in the United States. The major employers in Memphis include Federal Express (29,500 employees), the U.S. Government (14, 860), and the Memphis Board of Education. Memphis is also a regional center for healthcare, with several large hospitals (Baptist Memorial, LeBonheur, University of Tennessee – Memphis, and more), and is a regional hub for Northwest Airlines/KLM as well.

According to the 2000 Census, 34 percent of Memphis' population is Caucasian, 61 percent is African American, with 5 percent representing other races.⁵ Approximately 3 percent of Memphis residents claim to be Hispanic or Latino (regardless of the Census race category). In comparison to 1990 Census figures, the African American population in Memphis increased slightly by the year 2000. In 1990, 44 percent of Memphis' population was Caucasian, 56 percent was African American, and 1 percent reported another race. The average age of people in the city is 44 years old. Outside of the City, in Shelby County, the population is predominantly white (88 percent). Poverty rates, based on data from the 2000 Census, are an enduring problem in Tennessee at 14.2 percent, compared to 12.5 percent nationwide. Analysis of 1990 Census information suggests a strong racial difference, with about one-in-three African American persons living in poverty in the Memphis MSA, compared to one of every eight people in the U.S. Per capita income (1996 adjusted) was \$22,674 in Memphis compared to \$24,945 for the Memphis MSA, and \$24,426 for the USA.

⁴ According to the 2000 Census, Memphis ranked 65th in the nation according to the numeric population change (Census data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau "Census 2000 PHC-T-5. Ranking Tables for Incorporated Places of 100,000 or More"), release date April 2, 2001.

⁵ Source: "Census 2000 PHC-T-6. Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States, Regions, Divisions, States, Puerto Rico, and Places of 100,000 or More Population," release date April 2, 2001. Note that approximately 1 percent of Memphis residents claim two or more races.

1. Crime in Memphis

TABLE 1
Index Crime Offenses Reported to the Police
Memphis, Tennessee 1997 –2000

Index Offense	1997	1998	1999	2000
Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter	138	115	118	146
Forcible Rape	938	722	688	574
Robbery	5,240	4,172	3,715	4,086
Aggravated Assault	5,520	4,048	4,081	4,804
Burglary	15,471	14,921	13,005	14,936
Larceny-Theft	25,251	20,899	21,756	26,320
Motor Vehicle Theft	11,457	8,337	7,670	8,695
Arson	n/r	554	n/r	n/r
Total Violent Crime	11,836	9,057	8,602	9,610
Total Property Crime	52,179	44,711	42,431	49,951
Index Crime Total	64,015	53,768	51,033	59,561

The UCR crime statistics in Memphis show a general downward decline in both 1998 and 1999, followed by a sharp up-tick in 2000 in every category *except forcible rape*. Considered within the context of Memphis’ high sexual assault statistics over an extended period of time (through the 1990s), it would appear that something may have changed in Memphis *circa* 1998-2000 to stimulate the sustained downward trend. Conversely, Memphis’ SACSI efforts at improving the processes of reporting and maintaining sexual assault cases through the criminal justice system might have been expected to result in an increase in reported assaults, rather than

a decrease. Thus, whether this continued downward trend in forcible rape is causally connected to the efforts of the SACSI project should be examined further.

B. Context of the SACSI Effort

1. Local Government Context

The City of Memphis adopted a Mayor-Council form of government in 1968, with the Mayor and Council members elected separately. A redistricting of the council in 1995 provided for 13 Council members. The Mayor oversees the Memphis Police Department and nominates the Police Director (with affirmation by City Council).

Shelby County government has significant responsibilities in the city of Memphis. Shelby County has a commission form of government with an elected mayor, thirteen commissioners, and various elected clerks and public administrators. The Shelby County Mayor oversees the Sheriff's Department, including the jail in Memphis, the District Attorney General handles State prosecutions in the city, and the Memphis and Shelby County Juvenile Court is responsible for delinquency and child neglect cases. The Shelby County Mayor's Office also sponsors several anti-crime initiatives in Memphis and Shelby County.

Few city and county public safety partnerships existed prior to SACSI. Several law enforcement task forces had been in place prior to SACSI, but these had not persisted beyond personal friendships and some professional relationships.

2. Criminal Justice System Context

The Memphis Police Department (MPD), like other large police departments around the country, has moved from a quasi-militaristic organization to a community oriented policing organization. While MPD does not have a formal written policy on community policing, it has

undergone reorganization over the past ten years to introduce community policing sub-stations and to train community policing officers in a number of areas.

During 1999-2000, MPD worked under an Interim Police Director. The City of Memphis engaged the Police Executive Research Forum to conduct a National search for a permanent Director. This process was completed in July 2000 with Walter Crews, a local candidate and the Interim Director, named as Director.

MPD has a complement of 1,777 officers divided into seven precincts. It has a hierarchical administrative command staff that advises the Director, and the Director in turn works in close relation to the Mayor of Memphis. Each precinct has its own policing facilities and there are several additional storefront community policing stations. The MPD has established neighborhood relations using Block Watch, Neighborhood Watch, Business Watch, and uses many other crime prevention and intervention programs such as D.A.R.E. MPD also has a formal training school for community members conducted as a Citizen's Police Academy.

Memphis has an intermittent history of interagency cooperation and public-private partnerships in the criminal justice community. For example, the U.S. Attorney, Veronica Coleman coordinated a juvenile gun crimes task force from 1993 to 1995 across multiple local, state and federal agencies. In 1985 and 1996 Guardsmark⁶ conducted two public safety audits in Memphis, reported by researchers from the University of Pennsylvania (most notably, Marvin Wolfgang) and Northeastern University (James A. Fox). Among other things, the Guardsmark report recommended that Memphis form a Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. In response to this recommendation, the Memphis Shelby Crime Commission was established in 1997 as a public-private partnership. The Commission exists as a 501(c)(3) (not for profit) organization for the purposes of developing new and promising practices in the City's and County's fight

against crime. The Commission comprises a cross-section of the Memphis-Shelby County community, both public and private sectors, including both Mayors (Memphis SASCSI Research Proposal Appendix A, pp.2-3).

In response to the SACSI initiative, the U.S. Attorney assembled a practitioner-researcher working group to “discuss strategic approaches to reducing violent crime.” (Memphis SACS Research Proposal, Appendix B, p.1).⁷ They chose for SACS to target sexual assault. The working group (an interagency task force) included representatives from the Memphis Police Department, Shelby County Sheriff, the District Attorney General, the USAO, several representatives from the City of Memphis, the Memphis-Shelby Crime Commission, the University of Memphis, and the University of Tennessee at Memphis.

3. Community Context

Over the past decade, Memphis had the highest rate of rapes of any city of its size in the United States. Local researchers used Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data to compare national and regional variations in the aggregate volume of rapes reported to criminal justice agencies and the general decline in forcible rape in major metropolitan areas (Memphis SACS Research Proposal, p.2). They suggest that these data show “... forces toward stabilization *mediated* by regional and local factors” (Emphasis in original; p.2). Memphis, however, has not benefited from a stabilization of the trend in rapes experienced across the United States. Quoting from the

⁶ A Memphis-based private security firm.

⁷ Ms. Coleman was the U.S. Attorney in Memphis during the course of this research. As this case study research concluded, she resigned her office in the wake of the 2000 national election.

research proposal:

“In the City of Memphis there were 789 forcible rapes reported in 1996. The latest official figures released by the Memphis Police Department for 1997 reveal 938 forcible rapes, representing an almost 19% increase over 1996. Ten and five year comparisons reveal a percentage increase of 12.87% over 1987 and 14.68% over 1992.”

The Memphis research proposal documents the high rate of forcible rape in Memphis (148.5 per 100,000 persons in 1997) and how this trend was going up locally (compared to down nationally). UCR data also showed that “Memphis has a forcible rape rate significantly higher than other cities of comparable size and has been identified as having the second highest rate *among all cities* in the United States” (Emphasis in original, Research Proposal, p.5).

The Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center (MSARC), established as the first center of its kind in the United States in 1973, serves as the only metropolitan rape crisis and advocacy center, and collects relevant forensic evidence for the Memphis Police Department. MSARC and MPD administrative records, while not compiled in exactly the same manner, allow for some comparisons. The local researchers report the following preliminary findings, in addition to those mentioned above:

- Half of the rape victims in Memphis were under 18 years old,
- Women aged 14-17 were at greatest risk *for* sexual assault,
- Men aged 14-24 are at the greatest risk *to commit* sexual assault,
- The majority of victims and suspects were African American,
- Most sexual offenses involve a sole victim and a sole offender,
- Most victims and suspects reside in the City of Memphis, and
- Sexual assaults are reported in all areas of the city; however, prevalent clusters can be identified.

MSARC is an organization publicly funded by the City of Memphis. The MSARC Director is a city employee who reports to the Mayor and works with MPD. Memphis Police Department policies and procedures require that responding officers inform and assist victims of acute sexual assault in accessing MSARC services. The details of this assistance will be discussed later in this report, within the context of the planning and implementation of interventions in SACSI. Hospitals in the region are required to call MPD if they treat a case of acute sexual assault. Private physicians, however, are not required to report such cases to police, thus creating differential reporting based on income.

Despite the known limitations of UCR data, and information from MPD and MSARC, the issue of rape and sexual assault in Memphis was perceived by the SACSI group as extremely problematic. Simply put, Memphis experiences higher rates of rape and sexual assault compared to other cities of similar size. This was viewed as a long-standing problem in Memphis, and it was viewed as a trend that was going upward, counter to the downward trends in sexual assault in other cities.

IV. Planning and Organization of the SACSI Effort

A. Building the Partnership

The U.S. Attorney in Memphis convened the initial planning meeting for the SACSI partnership in Memphis in January 1998. A core group was delineated as the policy making body of the initiative, and a separate working group comprised individuals with a stake in the initiative and front-line agency staffs with day- to-day professional responsibilities. At the time of its first meeting, the working group included:

- U.S. Attorney
- Director of Police Services for Memphis
- President of Memphis-Shelby Crime Commission
- Chief Operating Officer of Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County

- Director of Public Services for the City of Memphis
- Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Memphis
- Department of Preventive Medicine, University of Tennessee
- Tennessee Department of Children's Services
- District Attorney General (Shelby County)
- Shelby County Victim Assistance Center
- Shelby County Public Defender
- Child Advocacy Center
- Sheriff Shelby County
- Director, Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center
- Center for Research on Women
- Shelby County Correctional Center

It was anticipated that the following groups/agencies would also participate as the project

evolved:

- Probation and Parole
- Memphis City Schools and Shelby County Schools
- Researchers from other area Universities
- Memphis Neighborhood Watch
- Area Churches
- Youth Organizations
- Health and Human Service agencies
- Media/marketing consultant(s)
- Memphis Shelby Crime Commission

The initial members of the *core group* included the U.S. Attorney, the Director of Police Services, the Director of Public Services, the President of the Memphis Shelby Crime Commission, and the Chief Operating Officer of the Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County. In addition, a new Project Director was hired and detailed from the Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, and the Deputy Chief of the Memphis Police Department came on board. The core group also designated a research team from the University of Memphis and the University of Tennessee.

The initial *agency front-line staff* in the working group included:

- Commander Sex Crimes Squad, MPD
- Director, Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center
- Systems Manager, U.S. Attorney's Office
- Victim/Witness Specialist, U.S. Attorney's Office
- Law Enforcement Coordinator, U.S. Attorney's Office
- Assistant U.S. Attorney

As the above description indicates, the partnership structure was broadly based, representing law enforcement and other criminal justice entities, social service agencies and advocates, and researchers. There was community representation, primarily through the involvement of representatives from local non-profit community groups, but to a lesser degree than projected above.

At the initial meeting of the core group, in the Spring of 1998, members were charged with expanding the range of groups represented at the meeting. The core group began holding regular meetings (weekly, sometimes bi-weekly), which continued throughout the project. Early in the grant period, Spring of 1999, the core group established a number of subcommittees or working groups, for the primary purpose of exploring different strategies. The preliminary results of their efforts are summarized in a report from the working group retreat (July 21,1999).

By July of 2000, the membership of the core group had shifted somewhat. These changes included:

- Director of MPD changed in June 1998
- Interim Director of MPD changed in December 1999
- Director MPD changed in July 2000
- Deputy Chief, MPD, joined the core group in December 1999
- Deputy District Attorney replaced in September 1999
- Another member of the University of Memphis joined the research team in August 1998
- Community Activist joined the core group early in the project
- Memphis Shelby Crime Commission withdrew early in the project
- Commander of the Sex Crimes Unit, MPD, changed in February 2000

Additional changes experienced by March 2001 included:

- Memphis Shelby Crime Commission re-entered the core group
- Project Coordinator left the group as USAO funding for the project ended.

By June of 1999 the group structure had matured. There were three working subcommittees and two task forces. These groups were formed to develop intervention strategies, to determine their feasibility, and to develop a comprehensive plan for each intervention. A July 1999 retreat, facilitated by an outside expert and funded through Department of Justice technical assistance provisions, brought these groups together to present and evaluate these plans.

1. Leadership and Power-Sharing

Field interviews and observations suggest that the leaders throughout the project were the U.S. Attorney (foremost), the lead researcher, and to a somewhat lesser degree the Project Coordinator, the Director of the Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center, and several other research partners. The U.S. Attorney appeared to drive the agenda and progress of the group, particularly when problems occurred or actions were slow. The Project Coordinator set the agenda at meetings of the core group, working primarily in consultation with the lead researcher. When appropriate, other, less formal meetings were undertaken with the U.S. Attorney and members of the core group before taking things to the full core group or to the working group for discussion.

2. Decision-Making

Decision-making among the core and working groups was generally a matter of consensus. As noted above, our field research suggests that the U.S. Attorney, Project Coordinator, and the researchers made some decisions informally, particularly when it came to

setting the agendas and planning of events. No formal voting or dispute resolution mechanisms were evident.

3. Formal vs. Informal Communication Mechanisms

The Memphis SACSI partnership employed both formal and informal communication mechanisms. Most of the people in the core and working group knew each other from previous task forces, other city or county committees, and other work commitments and civic engagements. Some interviewees mentioned that they had known other core and working group members for a long time, for many years. Nonetheless, the interviews and field observations suggest that formal rather than informal communications were a primary means of communicating important information.

4. Partnership Survey and Network Analysis

The NAT surveyed the Memphis SACSI partners twice on partnership, problem-solving, and research utilization issues, once in June 1999 (Wave 1), and again in June 2000 (Wave 2). Table 1 below summarizes the Wave 1 and Wave 2 survey samples for the Memphis SACSI partnership survey. In Memphis, there were more police respondents in Wave 1 and more respondents from other criminal justice organizations in Wave 2. Other organizations responding to the survey remained essentially the same for both waves. Fourteen of the Wave 1 respondents also responded to the Wave 2 survey, representing 58 percent of the Wave 1 and 63 percent of the Wave 2 respondents.

TABLE 1
Summary of Wave 1 and Wave 2 Memphis SACSI
Partnership Survey Respondents

	Wave 1 June 1999	Wave 2 June 2000
Number of responses:		
• Police/law enforcement/USAO	6	3
• Other criminal justice agency	3	6
• Non-law enforcement/criminal justice	14	13
• Not specified	1	0
Total	24	22

The SACSI partnership survey addressed several issues pertaining to perceived effectiveness of the collaboration, participation by various partner agencies or groups, integration of the local research team, and partner satisfaction with various aspects of the SACSI process. Following is a summary of findings from the Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys on SACSI partnership issues.

Before turning to an analysis of these survey data, several notes of caution should be mentioned. The small number of cases (survey respondents) in each Wave of the partnership survey in Memphis cautions against making too much of differences over time, or across different respondent groups (e.g., law enforcement vs. non-law enforcement). In addition, since the Memphis SACSI partnership changed over time, so too did the respondents. Thus, we cannot treat this as a panel survey. Finally, the timing of the surveys must be taken into consideration (Wave I took place after the initiation of SACSI in Memphis, and Wave II took place before the end of federal funding for SACSI in Memphis, and certainly well before the end of the SACSI program, since it is still operational at the time of this writing). These facts represent the reality researchers face when studying on-going programs (and when they do not have the opportunity to initiate research before program implementation) -- long-term programs are always "in

process" as they are emergent phenomena, and research funding rarely corresponds neatly with program implementation and development. The changing nature of social programs like SACSI introduces sampling and response issues beyond the researcher's control. With these caveats in mind, the data from the Memphis SACSI partnership surveys offer some interesting findings, especially in light of what we learned through our other data collection efforts (see Methodology above).

Table 2 summarizes the responses to a survey item pertaining to the perceived involvement of different organizations in the SACSI project. The number of different types of organizations and agencies involved in SACSI changed little from Wave I to Wave II. Law enforcement and criminal justice agencies were most often cited as being involved "a great deal" in SACSI by survey respondents at Wave I. By Wave II, respondents perceived an increase in the involvement of the project coordinator, as well as an increase in involvement by several agencies (local law enforcement, local probation/parole, local social services, and local non-profit organizations). Respondents felt that the local state's attorney's office had decreased its participation by Wave II. Combining the response options "some" and "a great deal" (not shown here) reveals that 75 percent or more of survey respondents mention almost every organization listed as being involved in SACSI at Wave I and Wave II. When the "some" and "a great deal" responses to the involvement question are combined for the Wave II survey responses, involvement across all agencies except local city officials surpasses the Wave I assessment of involvement in SACSI. Thus, when a more inclusive measure of "involvement" is used, the perceived involvement of key law enforcement and non-law enforcement agencies in Memphis SACSI improves from Wave I to Wave II.

TABLE 2

**Involvement of Key Individuals in the
Memphis SACSI Partnership**

To what extent has each of the following individuals/groups been involved in the management/implementation of the SACSI partnership? [percent responding 'a great deal']

	Wave 1 (N = 23)	Wave 2 (N = 20)
U.S. Attorney	85%	85%
Project Coordinator	88%	91%
Local researchers	91%	95%
Local law enforcement	60%	74%
Local state's attorney's office	75%	53%
Local probation/parole	44%	63%
Local city officials	60%	33%
Local social services	44%	44%
Local non-profit organizations	28%	36%

A separate analysis of the survey data examines the frequency of involvement of individuals from different organizations. The following table shows a ranking of the organizations containing the individuals most often mentioned by other SACSI participants as those that they had the most frequent contact with.⁸

⁸ This analysis draws from the social network data. We sum across all survey respondents in each wave to identify which individuals they report having the most contact with (daily or weekly), then rank by highest score. To protect confidentiality, we list the organizations here that have individuals listed in the top five positions for 'amount of contact' for the Wave 1 and Wave 2 partnership surveys.

TABLE 3

**Organizations Participating in the Memphis SACSI Partnership with Individuals
Ranked by All Members as Having the Most Frequent Contact**

Rank	Wave 1	Wave 2
1	University of Memphis	University of Memphis
2	U.S. Attorney's Office University of Memphis	U.S. Attorney's Office University of Memphis
3	Memphis Police Dept	University of Tennessee University of Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center
4	Sexual Assault Resource Center DA General's Office	Memphis Police Dept
5	University of Tennessee Child Advocacy Center	Pretrial Services

From this table we see that members of the local research team are cited by survey respondents as the SACSI participants they most often have contact with, and this is consistent across Waves I and II. The U.S. Attorney's Office ranks second in this analysis, and the Memphis Police Department follows as third in Wave I and fourth in Wave II. The Memphis District Attorney's Office ranked fourth in Wave I and did not rank among the top five in Wave II, while the Youth Advocacy Center ranked fifth at Wave I and did not appear in the ranking at Wave II. According to this analysis, law enforcement and criminal justice organizations are not those from which individuals with the most frequent contact come from. The local research team emerges as perhaps the more visible and more active participant than the U.S. Attorney's Office in Memphis.

TABLE 4

Perceived Effectiveness of Local Researchers in the Memphis SACSI Partnership

Please indicate how effective the local researcher(s) has been in producing information that is useful for: [percent responding 'very effective']

	Wave 1 (N = 24)	Wave 2 (N = 22)
Identifying the target problem	82%	74%
Planning new approaches	63%	59%
Building partnerships	45%	50%
Implementing the strategy	56%	44%
Developing and implementing evaluative measures	57%	67%
Evaluating the process/partnerships	57%	71%
Assessing impact	67%	85%

SACSI participants in Memphis viewed the local researchers as being most effective in producing useful information for identifying the problem SACSI chose to work on at Wave I, and most effective at assessing impact at Wave II. More than half of the respondents in the Wave I partnership survey felt the local research team was 'very effective' at all except one of the tasks included in the survey -- building the partnership. At Wave II more than half of the survey respondents felt the local researchers were very successful at all of the tasks except one -- implementing the strategy -- the SACSI activity the local research team is least likely to be directly involved in.⁹ Combining the "somewhat effective" and "very effective" response options for this series of questions (not shown here) reveals that over 80% of the respondents at Wave I and Wave II felt the local research team as effective or better in all areas. Ninety percent

⁹ In addition, our observations support the finding that the local research team was more involved in strategy implementation early on in the SACSI project, when the Wave 1 survey was distributed, which explains why they were rated higher in that category at Wave 1. In Memphis, the research team was bifurcated -- one group did most of the problem identification and clarification analysis, while another group did more of the evaluation research.

or more felt the local research team was effective or very effective at four of the seven areas covered -- producing useful information for problem identification, building the partnership, developing new measures, and assessing impact. These findings regarding the local researchers are consistent with our field observations. From the beginning, the Memphis research team made significant contributions and performed in leadership roles in many aspects of the SACSI project.

The SACSI national assessment methodology used social network analysis to further explore the relationships among the members of the SACSI partnership. In social network analysis, members of a social group (in this case, the SACSI partnership team members, as identified through analysis of project documents and consultation with the Project Coordinator) are asked how often they have contact with other members of the group (e.g., daily, weekly, monthly, every few months, never). Once all responses are received, a statistical methodology calculates the social distance between all group members, relative to each other, on a grid. Individuals who cluster near each other on the grid have more frequent contact with each other compared to the amount of contact they have with other group members. There is no absolute measure of social distance or "closeness," one appears closer to or more distant from other group members relative to their social distance (or closeness) from other group members.

While social network analysis is useful for adding a quantitative component to what is typically a qualitative analysis (of group relations), there are limitations to this approach, the relative nature of the measure of social distance being the most obvious. We cannot apply a metric measure, for example, to one person's distance from another on the grid, since there are no uniform standards for nearness or distance in any social group. Several other limitations

This too explains why the Memphis research team might be rated as 'very effective' at strategy implementation at Wave 2. Note that the responses of local researchers are included in this analysis.

apply to this particular analysis. Since the SACSI partnership groups are small, the number of survey respondents is small, thus introducing error and instability to some of the social distance statistics. In addition, while we made a concerted effort to include all possible group members in the survey, not all responded, and it is possible that one or a few were omitted by accident. Finally, for purposes of this analysis, we combined the responses for amount of contact: daily, weekly, and monthly, formed one measure of contact, while the "every few months" and "never" responses were coded as no contact. This, too, may have introduced some error in our measure of contact between group members, but it provided a reasonable amount of variation between contact and no contact for the purposes of the network analysis.¹⁰

Figure 1 presents the social network grids for the Wave 1 and Wave 2 network analysis for the Memphis SACSI partnership at the individual level. Without focusing on individual grid points, note the arrangement of the points in Wave 1 compared to Wave 2. In Wave 1, the data points (individual group members) pertaining to the agencies in the core group tend to be clustered in the right two quadrants of the grid, while most other members (who are from key agencies and other participating agencies, but are not in leadership positions within those agencies) are scattered in the left quadrants.¹¹ Notice also that the arrangement of data points in the Wave 2 grid is generally the same – few data points representing core group representatives in the right quadrants and large groups of other individuals in the left quadrants. This general pattern suggests that the Memphis SACSI partnership developed a ‘two-tiered’ structure, in which the core group members (decision-makers from key SACSI partners in the research organizations, U.S. Attorney’s Office, police department, and other organizations), relative to

¹⁰ To avoid the problem of individual respondents changing from Wave 1 to Wave 2 (the organizations participating in SACSI remained essentially the same), we aggregated individual responses to the network survey to the organizational level. For Winston-Salem, this reduced the number of cases in the analysis enough to introduce further instability to the statistics. Thus, we do not present the organization-level network analysis here.

other participants, have more frequent contact with each other, and the bulk of the participants have more contact with each other than with the core working group.

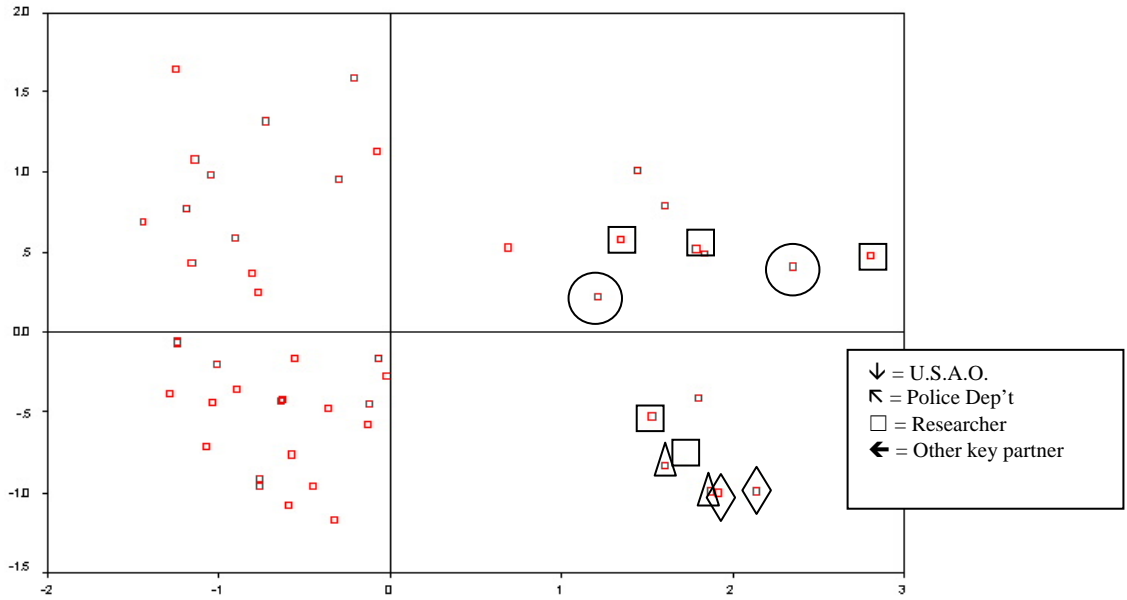
Other notable findings from this network analysis for Memphis include the following:

- At Wave 1 the two key participants from the U.S. Attorney's Office appear relatively close to each other, as they appear in the same (upper left) quadrant; still they did not have the most frequent contact with each other; at Wave 2, these two individuals are far apart from each other, with one moving to the upper-left quadrant, and the other remaining in the upper right quadrant. In addition, one representative of the U.S. Attorney's Office (lower right quadrant at Wave 2) appears removed from most of the people in the partnership, standing almost alone at Wave 2.
- The 'dyad' of two closely linked police and key partner individuals in the lower right quadrant represents an important link between the police department and the city's main sexual assault victimization center. This relationship appears intact at Wave 2 (represented by the two linked objects) in the upper right quadrant, though the distance between the two individuals (relative to others they have contact with in the partnership) has grown slightly.
- On the other hand, the dyad representing a researcher and other key partner (in this case, a representative from the local district attorney's office) found in the upper right quadrant in Wave 1 does not exist in Wave 2; one of the two (the district attorney's office representative) has moved to the lower right quadrant.

¹¹ Recall that the position in the grid means little in and of itself (e.g., one group member's location in, say, the upper left quadrant means nothing, except in relation to the other points in the grid).

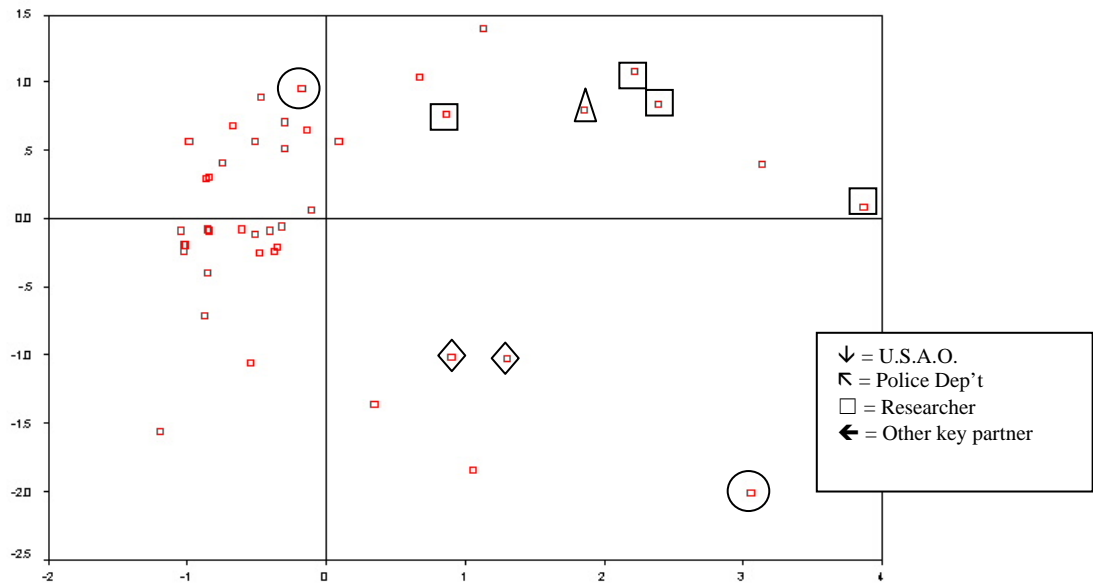
Memphis Social Network Grid

Individual Level - Wave 1



Memphis Social Network Grid

Individual Level - Wave 2



The structure of the partnership remained relatively constant during the first few years of the Memphis SACSI project, but the roster of players shifted (particularly within the Memphis Police Department in November 1999). Most of the participants who joined the core or working groups after their initial formation came in vis-à-vis office or position (e.g., they were considered members of the project due to the fact that their office or agency participated in SACSI and the individual was designated to replace an individual who left the project or to fill a need identified by others in their agency). For example, a representative from probation services joined the partnership in November 1999. The core group determined, by consensus, that the agency's assistance was required to conduct a "pulling levers" intervention.

Community participation in the partnership came in several forms. First, a community activist began as a member of the initial core group. Second, community meetings were held in neighborhoods on the South side of Memphis. To facilitate this aspect of the project, the project coordinator approached several church, business, and neighborhood watch organizations to work with the project, and the Memphis Light Gas and Water Company (MLGW) introduced interventions into their neighborhood. At the close of the research period for this case study, several stakeholder respondents suggested that the community was not a full partner in this project, possibly because community interventions were not yet fully in place and, as such, it was premature to expect a great amount of community participation.

The SACSI project working group has clearly led to an enhancement of partnerships among high-level partners. The SACSI process of information sharing and fact- / evidence-based research was recognized by high-level agency personnel as an important process for long-term change. Several agency heads have engaged the University of Memphis in evaluation of

other projects not related to SACSI, showing a higher level of trust between the agency and the University, and across agencies, as additional resources were tapped (see Section B.2).

The SACSI process core group changed so that there was a reduced level of communication. Trust among the members was not the issue. Delays in implementation of interventions, so that some core members cut back on interventions while waiting for change to occur, became a central issue. The core group, nonetheless, continues to meet and it appears that it will be sustained by the Memphis-Shelby Crime Commission and the local research team after USAO funding ends.

5. Breaking Down Boundaries and Resolving Disputes

SACSI in Memphis did not develop a formal process for resolving disputes. To some degree, issues arose regarding timelines for implementation rather than the type of intervention.

The SACSI project did lead to some change in how agencies tackle criminal justice problems in Memphis and Shelby County. In particular, the University of Memphis was provided a much greater role in decision-making processes as the Chair of Criminology and Criminal Justice was invited to become a member of the board of the Memphis-Shelby Crime Commission. This agency pro-actively engages high-level officials to promote public-private partnerships to address crime problems in Memphis and Shelby County.

6. Tapping Additional Resources

The SACSI project in Memphis tapped several additional resources, beyond partner agency staff time. These include:

- The Memphis Light Gas and Water Company agreed to participate in a neighborhood intervention to enhance the lighting and electricity available to one of the neighborhood(s) in which SACSI was implemented.

- SACSI participants (particularly the research partners) helped the City of Memphis obtain “Weed and Seed” funding.
- The University of Memphis, working with several SACSI partners, obtained a grant from the Assisi Foundation to re-format crime data for multiple problem-solving issues. Additional proposals have also been developed seeking federal and foundation monies to expand this project.
- A grant proposal has been developed to institutionalize SACSI as a Secretariat for a Public Safety / Crime Council. This proposal is modeled on the East Bay Partnership.

B. Problem-Solving

1. Identifying the Problem(s)

In Memphis, the target problem for SACSI -- rape and sexual assault -- was chosen about three months before the formal beginning of the project. A working group of about thirty persons met in a brainstorming session to examine violent crime problems in Memphis, relying primarily on the Uniform Crime Reports and Memphis Police Department data. At this meeting, the University of Memphis and the University of Tennessee made brief presentations on violent crime trends in Memphis. As noted above, the Memphis SACSI research partner proposal relied on these data, highlighting the comparatively high rape rate in Memphis when compared to the United States and other cities. Adding to what was gained from the UCR data, Memphis Police Department data for 1997 suggested that, unlike other Part I crimes in Memphis, the trend in rape was going up. At that time, the group made the initial assessment that rape was the most serious problem in Memphis and that the Memphis initiative would work toward a better understanding of the problem, and to plan interventions to target rape and sexual assault.

Our interviews for this case study suggest that the choice of rape / sexual assault as the target problem was based on consensus among the group. Several interviews suggest that other problems such as domestic assault were discussed. Nonetheless, the decision was to target rape / sexual assault.

2. Analyzing the Problem

The research team in Memphis received approval and funding for its research proposal in the Spring of 1999. The lead researcher was from the University of Memphis (Chair of the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice), and research team members came from both the University of Memphis (Department of Criminal Justice) and the University of Tennessee at Memphis (Medical School, Department of Biostatistics and Epidemiology). With minor exceptions, the University of Memphis researchers focused on problem description, identification, and development of interventions, and the University of Tennessee researchers focused on the evaluative aspects of the local research strategy. The research team conducted a preliminary scan of data on local sexual assault activity to develop an expanded identification of the problem. They analyzed incident reports from the Memphis Police Department and the Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center (MSARC), based on 2,517 incident reports from 1996 and 1997 (provided by the Memphis Police Department). MSARC provided written records on cases that came to their attention for January to May of 1998. The research team compiled baseline data on types of sexual assaults (rapes, attempted rape, sexual battery, statutory rape, unusual sex acts, and non-forced incest), characteristics of offenses (numbers of victims/offenders; victim-offender relationship; age, sex, and race of the victim and offender; time of the offense; location of the offense; alcohol and drugs); and more variables.

The SACSI core group, after discussion with the research team, MSARC, and the Memphis Police Department Sex Crimes Squad, determined that the target problem should be narrowed to rape and sexual assault of 13-17 year olds, at least for initial purposes. This selection of a target problem is based on preliminary analysis that suggested "... this age group poses a greater risk for recidivism by both the victim and the perpetrator. Therefore the opportunity exists for making a significant impact on reducing the incidents of rape / sexual assault in this age group."

The research team reviewed the MPD and MSARC data and presented this information to the core group using simple descriptive information (frequencies and rates), and GIS maps showing clustering of crimes, correlates with demographics, and social and environmental variables (such as poverty). Secondary analysis of UCR data documented how Memphis' rape rates are among the highest in the country.

The research team explained that sexual assault is not a uni-dimensional problem, "... but reflects certain patterns of behavior based on types of offenders, victims, localities, methods and time..." as they developed a typology to understand the target problem. They described a typology with four categories of sexual assault: opportunistic, predatory, vindictive, and targeted exploitation. Opportunistic incidents include assaults that come about through routine activities where the offender and victim happen to meet (date rapes would be included here). Predatory incidents include those in which the offender seeks out a victim (may include stranger and acquaintance rape through abduction or forced entry). Vindictive situations refer to incidents in which victims appear to be targeted based on perceived transgressions (e.g., ex-intimates, drug deals involving a rival drug dealer's girlfriend). Targeted exploitation involves offenders with access to vulnerable victims (age; mental impairment; intra-familial; caretaker). Their proposal

suggested that a typology-driven response is important for the design and implementation of interventions (Memphis SACSI Research Proposal, p.29). Their preliminary analysis explained that they would use a “TIPS” approach, “Typology-driven Intervention and Prevention Strategies.”

The research team outlined how TIPS may be associated with case disposition, as they found preliminary differences in case processing based on their analysis. Their analysis suggested that case persistence in the “pipeline” -- from arrest, to prosecution, to victim advocacy within MSARC, to sentencing -- may be determined in part by the type of case it represents within the typology (e.g., opportunistic cases have a different length of time in the pipeline than exploitative cases). Information on case dispositions from MPD, MSARC and the Shelby County District Attorney’s office were required for this kind of analysis.

Their analysis also addressed ecological factors -- neighborhood-level demographics, physical, and social factors. High-risk neighborhoods, they found, were closely related to the distribution of problem rental properties, abandoned buildings, drug dealing, alcohol, and other problems. Social factors also included the identification of social networks such as neighborhood watch, or church-based outreach programs. Much of these ecological data were collected and geo-coded during a GIS project at the University of Memphis in 1999 and into 2000.

Overall, the research team described in 1998 a methodological protocol for constructing four databases:

- A Global Incident Reporting System constructed from MPD data;
- A Comprehensive Incident Analysis database combining MPD data with data from MSARC and other sources;

- A Geographic Information Systems database of demographic and social data; and
- A Case Disposition Database constructed from hard copy records from the District Attorney's Office.

In July 1999, Memphis SACSI held a retreat to develop intervention strategies. DOJ provided technical assistance support for this retreat in the form of an independent consultant to coordinate the meeting. An observer from the National Assessment Team attended. Subcommittees of the working group presented a total of thirty-eight recommendations ranging from education, to policing practices, to enhanced lighting. After presentation of the strategies, the participants were separated into five groups to review the recommendations and to evaluate the possible impact, feasibility, desire to pursue, cost, and timeliness of each proposed intervention. Each group then provided an overall ranking of the interventions. This retreat helped narrow down the large list of interventions to a smaller and more specific number.

3. Responding to the Problem

In December 1999, the SACSI core group had been meeting bi-weekly, working to develop and implement some of the proposals from the retreat. They were focusing on three target problems:

- Sexual assaults in vehicles;
- Repeat offenders; and
- Statutory rapes.

Until the time of the SACSI partnership, it did not appear that much progress in Memphis had been made in developing or implementing interventions. The proposed interventions were to

include operational changes in the Memphis Police Department's Sexual Crimes Unit; MSARC's Sexual Assault Response Team; enhancements to the charging unit in the District Attorney's office; directed patrol through operation "night-lite" in problem neighborhoods; and physical changes in the Memphis Police Department's Sex Crimes Unit/Squad to provide partitions between victims and offenders, and a waiting room.

The Memphis SACSI project was designed to have direct and indirect impact on the problem of sexual assault through these various programs and interventions, with the broad goal of reducing rape and sexual assault in Memphis. It was suggested that the project might also promote a better understanding of how the criminal justice system operates vis-à-vis issues of secondary victimization. In theory, an intervention which achieves a higher likelihood of keeping a case in the pipeline toward arrest, prosecution, and sentencing will lead to a stronger general deterrence effect and lower rates of sexual assault. Thus, much of Memphis' SACSI strategies were geared toward maintaining victim interest in/desire to persist with prosecution.

The Memphis SACSI interventions were to take place in several agencies including the Memphis Police Department, the District Attorney General's Office, the Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center (MSARC), Shelby County Pretrial Services, and Probation and Parole. These are described below:

Memphis Police Department, Sex Crimes Unit -- Two direct intervention were proposed: First, a reorganization of call-out procedures (procedures by which police officers are notified, or 'called out' to respond to reported incidents of sexual assault); and, second, changes to the physical space in the Memphis Police Department Sex Crimes Unit. One indirect and cooperative

intervention with MSARC also resulted in the development of a rape education project for school children (See MSARC section to follow).

Until August 1999, the MPD Sex Crimes Unit worked on an 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. schedule. The felony response unit covered the 4 p.m. to 8 a.m. schedule, though their priority was homicide cases. The intervention involved the reorganization of schedules in the Sex Crimes Unit to implement a 24-hour and seven-day-per-week schedule. The 4 p.m. to 8 a.m. schedule was changed by implementing a 24-hour call-out procedure using overtime pay for current staff from the Sex Crimes Unit. As of September 1st, 1999 the criteria for 24-hour call-out places a high priority for sexual assault cases if:

- A. The complaint is new (complaints called in that are 30 days or older were processed by making appointments)
- B. Injuries were suspected or involved
- C. The suspect was unknown to the victim
- D. Suspect known (Both C and D now, where previously only C)
- E. "Attorney General consultation previously on A, B, C, (and D) only" is "Now at all levels."

This MPD intervention reorganized the protocol in the Sex Crimes Unit within existing financial resources. Note, though, that a high priority is now created for cases where the offender knows the suspect, whereas this case would not have been called-out in the past. Interviews with the commanders of the Sex Crimes Unit suggest that they believe this process is more effective than it was in the past. At the same time, there is the issue of financial costs of

overtime pay for officers under the revised protocol.¹² A reorganization of the Sex Crimes Unit with rotating schedules may be an alternative method to achieving this goal, but this would eliminate overtime pay for police officers.

Regarding changes in the physical space within the unit, the intervention called for partitions to separate victims and offenders in the interview areas in the Sex Crimes Unit, and that a waiting area for victims be established. Up until 1999, the victims and offenders both waited in the same hallway outside the Sex Crimes Unit, and during interviews the victims and offenders were visible to each other. MPD has obtained space for a waiting room and plans are in place to obtain partitions to separate victims and offenders during the interview process, though this work had not been completed at the close of our case study research in late 2000. The proposed waiting room was still being used as a storage area and partitions were not yet in place, nor had they been purchased. Note that additional resources were needed to purchase partitions and this budget item, while clearly requisitioned by MPD, had not yet been approved by the City of Memphis and thus was not yet in place.

District Attorney General's Office -- The prosecution of sex crimes in Memphis is the responsibility of the Shelby County District Attorney. The planned intervention was a rigorous prosecution of sexual assault cases to better maintain them in the pipeline. By March 2000, it did not appear that significant changes in staffing nor policy had been made in the District Attorney's Office. The District Attorney's Office did not maintain computerized information on caseflow and simply said it rigorously prosecuted all cases of sexual assault.

¹² During a later site visit, it was apparent that the police department had ceased the revised call-out procedure due to a lack of overtime funds. At the time of this writing it is uncertain whether the revised call-out procedure for sexual

Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center -- MSARC has a used a “Stop Violence” grant to provide advocate services to victims from Sunday-Thursday from 6 p.m. to midnight, and regular MSARC monies for all other times. Since August 1999, SACSI has been responsible for a 24-hour call-out of the Sexual Assault Response Team (MPD) and 24-hour advocacy services of MSARC. It was hoped that 24-hour response would improve case retention in the pipeline. Interviews with front-line workers suggested that relations between MSARC and MPD officers have improved because of this process. It, however, is not clear that data is being gathered to document changes.

MSARC has also developed a two-day rape education module presented as a “sexual awareness and training program” in Memphis City Schools. Schools participate on a voluntary basis. A police officer and MSARC staff educate grade school youth about rape. Children are presented with a dating (rape) scenario and then asked to describe various aspects of it and their own experiences. The staff uses the children’s information to initiate group discussion. They also provide information about sexual assault in Memphis and some methods to reduce risk.

4. Assessing the Interventions

Several interventions for SACSI in Memphis were proposed early in the project yet each faced long delays in implementation and some were not implemented at all. As of March 2000, it appeared that subjective assessments of interventions were being made at the core group meetings. Line-level staff were present at these meetings and their knowledge of proposed interventions, implementation, and progress was shared with the core group. By February 2001, several interventions were implemented and assessments were being conducted. Formal evaluation and presentation of findings have been made at several National and regional conferences.

assault incidents is in effect.

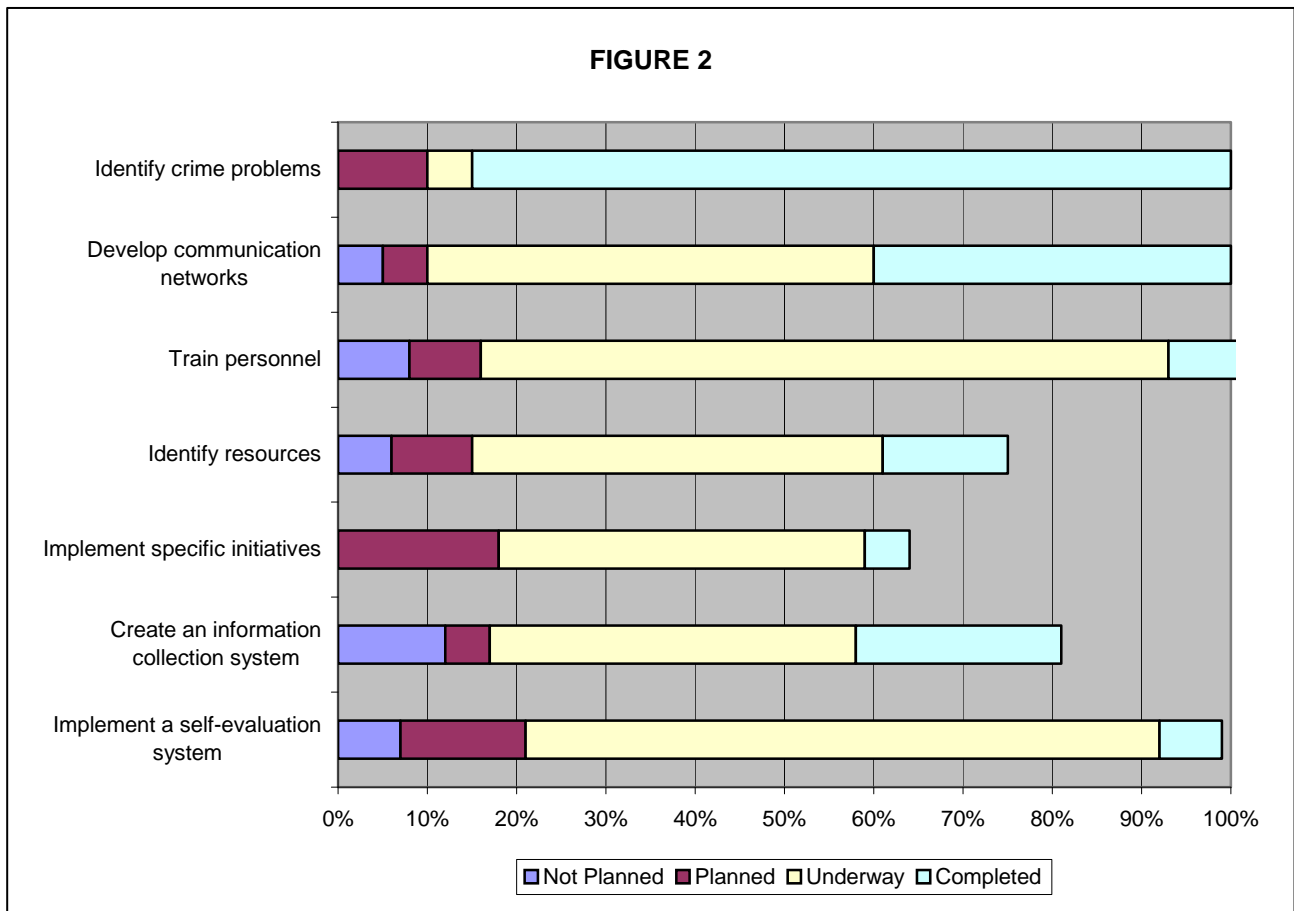
5. Survey Findings Relating to Problem-Solving

The SACSI partnership survey asked questions relating to the areas of problem identification, problem-solving, and other aspects of SACSI effectiveness. Table 5 below summarizes findings from the SACSI Wave 1 and Wave 2 partnership surveys pertaining to selection of the crime problem, inclusion of key problem-solving steps, and other areas pertaining to the effectiveness of the SACSI effort in Memphis.

Over 70 percent of the survey respondents felt that the SACSI partnership targeted the most pressing problem facing Memphis – sexual assault; though a slightly lower percentage felt this way at Wave 2 compared to Wave 1 (see Table 5 below). Less than half of the survey respondents in Wave 2 indicated that key components of the problem-solving effort were completed (in some cases only a small percentage felt key tasks had been completed). After almost two years of SACSI planning and implementation in Memphis, "identify crime problems" was the only problem-solving step that more than 50 percent of respondents marked as "completed."

Figure 2 below shows the percentage of respondents in the Wave 2 survey that rated various problem-solving steps as "not planned," "planned," "underway," or "completed." At the time of the second partnership survey, survey respondents felt that most of the key problem-solving steps identified in the survey were underway, rather than completed. This, too, is consistent with our observations. While DOJ funding spanned a two-year period (though several grant extensions and some small grant supplements were provided to several SACSI sites), our research found that most SACSI processes were either still "underway" or nearing completion after several years of implementation. Over 10 percent of survey respondents at Wave 2 felt the task relating to development of an information collection system was not planned.

When asked how effective SACSI was in five other problem-solving areas, more than 50 percent of respondents in Wave 1 and Wave 2 indicated that the Memphis SACSI project was "very effective" at one of them -- fostering cooperation among organizations. Fewer than 20 percent of respondents at both Wave 1 and Wave 2 felt the project was "very effective" at generating buy-in from the social service, faith, and private sectors. The percentage of survey respondents rating the project as very effective at planning new approaches and generating additional funding increased from Wave 1 to Wave 2. On the other hand, the percentage of respondents rating the project as effective at reducing the targeted problem reduced from Wave 1 to Wave 2, from 27 percent to 20 percent (Table 5). Combining the response categories

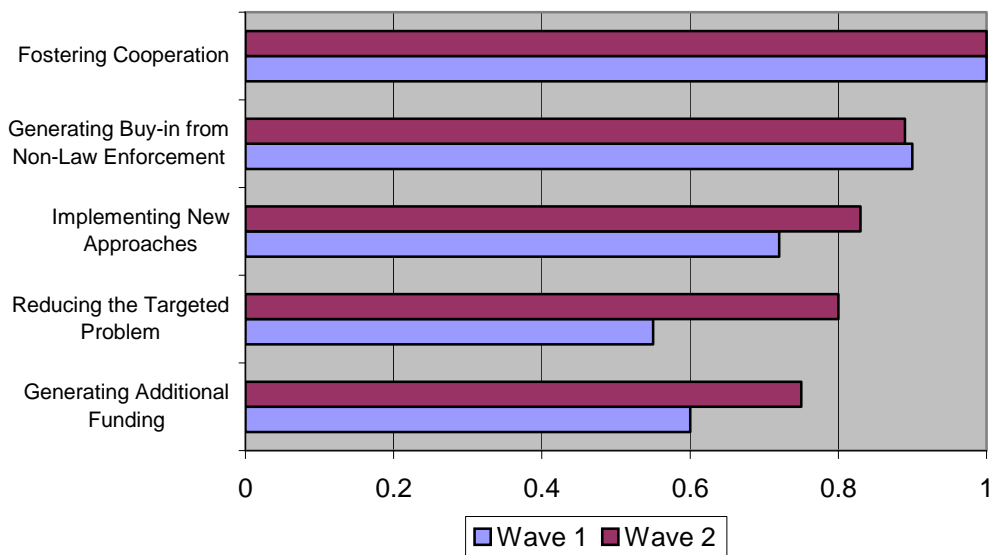


"somewhat effective" and "very effective" for these five questions reveals that, depending on the

task, from 50 percent to 100 percent of respondents in both survey waves felt SACSI had been at least somewhat effective in the various problem-solving steps.

A final set of questions in the Wave 1 and Wave 2 partnership surveys addresses partners' feelings and opinions about more general topics relating to effectiveness (e.g., satisfaction with the partnership, feeling involved, caring about the partnership). As Table 5 shows, the

FIGURE 3



percentage of respondents strongly agreeing with the statements varies depending on the statement. For example, at Wave 2 25 percent strongly agreed that the SACSI partnership was more effective than most partnerships they know (26 percent at Wave 1), and 29 percent at Wave 2 strongly agreed that they were satisfied with the partnership (26 percent at Wave 1). At Wave 2 70 percent strongly agreed that the partnership should stay in place to solve other problems (64 percent at Wave 1), and 60 percent strongly agreed that the SACSI project was critical to forming the partnership (52 percent at Wave 1).¹³ These findings suggest that, while the

¹³ Recall that the Wave 1 and Wave 2 partnership surveys included different sets of respondents. In Winston-Salem, 15 individuals provided valid responses to the Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys, so approximately 3/4 of the Wave 2 respondents also responded to Wave 1.

Memphis SACSI partners may not be satisfied with all aspects of the project or the problem-solving process, they value the partnership in and of itself, most likely because it holds promise for solving other local problems.¹⁴

TABLE 5

Perceptions of SACSI Problem-Solving Effectiveness

	Wave 1	Wave 2
<i>Has SACSI targeted the most pressing crime problem?</i> [percent responding 'yes']	79%	73%
<i>Please indicate whether the local SACSI strategy has included any of the following activities. [percent indicating that the activity was 'completed']</i>		
Identify crime problems	83%	85%
Develop communication networks	50%	40%
Train personnel	19%	8%
Identify resources	38%	19%
Implement specific initiatives	14%	7%
Create an information collection system	28%	29%
Implement a system for self-evaluation	5%	7%
<i>Please indicate how effective your SACSI has been in the areas listed below. [percent responding 'very effective']</i>		
Fostering cooperation among organizations	57%	53%
Generating 'buy-in' from the social service, faith, and private sectors	16%	17%
Planning new approaches . . .	32%	41%
Reducing the target problem	27%	20%
Generating additional funding . . .	0%	38%
<i>Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement. [percent responding 'strongly agree']</i>		
I am satisfied with the partnership	26%	29%
I feel involved with the partnership	26%	33%
In spite of individual differences, a feeling of unity exists in this partnership	17%	33%
This partnership is addressing the most important issues in our community	58%	52%
Compared to other groups I know, I feel this partnership is more effective than most	26%	25%
I want to remain a member of this group	52%	55%

¹⁴ Recall that the partnership chose a particularly difficult problem to solve through federal-local collaboration at the outset.

I care about what happens in this partnership	79%	71%
The SACSI approach was critical to the formation of our partnership	52%	60%
The SACSI partnership should remain in place to work on other problems	64%	70%

V. Summary of Strengths and Weaknesses in SACSI Implementation

A criminal justice / research / community partnership was a welcome idea with SACSI. Most of the criminal justice system actors have participated in similar partnerships pre-SACSI. The U.S. Attorney has a long history in Memphis of involvement in crime prevention activities, thus the USAO intervention to coordinate SACSI was respected by the majority of partners as a welcome and valid activity for a USA.

Obstacles and Strategies for Moving Forward

Some partners expressed their opinion that the USAO was an organization with responsibilities for prosecution of the law rather than crime prevention. There also appeared to be some resistance to SACSI by the state prosecutor's office since the specific problem – sexual assault – is a responsibility of the District Attorney General's office rather than the USAO. Nonetheless, the group as a whole recognized that sexual assault was a substantial problem in Memphis.

Provision of a project coordinator within the USAO was described by the vast majority of partners in SACSI as an opportunity to work together to find a solution for crime. While many partners already had ad hoc partnerships and long-term personal relations across agencies, the project coordinator allowed an unplanned formalization of information exchange. A weakness, however, was that several partners suggested there was a necessary learning curve for a coordinator before a person in this position would become productive.

The greatest obstacle for SACSI was slowness in organizational change within the Memphis Police Department and the District Attorney General's office. MPD has eventually made changes to its organization but evaluation of these changes will extend beyond the timeframe of SACSI. Changes to the organization of the AG's Office, regarding their prosecution of sexual assault, were not evident to the national evaluators.

The Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center was able to capitalize on SACSI to make changes to procedures for call-outs for victim assistance. A coordination of information across agencies was also suggested as a logical yet fortuitous opportunity brought about because of SACSI. The City of Memphis was successful in obtaining its first Weed and Seed grant using information from the SACSI partnership. Several SACSI partners also have worked to initiate a problem-solving model for crime prevention in Memphis and Shelby County.

Utilization of Information and Resources

The research team has ten research projects at different stages of development and implementation. Much of the data being examined by the research team have been described earlier in this case study as compilations of existing police and prosecution data. In addition, original data collection has been proposed, or is being collected, to address issues of secondary victimization. The research projects include:

1. Existing data from the Memphis Police Department is being used to document trends in sexual assault cases. Some progress has been made here, as the researchers and MPD are now able to export files from MPD for research purposes. Previously, hard copies were used to provide MPD information to the researchers and this required data entry.

2. A comprehensive incident analysis database has been developed and analyzed. The data set involves all cases of repeat suspects, a 10 percent sample of remaining MPD incidents for 1995 to 1999, and an over-sampling of incidents from targeted neighborhoods in South Memphis. The University of Memphis compiled a profile of sexual assaults.
3. A geographic information systems database. This dataset has been compiled for 1999 and is now being used at the University to map sexual assault cases to identify clusters and their relation to high risk factors in the community. The GIS system was still operational in 2001, with foundation funding available to continue through at least 2002.
4. A case disposition database is being compiled by the University of Memphis using data from MPD and the attorney general's office. This data collection began in March 2000 and is continuing in 2001.
5. A systemic analysis charting the roles and relationships among the agencies participating in SACSI in Memphis. Qualitative information is being gathered by the University of Memphis to complete this process map.
6. Focus groups and qualitative interviews of professional and front-line staff in MPD, MSARC, and other agencies have been proposed. At this point, a survey of police officers' regarding changes in the Sex Crimes Unit has been designed. The data were collected in Fall 2000 and preliminary analyses were complete in February 2001.
7. A survey of victims regarding changes in MPD and MSARC has been designed. The data collection has not yet begun as the surveys are under review by the Human Subjects Review Board. Both funding and who is to do the interviewing were at issue.

8. A case study of a targeted neighborhood was proposed. GIS technology, a neighborhood profile, and MPD information are to be utilized. This project is underway using resources from the Center for Urban Research and Extension at the University of Memphis. In July 2000, GIS maps of crime and social capital had been produced.
9. The University of Memphis is conducting a longer-term project on women's experience with violence. This project requires more in-depth interviews of women victims, MSARC data, and MPD data. These data were collected in 2000-01. Initial reports are expected in Winter 2001.
10. A project on sexual awareness in Memphis City Schools was developed in Fall of 2000 by MSARC, MPD, and the University of Tennessee at Memphis. The teaching modules are complete and qualitative evaluation instruments were being developed.

The proposed activities of SACSI in Memphis are very broad. However, the strength of assessment varies substantially across interventions. The incident reporting system, geographic information system, and case disposition database have strong potential for evaluation. Problematically, it is doubtful that survey data collection of pre-existing conditions will be done prior to implementation of interventions. The rape education module also may need some additional conceptualization to address how to measure long-term attitude change given the short-term nature of the presentation.

All partners recognized that it would be important to utilize shared information to assess the impact of SACSI interventions on sexual assault. At the same time, they suggested

that this was a long-term problem and they did not expect to see substantial change within the timeframe of SACSI.

All partners described the on-site research team in extremely positive terms. In particular, criminal justice agencies and community partners described the research team as an important player that would be able to provide a critical assessment of the impact of SACSI. Comments from within the research team itself are also interesting self-reflections. Several research team members were critical of the slowness of interventions, as they suggested they would not be able to provide as much as they would like to provide regarding assessment, within the timeframe of SACSI. Given a short timeframe and the demands placed on faculty, it is important to recognize that a SACSI-like project might place additional burdens on junior faculty.

The Role of DOJ and Other Related Technical Assistance

The Memphis USAO coordinator and the researchers spoke highly of NIJ/DOJ assistance. They received monies to bring in Maria Theresa Miramonte from the East Bay Partnerships to talk about community partnerships, a conference call with David Kennedy to talk about the “pulling levers” approach, and Joanne Keaton to work as a facilitator in a group retreat. Jay Marshall also was noted in glowing terms for an OJJDP pre-publication report that he was able to obtain for the core group. Several people said it was not so much technical assistance that was an issue for SACSI as local difficulties in being able to take things to implementation.

Some problems with technical assistance were noted as NIJ promised GIS more infrastructure support than it actually provided (computers, data processing). Perhaps this was a misunderstanding on the part of the local site, but it does appear to have strained at least some of

the community partners. Further, GIS implementation was not a new thing for MPD and the issue devolved into one of access over crime data.

VI. Institutionalization of SACSI

The SACSI partnership was maintained using funding from outside the U.S. Attorney's Office. The local partners in the Criminal Justice agencies, researchers, and community members have committed to maintaining a SACSI-like partnership with the Memphis-Shelby Crime Commission acting as the coordinator.

The particular problem of sexual assault will remain as one of several focal concerns for a coordinating committee. Whether the USAO will remain involved with the project will depend upon the opinion of the new U.S. Attorney. It is highly likely that the SACSI partners will remain committed as the Memphis-Shelby Crime Commission has multi-year funding as a non-partisan, public-private community partnership.

The process of SACSI in Memphis to strategize interventions to reduce sexual assault was clearly a success as agencies, researchers, and some community members came together to tackle a very difficult problem. Many of the difficulties were organizational impediments to change.

The impact of SACSI on sexual assault rates is as yet unknown. The interventions were implemented late in the project and, even if successful as implemented, the timeframe for success may extend well into the future.

Nonetheless, SACSI has had demonstrably positive effects in Memphis. Cooperation across agencies has lasted much longer than previous projects. Movement of the partnership under the aegis of the Memphis-Shelby Crime Commission is an indication that partners view it

as a valuable experience. In addition, several cooperative projects were proposed because of SACSI and some have even been implemented during the SACSI time period.