



July 17, 1997

Dear Friend:

Thank you for contacting the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) and its affiliated think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI). Enclosed are the materials you requested. We are pleased that you have an interest in our organizations and in learning more about our views and policy proposals.

As you may already know, the DLC and the PPI seek to move beyond the obsolete left-right debate by formulating non-bureaucratic, non-centralized solutions that adapt the best progressive principles to the Information Age. Examples of these solutions that are now producing results in communities around the country include: charter schools, work-based welfare reform, national service and community policing. If these or other issues are of interest to you, please contact us for a copy of our catalog of publications.

In this package you will also find an invoice for the publications you ordered. We would greatly appreciate it if you would send the amount due as soon as possible. If there is no charge or we have already received your payment, please disregard the invoice.

Thank you again for contacting the DLC and the PPI. To continue taking advantage of the services and ideas that we offer, please call us at 1-800-546-0027 (in the Washington D.C. metro area, call 202-608-1245), contact us via e-mail at info@dlcpqi.org, or visit our Web site at <http://www.dlcpqi.org>.

Sincerely,

Kelita Svoboda
Publications Coordinator

**U.S. Department of Justice****Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS)**

*Communications Division
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FAX COVER SHEET

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DATE: *7/29/97*

Number of Pages (including cover): *18*

Message:

**U.S. Department of Justice****Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS)**

*Communications Division
1100 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20530
(202) 616-1728*

July 29, 1997

**MEMORANDUM FOR JULIE MAKUTA
THE WHITE HOUSE**

FROM: LISA CAIN
VIA: JIM SWEENEY
SUBJECT: Community Policing And Public Areas

Per your request, I have attached information regarding community policing and its effect on public areas and public welfare. Included in the packet are a couple success stories and some newspaper clips from places around the country. I hope that this information is useful to you. If you need anything else, please don't hesitate to call.

Community Policing in Action: Prostitution is Eliminated in San Diego Business District

Faced with a prostitution problem in a business district in one area of the city, San Diego police initially tried to curtail the illegal activity through undercover arrests of the prostitutes and their customers. Although hundreds of the customers were arrested, the number of people who solicited prostitutes in the area did not drop off. Few prostitutes were arrested because they knew the undercover officers by sight.

Officers turned to problem solving and community policing. They gathered information about the exact nature of the prostitution problem, learning that many of the prostitutes were transients who would stay in the area as long as it was profitable for them. The neighborhood police officers believed they could make prostitution in the area less lucrative by obtaining a temporary restraining order (TRO) against the prostitutes who frequented the area. The TRO, which was requested by police and local merchants, was granted by a local judge. It prohibited almost 70 known prostitutes from flagging down motorists, loitering on corners and engaging in other solicitation activities within 100 yards of the local businesses.

Violations of the order resulted in an immediate five days in jail and a \$1,000 fine. In the first month after the TRO was obtained, the prostitutes disappeared from the area. As a result, customers no longer cruise that section of the city.

After the restraining order was obtained, every business in that area reported increased revenues. One of the local hotels reported profits had increased 15 to 20 percent, because families began staying there for more than one night once the prostitutes had left. The TRO approach was a long-standing solution for the area -- several years later, the prostitutes still have not returned.

Community Policing in Action: Knoxville Housing Project is Turned Around

Officer Sam McCroskey was looking at a long, hot summer. In the months of May and June 1996, calls for service from Austin Homes, the public housing project that he patrolled in central Knoxville, were on the rise. Add to that outside gang members moving in, many housing units lacking air conditioning and summer vacation fast approaching for school kids, and he grew concerned. He decided to solve a problem before a problem occurred.

Officer McCroskey went door-to-door meeting the residents to learn about their safety and crime concerns. Most of the concerns -- gang activity, vandalism and violent crime - centered around youth. Officer Sam McCroskey set out to create activities that would keep these kids active and interested during the hot summer months. He taught them how to play chess, set up a volleyball court and taught computer skills. He encouraged local merchants to donate bicycles that would be used as prizes for academic and attendance achievements.

Officer McCroskey used his own initiative and his own time to make this public housing project a much better place for kids and adults to live. Thanks to his diligence, violent crime in the public housing unit dropped 76.6 percent from 1996 to 1995. During that same period, overall calls for service decreased 55 percent.

PROGRESS-INDEX

PETERSBURG, VA
DAILY & SUNDAY 10,200SUNDAY
JUN 29 1997

Officers go to the mall

From a press release

CHESTERFIELD — A Community Policing Office opened its doors to the public on Thursday at the Chesterfield Towne Center.

Two police officers are now stationed in the 1,800-square-foot space, located across from the mall's food court between the Belk and Dillard's department stores.

Plans are in the works for a similar office at Cloverleaf Mall.

The move is designed to provide citizens easy access to local law enforcement in a fun, interactive way.

The new office will feature:

- A colorful wall mural using photographic visuals to depict various scenes related to the profession, including police equipment, vehicles, the K-9 unit, SWAT team, training academy and a scene portraying recruits running in formation.

- A public display area featuring information on ways to prevent crime, report crimes and become more involved in a career in law enforcement.

- A police scanner with headphones for individual listening.

- A computer that can be keyed to access the police department's web site, where people can learn more about Chesterfield's organizational

structure, how to set up a Neighborhood Watch program, take advantage of volunteer opportunities, etc.

There also will be weekly seminars aimed at preventing crime, raising awareness and strengthening the partnership between Chesterfield County Police and the community.

The Community Policing Office is made possible through cooperative partnerships and through business contributions.

"The mall provides the space, the police department provides the personnel and the community donated the displays and educational materials," said Scott Meyerhoffer, community policing officer.

Virginia Power donated about \$8,000 toward a Crime Solvers display, Richmond Alarm donated \$7,000 toward a security camera system and People's Bank donated about \$5,000 toward the wall mural.

Other police departments nationwide have mall substations, where officers can make phone calls, take care of paperwork or detain a suspect. But Chesterfield's vision is something more, stated press release.

"We're trying to interact with the public on a more one-on-one basis," said Sgt. Shaun Guice.

HERALD

NEW BRITAIN, CT
DAILY 33,253FRIDAY
JUN 27 1997

Cops reach out to keep kids off summer streets

By Ndidi Emeagwali
HERALD REPORTER

FARMINGTON The Farmington Police Department is doing all it can to keep kids off the streets. As part of this effort, police officers began the "Pro Kids Police Outreach" a year ago as a means of getting kids in grades 5-8 involved in programs that will educate and entertain.

"We wanted to offer kids an alternative to drugs and alcohol abuse by providing great programs," says Officer Chic Pritchard, coordinator of the program. "The younger we start educating the kids and talking to them about drug and alcohol, the better."

The program, part of the police department's "Community Policing Programs", strives to let children know that police officers are

more than just the men and women in blue who catch the bad guys.

"They come to me with problems," says Pritchard. "It's been very respectful and the kids know that a cop really cares about them."

Some of the activities that kids participate in include camp-outs, bowling, environmental projects, or they can just hang out with other kids and make new friends.

"It's good," says Nikki Johnson, 13, a program volunteer. "Everyone is being together and having fun. I like the activities of the group."

In order to let more people know about this program, Pritchard is organizing a membership drive picnic this Saturday and wants everyone to come and participate.

"We're looking for a lot of new kids who haven't joined us

for a summer of fun," he said. So far, the year-round program has a membership of about 60 kids.

Kids who sign up at the drive will get free membership ID's, can meet existing members, and can learn more about upcoming events.

The program is sponsored by the Farmington Police Department Unionville Community Sub-station. Other "Community Policing Programs" include the Unionville Blockwatch - a neighborhood forum designed to ensure crime prevention in the community, and Senior Citizens Safety Monthly Program that encourages seniors to voice their concerns about crime in the community.

The Pro Kids Outreach" picnic will be held on the Union School grounds in Unionville on Saturday, June 28, from 1-4 p.m.

EVENING TIMES
WEST MEMPHIS. AR
DAILY 9.820

THURSDAY
OCT 24 1996

Merchants say thanks to police

By KATHLEEN BURT
Evening Times Staff Writer

They walk the beat every day, keeping downtown safe. Now a group of West Memphis police officers have been honored for their service to the community.

Members of the Community Oriented Police were recognized Monday by Main Street West Memphis and the Downtown Retail Merchants Association. Both praised the unit for helping curtail crime and making a visible police presence in the area.

"It's nice to know there's a presence," Glenda Johnson, DRMA president,

said.

The foot patrol was implemented in 1993 during Chief Bobby Sanders administration. A change at the top of the department in 1994 and shuffling of personnel put the patrol on hold for a time, but it has since been revitalized under current Chief W.A. Wren's command.

"As we are getting in replacements, we're getting it back in full swing. It is really important and it is needed," Wren said. "Nationally, it is proven to work."

Johnson, who owns Pets, Plants and Ponds on East Broadway, said that unwanted crowds of loiterers no longer hang out in front of the shops along East Broadway during the day. Customers can shop safely in the stores along the Main Street designated area.

"It doesn't matter what you do to build a business, if customers don't feel safe then they won't come in," she said. "This helps build business."

Main Street program coordinator Lynda Avery said that the safety factor is critical to economic development in the area.

"This is a genuine appreciation. We've got to have businesses and customers feel comfortable," Avery said.

The foot patrol is headed up by Lt. Diane Hester. Members of the downtown foot patrol are Sgt. Percy Hooper, Ptlmn. Lynn Chamberlain, Ptlmn. John Moore, Ptlmn. Billy Covington and Ptlmn. Michelle Forthman.

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Community policing paying off

■ Police finding success with tougher approach, closer contact with neighborhoods.

BY AMANDA BEELER
Times Staff Writer

EAST CHICAGO - Lt. William Pabey was skeptical when he was asked to head the city's community policing unit two years ago.

He didn't think the community was ready to respond to officers walking the beat.

Recently, as he drove through alleys filled with multi-colored graffiti and described the 12 community officers' endeavors, Pabey admitted he was wrong.

As officers visited schools and walked the streets, people slowly came out of their shells.

Police Chief Frank Alcalá credits the city's low homicide rate this year to the work of the community police officers, the aggressive way drug and gang officers have tackled the streets, and residents finally saying enough is enough.

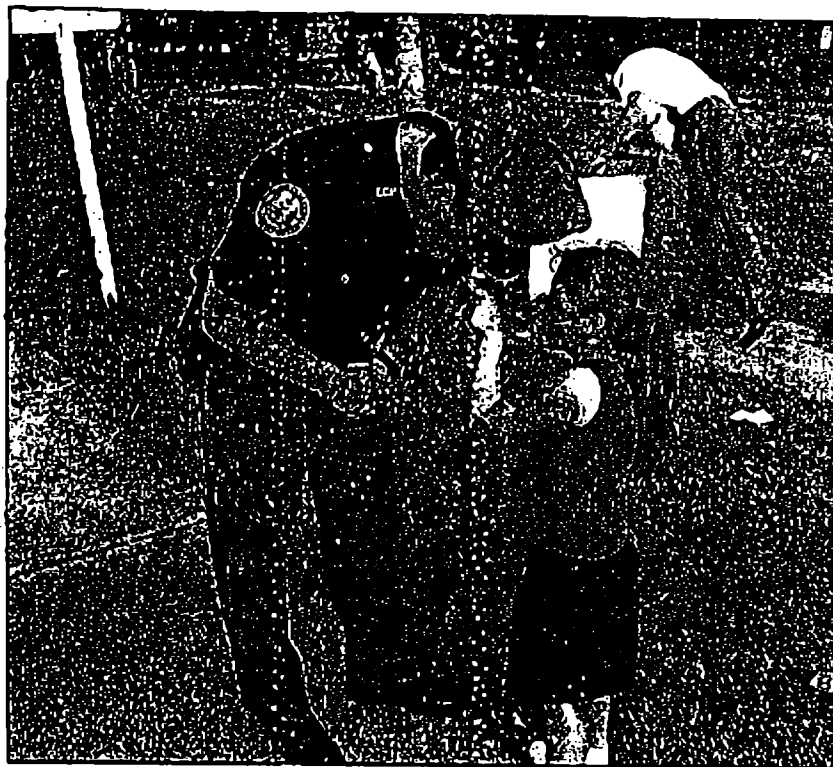
Six people had been killed in East Chicago by June last year and five more would be murdered by the end of the year.

This year, the homicide rate stands at just two.

"If people are willing to take a stand and get involved, it can work," Alcalá said.

Since church groups started voicing their concerns about crime around their places of worship, things have quieted down, he said.

Warm weekday nights can be unusually quiet for community police officers as they see children carrying squirt guns or riding



WILL POWERS / THE TIMES

Grabiella Bonilla, 7, talks to Officer Jimmy Manuel at Kosciuszko Park where he walks on patrol as part of East Chicago's community policing program. The Little League field was targeted by police because it was often where gangs recruited members and harassed people.

bikes, and occasional groups of teens.

But Alcalá and community police officers are prepared for a long summer. Bullets still fly late at night, and last week the city had its second homicide.

The police are trying to keep gang members on their toes by changing work schedules and performing aggressive policing duties on different days.

During aggressive patrols, police approach all people loitering on the street or sidewalks and pat them down. They also approach cars that are double-parked or driving erratically.

"It's amazing some of the stuff we find," Pabey said.

Community policing duty at Kosciuszko Park during Little League games gives players a chance to talk to Officer Jimmy Manuel, who spends many lunch hours in elementary school cafeterias during the school year.

The T-ballers especially are thrilled to see Manuel, as are parents who said that

before a uniformed officer was on duty, gangbangers would harass ballplayers as they walked into the park bathrooms.

Although more gangbangers have been out since the weather became warmer, Manuel said there are fewer problems in the south side neighborhood.

The shooting death of 84-year-old Estella Smith last November in the Calumet neighborhood may have been the last straw for some people, Alcalá said.

Smith was killed when a bullet tore through her living room wall and hit her in the back as she sat on the sofa.

Numerous neighborhood meetings were conducted after Smith's death.

"My intuition told me people were getting tired of these kids in the streets," Alcalá said.

People no longer hesitate to approach the police chief when something is wrong. And the barrage of complaints usually heard at local meetings are tempered with useful crime tips, he said.

TRENTONIAN
TRENTON, NJ
SUNDAY 60,271

JAN 26 1997

By TODD VENEZIA
The Trentonian

BENSALEM, Pa. — The new feature at 7-Eleven may be in the same aisle with the detergent and the Brillo pads, but this convenience is meant to clean up the streets.

The Neshaminy Boulevard store is now the first 7-Eleven in Bucks County with its own police sub-station, called a Police Community Network Center by those who came up with the plan.

The idea is simple, said Bob Schiers, a spokesman for the convenience store giant: Put cops in shops to build rapport with the neighborhood and get the community involved in crime prevention.

It also will make the cops' lives easier.

"It's very much a convenience," said Officer Karl Mascia, who was one of dozens of people at a large gathering in the store yesterday to unveil the new center.

"Officers can come here, make phone calls, fill out papers and get work done without having to go all the way to the station," he said.

Not in it for the donuts

Bucks 7-Eleven gets cop sub-station

With the station a 15-minute drive across Bensalem, Mascia said the officers will likely be there regularly.

But the 7-Eleven officials and police said the other reason for the station is to get to know some of the more than 1,000 people who come into the store each day.

"It gives the people a chance for more face-to-face interaction with the police," said Schiers.

The center is one of 28 such police sub-stations in 7-Elevens throughout the Northeast. The first was opened in a Philadelphia shop in 1987.

The center is really just a podium, on which police can fill out papers, placed between a rack of magazines and the soap shelves at the front of the store.

There also is a phone, a copy machine and a rack of literature on crime prevention and personal safety.

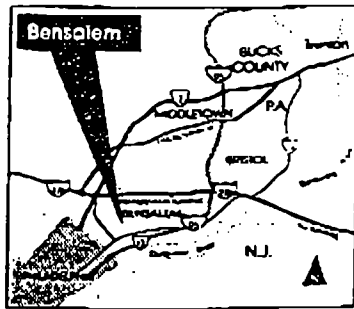
The bill, which is mostly just the price of phone calls, is being footed by 7-Eleven.

The store chain first approached township Director of Public Safety Frank Friel about the idea several months ago.

"It's to prevent the officers from the needless waste of time of going across town to make calls and fill out paperwork," he said. "All the tools they need to do this are here."

The 7-Eleven is about a mile from Neshaminy Mall, in the

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JANUARY 26, 1997



center of a neighborhood filled with neat, quiet garden apartments.

Local town watch members, who have been closely involved with the opening of the station, say the area's major crimes aren't as serious as some drug- and violence-plagued areas — mostly auto break-ins and burglaries.

But they are happy to have the station, which they are also free to use, because it can help them network with police and recruit new members.

"I definitely think our presence in the store will have a positive impact on the area," said past president of the Belmont Hills Town Watch, Carol Quigley.

One way the station will have impact is with occasional seminars on safety in the store, 7-Eleven officials said.

Schiers said the program isn't a plan to change the image of convenience stores as magnets for crime or to protect clerks, who toil in one of the most dangerous of professions.

But the store's owner did say the store was robbed last year, just before he looked into getting his shop to be one of the nearly 30 7-Elevens with a police station.

One of the next could be in Trenton.

7-Eleven loss prevention manager Margie LaSorsa said she has talked with the owner of the franchise on Olden Avenue in the city about opening a station in his shop. There have been no discussions with police yet, she said.

As for the Bensalem police center, Friel said his officers aren't expected to be constantly in the store, but will only make random stops at the shop.

And it's definitely not for coffee-and-doughnut breaks, the center's supporters said.

"We don't want the public to have a misconception that the police will be there just to grab doughnut," Schiers said.

And in a seeming effort to highlight that, the store has put the police station on the opposite side of the shop from the doughnut rack.

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The Baltimore Sun
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Monday, June 9, 1997

METRO

County police plan patrols of businesses; 7 commercial corridors in Balto. Co. targeted; October start is seen; 'High numbers of calls'; Store owners support move but say shoppers need not fear for safety

Kris Antonelli
SUN STAFF

In an effort to give businesses extra protection against robbery, break-ins and other crimes, Baltimore County police will begin specialized patrols in October along seven major commercial corridors.

Similar in concept to the Community Action Teams assigned to neighborhoods with crime problems, the patrols will use 40 officers to answer calls from businesses, talk with local merchants and work on crime prevention techniques.

The seven roads picked for the program -- Baltimore National Pike, Liberty Road, Reisterstown Road, York Road, Belair Road, Pulaski Highway and Eastern Boulevard -- had the highest crime rates last year among county roads and business districts, said POLICE CHIEF Terrence B. Sheridan.

According to police statistics, 22 percent of robberies and 17 percent of thefts last year in the county occurred along the seven roadways.

"With the high numbers of calls for service in those areas, we knew we had to do something about it," Sheridan said. "We don't want people to think their lives are in peril, and we want to attract businesses and people to the communities."

Some business leaders praised the move, even as they stressed that crime is not out of control and shoppers should not be overly concerned.

"I certainly think this is a good idea," said Nancy Garfinkel, executive director of the Chamber of Commerce in Pikesville, which includes parts of Reisterstown Road. "Pikesville, for the most part, is a real safe community. I don't want people to think that we are under siege here."

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6/9/97 BALTSUN 1B

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(Publication page references are not available for this document.)

The Liberty Road corridor had the most robberies last year, 123. Reisterstown Road was next with 115, and Baltimore National Pike followed with 100.

The business patrols, to be made up initially of 12 officers, will begin Oct. 15 and cover Baltimore National Pike, Reisterstown Road, York Road in Towson and Timonium, Eastern Boulevard, Pulaski Highway and Liberty Road.

Starting Nov. 29, after a class graduates from the Baltimore County Police Academy, 28 more officers will staff the patrols, which then will include Belair Road.

"These patrols will free up the patrol officers who would normally answer business calls," Sheridan said. "Those officers will be free to go back into the community."

William Spencer, president of the Liberty Road Business Association, welcomes interaction between police and business owners.

"Getting out of their vehicles and talking to business owners is a great idea," he said. "It's good for the department, and it's good that the officers will be able to hear directly from the business people."

Spencer said traffic enforcement along Liberty Road has been successful in stopping speeders and reckless drivers.

"Major [Dennis] Robinson at the Woodlawn Precinct has worked with us very successfully in the past," he said. "And their traffic enforcement along Liberty Road has been so successful that they have moved on other areas."

He added: "I don't think crime along Liberty Road is any worse than any place else."

Robberies, thefts

Robberies and thefts along major Baltimore County roads last year.

Road	Robberies	Thefts
Baltimore National Pk.	100	1,081
Belair Road	39	309
Eastern Boulevard	67	852

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6/9/97 BALTSUN 1B

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(Publication page references are not available for this document.)

Liberty Road 123 444

Pulaski Highway 22 208

Reisterstown Road 115 724

York Road 79 752

Source: Baltimore County Police Department

Pub Date: 6/09/97

----- INDEX REFERENCES -----

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VISALIA TIMES-DELTA

VISALIA, CA
DAILY 25,288WEDNESDAY
NOV 20 1996

Police grant puts another cop on downtown beat

FRONT PAGE

Federal government gives Visalia \$162,000

By Rikka Fountain
Times-Delta

Starting in January, merchants in the eastern part of downtown can expect a special form of police service — one in which their own local officer pa-

trols on foot and bike as well as by car.

The Visalia Police Department has received a \$162,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Justice to add another officer and patrol car to its retail detail program. The program has already stationed officers on Mooney Boulevard and western downtown.

Sgt. John Vaughan, who heads

up the project, said the federal government is eager to fund programs with a "community policing" bent and retail detail fills that bill. The popular buzzword commonly describes police getting to know people on their beat and spending time outside their patrol cars.

"With regular policing, you don't know who is going to respond to your call," Vaughan

said. However, the retail detail officers "walk through the malls and shopping centers."

"They spend a lot of time talking and visiting with citizens, where regular patrol officers don't have that time," he said.

The new officer will patrol from Bridge Street to Ben Maddox and between Mineral King and Center, and will also cross

Highway 198 to patrol the Wal-Mart and Mary's Vineyard shopping centers.

He said the area was chosen based on crime complaints from merchants.

Retail Detail started two years ago when the department got a three-year federal grant from the President's Universal Police Hiring Supplement Program. That grant paid for three

officers; two were stationed on Mooney Boulevard and one was stationed downtown, concentrating on Main Street between Bridge and Willis.

Since then, crime reports in those areas have dropped substantially, he said. In downtown, armed robbery went down 37 percent and commercial burglary decreased 44 percent.

See Police/2A

VISUALIA TIMES-DELTA
VISUALIA, CA
DAILY 25,288
NOVEMBER 20, 1996

Police ^A

Continued from page 1A

On Mooney, commercial burglaries decreased 22 percent and petty theft, including shoplifting, decreased 27 percent, he said.

The city got the first grant because of the innovation of applying community policing to a commercial area rather than residential, Vaughan said. He thinks the department won the

second grant because it showed it used the first grant to reduce crime.

Dona Shelly, who co-owns a TCBY frozen yogurt shop in Mary's Vineyard and another on Mooney Boulevard, said she thinks the patrols have helped Mooney and will help Mary's Vineyard as well.

While Mary's Vineyard attracts mainly neighbor families, merchants are occasionally bothered by transients in the area — and Shelly hopes police

walking through will discourage such behavior. "I believe it builds a better rapport between the everyday person and the police department, and it's somewhat of a deterrent" to crime, she said of the program. "If someone thinks they might try something, if police are visible they may think twice. I think it's a great idea."

To get the grant, the city must contribute \$18,000 during two years, bringing the total funding

to \$180,000. Part of the grant will pay overtime for the program, which currently comes from the city's general fund, Vaughan said.

The federal government also requires the city to hold a public comments session on the grant. Vaughan said he will ask the council to set it for Dec. 16.

Police officials hope that when the grants expire, the council will opt to take over funding of the extra police, he said.

MONDAY
MAY 5 1997

Langley Park celebrates revitalization

By NANCY DUNHAM
Journal staff writer

When Claudia Galvin heard Spanish music blaring from speakers at Langley Park Shopping Center Saturday afternoon, she decided to see what the commotion was about.

What the lifelong Langley Park resident found were dozens of police officers, area residents and children celebrating.

But the festivities were about more than the opening of Hyattsville district's new Community Oriented Police satellite office. It was about the revitalization of an area which only a year ago had boasted one of the largest open air drug markets in the Washington area.

"This area used to be so bad, people were always afraid," Galvin said. "It's gotten a lot better. There aren't so many

drugs around here now."

That's no accident. Last fall project CLEAN, Citizens and Law Enforcement Against Narcotics, sent 85 county officers and other law enforcement officials into the area to disrupt street-level drug trafficking. CLEAN resulted in 163 arrests, the seizure of 25 vehicles, and confiscation of \$4,153 in cash and drugs. Special details and operations have kept

drug activity low.

But police were still looking for another way to reach out to the community, to regularly allow those in need to come to them in a secure environment. Enter the Langley Park Shopping Center owners who donated the use of a former fast-food restaurant to the police. While police said they were grateful for the donation,

Please see LANGLEY, A9

Langley Park enjoys revitalization

LANGLEY from A1

the building needed major renovations before it would be suitable as a police substation.

So community policing officers, along with members of the community, rolled up their sleeves and pitched in. After working to receive thousands of dollars in donated materials, the group cleaned, painted, swept and built. The result is a modern office for police with plenty of space for use by community groups.

"I can't believe how much the community came through for us," said Lt. H. Buddy Robshaw, Hyattsville's Community Oriented Policing investigative commander. "This is just what I was trying to show. That everyone working together could [create] something for everybody."

If the opening is any indication, the group is off to a fine start. More than 300 people had visited the new satellite station before the grand opening, more visitors than at any other COPS office, said Police Chief John S. Farrell.

Police hope to use the new substation, staffed by a bilingual COPS officer and Hispanic liaison, as a pilot for other community offices.

"This is a tremendous, tremendous accomplishment," Farrell said. "It's the best of what we have. ... Nowhere in this county is there a better relationship [between police and residents] and more progress made than in Langley Park and out of [Hyattsville police] district 1."

Police are hoping to parlay that relationship into a full-service community center by convincing community and government agencies to offer health screenings, counseling and other services to the largely Hispanic population, many who are without private transportation.

"This means expanding the partnership. It's all about the community and the police coming together," said Maj. Teresa C. Chambers, commander of Hyattsville district station.

The satellite office is in Langley Park Shopping Center, 8020 New Hampshire Ave., Hyattsville. The office may be called directly at (301) 431-6518. Hours of operation are not yet final, but should be about noon to 8 p.m. daily.

07/29/97 TUE 09:23 FAX 2026165899

HARTFORD COURANT

HARTFORD, CT
DAILY 227.792FRIDAY
JAN 17 1997

■ HARTFORD

Ordering:
substation,
some fries2nd McDonald's
a home for policeBy MIKE SWIFT
Courant Staff Writer

There have been times when Jeff Rohan and Epy Colon, the Hartford police beat officers who patrol Park Street and much of Frog Hollow, felt like nomads.

Displaced from neighborhood offices by urban renewal, such as the construction of a Walgreen drug store at Washington and Park streets, Rohan and Colon have lacked a community base right on their beat.

But Thursday, Rohan and Colon found a McHome.

Hartford police cut the ribbon Thursday on a new neighborhood "substation" inside the McDonald's restaurant at 170-176 Washington St., near the intersection with Park, at the east end of Rohan's and Colon's territory.

The new police base consists of a spacious wood-paneled booth, a telephone and filing cabinets to store police paperwork and other materials. McDonald's provided the substation booth and equipment at a cost of about \$6,000, said Jim McGarry, operations manager for the fast-food chain in the Hartford area.

Both McDonald's and Hartford police expect dividends from the deal. Police get a convenient base to meet and talk with neighborhood residents and better visibility in the neighborhood to deter crime; the restaurant gets the

HARTFORD COURANT
HARTFORD, CT
DAILY 227,792
JANUARY 17, 1997



Marc Yves Regis / The Hartford Courant

■ Hartford police Officers Jeff Rohan, left, and Epy Colon flank Carlos Airas, the assistant manager of a McDonald's restaurant in Hartford on Wednesday. The restaurant, at 170-176 Washington St., houses the new police substation for that part of the city.

benefit of a police presence.

Hartford police opened a similar substation in the McDonald's restaurant on Albany Avenue last year. Both McDonald's and police officials said Thursday the Albany substation has been successful.

Colon, who has patrolled Park Street for three years with Rohan, said officers want to improve personal contact with people, so residents know they can help people as well as take criminals away to jail.

"You have a lot of kids around here, and we want to get to know them," Colon said. "We're the people to go to when you need help."

Beth Rodriguez, manager of the McDonald's restaurant, thinks the increased sales that will result

The new police base consists of a booth, a telephone and filing cabinets to store police paperwork and other materials.

from the police presence will cover the cost of establishing the substation.

"I think the benefit we get is that people will feel safe to come in here," Rodriguez said. Running an urban restaurant where homeless people and city tough guys

are part of the fabric of everyday life is a balancing act, and having a few friendly police officers drop by regularly makes life a little easier, she said.

"Sometimes I feel like I'm a counselor, or a leader or a coach," Rodriguez said.

Deputy Police Chief Timothy Hogan said the McDonald's substation is part of the Hartford department's overall community-based policing effort, intended to make police an integral part of the community, not just a force that shows up in time of emergency.

"They're looking for us to be here, to be visible; to make the customers feel comfortable," Hogan said. "I think this is a great forum for interaction with the neighborhood."

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HOME ALONE: UNSUPERVISED CHILDREN AND CRIME

*by**Robert L. Maginnis*

America faces a youth crime epidemic which can be attributed in part to a growing lack of parental supervision.

Many children come home after school to an empty house. Without adult supervision, children are more likely to take risks and engage in delinquent behavior. Children who are already likely to take such risks have more targets of opportunity. Furthermore, the growing number of unsupervised children is contributing disproportionately to the current crime epidemic.

GROWING CRIME PROBLEM

Alfred Blumstein of Carnegie-Mellon University estimates that between 1985 and 1992 the rate at which young males, ages 14 to 17, committed murder rose 50 percent for whites and 300 percent for blacks.[1] A 1993 national school violence survey found that nearly half of all law enforcement officials believe that levels of violence increased in the previous year.[2]

In 1992, teenagers constituted 16 percent of arrests for violent crimes, including a third of all robberies, about 15 percent of all murders, rapes, and assaults, and half of all arsons and motor vehicle thefts.[3] Not only are young people committing crimes at growing rates, but young people are disproportionately the victims of increased violence.

According to a profile developed by UCLA professor James Q. Wilson, the chronic juvenile delinquent tends to have criminal parents, lives in cold or discordant families, has a low verbal-intelligence quotient, does poorly in school, abuses alcohol and drugs, resides in poor, disorderly communities, and begins misconduct in elementary school. Such chronic delinquents, which account for six percent of all delinquents, commit possibly half of all juvenile crimes.[4]

LATCHKEY KIDS POPULARIZED

In the 1991 movie "Home Alone" eight-year-old Kevin outsmarts a pair of burglars who invade his home. For Kevin, being home alone is an enjoyable adventure. In real life, however, being home alone was scary for former latchkey child Amanda Larson, 14, of New Brighton, Minnesota. She states, "I came home every day, scared to open the door from the fear of a burglar around the corner." [5]

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 1.6 million children like Amanda come home to empty houses after school.[6] Nearly half a million are under age 12.[7] Some of these children come home to neighborhoods with chronic physical danger where they are left to be raised by television, their peers, or influences on the streets.

The U.S. Department of Commerce has identified four predictors of who will become a latchkey child. First, the likelihood of being a latchkey child increases with age.[8] Only about half of one percent of all latchkey children are under age five, and overall fewer than 5 percent of children 5 to 11 years old fit the category.[9] By age 14, however, about 1 in 5 children spends some part of the parent's work day alone.[10]

The mother's employment status is also a major factor. About 31 million children under age 15 live with 19.2 million mothers employed outside the home.[11] Mothers who work full-time outside the home are four times more likely to have latchkey children than moms who work part-time.[12] Finally, suburban children of employed moms are twice as likely to be home alone as those outside metro areas.[13]

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN CHILDREN ARE HOME ALONE?

Children spend 37 percent of their day sleeping, 31.7 percent in school, and the rest doing miscellaneous activities.[14] The discretionary time is the most worrisome, especially for parents of latchkey kids.

A study published in Pediatrics found that latchkey children are twice as likely as supervised children to smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, or try marijuana. The study also found that the problems get worse as parental knowledge of the adolescents' whereabouts decreases. Parents who closely monitor their children minimize the risks. The more time that the teenager remains unsupervised, the greater the risk of problem behavior.[15]

The American Council for Drug Education states that some children start to drink alcohol in elementary school and are using marijuana by the time they are 14. These children typically first use alcohol and drugs with friends at home. Unsupervised parties are also a big problem in many young cases.[16]

Jean L. Richardson of the University of Southern California studied 4,932 eighth graders. She found that children at highest risk of substance abuse were the 28.6 percent who spent the most time unsupervised after school. They were twice as likely to use alcohol, cigarettes, or marijuana compared with students who had constant adult supervision after school.[17]

The Justice Department reports that students in grades 6 to 12 who experiment with mind-altering substances overwhelmingly use alcohol and drugs either at home or at a friend's home. The most frequent use is on weekends.[18]

A Justice Department study of 4,000 urban youths over a five year period identified a pattern leading to delinquency.[19] The study found a direct connection between drug use and delinquency. By age 16, half of the youth surveyed were using alcohol regularly and one-quarter were using marijuana.[20]

Half of those aged 3 to 17 had engaged in sexual intercourse at least once. Between one third and one half of the girls had been pregnant at least once. The adolescents who were sexually active or who had become pregnant were more likely to use alcohol or other drugs and more likely to be involved in some form of delinquency [21]

...of delinquency.[22]

Delinquency starts early. Ten percent of the seven year old boys surveyed reported having committed at least one street offense. By age 9, the figure was 20 percent and by age 17, 40 percent of the boys had committed at least one crime.[22]

SUPERVISION MAKES A DIFFERENCE

The Justice Department study concluded that parental supervision, attachment to family, and consistency of discipline were the most important barriers to delinquency and drug use. A wealth of scientific studies back up this conclusion. Other studies show that religious observance also correlates with lower rates of juvenile problems.

In 1950, sociologists Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck studied factors that differentiated boys reared in poor neighborhoods who become serious and persistent delinquents from boys raised in the same neighborhoods who do not become delinquent or antisocial. They found that cohesive families characterized by effective supervision, close emotional ties, and consistent, loving, and reintegrative punishment appear to overcome adolescent delinquency.[23]

A recent study in Child Development found that the fundamental causes of delinquency are consistent across time and rooted in generic family processes such as supervision, attachment, and discipline.[24] This study also found that the teenagers whose mothers who are employed outside the home are more likely to become delinquent than teenagers whose mothers who are not employed outside the home. Most adolescents in the low supervision category (83%) were delinquent compared to 10 percent of those in the high supervision category.[25]

Another study, in the Journal of Social Work entitled "Parenting In Poverty," found that for children growing up in very disadvantaged and violent neighborhoods, the one factor that seems to protect the child from growing up to be violent is having a parent who supervises the child very strictly.[26]

Richardson's USC study found that adolescents who were unsupervised at home were slightly more likely to engage in problem behavior than those who were supervised at home. Teenagers at a friend's house, at school, at a job, or just "hanging out" were most at risk for misconduct. Strong bonding with deviant peers caused weakened conventional bonds with parents and school and has been shown to be a primary cause of delinquent behavior, including drug abuse.[27]

The National Institute of Justice found that being neglected as a child increases the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile, as an adult, and for violent crime.[28] This was especially true for juvenile girls. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 20 percent of male and female runaways marked parental neglect as a primary factor for their leaving home.[29]

Metropolitan Life's 1993 national survey found that teachers (71%) and law enforcement officials (90%) agree that the lack of parental supervision at home is a major contributing factor to violence in schools.[30]

In 1989, the California beach community of Oxnard incarcerated 30 juveniles identified as serious habitual offenders. During the next year the city enjoyed its lowest crime rate in a decade: homicide dropped 65 percent, robbery dropped 41 percent, and burglary decreased 29 percent. A police spokesman stated, "We believe that each incarcerated juvenile was responsible for hundreds of

spokesman stated, "We believe that each [unassociated juvenile] was responsible for hundreds of crimes." [31]

The evidence is clear: children who are not supervised get into more trouble than supervised children. For this reason, parents try to rearrange their priorities and many communities invest in youth activity programs.

CONCLUSION

Some of the blame for the crime wave can be placed at the doorstep of parents who fail to supervise their children. Unsupervised children, whether they be latchkey children or adolescents with unfettered freedom to roam the neighborhood, are at increased risk of misbehavior and being victims of delinquency.

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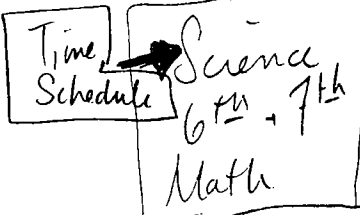
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School-Age Child Care Comes of Age

Michelle Seligson



Seventeen million school-age children have both parents or their only parent in the workforce. Experts estimate that between five and seven million of these children, over one-third, go home alone after school--they are in 'self-care' with no access to good quality after-school programs. More parents are seeking after-school programs now than ever before. The *Washington Post* recently reported that large numbers of parents in D.C. were requesting transfers to schools with after-school programs as a way of addressing the problem. Federal welfare legislation passed last summer will increase demand even further as women on welfare with school-age children enter work programs. While the new law stipulates that women with children under age six cannot be required to work if appropriate child care is not accessible, mothers of children over age six will not be exempted when child care is not available before and after school and on holidays. This may force large numbers of school-age children into inadequate care, or leave them to fend for themselves. Only if states expand funding for school-age care can this serious risk be averted. Children need a safe place to be when school is out and their parents are at work. They need access to a variety of enriching activities that are appropriate for their age, help with homework and reading, and the opportunity to build meaningful relationships with their peers and caring adults. Older elementary and middle school children need flexible programs that allow them to pursue sports or other interests.

Numerous studies have described the negative impact on children of unsupervised out-of-school time. Half of the teachers questioned in a Louis Harris poll cited 'children left on their own after school' as the number one case of school failure. Studies also show that negative behaviors by young adolescents, particularly substance abuse and early sexual encounters, usually occur during unsupervised after-school hours.

Expansion in Programs and Consciousness

Although school-age child care is still searching for a secure status within the traditional bounds of early childhood education, elementary schooling, and youth development, the number of school-age child care programs has nonetheless increased. Also on the rise is public awareness of the importance of providing safe and enriching environments during children's out-of-school time. Even the term 'school-age child care' is evolving to 'out-of-school time' to express the wider variety of possible programs from licensed after-school programs for younger children, to a twice-a-week library program for middle schoolers, or a school enriched by relationships with community volunteers. These gains may be limited to families that can afford to pay the full price of care, however. Parent fees account for 83 percent of program revenue, and government support for school-age care is woefully inadequate, especially as demand swells due to 'welfare reform.'

Researchers are now looking more critically at the impact of children's participation in good after-school programs. In a study entitled, 'Children's After-School Programs: Promoting Resiliency or Vulnerability,' a University of Wisconsin research team demonstrated the value of good programs to children's school performance and concluded that the most important variable in improving reading scores and in promoting children's self-esteem is the interaction between staff and children. It is one of four after-school studies now underway, funded by the National Institute of Child Health and Development (NICHD). Results are expected later this year.

Expanding Supply and Improving Quality

Over the past several years, major efforts have begun to improve the quality of school-age standards, beginning an accreditation system, and expanding opportunities for the training and the awarding of credentials to providers. Major corporations are involved, and education reformers are looking seriously at the role of after-school programs in improving student performance.

In rural areas where lack of transportation compounds the absence of infrastructure, Save the Children U.S.A., with technical support from the School-Age Child Care Project (*SACCP*) at Wellesley College, is piloting a project with local agencies in nine communities in Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, and the Southwest to make the most of children's non-school hours.

In 1994, the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund committed \$6.5 million over four years to Making the Most of Out-of-School Time (MOST) to improve the supply and quality of school-age services for low-income children in Boston, Chicago, and Seattle. This large investment and its four-year time-table have encouraged other funding partners to join the effort.

Supported by the School-Age Child Care Project, teams in each MOST city are developing innovative approaches to increase the supply of traditional licensed centers and other forms of care; make services accessible to low-income children; create opportunities for staff advancement through training and education; and design long-term financing and governance structures. Each city has recruited funding and resource partners and must contribute an increasing level of support over three years.

The American Business Collaboration for Quality Dependent Care (ABC), a dependent care investment initiative by 21 major corporations, has increased its support for school-age projects. It now funds a program to improve quality through accreditation (described below), and a project to design model programs for middle school children aged ten to fourteen. Conducted by WFD (formerly Work/Family Directions), a Boston-based consulting firm, the middle school initiative involves six pilot programs that have been organized based on research on best practices. WFD will produce a practical how-to manual for the field. Interest in programs designed especially for middle schoolers is growing. Other pilot projects are underway by Minneapolis' Search Institute and the Cooperative Extension Service, and national conferences on the topic have been held for the past three years.

The Role of Schools

A growing body of research on school reform indicates that how students use their out-of-school time greatly affects their achievement. This common sense has been put into practice for years by independent schools, which frequently offer students a wide array of enriching activities after required class hours--from homework help, to sports, music, theater, art, chess clubs and debating societies.

Although public schools house 20 percent of after-school programs, the programs are generally sponsored by outside non-profit organizations. In an effort to promote interest in and understanding of good quality school-age child care, the School-Age Child Care Project and the National Association of Elementary School Principals developed Standards for Quality in School-Age Child Care, which was distributed to 30,000 elementary and middle school principals in 1993. It emphasized the importance of a developmentally-appropriate environment after school where children can pursue their own interests, learn new skills, and participate in a 'social development' curriculum rather than simply duplicating the

school day. It encouraged school and after-school program staff to work closely together to develop common goals for children and activities that enhance the school's curriculum. Those that are collaborating are proving that schools can be improved if after-school programs are significant partners. Some public schools are getting the message and starting to run their own programs, and a handful are attempting to re-de-fine the school day to better integrate in-school and out-of-school time.

Accreditation: Meeting High Standards

Parents and advocates working to start a new program or improve an existing one can now take advantage of the National Improvement and Accreditation System (NIAS) for school-age child care. The program includes a self-guided evaluation process developed by *SACCPProject*, which leads to accreditation by the National School-Age Care Alliance (NSACA), plus ongoing technical assistance to promote program improvement. Seventy-five programs are now actively engaged in piloting the accreditation; some will earn accreditation by fall 1998.

A trained staff is the heart of a successful school-age care program. Training opportunities abound, and a new system for awarding credentials to school-age child care staff has been adopted by NSACA. Along with the *SACCPProject* Leadership Training Institutes (13 national professionals who have trained over 4,000 participants in over 42 states since 1987) and Cooperative Extension (two national information centers and a host of workshops and training opportunities), some states, such as Oregon, Ohio, and California, are developing their own in-service training capacities. In addition to certificate programs in many community colleges, a number of senior colleges now offer not only courses in school-age care but programs leading to B.A. and M.A. degrees in school-age care.

The Next Challenge: Adequate Funding

Out-of-school time care--'school-age child care'--has come of age. It has grown from what was largely a movement to a field that includes a 5,000-member professional organization, the National School-Age Care Alliance. A good start has been made to develop programs and ways to improve their quality. Going to scale--where every child has access to good programs with well-prepared, caring staff--remains the goal. To achieve this goal, school-age child care programs need adequate funding. Parents need help to bridge the gap between what they can pay and the real cost of providing quality care, which includes decent compensation for staff. Advocates need to educate state policymakers and child care administrators about the importance of school-age care in general, but particularly as states prepare their plans to move women into jobs outside the home. Education reformers and activists need to raise awareness of the relationship of out-of-school-time programs to school reform and to encourage increased collaboration and funding for school-age care. Protecting children's free time as creative learning and play time and providing safe facilities with responsible, caring adults, should be the watchword for the future.

Michelle Seligson is Executive Director of the School-Age Child Care Project at Wellesley College, Center for Research on Women. For information and resources on school-age child care, call the SACCPProject at 617-283-2544.

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LATCHKEY KIDS

The Bureau of the Census has estimated that more than two million children return from school to homes where no adult is present.¹ These children are known as "latchkey kids."

Latchkey kids are defined as children between the ages of six and twelve who care for themselves for several hours each day. The term latchkey children dates back to the 19th century, when working-class children on their own wore a latch key, or key to an outer door, on neck chains.²

Although latchkey kids have been around for generations, the subject still remains a source of study and of parental anguish. Even the word "latchkey" sounds punitive and is enough to make parents feel guilty. Even when latchkey arrangements work, questions still needle: Are kids better off in after-school care than at home? Do latchkey kids turn to delinquency and substance abuse more frequently than kids with stay-at-home moms? Do latchkey kids feel alienated and abandoned?³

Concerns over latchkey kids became a public preoccupation in 1983 because of THE HANDBOOK FOR LATCHKEY CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS, a

book that asserted that latchkey kids were more lonely and fearful than other children. Studies since have failed to find major differences between latchkey children and children with parents who were home when they came home. However, it has been noted that staying home without adult supervision certainly adds stress to a child's life.⁴

The major issue is adult supervision, whether that supervision is at home, at a job, at school, or a community center. Among unsupervised children, those who avoided problems typically had involved parents who set firm limits and always knew their children's whereabouts. If parents could not be there but had very definite rules about what's going to go on at home, the parent/child relationship was fairly productive.⁵

A realization that is supported by a study that indicates that single parents, particularly single mothers, seem to be doing as well as two-parent households in dealing with the everyday challenges of family life, is that parenting styles seem to be more significant than family makeup. The family styles at hand are: authoritarian, in which the parents make all decisions; authoritative, in which parents and children make decisions but parents have the final say; permissive, in which the child has a greater influence over decision-making than the parents; and unengaged, in which the adolescent makes all decisions.⁶

It was noted that although there was no significant difference between authoritarian and authoritative parenting, authoritative parenting style indicated the best outcomes, although not significantly so. There was significantly more problem behavior when the parental decision-making style was unengaged. The study also noted that unengaged parenting is no more likely to occur in one-parent than two-parent families.⁷

Parents who leave adolescents alone and don't monitor their activities are sending two messages: "Number one, you're not important, and number two, you can do whatever you want--anything is fine with me."⁸

There's a real need to communicate. The most successful parents are those who talk often with their children, let them know they are special and insist that they live up to certain standards of the

family--whether mom and dad are home or not. Talk to your kids. Set up the rules together and enforce them. Try to find options where there is adult supervision for your child, and if that's not possible, supervise them even when you're not home. Have your child phone you when they get home. Have an absolute rule that if the child is going to go somewhere, it's agreed-upon beforehand and an adult is going to be there.⁹

Being a latchkey kid has its virtues and its vices, as all things do. The main virtue is the responsibility it instills in a person--responsibility that is necessary in growing up. The main vice is, of course, that there is the danger that some children will succumb to the world of gangs and drugs...¹⁰

There are ways parents can measure whether their children are ready to stay home themselves. Do they understand the potential danger of strangers and stoves? Do they know how to use the phone? Do they know emergency phone numbers? Do they feel secure and confident enough to stay home without you? Children who worry excessively about safety and security probably shouldn't be left home alone.¹¹

Children given control over how they spend their time can do well in a latchkey situation, studies have shown. Latchkey kids can even flourish if given responsibilities and appropriate supervision.¹²

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Books for Parents

Latchkey Children: Are They Prepared for Self-Care

by Pat Boland & Audrey Simmonds

1996. PS025035.

Although children left at home without adult supervision may function very well, studies have shown potential problems with self-care and latchkey children. This study investigated the attitudes of 30 employed parents in New York whose first- or third-grade children were regularly left home alone after school. The 20-question survey covered such areas as parents' perceptions of their children's ability to take care of themselves, use of older siblings as caregivers, activities the child was allowed to engage in while home alone (such as television viewing or playing outside), availability of outside help in case of emergency, satisfaction with the latchkey arrangement, and opinions on after-school programs. Results indicated that while most parents perceived child self-care as a positive experience for their children, most felt guilty, concerned, or ambivalent about leaving their children home alone. Respondents were also dissatisfied with the local school-based after-school program. In terms of common activities while home alone, most children were not allowed outside but were allowed to watch television for entertainment. (The report concludes with a discussion of important aspects of a positive after-school program. Contains 8 references.)

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Parent News for May 1997

Of Interest

Latchkey Children

by Debbie Reese

Throughout the school year, many children go home from school and spend a few hours alone, waiting for their parent(s) to return home from work. With summer approaching, parents must decide, "Is my child old enough to stay home alone *all day*?" Many low-income parents are able to pay for a few hours of child care, but the prospect of full-day costs are prohibitive.

Children who stay home alone, either for a few hours after school during the school year or for the summer months, are commonly referred to as "latchkey children." The phrase "latchkey" originates from the early 19th century, when children in a similar situation would wear the key to their home tied to a string they wore around their neck and were responsible for their own care (Southern Early Childhood Association, 1993). Self-care is often seen by parents as an opportunity for the child to build self-esteem, confidence, and competence.

In a recent study conducted in New York, parents of latchkey children were interviewed about their attitudes towards having their children, ranging in age from 8-10, in self-care during the after-school hours. Most felt the children were able to care for themselves, but they felt guilty over the arrangement and expressed dissatisfaction over the local school-based after-school program. Most parents did not allow their children to play outside and reported allowing the children to spend their time watching television (Boland & Simmonds, 1996).

Community Support for Latchkey Children

In some communities, the public library becomes the place latchkey children spend their unsupervised hours. A 1988 survey about latchkey children in the library indicated that as many as 76% of libraries are used by latchkey children during the school week. While many librarians feel it is necessary and important for the public library to serve this population, problems occur due to unsupervised behavior, children not being picked up at closing time, disruptive behavior, and inappropriate use of the library. Librarians are divided on the issue of coping with latchkey children. Some feel it is not the library's responsibility to provide this service, while others feel it is an excellent opportunity to reach a population that may not otherwise develop skills to use the library effectively (Tinnish, 1995).

Many communities establish hotline numbers for latchkey children to use when they feel the need to hear an adult voice. In Chicago, latchkey children can call "Grandma Please!" and talk with an adult volunteer, typically a senior citizen, who has been through a specially designed training program. The "Grandma Please" service provides latchkey children with the opportunity to engage in conversation and

gain comfort from the volunteer.

Other services have been established for parents whose work schedules do not allow them easy access to a telephone to call home periodically to check on the child. For example, the KidCalls Telephone Monitoring service is an automated calling system. Parents leave a recorded message with the service, which automatically dials the home at the appointed time. If everything is ok, the child presses "1"; if the child needs help, the child presses "2." If the child presses 2 or there is no answer, the service begins calling a network of individuals living nearby with whom the parent has made prior arrangements to be contacted in such cases.

Parents with children in latchkey situations are usually careful to provide them with ground rules to follow during the hours they are home alone. The National Safety Institute ("Home Alone," n.d.) offers the following basic guidelines:

- ☐ Make sure doors and windows are locked while the child is home alone.
- ☐ Post emergency telephone numbers next to the telephones.
- ☐ Post telephone numbers of trusted neighbors or friends near the telephone.
- ☐ Require the child to check in with a neighbor or parent indicating they have arrived home safely.
- ☐ Make sure the child does not open the door to anyone that he or she doesn't know well or is unsure of.
- ☐ Tell the child not to let unfamiliar callers know he or she is home alone.
- ☐ Leave an extra key with a trusted neighbor (for the occasion when the child loses the key).
- ☐ Parents and children should also be sure they practice emergency procedures, such as how to leave the home if a fire breaks out, what to do in case of threatening weather, or other disaster situations such as earthquakes.

Other Options

It is often the case that a community is not aware of the need to provide care for school-aged children in a given neighborhood. Parents may wish to hold organizational meetings and plan for ways to meet their needs for child care. Various agencies and institutions are available to assist parents in accessing school-age child care or to help them establish school-age child care programs. Parents can contact:

- ☐ their local county Cooperative Extension Service Office;
- ☐ the National School-Age Care Alliance (NSACA), an organization composed of individuals and groups who are new to the field of school-age child care;
- ☐ the School-Age Child Care Project at Wellesley College Center for Research on Women

For further information:

"Grandma, Please!"
4520 N. Beacon St.
Chicago, IL 60640
Telephone: 773-561-3500
URL: <http://www.terasys.com/hullhouse/grandma.html>

National School-Age Care Alliance

4720 N. Park
Indianapolis, IN 46205
Telephone: 317-283-3817

School-Age Child Care Project
Wellesley College Center for Research on Women
Wellesley, MA 02181
Telephone: 617-83-2547
URL: <http://www.wellesley.edu/WCW/CRW/SAC/>

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Ways a Neighborhood Can Fight Crime

by Richard Louv

Still mourning the murder of two children, more than 200 parents and other Southern California residents met one night to brainstorm ways to make their neighborhoods safer.

Here are some of the group's ideas: formation of a police-trained parent patrol; more carpooling or walking children to and from their schools; safe-house stickers posted by parents and other neighborhood residents; equipping parent-patrol members with police radios; banning the sale of spray paint to minors to discourage graffiti, which in turn might discourage gang activity.

And here are some additional community- and safety-building techniques:

- ☐ Establish a neighborhood check-in service for after-school care. A neighbor, such as an elderly person home during the day, can serve as the check-in person. Kids come home from school, call the neighbor, grab a snack, then go to the neighbor's house until parents get home. Check-in caregivers could be paid a minimal amount, say \$1 per child per day.
- ☐ Encourage the use of a phone-friend line, or "warm line," for latchkey kids. Kids can call after school when they're home alone; a phone-friend line can be used as a sounding board for kids who can't reach their parents and want to talk about fears or trouble with homework or to just make contact. A Phone Friend program is staffed by volunteers who take calls from kids after school. Similar lines exist all over the country, some sponsored by local governments, others by business, local TV stations and universities. The University of Pittsburgh's Generations Together program matches older persons with latchkey kids; the adults make personal or phone contact with kids each day after school to make sure they are OK.
- ☐ Create a fathers' volunteer corps. At Arlington High School in Indianapolis, a third of the 1,650 students are being raised by single parents, mostly mothers. But the Security Dads, a group of volunteer fathers, has arrived on the scene. Originally there to provide security, their duties have widened. "The kids respect us, and we respect them," one dad told Parade magazine recently. One of two dozen dads on call to appear at ball games, dances and other events attracting crowds of students, he said, "When kids see their parents involved, they're more willing to participate in school activities. And parents become willing to let them attend, knowing there won't be a lot of trouble."
- ☐ Encourage schools to offer a non-violence curriculum. In response to a shooting at a public high school, George J. McKenna III, superintendent of the Inglewood Unified School District near Los Angeles, wrote in an op-ed piece: "Students can be taught to recognize the systemic and personal behaviors that create conflict, hatred, oppression, racism, sexism, classism, poverty and other conditions that generate violent responses. Conflict-resolution should be taught at all grade levels." Such a program should be focused particularly at home, who should begin the course no later than

such a program should be focused particularly at boys, who should begin the course no later than grade four. "Male mentors must be actively recruited to serve as role models for male students."

- ☐ Drop in unannounced at your child's day care. Some states, including California, require day-care centers to allow parents to drop in without advance notice, and without discrimination or retaliation by the day-care center. But, by one estimate, fewer than one in a hundred parents take advantage of this right. The most important reason more parents don't police their children's day care is that they can't get time off work.
- ☐ Encourage government or workplaces to adopt a Family Ties program. Businesses should give employees up to four hours off each month to volunteer in schools or visit child-care facilities, thereby releasing an army of day-care inspectors called parents.
- ☐ Form a Senior Patrol in the parks. Oakcrest Park in Encinitas, Ca. has a tot lot, a restroom, basketball court, volleyball court and a grassy hill with trees and tables. A slab was poured adjacent to the public restroom with RV hookups so that a senior citizen couple could live there free of rent and utility costs. Their presence has cut down on overnight use of the park by teen-agers and others, decreased vandalism and helped parents of young children feel more secure.
- ☐ Create pre-teen and teen clubs. Teen-agers are emphatic: What they want in their neighborhoods are places where they can get together without alcohol and drugs, but with minimal rules and maximum control by teens themselves.
- ☐ Create volunteer and paid jobs for kids. Schools, parks and libraries should be places where kids could have paid or volunteer jobs -- preferably helping younger children, building, cleaning, repairing, gardening or running errands.
- ☐ Support crime-prevention programs for kids surrounded by crime. The CHOICE program in Baltimore, for example, employs young adults willing to commit a year or more to work in troubled neighborhoods. The workers are paired with individual children. They stick to their charges like glue, making sure they go to school, attend court appearances and stay out of trouble. Children kicked out of school for unruly behavior are tutored in CHOICE offices rather than being allowed to run free. It costs between \$40,000 and \$60,000 to incarcerate a troubled child for a year; CHOICE spends \$6,100 yearly to monitor each child and help prevent crime.
- ☐ Form a grassroots action committee. Take back the parks and playgrounds and schools in your neighborhood, then join forces with similar groups in other neighborhoods to conduct citywide efforts. Encourage police involvement on your committee, but emphasize this idea: Community enforcement is ultimately more powerful than law enforcement.

Richard Louv is a columnist for *The San Diego Union-Tribune* and the author of *The Web of Life: Weaving the Values that Sustain Us* (Conari Press).

Civil Rights Enforcement:

HR 229 - Housing

HR 983 - prevent involuntary application of arbitration to claims that arise from unlawful em-nt. discrimination

HR 1118 - prevents rental car companies imposing a fee based on residence of renter.

HR 1302 - ~~HR 229~~ Equal Pay Act.

HR 1534 - expedite court access

HR 1909: Fed Govt, employee, officer, agent = no discrimination
- Fed ~~contract~~ contract, employment, Fed'y conducted program.

HR 1913: Gov't programs reauthorized at least once/decade
↳ not civil rights?

HR 1913 / sim to § 950

DOL → Civil Rights Center
way agencies handle civil right stuff.

washingtonpost.com

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July 24, 1997

Release of *Tobacco* Documents Upheld by Florida Appeals Court

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A Florida state appeals court on Wednesday rejected efforts by the *tobacco* industry to block the release of potentially explosive Liggett Group documents, finding that the papers contained evidence that *cigarette* companies had used their lawyers to misrepresent the dangers of *smoking* and to conceal research.

The two-judge appeals panel upheld a lower court finding that had ordered the release of the Liggett documents for use by Florida in its *smoking*-related lawsuit against the *tobacco* industry. Liggett, a subsidiary of Brooke Group Ltd., had agreed to turn over the documents, which discuss talks among *tobacco* industry lawyers, as part of a settlement it reached earlier this year with state attorneys general.

Lawyers for other *cigarette* companies argued that the Liggett documents were shielded from disclosure by the privilege that protected normal communications between a lawyer and a client. But the appeals panel upheld the lower court, which in April found that Florida lawyers had made an initial showing that the companies had used the lawyers to commit fraud, so the lawyer-client privilege would not apply.

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THE POLICE CORPS AND COMMUNITY POLICING: A PROGRESSIVE RESPONSE TO CRIME

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the start of the 1990s, even as America's national security appears to be improving dramatically, the personal security of Americans from violent crime is eroding in an equally dramatic manner. Crime rates are steadily rising from already historic levels, criminals are being sentenced faster than prison space can be provided to incarcerate them, and entire communities, rural as well as urban, are gripped in a spiral of crime and social pathology. Drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence and the disintegration of the family, and public health problems from AIDS to low-weight infants are variously described as causes or effects of escalating crime.

Such developments are invalidating the premises of conventional thinking about crime. Many liberals continue to treat crime as a by-product of inadequate "human capital" investment, and essentially consign the current generation of Americans to personal insecurity. Many conservatives, despite a decade of evidence to the contrary, treat crime as solely the result of inadequate laws and lenient judicial policies. Virtually all anti-crime measures at the federal level suffer from a failure to clearly identify a constructive federal role in what is essentially a local government function.

Lost in the shouting have been the front-line troops in the war on crime, the police. Ironically, at a time when there is mounting evidence that better policing and better community support can turn

the tide against crime, policing is being treated as though it were incidental to crime by both "root cause" liberals and "get tough" conservatives.

Focusing on policing offers a progressive alternative to the dangerous irrelevance of traditional liberal excuse-making about crime, and the equally dangerous inaccuracy of conservative myth-making about how to stop it. The immediate problem is that police are engaged in an unequal struggle against criminals, in fearful and isolated communities that provide the criminal with both prey and sanctuary.

The U.S. Senate will soon consider a package of legislation that includes a proposal designed to reverse the unequal struggle, by supplying more police officers, and better educated officers, deployed in a manner that prevents crime and mobilizes its potential victims to help in the fight.

The proposed Police Corps is essentially a ROTC program for police. In exchange for up to \$40,000 in financial aid for college, volunteers would give four years of service in their state or local police departments on neighborhood or community "beats." Participating departments would benefit from an infusion of new, highly educated and motivated young officers, without incurring the long-term pension costs of career officers. The country would benefit even more, not only from an

improvement in the quantity and quality of our "troops" in the fight against crime, but also from a new opportunity for our young people to earn a college education and the upward mobility such an education represents.

The purpose of this paper is to examine today's unequal struggle against crime, the sterility of conventional "anti-crime" rhetoric, and the headway we could make against crime with a permanent Police Corps program.

The Threat to Personal Security

The escalation of anti-crime rhetoric in the late 1980s reflected a very real and very alarming deterioration of personal security in America. In 1988, reported crimes in the United States reached nearly 14 million, four times the number in 1960.¹ More disturbingly, there were over one-and-a-half million violent crimes reported in 1988, five times the incidence in 1960.² While crime rates leveled off between 1980-85, they have since resumed their upward trajectory. Violent crimes rose by 14 percent between 1980 and 1988. (See Graph 1). The murder rate in the United States is fully five times that of Europe, and four times that of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.³ (See Graph 2). These figures do not reflect the full horror of criminal activity: the Department of Justice estimates that more than half of even the most violent crimes are never reported to the police.⁴

For the poor, often minority, Americans in our inner cities, violent crime has become a pervasive reality of life and of death. Nearly half of all homicide victims are black, and murder has now become the leading cause of death among young black urban males.⁵ Terms like "epidemic" and "out-of-control" are inescapable in describing violent crime in some urban locales.

But the recent crime spree has been most notable in the sudden spread of violence from its customary pockets in the nation's largest urban centers. For

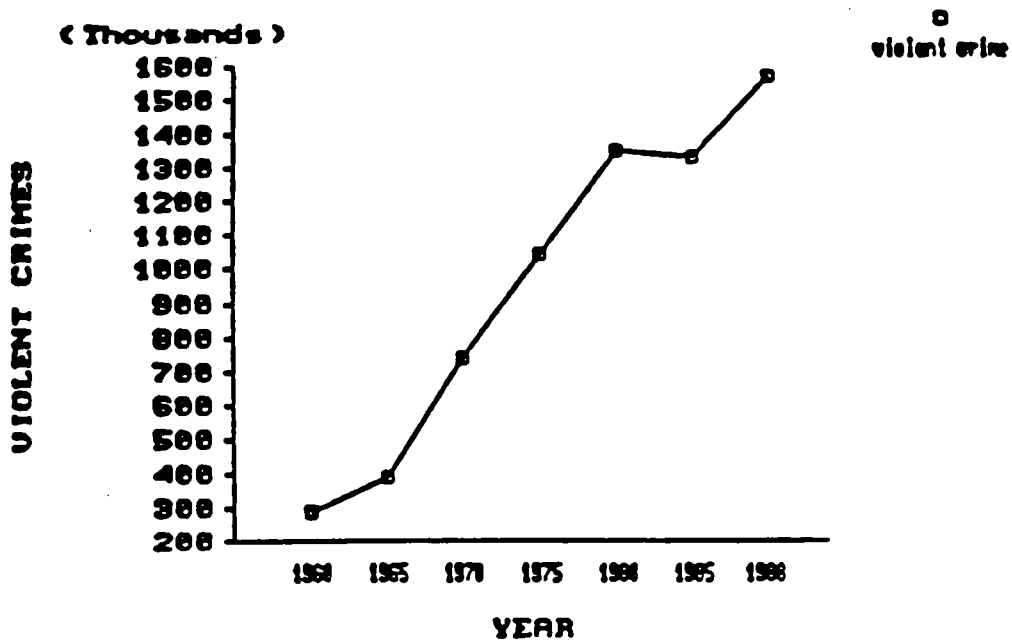
instance, federal officials recently branded the small, farm-oriented city of Albany, Georgia as the "murder capital of America."⁶

The Justice Department recently estimated that more than eight out of 10 Americans can expect to be the victim of a violent crime at some point in their lives.⁷ In other words, most citizens of this country will personally experience a breakdown in the most fundamental assurance of civilized society: to be secure in their persons and property against violence. Aside from the innumerable personal tragedies caused by crime, and the immense damage to property and productive capacity, crime at the levels this country is enduring today has a profoundly corrosive effect on the entire social and political fabric.

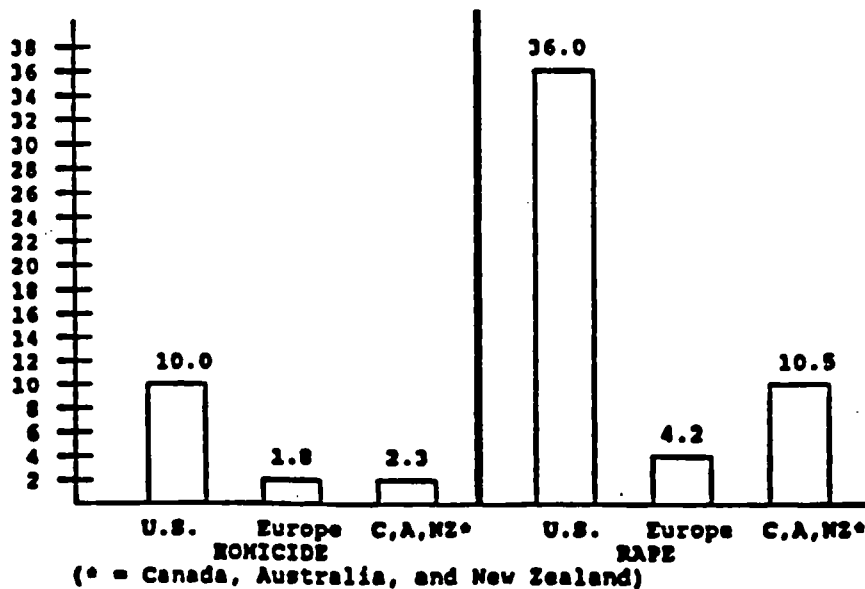
As Professor Alexander Bickel of Yale said during the civil disorders of the 1960s: "No society will long remain open and attached to peaceable politics and the decent and controlled use of public force if fear for personal safety is the ordinary experience of large numbers."⁸ D.C. Police Chief Isaac Fulwood put the matter more directly in a recent interview: "If government cannot assure people that they cannot safely go about their lives, then the rest is hopeless."⁹

Security against violence in one's own home and community is rapidly replacing security against totalitarian Marxist aggression as the most visceral concern of Americans, and is the most strongly asserted demand made of American government. The intensity of anti-crime sentiment, and its potential political impact, can be summed up in two words: Willie Horton. The successful use of Horton as a symbol of the threat to personal security cannot be dismissed as a quirk, a peculiar vulnerability of 1988 Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis. Polling data has shown a persistent lack of credibility among Democrats generally and liberal Democrats in particular on the issue of personal security from violent crime.¹⁰

GRAPH 1
THE GROWTH OF U.S. VIOLENT CRIME



GRAPH 2
U.S. VIOLENT CRIME IN PERSPECTIVE
CRIMES PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1980



SOURCES: Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, "Index of Crime, United States, 1960-1987," 1988. Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, "Uniform Crime Reports, 1988," 1989. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, "International Crime Rates," special report, May 1988.

Bogeymen

The liberal approach to crime lays heavy stress on social injustice and pathology, a response that seems to many Americans tacitly to absolve actual perpetrators of moral responsibility for their acts. Hence the popular stereotype of liberals as "soft on crime."

Of course poverty, discrimination, lack of job opportunities, one-parent and no-parent families, inadequate housing and education, and all the other hallmarks of social pathology in America do contribute to crime, as even conservatives occasionally acknowledge. But if such conditions help explain crime, they do not excuse it. Nor do they excuse reluctance to tackle crime directly and immediately as well as indirectly and "in the long run."

Crime is a cause as well as an effect of poverty and social disintegration. As noted earlier, poor Americans are the preeminent victims of crime -- especially violent crime -- and suffer the most from its consequences.

In any event, significantly reducing poverty, discrimination, inadequate housing and education, and all the other social ills of America will take decades at best. We cannot consign our people to violence and fear of violence in the interim, nor will they complacently await that day.

By couching their views on crime in the language of sociology rather than moral accountability, liberals forfeit the debate on crime to the right.

Conservatives, of course, have their own reductionist explanation of crime, their own bogeymen: permissive judges steeped in social theory, guilt-ridden parole officers and parole boards, subversive civil liberties attorneys, and weak-kneed liberal lawmakers. In the conservative catechism, crime in America continues to climb because criminals, once apprehended, are often "sprung" on a "technicality," given sentences too soft

and short to inspire fear, or paroled after serving just a fraction of their sentences.

President Bush voiced similar sentiments when he charged that crime legislation pending in Congress would "be tougher on law enforcement than on criminals" and would "only entrench and extend the legal loopholes and red tape that disrupt law enforcement, and have angered the American people for far too long."¹¹

Some prophylactic procedures imposed on police by the courts may sometimes hamper their work, and some aberrations in sentencing and paroles undoubtedly exist (often as a stopgap remedy while new prison space is frantically being built). But the notion that post-apprehension "softness" towards criminals has caused increased crime is not sustained by the facts.

The rate of incarceration of criminals in the U.S. doubled between 1973 and 1985, with no palpable deterrent effect on crime.¹² Sentences have been made longer, pardons and paroles restricted, yet still crime rates go up. Far from the conservative myth of "country club prisons," we now incarcerate violent offenders in facilities where drug use, sexual assaults, and even homicides are common -- indeed, one of the few effective deterrent programs devised in recent years was a "Scared Straight" program in which teenagers were exposed to prison conditions. But recidivism rates show no sign of declining.

The conservative claim that "permissive federal judges" are to blame for rising crime is becoming especially threadbare as we enter the 1990s. Republicans have made all federal judicial appointments for 18 of the last 22 years, presumably long enough to cleanse the bench of control by "sociologists."

In his 1985 book *Controlling Crime*, Elliot Currie sums up the evidence on conservative prescriptions:

It is painfully obvious that the decade-long conservative experiment in crime control has failed to live up to its promises. That experiment, launched with high hopes and self-righteous certainty, was based on the alluringly simple premise that crime was pervasive in the United States because we were too lenient with criminals. But the policies that resulted from these premises have left us with both the world's highest incarceration rate for "street" crimes and the highest level of criminal violence outside some developing countries. We have endured an overstuffed and volatile penal system of overwhelming barbarity, yet we endure levels of violence higher than in the "permissive" sixties.¹³

In the last few years, use of crack cocaine has been offered as an all-purpose explanation of rising crime rates, much as heroin use was offered in earlier decades. Clearly, the crack trade has had an especially notable effect in increased homicides, and in spreading crime beyond the inner cities. But the fact remains that reported incidents of violent crime rose by more than 80% during the 1970s, before crack was invented.¹⁴ For all the terrifying problems associated with crack and other new drugs, they simply contribute to an upsurge in crime that has its own unholy momentum.

If crack is not to blame, if tougher judges and more prisons are not deterring crime, and if social pathologies are unlikely to be banished by legislative fiat, then where can we look for a practical remedy? The obvious place to look is on our streets, where police and criminals meet each day in an increasingly unequal struggle for control.

The Unequal Struggle

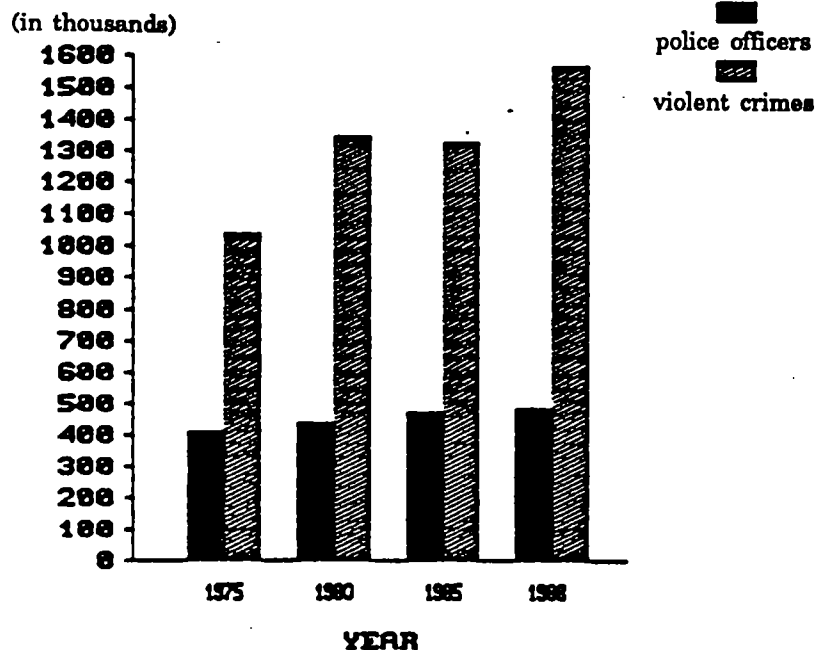
Of all the startling statistics associated with crime in post-World War II America, perhaps the most shocking is

the reversal between the relative strength of our police and of the criminals they battle. In 1951, in cities with populations over 50,000, there were more than three police officers for every reported violent crime. By 1988, there were more than three violent crimes for every police officer.¹⁵ (See Graph 3). In other words, our effective strength in police per violent crime is one-ninth what it was in 1951. In many communities, the figures are even worse: for example, Los Angeles, where there are more than nine violent felonies per officer, or East St. Louis, where there are twenty-six.¹⁶

Seventy percent of police chiefs surveyed in a 1985 study reported serious manpower shortages. Chiefs of large departments indicated they needed an average manpower increase of 74% to do their jobs effectively.¹⁷ Yet even when the financial resources have been available to increase police levels, potential recruits simply have not responded. Last year, the Washington, D.C. force had to resort to national advertising and to application and training shortcuts to fill 700 new positions authorized by Congress at an attractive starting salary of more than \$25,000.¹⁸

As might be expected when the demand for police officers exceeds the supply, the quality of our police officers suffers as well. Despite rising police salaries (the average entry-level income for officers nationally nearly doubled between 1978 and 1988) and the rising demand for better educated workers in all professions, police departments still mostly recruit officers with only high school degrees.¹⁹ In New York City, where police pay is well above average, only captains are required to have a college degree. Although use of sophisticated technologies and investigative procedures has spread throughout every police force in the country, individual educational deficiencies are often compounded by inadequate departmental training: average training hours have not markedly increased since 1967.²⁰

GRAPH 3
"THE UNEQUAL STRUGGLE"



SOURCES: Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, "Index of Crime, United States, 1960-1987," 1988. Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, "Uniform Crime Reports 1988," 1989.

Making police forces more representative of the population they police has been recognized as an important national goal at least since the 1960s. Although virtually all major police forces operate with an affirmative action plan, they still cannot attract remotely sufficient numbers of minority officers. In New York City, 80% of the police force is white, while blacks and hispanics now compose about half of the population.²¹

More officers -- and more representative and better educated officers -- are crucial to reversing the unequal struggle with crime. But these resources must also be deployed in a better manner, one which will deter criminals and help build crime-resistant communities.

911 Justice

Unfortunately, there is every reason to believe that our beleaguered police are

not being deployed in the most effective manner possible. A 1988 report by the U.S. Department of Justice summarized current policing practices as follows:

Professional crime-fighting now relies predominately on three tactics: (1) motorized patrol; (2) rapid response to calls for service; and (3) retrospective investigation of crimes.²²

The report described these tactics as "reactive" -- being "in the right place at the right time so that the crime is thwarted," or arriving "so quickly after the fact that the offender was caught."²³

In practice, these tactics have led to a form of policing characterized by one or two officers in a radio car, racing from point to point in response to citizen complaints, often made through 911 emergency telephone calls. In New York, for example, 90% of the patrol force is deployed in responding to four million 911 calls per year.²⁴

This approach to fighting crime has become an end in itself, as many municipal leaders assess the effectiveness of local police departments primarily through measuring response times to 911 calls.²⁵ The link to effective policing, however, is tenuous. Research in two major cities showed that 60% of 911 calls came from just 10 percent of the addresses calling.²⁶ Many involved domestic disputes, false alarms, or other non-critical matters. The typically circular nature of the 911 exercise was described by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling:

*If each call is treated as a separate incident with neither a history nor a future, then each incident will be handled by police officers anxious to pacify the complainants and get back on patrol as quickly as possible.*²⁷

Boston Police Commissioner Mickey Roache confirmed this assessment of rapid response: "I hate to say this, but in Boston we run from one call to another. We don't accomplish anything. We're just running all over the place. It's insane."²⁸

Criticism of motorized rapid response has been echoed by citizens in many communities, particularly high-crime minority areas where police-community relations are already poor because of unrepresentative forces. In fact, there are striking parallels between contemporary police tactics and those of French and American military authorities in Southeast Asia. Stationed in garrisons remote from the population, our police use the best available technology to arrive on the scene in response to unconfirmed reports of enemy activity. After surveying the scene and filing the necessary paperwork, they return to "base" or respond to another report, leaving the battleground in control of the enemy.

Yet in policing, as in war, winning the "hearts and minds" of the population is critical to success -- citizen cooperation

is critically important in identifying perpetrators, recognizing conditions that lead to crime, and especially in deterring criminals.

All these considerations might be put aside if the evidence indicated that reactive policing works. In addition to the soaring crime rates, the available empirical research, according to a Department of Justice Report, is "uniformly negative."²⁹ A study in Kansas City showed that doubling the number of motorized patrol cars had no significant effect on crime, and concluded that the probability of arrest was unrelated to the speed with which police responded to calls.³⁰

The most serious indictment of "911 Justice" comes from one of the most important statistical measurements of policing: the "clearance" rate for violent crimes, or the percentage of crimes for which an arrest is made. From 1960 to 1988, the period in which reactive policing became predominant, the national clearance rate for homicides dropped from 92% to 70%; for rapes, from 70% to 50%.³¹ Today only about one quarter of robberies are cleared by arrest.³²

There ought to be a better way. Fortunately, there is.

Community Policing

Throughout the 1980s, many researchers and police have become increasingly convinced that "community policing," "proactive policing," or "problem-solving policing" offer a more effective deployment strategy than motorized rapid response. The common element to all these approaches is that police should think in terms of patterns of criminal activity, not individual radio calls; that they should be deployed in a visible and continuous manner in a particular neighborhood, not launched in and out sporadically; and most of all, that police should work actively to secure citizen cooperation, not just in relation to

individual crimes, but in alleviating the immediate conditions that feed crime.

In an urban setting, community policing typically takes the familiar, "back to the future" form of a beat cop -- on foot, motorcycle or horse patrol, who is a familiar and reliable fixture in the neighborhood. Experiments with restoring foot patrols in Newark, New Jersey and Flint, Michigan were very popular with residents, reduced fear of crime, and improved police morale. In Flint, community policing also reduced both the crime rate and the number of emergency calls for service.³³

In New York, a very limited experiment in restoring foot patrol is being expanded by Mayor David Dinkins and Police Chief Lee Brown -- the latter a pioneer in the strategy during his years in Houston.³⁴

But community policing's objectives go well beyond reviving the visibility and familiarity associated with the traditional beat cop. The tactic depends on the recognition that general conditions of disorder contribute tremendously to crime, and that the police officer, as the primary symbol of authority, has both an obligation and an opportunity to help the neighborhood restore order.

In their influential 1982 article "Broken Windows," James Q. Wilson and George Kelling suggested that "signals" of disorder, including neglected buildings and obnoxious youths, "both create fear in citizens and attract predators."³⁵ For the 911-driven officer, such disorder is simply part of a briefly glimpsed backdrop to an incident. For the community policeman, it is both an inducement to crime, and a problem for which he or she might suggest a solution in order to help mobilize and improve neighborhood cooperation with the authorities.

That is not to say that community policing would make cops into social workers or interagency ombudsmen. But

the police are often the only authorities on the spot, and are especially qualified to identify conditions that are conducive to crime. In other words, community policing could not only help deter and apprehend criminals, but could also give neighborhoods an added incentive to help themselves in addressing the social pathology that contributes to crime.

Why has community policing not caught on more widely?

Perhaps the nostalgic image of the friendly cop on the beat has obscured the wider application of problem- and community-oriented policing for suburban and rural jurisdictions where foot or horse patrols are impractical.

Also, police forces are now largely organized according to the tactical requirements of the motorized response/investigative method. Patrol assignments -- nationally, 55% of all police assignments -- usually go to the least educated and promising officers. High-quality patrol officers are quickly promoted to detective squads and then on to administrative work.³⁶ The skills and sensitivity required of officers in community policing is often incompatible with an entrenched system of assignment and advancement.

In some locations, especially large cities like New York, the shift away from beat patrols was accelerated by corruption scandals, on the theory that officers assigned to a particular neighborhood are more likely to demand or accept bribes.³⁷ This is one example of a cure that is more damaging than the illness. Surely there are alternative ways to detect and punish corrupt cops than to insist that police become unfamiliar with the communities they patrol.

Far and away the leading reason for resistance to community policing is inertia compounded by fiscal restraints. Under current conditions, every beat officer must be taken away from a

motorized patrol assignment in a system where force efficiency is measured by rapid response rates. Barring a complete shift in strategies, the only way to apply community policing widely is to significantly increase the size of police forces -- something we critically need to do in any event.

The Intergovernmental Trap

Periodically, at times of particularly sharp voter sensitivity to violent crime, national politicians have launched "wars on crime" as a top federal priority. But from Richard Nixon to George Bush, these efforts have been bedeviled by the problem of designing an effective federal contribution to what is undoubtedly the most local of government responsibilities in our system of federalism.

In 1984, total spending on police at all levels of government reached \$21 billion.³⁸ Most of that spending was by cities and counties; the federal government accounted for less than 5%. Indeed, federal grants to states and localities for all functions related to administration of justice amounted to only \$69 million that year, down from \$322 million in 1972.³⁹

Late in 1989, President Bush launched an anti-crime initiative dramatically entitled "Take Back the Streets." Yet on examination, it appeared that most of the spending proposed in the President's initiative was for federal prison construction. Even if you accept the dubious proposition that building new prison space strikes fear in the hearts of malefactors, few street criminals are found guilty of federal offenses.

In general, recent national anti-crime drives have represented stirring rhetoric in search of a programmatic expression. Of course, there are areas in which the federal government does play a key role: crimes with interstate or international dimensions are handled by the FBI, the DEA, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Justice, and even the

IRS. Information made available by federal agencies is of tremendous value to local police and prosecutors.

But in the unequal struggle on our streets, the federal government has been primarily an impatient bystander.

We need more officers -- better educated officers -- and more officers deployed in community policing. But how do we accomplish that on a national basis?

The Police Corps

Since 1982, an innovative approach has been available, mainly through the crusading efforts of Adam Walinsky, a New York attorney and former chief legislative assistant to Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Working with Jonathan Rubinstein, a former Philadelphia police officer who heads the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy, Walinsky has developed and promoted the concept of a national Police Corps. They call for a federal program that would offer prospective college students up to \$10,000 per year in educational assistance in exchange for a four-year commitment to serve as local police officers. Police departments would gain the services of college graduates in exchange for a commitment to deploy them in one or another form of community policing.

Walinsky and Rubinstein have designed their proposal to address a variety of crime problems simultaneously:

- *Providing more officers, by requiring that Police Corps members augment existing force levels.*
- *Providing better educated officers, by limiting Police Corps assignments to those who have completed both a college degree and pre-assignment training.*
- *Providing more representative officers, by actively recruiting participation by minority college-bound students.*

- *Providing better deployment of officers, by requiring that Police Corps members be assigned to community policing duties, without reassigning existing personnel.*

In addition, their approach would supply a critical new source of federal aid for college students at a time when existing programs are woefully inadequate.

One feature that distinguishes the Police Corps from other contemporary anti-crime proposals is that it can represent a permanent contribution to effective policing. It is unlikely that this country will ever outstrip the need for college-educated law enforcement officers used to promote community self-defense against crime. If the Police Corps ever becomes obsolete, it will be because we have turned the corner on violent crime, and in that happy event, it can expire with honors and no regrets.

The Police Corps Act

The Walinsky/Rubinstein effort bore fruit last year with introduction of the Police Corps Act, a legislative proposal attracting a diverse base of support. The Senate bill was introduced by Senator Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) and Senator Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), and is now part of the Senate Democratic leadership's anti-crime package for 1990. The identical House bill attracted an incongruous pair of sponsors: arch-liberal Rep. Barney Frank of Massachusetts, and arch-conservative Rep. Bob Dornan of California.

The Police Corps Act aims at supplying state and local forces 100,000 college-educated rookie police officers within five years, increasing total force levels by more than 20%, total patrol units by 40%, and community policing units by even more.⁴⁰

The main inducement to Police Corps recruits -- up to \$40,000 in college grants -- would be paid by the federal government. In addition, recruits would agree

to undergo 16 weeks of pre-assignment federal training. Participating state and local police departments would pay the recruits the normal entry-level salary, but would enjoy a roughly 40% reduction in personnel costs per recruit by avoiding pension obligations and other benefits that accrue to career officers.

According to preliminary estimates by the Congressional Budget Office, if the program were operating at its peak level of 25,000 volunteers each year, the cost to the federal government would be \$1.7 billion per year. That is far less than the spending contemplated on law enforcement in the 1990 drug bill, and an amount that would only raise the federal contribution to crime-fighting to at most 10% of the total.⁴¹ If, as the President says, the federal government's objective is to "take back the streets," then this is a modest fiscal commitment, and probably much more productive than building federal prisons or grants to procure more communications equipment and helicopters.

Would college-bound youths be drawn to the Police Corps? A survey of Boston-area students found that 40% of all college attendees would "very likely" or "fairly likely" sign up for the four-year Police Corps commitment.⁴² Even if these figures prove inflated, they suggest that satisfying the 25,000 per year maximum enrollment target nationwide is feasible. Most encouraging of all, over half of the minority students surveyed indicated a strong interest in joining a Police Corps.⁴³ Disproportionately high interest among the best-educated minority Americans indicates that the Police Corps could be the key to recruiting representative numbers of qualified blacks and hispanics to police work.

The reaction of rank and file police officials is largely favorable, though some police associations have expressed qualms. Of police chiefs who responded to a 1985 survey, nearly nine out of ten said they would welcome Police Corps members to their forces.⁴⁴ However, some

police associations believe the Corps ought to be open to current police officers who pursue a college degree on a part-time basis. Walinsky, however, has argued that "our fundamental and overriding need is for more officers."⁴⁵

Others, like former New York City Police Chief Benjamin Ward, fault the concept because it does not help localities pay the salaries of Police Corps graduates, and because it deprives local police officials of the discretion to deploy Corps graduates any way they choose.

Stimulating Upward Mobility

In addition to expanding the supply of qualified police officers, the Police Corps would provide young Americans with a new avenue to secure a college education. The Police Corps would revive the principle of the G.I. Bill: the federal government would help volunteers achieve upward mobility in exchange for service to their country.

The baleful statistics of access to higher education in America are familiar enough. The cost of higher education has skyrocketed precisely at the time when a knowledge- and information-based global economy has made a college degree the ticket to full participation in the blessings of the American dream.

Existing student aid programs are increasingly inadequate: the amount of assistance available to poor and minority youths is lagging farther behind the rise in college costs, while many middle-class families are disqualified from most of the aid programs. The composition of aid has shifted markedly from grants to loans, leading to record levels of student indebtedness and loan defaults. Today federal taxpayers spend more than \$1.6 billion per year -- over half of student loan expenditures -- to cover defaulted loans.

Under the Police Corps, students could receive educational benefits far exceeding

those of existing programs -- up to \$40,000, as opposed to a maximum of \$9,200 in Pell Grants -- in *addition* to existing benefits, but in exchange for a commitment to serve his or her community.

Conclusion: A New Civic Enterprise

The current threat to personal security posed by violent crime represents a challenge to progressives, precisely because it involves the most basic threat to individual freedom, and the most basic responsibility of government.

Yet a progressive anti-crime strategy must build from the premise that government alone cannot "solve" the problem of crime. Just as war is too important to be left to generals, the fight against crime in America cannot be entrusted solely to professional civil servants. As we have in every national emergency, we need once again to summon a collective response from the American people. We need to enlist ordinary citizens in the daily battle to restore order and civility to our streets, neighborhoods and communities.

Crime is a powerful corrosive agent that breaks down our sense of mutual trust and affection; it also lies at the heart of the racial tension that continues to afflict our society. Without civic participation and cooperation, the police risk being seen as an alien occupying force rather than an integral part of the communities they are supposed to protect.

The Police Corps recognizes that crime-fighting must ultimately be a civic enterprise. It encourages citizens to volunteer for a particularly difficult and dangerous form of public service. It provides for their education and training, and their visible deployment in communities. And the Police Corps promotes upward mobility and individual opportunity among the young citizens who will serve, and the citizens they will serve.

As D.C. Police Chief Fulwood said in testifying in favor of the Police Corps proposal:

If passed, the spirit of this bill will rekindle in America a sense of public service and pride in our communities, whereby people are willing to serve at a time when America is engaged in an undeclared war on crime, violence and drugs."⁴⁶

The Police Corps was perhaps best described by Rep. John Lewis, a battle-scarred veteran of the civil rights movement and other fights against restraints on the potential of Americans:

[This proposal] tells all our people that we are not helpless before the ills of modern life, before the savageness of man. It will allow all of us, black and white, to join as citizens in the work of recapturing our community."⁴⁷

* * *

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*The National Center
For Community Policing*

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Performance Profiles of Foot Versus Motor Officers

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(#s) corresponds with endnotes

Introduction

The problem facing all complex organizations, especially police departments, is developing productivity measures which evaluate performance. Thorough job analyses are most often missing from productivity standards. Performance simply cannot be gauged on any organizational level without clear role definition resulting from an in-depth study of the group being evaluated.

Sir Robert Peale, the nineteenth-century British reformer, recognized the need for a standardized method of evaluating police performance.⁽¹⁾ During the twentieth century, there have been many attempts to delineate quantitative measures of performance. The development of the Uniform Crime Reports is the most familiar of all such efforts. Today, however, the problem still persists.

The complexity of police interaction with the communities served makes precise quantification of activity difficult. As Spencer Parrat observed in 1937, "Police administration is a composite of many variables, behaviors, states of mind or attitudes and external conditioning factors."⁽²⁾ The same is true today; communities, and neighborhoods within communities, possess divergent resources, needs, expectations and priorities.

Police performance literature generally discusses evaluation of the innate character of individual officers. Traits such as intelligence, analytical ability, sensitivity and moral character are often used in the evaluation process. Administrators using these criteria frequently ascribe poor police performance to the PP...failure to recruit the right types of people, failure of society to instill appropriate values in young people of today, along with the failure of the educational system to develop appropriate skills.⁽³⁾

Some police administrators, those with a more quantitative and less ecological perspective, tend to evaluate performance by reference to activities easily objectified and counted--traffic tickets, arrests, convictions, security checks, and so on. The limits of such a quantitative orientation are obvious: the most easily counted tasks are not always of the greatest benefit to the community. On the whole, efforts to reify police performance through standardized measures lead only to confusion and alienation. Communities and neighborhoods differ immensely; they are not always amenable to larity of patrol cars, and the attendant emphasis on police response time have depersonalized police-citizen interactions. The anomaly is that, as service calls have exploded quantitatively, the quality of policing has devalued and the exchange of useful information has constricted.

Information is the lifeblood of police work. Acquiring, processing and interpreting information are critical elements of any effort to deal with crime and other community concerns. Without complete and accurate information on an aggregate level, the policing effort is difficult. Linkages between officers and citizens becomes a critical dimension of law enforcement which may serve to establish a conduit through which community needs and values are translated into police activity. The interaction emphasized by community control programs can be seen as a nexus within which officers act as proactive agents of social control.

To determine the effectiveness, efficiency or cost benefits of community policing without a detailed analysis of the activities of both community police officers and motor patrol officers is impossible. Having a comparative perspective should make it possible to generate alternative measures of police performance and service. The present research will analyze and compare the activities of foot and motor patrol officers in the city of Flint in order to initiate construction of valid performance criteria.

Community Policing: The Flint Experiment

The Flint Police Department operated solely with motorized or preventive patrols until January, 1979, at which point the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation provided funding for the implementation of experimental community-based foot patrol.⁽⁴⁾

Flint's Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program is unique in a variety of ways. It emerged from an initiative which integrated citizens into the planning and implementation process through citywide neighborhood meetings in 1977 and 1978. It attempts to ameliorate three distinct problems: (1) the absence of comprehensive neighborhood organizations and services; (2) the lack of citizen involvement in crime prevention; and (3) the depersonalization of interactions between officers and residents. The program began in 1979 with 22 foot patrol officers assigned to 14 experimental areas which included about 20 percent of the city's population. The activity and efforts of the foot officers addressed seven basic goals:

1. To decrease the amount of actual or perceived criminal activity.
2. To increase the citizen's perception of personal safety.
3. To deliver to Flint residents a type of law enforcement service consistent with the community needs and the ideas of modern police practice.
4. To create a community awareness of crime problems and methods of increasing law enforcement's ability to deal with actual or potential criminal activity effectively.
5. To develop citizen volunteer action in support of, and under the direction of, the police department, aimed at various target crimes.
6. To eliminate citizen apathy about reporting crime to police.
7. To increase protection for women, children, and the aged.

The Flint program's salient features are a radical departure from both preventive patrol and traditional foot patrol models. Flint's foot patrol officers do not limit their activities to downtown or business areas. They are based in and accessible to all types of socioeconomic neighborhoods. Their crime prevention efforts go beyond organizing neighborhood watches. They attempt to serve as *catalysts* in the formation of neighborhood associations which articulate community expectations of the police, establish foot patrol priorities, and initiate community programs. Foot patrol officers also work in partnership with community organizations and individual elop and nurture new talents in their community organizer, linkage and catalyst capacity.

Supervisory personnel within the Flint Police Department adapt their methods according to the form of patrol for which they are responsible. Motor patrol supervisors continue to measure success primarily in terms of the number of calls made and response time. They adhere to the semimilitary model of authority, with some supervisors infrequently interacting with officers, either individually or collectively. Roll call remains an impersonal exercise which averages 12 minutes and involves all officers and sergeants on a given shift. Sergeants do not necessarily assume responsibility for a stable pool of officers because shift rotations and sector assignments change frequently. Sergeants review officers monthly. They are compelled to interact with individual officers directly only when performance seems to be deficient.

Sergeants responsible for foot patrol officers encourage a participatory mode of supervision. Supervisors meet daily with the eight officers assigned to a specific sector. The briefings which average 31 minutes, are used to exchange information and to develop community-based strategies. The sergeants are familiar with the individual officers and know their accomplishments well. When necessary, sergeants assist and supplement individual efforts, but do not interfere with the autonomy each officer enjoys in defining community problems and programs. The decision-making freedom which sergeants permit foot patrol officers is reflected in the availability of flexible or "flex" time. Although scheduled for either morning or afternoon shifts, foot patrol officers can elect to work an evening or two instead. The only constraint on such flexibility is that the officer's alternate schedule has to be responsive to the community's needs.

The supervisory and management role in foot patrol is less directed and uniform. Supervisory and command personnel serve as resources and conduits for foot patrol officers and their communities. They become the repository for citywide information, which facilitates community involvement in the crime prevention and solving process. Under ideal circumstances, supervisors coordinate and prioritize community activities according to available resources and community needs. They do not impose cumbersome bureaucratic procedures on either foot patrol officers or on community residents.

Some of the results of the Flint experiment have been reported elsewhere. Briefly, the Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program reduced crime rates by 8.7 percent. More dramatic were the reductions in calls for service, which decreased by 42 percent over the period 1979-1982. Citizens began handling minor

problems themselves, or the foot officer acted as mediator on an informal basis, negating the need for a formal complaint.

Although the impact on calls for service alone was significant, additional evidence indicated that citizens felt safer, were satisfied with the program, felt that it had impacted the crime rates, and that it had improved police-community relations. There was much closer interaction between the foot officers and citizens. Over 33 percent of neighborhood residents knew their foot patrol officers by name, and 50 percent of the rest could provide accurate descriptions of foot officers. Citizens also felt that foot officers were more effective than motor officers in encouraging crime reporting, in involving citizens in neighborhood crime prevention efforts, in working with juveniles, in encouraging citizen self-protection, and in following up on complaints. The foot patrol officers themselves felt well integrated into the communities they served, minimizing their sense of isolation, alienation, and fear. The foot patrol experiment was so successful that the citizens of Flint passed a tax millage increase in August, 1982 which extended the program to the entire city. A three-year tax renewal was passed in June, 1985. The margin of approval, 68 percent, was even greater than in 1982. Currently there are 64 foot beats.

Research Design and Methods

Flint divides both foot and motor patrol into four sectors of roughly equal size in terms of population. The foot patrol program services 64 beats covering the entire city. The present research, using a random stratified sample, compares 16 foot officers--four from each sector--with a like number of motor patrol officers drawn from each of the sectors. Since foot officers do not work the third shift, the sample reflects only first and second shift officers so that comparability may be sustained. Because foot patrol beats are

permanent assignments. the 16 foot officers selected remained stable throughout the study. a total of 25

motor patrol officers had to be drawn due to shift rotations. The characteristics of the sample groups can be found in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Sample Characteristics

Chapter 8

Community Self-Defense: A New Strategy for Preventing Crime and Restoring Public Order

Ed Kilgore

Public safety traditionally has been thought of as the most local of government responsibilities. But thanks to more than three decades of high crime rates and steadily mounting disorder in our cities, the public is forcing politicians to make public safety a national issue. The subject routinely appears at or near the top of every public opinion survey of national problems, even during periods when "the experts" point to short-term improvements in crime rates as grounds for optimism.

In April 1995, for example, amid reports that violent crime rates were dropping following a boomlet in those rates in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Times-Mirror poll asked Americans if the United States was making progress or losing ground on twenty-one different issues. Crime elicited the most pessimistic response of all, with 77 percent of respondents saying the country was losing ground, and only 9 percent agreeing with the experts that the country was making progress.¹

Recent publicity on marginally lower crime rates obscures the cumulative impact of persistently high rates over the lifetimes of most adult Americans. In 1995, a "good" year for crime-fighting, there were nearly 14 million reported crimes, more than four times the number in 1960. The number of reported violent crimes that year dropped below 1.8 million for the first time since 1989—a very positive statistic, but still about six times the number of reported violent crimes in 1960.²

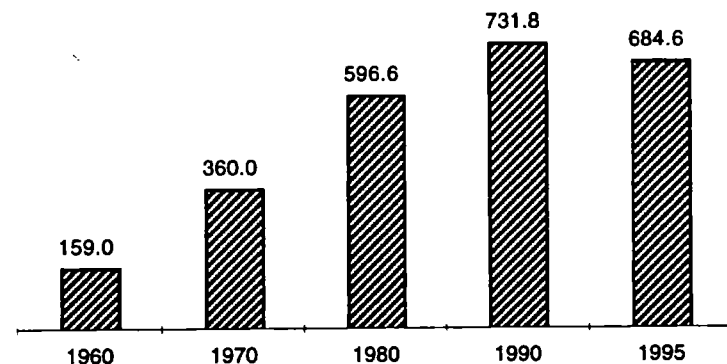


Fig. 8.1. Violent offenses in the U.S., per 100,000 inhabitants, 1960–1995. Data from *Uniform Crime Reports*, U.S. Department of Justice, 1960, 1970, and 1995.

Americans have grown tired of crime and disorder, and they want national leaders, not just police chiefs and mayors, to do something about it.

The State, the Individual, and the Community

The nationalization of the crime issue is a striking counterexample to the conservative assumption that government dysfunction is exclusively the product of excessive federal power. By any measurement, the various elements of the criminal justice system exhibit all the worst features of Industrial Age bureaucracies: lack of public accountability, turf consciousness, self-defined “professionalism,” remoteness from the common experience of citizens, voracity for additional resources, and inbred resistance to change. While federal crime policy has contributed to these institutional vices, by no means has it created them.

It is impossible to identify a sole prevailing governing paradigm for the criminal justice system, divided as it is into distinct and largely uncoordinated bureaucracies involved in crime prevention, child welfare, juvenile justice, alcohol and substance abuse, policing, prosecution, adjudication, incarceration, and probation—with overlapping federal, state, and local jurisdictions in each. But by and large, the system is organized around two basic principles: the rights of the state, as expressed in laws and fixed sanctions for their violation, and the rights of the individual, as expressed in constitutional and statutory guarantees of civil rights and liberties. The interests of the *community*, the actual citizens and neighborhoods affected by crime and disorder, are rarely taken into account, or they are assumed to be reflected in the state’s

prosecution and punishment of crimes, and in the individual’s liberty from excessive police powers.

While the national debate on crime and disorder has been driven by citizens concerned for their communities, it has largely focused instead on the twin towers of state power and individual liberty. It has done so, though, with some surprising wrinkles in recent years.

Conservatives generally have championed state power in the form of a single-minded support for longer and harsher prison sentences, sometimes appearing to favor permanent imprisonment of all violent felons and drug offenders. Liberals usually have been identified with individual rights and minority-group grievances against the criminal justice system, frequently suggesting that crime and disorder are lamentable but inevitable consequences of social and economic inequality.

In the 1990s, conservatives, while still arguing for longer stretches for more offenders in more pitiless prisons, have become actively hostile to the state’s police power when it is exercised to control firearm ownership or to dissolve armed religious or paramilitary encampments (an attitude typified by the National Rifle Association letter that called officers of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms “jack-booted government thugs”).³ The right also has become increasingly indifferent to those parts of the criminal justice system that come into play before a convicted defendant is sentenced by a judge.

For its part, the left, overwhelmed by public hostility to victimization theories about crime, has largely withdrawn from the law and order debate, other than exercising reflexive opposition to measures aimed at longer sentences for criminal acts. As recently as 1988, a Democratic candidate for president proudly claimed membership in the ACLU. Few rising political stars would make that mistake today.

Meanwhile, progressives in both parties, political independents, and police advocates have stimulated an entirely new debate focused not on root-cause remedies or postarrest punishments (though most do support an end to cost-driven “revolving door” conditions under which prisoners serve a small fraction of sentences), but on how police and communities can collaborate to fight both crime itself and the conditions of disorder and anarchy that immediately breed it.

The community policing movement, spearheaded in the 1980s by a handful of local leaders, embraced by the Clinton administration more recently, and scoring a series of high-profile successes in the last few years, reflects more than a fashionable strategy of employing police officers in the cities. Community policing is potentially the opening wedge of a fundamental change in the function, objectives, and structure of the criminal justice system: from a series

of uncoordinated bureaucracies waging an abstract, often losing fight for improved crime statistics, to a radically decentralized but highly focused array of public resources aimed at helping communities defend themselves.

This paradigm shift reflects two of the New Progressive Declaration's strategies for renewing our democracy: reconstructing the social order, and returning power to self-governing citizens and communities.

This chapter will explore the history and implications of the movement for community-based crime prevention, and outline key steps that citizens and national, state, and local officials can take to broaden its impact. In particular, it will urge:

- a stronger national commitment to community policing;
- vigorous federal support for the interests of communities in conflicts between the state and criminal defendants;
- a national campaign to regain community control of public spaces;
- making supervised reintegration of criminals into community life a central priority in corrections, probation, and parole decisions; and,
- a comprehensive overhaul of criminal justice bureaucracies to focus them on contributing to community self-defense.

The Police Bureaucracy

No one would be surprised to hear the child welfare, juvenile justice, probation, parole, and corrections systems described as bureaucracies. Even the federal and state court systems, with their adjunct prosecutors and public defenders, are easily viewed as entrenched bureaucracies with their own culture and standards. What is surprising, though, is that our front-line troops, the local police departments, have developed into classic bureaucracies, too. This little-remarked phenomenon goes a long way toward explaining the public's growing estrangement from the criminal justice system.

Throughout the twentieth century, and with growing intensity during the past thirty years, local police have evolved from a traditional, community-based "peace officer" role into a detached and reactive, "professional crime fighter" role. Old-fashioned peace officers, or neighborhood police, were intimately involved in all aspects of civic life, and viewed their responsibility to the community more broadly than simply apprehending criminal suspects. Any threat to public tranquility from virtually any source was considered within their jurisdiction.⁴ For example, local police might have become personally involved with clearing a vacant lot filled with trash or admonishing

someone who broke a window. Modern police professionals, on the other hand, are expected to strictly limit their activities to the detection of crimes and the apprehension of their likely perpetrators. Essentially, they serve as the entry processing point for suspects into other elements of the criminal justice system, much as local welfare agencies serve as the entry processing point for clients seeking various forms of public assistance.

While peace officers instinctively thought of themselves as integral members of the community and protected it accordingly, police professionals tend to view the community as a neutral site for fighting crime, and of citizens as irrelevant to their work unless they are offenders, victims, or witnesses.

Four developments—one political, one technological, one organizational, and one reflecting both technological and organizational change—accelerated the trend toward the bureaucratization of police:

- In a manner that strikingly parallels the civil service reform movement in other segments of public service, police reformers sought explicitly to minimize officers' contacts with the community, and to insulate police departments from city politics. Both steps were rationalized as inoculations against corruption.⁵
- The advent of motorized patrol quickly eroded the tradition of assigning officers to beats in specific neighborhoods, and increasingly organized their work around responses to criminal incidents, rather than responsibility for general levels of public order.⁶
- In a pattern common to all bureaucracies, police departments almost universally became organized around a promotion hierarchy that made beat assignment an undesirable entry-level position, soon left behind by competent and ambitious officers for detective work and administration. In many cities, unionization of police, while leading to significant improvements in pay and benefits, also tended to harden the promotion hierarchy and make careers in policing similar to civil service occupations, in terms of distaste for performance incentives and public accountability.⁷
- Improvements in crime data collection and dissemination, especially the FBI's Uniform Crime Report, made crime rates a convenient performance measurement, and the severity of crimes an equally convenient determinant for the allocation of resources. This fixation on crime statistics further eroded the police's traditional public-order priorities.

The trend toward removing police from communities and enrolling them in a professional crime-fighting bureaucracy has culminated in the 911 telephone emergency-response system that has dominated policing in most parts of the

country since the late 1970s. The 911 systems represent far more than a method for speeding information about criminal incidents to police. They reflect a conscious effort to limit police interaction with the community to incident-related contacts. Fully integrated with the motorized rapid-response method of deployment, 911 systems complete the trend away from the traditional peace officers model. Legitimate police work is now defined as response to isolated incidents, with performance increasingly measured by "response times," and with police attention to underlying community patterns of crime and disorder officially discouraged.

Four warning signs, still relevant today, accompanied the near-universal adoption of the professional crime fighting model:

- Almost everywhere, citizens resisted the abandonment of the old community-based model of policing, and the police's abdication of responsibility for public-order maintenance tasks unrelated to "crime-fighting."
- In most large urban centers, the elimination of regular police-community contact, and the adoption by officers of a paramilitary "strike force" ethic, bred an unprecedented level of suspicion and hostility toward officers, especially in minority communities.
- National crime rates rose sharply to previously unimagined levels throughout the entire period in which police departments focused most obsessively on deploying resources to respond to criminal incidents.
- Fed up with both rising crime rates and police insensitivity to their desire for the maintenance of public order, communities and businesses across America began organizing their own private "security forces." In 1995, American's hired 1.5 million private police officers to supplement public police protection.⁸

Unfortunately, police administrators cited all of these discouraging trends as justification for an even greater emphasis on professionalism and technology-driven responsiveness. Professionalism was actively marketed as the best guarantee of "constituent satisfaction" and as a counter to lingering bias against minorities in majority-white departments, while ever-lower response times were deemed critical to reversing rising crime rates.

The Start of the Community Policing Movement

In a striking example of how ideas often do matter, the countertrend away from the professional crime-fighting and rapid-response models for policing

began in academic circles. Beginning in the mid-1970s, the Police Foundation funded a research project by George L. Kelling (the former director of the foundation's evaluation field staff and a research fellow at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government) aimed at testing a return to police foot patrols on a limited basis in Newark, New Jersey. The experiment was conducted primarily through officers working overtime and did not represent a real commitment of resources or a changed departmental strategy. Nevertheless, Kelling noted impressive improvements in public perceptions of safety and overwhelming public support for foot patrol. The positive reaction appeared to stem from two interrelated factors: the increased visibility of police in daily neighborhood life, and even more important, foot patrol officers' knowledge of and willingness to deal with patterns of physical and behavioral disorder—patterns that citizens were convinced diminished their safety and contributed to crime.

The Newark experiment strongly influenced the document that really launched the community policing movement: "Broken Windows," a 1982 article in *The Atlantic Monthly* written by Kelling with social scientist James Q. Wilson.⁹ The article's hypothesis was that disorder did indeed breed crime by driving law-abiding citizens out of public areas and attracting criminal predators. It suggested that police deployed continuously in neighborhood beats—rather than being launched in and out sporadically in patrol cars in response to "incidents"—would be in a far superior position to identify and address disorderly conditions, and to encourage active community participation in "retaking" public spaces.

In effect, Kelling and Wilson argued for a return to the traditional peace officer model of policing. Even more provocatively, they suggested that police served a public order function that was integral to fighting crime, and that deploying resources based on a severity-of-crime standard would often produce *de facto* tolerance for behaviors that diminished public safety from the citizens' point of view.¹⁰

The article's impact was greatly enhanced by its timing. It appeared near the peak of the long climb in crime rates that began in the 1960s, and amid a nationwide explosion of concern about the deteriorating quality of urban life:

- The "homeless" phenomenon—the sudden, shocking appearance in nearly every major city of aggressive street beggars, caused in no small part by court-ordered deinstitutionalization of substance abusers and the mentally ill—was transforming public transit systems, commercial and retail areas, and parks into threatening places.
- The crack cocaine epidemic was gaining steam, introducing a cheap,

violence-inducing drug into virtually every impoverished inner-city neighborhood from coast to coast.

- White and minority middle-class flight from decaying urban centers, a response to declining public order which accelerated during the national real estate boom of the mid-1980s. As these solid citizens left the cities, conditions for those left behind grew even worse.

The time was ripe for a reevaluation of the prevailing assumption that maintaining public order was an illegitimate task for police. A handful of community policing experiments were launched during the mid- to late-1980s in cities ranging from Flint, Michigan, to Atlanta, Houston, Boston, and New York. Like the original Newark experiment, nearly all were small initiatives in limited areas, and occurred amid continuing commitment to the rapid-response model. Even so, these largely superficial efforts attracted strong public support in the affected communities, and significantly improved perceptions of public safety, if not the actual crime rate. In Flint, voters twice approved tax increases to continue foot patrols.¹¹

Opposition to Community Policing

Opposition to community policing provides a textbook example of bureaucratic resistance to systemic change.

Police administrators and unions often oppose the strategy for the same two reasons: It upsets long-established, highly valued career-ladder hierarchies, and challenges the professional ethic assumed central to police recruitment and morale. Restoring the peace officer model is interpreted as asking police to become social workers.

Many prosecutors and judges resist community policing as well, for reasons that perfectly reflect the traditional paradigm of state interest versus individual rights.

Trained in and bureaucratically organized around "serious" criminal justice specialties, prosecutors are often ill-disposed to try such "minor" crimes as loitering, disturbances of the peace, public drunkenness, and unlawful entry. Judges are similarly inclined to throw out or mitigate sentences in such cases. Together with prosecutors, they oppose "wasting" police resources on public order functions that tend not to lead to arrests: orders to "move on," intervention in neighborhood disputes, and the like. The purpose of policing, they believe, is to supply them with cases. This mindset helps explain why arrest rates for "lesser" crimes are abysmally low: 9.5 percent for burglary and 7.6

percent for car theft in the nation's seven largest cities in 1995, making these crimes nearly risk-free when committed.

Meanwhile, many public defenders (and many judges) are deeply opposed on principle to the use of police discretion in making arrests that reflect community, not state, priorities. All acts of public drunkenness, they believe, should be treated equally, regardless of community impact. For them, there is no difference between the drunk who intimidates pedestrians and the drunk who quietly sits alone. Among probation and parole officers, selective arrests are resented as a preemption of their authority to determine whether a given offense is grounds for revoking their "client's" status.

The single most important source of resistance to community policing comes from lawyers and judges who inherently oppose the legitimacy of community control of public spaces. Two especially notorious test cases in the late 1980s involved efforts to clear nonresidents from crime-ridden public housing units in Chicago, and to enforce rules of civil behavior on the New York City subways.

Chicago public housing tenants, painfully aware of the nexus between nonresidents and drug-related crime and violence, strongly supported the public-order measures. The initiative ultimately collapsed, however, after the ACLU persuaded the courts to bar police from aggressively searching and screening units for unauthorized persons. The case epitomizes the elevation of individual interests over community interests: Two residents represented by the ACLU were able to halt security measures supported formally by a tenants' association representing thousands of other residents.

The New York subway case, in which George Kelling (as a consultant) and Transit Police Commissioner William Bratton played leading roles, turned out differently. In 1989, between 1,200 and 2,000 persons were sleeping in the subway system each night. Fare-jumpers and fare-thieves were costing the city more than \$60 million per year.¹² Felonies on cars and in stations were rising sharply, and virtually all riders—whose numbers were dropping at an alarming rate—feared for their safety.

Under Bratton's direction, transit police began an intensive effort ("Operation Enforcement") to regulate aggressive begging; smoking; public displays of nudity, urination, and defecation; psychotic outbursts; and obstruction of passengers. Homeless persons were directed to shelters or to areas where they would not interfere with transit riders. The initiative succeeded despite attempts by the ACLU and others to claim First Amendment protection for uncivil behavior, and to deny citizens a liberty interest in the peaceful enjoyment of subway transit. Since the beginning of Operation Enforcement, felonies in the subway system have declined by 75 percent, and ridership has stabilized.¹³

The case demonstrated that community order and individual rights could

Public
Spaces

be balanced by carefully emphasizing behavior over status, and through an equally careful effort to provide alternative areas for the use of "street people."

The Politics of Community Policing

At the municipal level, community policing has won support from centrist, reform-minded politicians of both parties, with especially strong commitments being made by Democratic administrations in Baltimore, Boston, and Seattle, and Republican administrations in Indianapolis, New York, and San Diego.

At the national level, the subject drew scant attention from the political parties or from policy groups until the PPI made it a signature idea in 1990. PPI's endorsement, in turn, led to Bill Clinton's campaign pledge in 1992 to support both community policing and a related federal initiative, dubbed COPS, to help cities and counties hire an additional 100,000 police officers over five years.

Before Clinton's COPS initiative became federal law and Democratic orthodoxy in 1994, the national political debate on crime remained stuck in its old ruts.

Conservatives remained convinced that "liberal permissiveness" was the root cause of rising crime. Few viewed policing strategies as being relevant to the crime rate, though some agreed with the status quo belief that community policing was turning police into soft-minded social workers.

On the left, civil libertarians continued to fight Old Paradigm extensions of state power along with New Paradigm approaches to promoting public order. Their role in frustrating efforts to maintain public order and recapture public spaces cannot be exaggerated. In particular, professional advocates for the homeless deliberately encouraged maximum domination of public areas by their "constituents" as a living advertisement for their plight.

With Clinton's election, the goal of strengthening police departments, if not necessarily changing their mission, rose to the top of the national policy agenda as part of a long-awaited federal "crime bill." While the measure that was passed did provide ultimately for the hiring of 100,000 new police officers, it was inadequately funded and also failed to connect the increase in police power to the community policing strategy. (The Clinton administration's Justice Department, however, clearly has been committed to community policing in its technical assistance and research efforts.) Among other shortcomings, the crime bill failed to concentrate the new officers in high-crime

communities, and left communities fully responsible for their salaries after five years, creating the risk that those positions will lapse with the federal aid. In the 104th Congress, House Republicans passed legislation (never taken up by the Senate) that would have eliminated COPS and other crime prevention programs authorized by the crime bill in favor of a new, unrestricted block grant to cities and counties.

The real political struggle over community policing in the 1990s erupted in two cities run by mayors with a special commitment to the strategy.

- In San Francisco, Democratic Mayor Frank Jordan, a former policeman, was elected on a platform of reclaiming parks, streets, and the downtown commercial area from panhandlers, prostitutes, and drug and alcohol abusers. Jordan spent much of his term fighting advocacy groups and the courts to implement his "Operation Matrix" strategy for moving street people out of public spaces and into social service and treatment facilities. Key elements of Operation Matrix were struck down by the courts. Jordan was defeated in 1995 by State Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a liberal Democrat who made opposition to Operation Matrix a central campaign issue.

- In New York, maverick Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in 1994 immediately expanded the community policing initiative begun by his Democratic predecessor, David Dinkins. Giuliani hired William Bratton, who directed the successful New York City subway cleanup, as his police commissioner. Bratton was advised, as earlier, by George Kelling. Using an explicit and aggressive public order strategy right out of "Broken Windows"—enforced by holding precinct captains strictly accountable for results, and enhanced by computerized data on crime in every neighborhood—the Giuliani-Bratton initiative not only increased perceptions of public safety, but produced a sensational reduction in violent crimes. In 1995, the likelihood that a New Yorker would become a crime victim dropped to the lowest odds since 1970; robberies were at their lowest level since 1973; and homicides had been cut nearly in half from their 1990 level.¹⁴ While longer sentences for criminal offenses in New York also undoubtedly contributed to the progress on violent crime, the especially sharp drops in the city's crime rates indicate policing measures have been critical. More recently, Bratton's resignation after a series of clashes with Giuliani and complaints from minority communities about alleged police brutality have made the crime initiative newly controversial on the eve of Giuliani's 1997 reelection campaign.

Beyond Community Policing

As community policing has struggled for acceptance, a few pioneers have begun to apply the same principles to other bureaucracies in the criminal justice system.

The "community prosecution" movement is now roughly at the same stage of development and acceptance as community policing was in the mid-1980s. Actively supported by the Clinton administration's Justice Department and extensively studied by the American Prosecutorial Research Institute, community prosecution is sometimes adopted as an adjunct to community policing (as in New York City), and sometimes as a free-standing experiment (as in Portland, Oregon and Austin, Texas).

Like community policing, community prosecution involves a paradigm shift in the organization, deployment, and strategic use of law enforcement resources. It makes the actual impact of patterns of criminal behavior in specific communities the strategic linchpin and measure of success in law enforcement decisions, rather than abstract judgments of a professional elite.

And like community policing, community prosecution requires a significant change in the professional culture of the criminal justice bureaucracy. Lawyers currently trained and assigned by case specialty are instead assigned to neighborhoods. Decisions to prosecute cases are based on the impact of a given offense to public order in the community, not on preestablished and unvarying indices of a crime's severity.

Prosecutors adopting a community-based approach are encountering the same kind of support from the public, and the same kind of resistance from bureaucracies and advocacy groups, previously experienced by community policing pioneers. For example, State's Attorney Rod Smith of Gainesville, Florida, aggressively sought public support for a "selective prosecution" initiative focused on a high-crime minority neighborhood in his jurisdiction. He successfully recruited African-American community leaders to dispute charges by civil liberties groups that the initiative was racially discriminatory.¹⁵

In Boston, municipal leaders brought probation officers into a community-based public order initiative—an especially important experiment given the power of probation officers over individuals still under the supervision of the criminal justice system.

Even in the judicial arena, there is an analogous community-based movement seen in the spread of specialty "drug courts," where community-impact testimony and informal community sanctions are an important part of both fact-finding and sentencing.

The System Crisis

The glacial movement toward community-based strategies in criminal justice highlights a problem mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: The criminal justice system is, in fact, a wide array of highly fragmented bureaucracies with varying philosophies and governance structures.

This is not merely a problem of public administration. Fragmentation of the criminal justice system is arguably one of the three key factors—along with high crime rates and official indifference to public order—that explains the public's chronic frustration about crime that has forced the issue into national politics.

A compelling, and continuing, example of the problem of fragmentation is the series of perverse and unanticipated consequences proceeding from the so-called "war on drugs" of the early- to mid-1980s.

At both the federal and state levels, a vast array of tougher criminal sanctions were enacted to cope with the trafficking, sale, and consumption of illegal drugs. A criminal justice system that was barely adequate to cope with existing levels of crime was literally overwhelmed by the influx of new offenders.

Already thin police resources were stretched, resulting in lower arrest rates. Prosecutors with unsustainable case loads began to bargain for pleas whenever possible. Supervision of probationers and parolees suffered. And worst of all, federal and state prisons could not accommodate the new levels of convicts.

Hamstrung by federal court orders limiting inmate concentrations, many states undertook drastic measures to create bed space in prisons for the most dangerous offenders, "backwashing" some inmates into local jails, and releasing others long before their sentences were completed. Corrections pressures led many judges to lighten sentences up front. The combined effect of plea bargains, shorter sentences, and early releases was to significantly reduce the ratio of incarceration to crimes, at a time when public sentiment strongly favored longer, not shorter sentences. Early-release and alternative-corrections programs inevitably produced high-profile horror stories of violent offenders committing heinous crimes after serving a small fraction of their sentences.

The "revolving door" phenomenon of repeat offenders, already a major problem, was worsened significantly by a failure to make the resources available to actually implement a "get tough" anti-drug policy.

The backlash to these developments led to a wave of mandatory sentencing legislation at the federal and state levels—most famously, "three strikes and you're out"—aimed at reining in prosecutors, judges, and parole boards, eliminating the local discretion so important to making community impact a sig-

nificant factor in law enforcement decisions. In fact, the mandatory-sentencing trend is becoming counterproductive, as is best seen with the latest fashionable Republican idea of abolishing parole. While eliminating parole would indeed increase time served in prison, it would also mean that convicts completing their sentences would be released into the community without benefit of continuing supervision by the criminal justice system—a disastrous blow to every community's ability to monitor likely repeat offenders. Longer sentences are entirely possible without abolishing post-incarceration supervision through parole.

An institutional solution to the system crisis is virtually impossible, involving as it would massive constitutional changes at every level of government, and political interference with the judicial system as well.

The most direct, and only feasible, route to reorganization of the criminal justice system is to overcome diverse bureaucratic cultures and philosophies by the broad adoption of a new paradigm for crime and public order that the various institutions could all be encouraged to embrace.

Restorative Justice

There is, in fact, a new paradigm on the margins of social science research and public policy debate on crime that could potentially refocus the criminal justice system on community needs and public order in a comprehensive manner: restorative justice.

The basic concept of restorative justice is that the principle aim of the criminal justice system should be to redress the damage done by criminal offenders to the community in which they live. This approach contrasts sharply with the theory of retributive justice, which focuses on vindicating the state's interests in enforcing its laws, and the theory of distributive justice, which aims at ensuring that offenders are not punished more than is necessary to deter future criminal behavior. As should be obvious, the relationship of restorative justice to its better-known rival theories is very similar to the relationship of community policing to the liberal and conservative paradigms focused on the rights of the individual and of the state.

Developed originally in connection with experiments in offender-victim reconciliation, the restorative justice movement is also the primary theoretical fountainhead of victim's rights programs—embraced during the 1996 presidential campaign by both candidates as a potential constitutional amendment.

If applied as the central principle of the U.S. criminal justice system, restorative justice would:

- Fully vindicate the community policing model, including its key premise that “minor” offenses threatening public order should be addressed;
- Strengthen the rights of citizens to maintain access to public spaces;
- Make community impact a fully legitimate issue in sentencing decisions;
- Strongly enhance the importance of postsentencing and post-incarceration supervision of offenders, to ensure reintegration with the community;
- Refocus crime prevention programs to build strength of community institutions, and;
- Make overall public safety of communities, not crime statistics, the focus of crime policy debate.

The most interesting implication of the restorative justice model is that it would provide the first fresh thinking on the purpose and structure of corrections systems in a generation. Today's prisons, typically operated according to an inchoate hybrid of individual retribution and rehabilitation theories, are often dominated by an inmate culture in which the most violent criminals earn the greatest respect. Parole and other release decisions may focus on good behavior, and even remorse, but rarely take into account the relative socialization of inmates into the value system of the communities in which they are released.

If impact on the community upon release were to become a major concern of prison administrators, then prisons might well be reorganized to make *respect for authority* and *willingness to cooperate* key goals for each inmate, along with specific planning for life after prison. Instead of tolerating inmate-to-inmate violence as a mildly unfortunate element of punishment, administrators would work hard to ensure that predators are undermined in every effort to assert authority over other inmates. In addition, prerelease socialization would be closely coordinated with postrelease parole supervision.

While some elements of the restorative justice theory have been applied in a wide variety of cities, counties, states, and nations—most notably in victim compensation, victim-offender rehabilitation, and alternative sentencing programs—it has been applied comprehensively in just one jurisdiction: the small rural community of Genesee County, New York. First developed fifteen years ago by an innovative sheriff in response to a local jail overcrowding crisis, the “Genesee Justice” program enjoys overwhelming public and bipartisan political support in the community. Its key features include a well established,

and very successful, community service-based alternative-sentencing system that has significantly reduced recidivism; intensive victim assistance services; voluntary victim-offender reconciliation; presentencing community impact statements; and even "conscience classes" aimed at developing respect for authority and community among prison inmates.¹⁶

Regardless of whether restorative justice gains support as a new paradigm for criminal justice in the United States, legally recognizing the community's interests in public spaces is all-important. Otherwise, even such popular and successful reforms as community policing may be stymied by a legal system in which abstract state and individual interests are deemed paramount.

Where to Begin

At first blush, it may appear counterintuitive to suggest that creating a community-based paradigm for crime prevention and maintenance of public order can be accomplished at any level other than that of the local governments closest to the communities themselves.

But recall that the public has nationalized the debate on crime and disorder precisely because state and local bureaucracies have failed to respond, and in part because no single jurisdiction controls enough of the system to force decentralization.

In such circumstances, it is entirely legitimate for the federal government (or alternatively, the states, which control more criminal justice resources than any other level of government) to intervene—not by creating programs, but by empowering communities to take control of their own protection and their own public spaces.

Federal policymakers should consider the following suggestions as first steps toward that paradigm shift:

- Fully fund the COPS program, but link federal funding explicitly to full adoption by recipient jurisdictions of bona fide community policing.
- Intervene aggressively in key court cases to support the community interest in public order as a significant factor in sentencing.
- Identify a set of public spaces—parks, downtown commercial and retail areas, public transportation systems, and entertainment facilities—where safe public access should be guaranteed, and launch a national (as opposed to federal) campaign to regain full control of public places in every urban area.
- Direct federal corrections, probation, and parole systems (and paral-

el state systems that use federal construction funds) to make supervised reintegration of offenders into communities a central priority.

- Expand federal research and technical assistance programs supporting community policing and community prosecution initiatives, and expand them into community-based models for probation, parole, juvenile justice, and child welfare.
- Offer large challenge grants to a few states to experiment with a comprehensive overhaul of criminal justice bureaucracies on a community-based model.

Conclusion

Public safety is one area of domestic governance in which the conventional wisdom must be turned on its head. Marginal reductions in "serious crime" rates will not satisfy citizens, so long as they feel endangered in the conduct of their daily lives and prohibited from use of public spaces.

Citizens are demanding national action on public safety not because they want a larger federal bureaucracy or more uniform federal rules governing sentencing, but because they want someone to force state and local criminal justice bureaucracies to defend them. The best way to reduce "serious crimes" is to address "less serious" conditions that breed crime by promoting physical and social disintegration and abandonment of public spaces to predators.

The most effective tool for fighting crime is not a professional crime-fighting apparatus with the latest technology, but a police-community partnership based on monitoring and protecting the safety and vitality of our neighborhoods. "Wars" on crime, drugs, and gangs will not succeed unless all elements of the criminal justice system are in synch and focused on responding to real-life community needs.

All participants in the criminal justice system—cops, judges, parole and probation officers, prosecutors, prison guards, and yes, criminals themselves when they have done their time—must ultimately be integrated into an effort to make communities resistant to crime, and capable of defending themselves.

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Building the Bridge
10 Big Ideas to Transform America

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10 BIG IDEAS TO TRANSFORM AMERICA

1. The Challenge: Striking a New Deal on Social Security

The big idea: Renewing the promise of Social Security for today's and tomorrow's retirees reforms that place the system on a sound financial footing; that make the system more, not less, fair and progressive; and that maintain stable and secure pensions while promoting greater private savings.

Proposals:

- * Reach a public understanding that higher payroll taxes (increased seven times during the 1980s) are off the table in any bipartisan review of Social Security reforms.
- * Gradually increase the Social Security retirement age for the baby boom generation, reflecting longer life spans and the declining ratio of contributing workers to retirees in the next century.
- * Reduce Cost of Living Adjustments in benefits for high-income retirees.
- * End the practice of using surplus Social Security revenue to finance other government services, and instead rebate the surplus to workers through mandatory personal retirement savings accounts.

2. The Challenge: Modernizing Our Health Care System While Addressing Access, Cost and Quality.

The big idea: We can simultaneously increase access to health care, hold down costs, and improve quality by changing the government's role in the system from a provider and regulator of health insurance into a purchaser in a competitive market place where consumers have real choices and clear information.

Proposals:

- * Begin to give Medicare recipients a broad choice of private health care plans, and make government's contribution dependent on market prices.
- * Encourage states to inject choice and competition into Medicaid; impose per capital spending limit; channel savings into expanded eligibility to cover more of the uninsured.
- * Move towards replacing the current open-ended tax deduction for employer-sponsored health insurance with an individual tax credit that could be extended to the uninsured.
- * Make an aggressive effort to create and disseminate health care "report cards" that accurately measure the health outcomes of health care plans.

3. The Challenge: Creating World-Class Public Schools That Equip Our Children To Succeed in the Information Age.

The big idea: Today's public schools operate according to a single, cookie-cutter model, but are not held accountable to any common standards of what we expect students to learn. We need to reverse that equation, and allow diverse types of public schools, run by citizens, teachers, unions, non-profit or for-profit organizations, and even religious groups, but insist on world-class standards in exchange for public funds.

Proposals:

- * Convert "Goals 2000" process into drive to create voluntary national minimum achievement standards for all public schools
- * Push for strong charter school laws in all 50 states, essentially making school districts purchasers of educational services rather than monopoly providers
- * Borrowing from dramatic success of Catholic schools, make disciplined learning environment and parental responsibility a fundamental feature of public schools

4. The Challenge: Reinventing Government and Investing in America.

The big idea: generate \$25 billion in budget savings over six years by pursuing second round of "reinventing government" initiatives, and invest them in a new, decentralized system offering Americans a broad array of lifelong education and training opportunities.

Proposals:

- * Implement Vice President's plan to convert federal agencies into "Performance Based Organizations" that contract with the Administration to achieve annual improvements in productivity. Earmark savings for:
- * Enact GI Bill of Rights for Workers, in which funding for existing job training programs would be converted into funds for Career Opportunity Accounts each worker could tap to purchase skills training throughout their careers, while authorizing tax preference for such accounts for all Americans.
- * Expand school-to-work initiatives to create a real apprenticeship option for non-college-bound Americans.
- * Expand college aid through tax credits, work-study grants, and a broadened national service program.
- * Create a national system of one-stop Career Centers any citizen could use for information on training, educational opportunities, and specific jobs.

5. The Challenge: Preventing Crime and Restoring Public Order Through Community Self-Defense.

The big idea: Community policing is producing dramatic results in lower crime rates and enhanced public safety because it refocuses police departments on the central task of helping communities defend themselves from crime and disorder, rather than serving as case-processors for the criminal justice bureaucracy. The principle of community self-defense should be applied nationally and systematically

to policing, and extended to other parts of the criminal justice system.

Proposals:

- * Fully fund the federal "100,000 cops" initiative and explicitly link it to the adoption of community policing strategies nationwide.
- * Launch a national campaign to "reclaim public spaces," aimed at guaranteeing safe access and use by law-abiding citizens to parks, downtown commercial and retail areas, public transportation systems, and entertainment facilities.
- * Make supervised reintegration of criminal offenders into communities the central goal of corrections, probation and parole systems.
- * Support with research and technical assistance a broad expansion of community prosecution experiments.
- * Create challenge grants to encourage state-based overhauls of criminal justice systems around community-self defense strategies.

6. The Challenge: Helping America's Cities Through Markets and Empowerment.

The big idea: It's time to discard the paternalistic, top-down social services model for addressing America's urban problems--a model that subsidizes failure and dependence rather than encouraging success and initiative.. We need a new strategy based on making markets work to create wealth in the inner city, and empowering urban Americans to strengthen their economic and civic assets.

Proposals:

- * Use public dollars to leverage private investment to take advantage of the economic potential of the inner cities, focusing on new retail facilities and private housing.
- * Complete the drive for welfare reform by creating an employment system that links welfare recipients to private labor markets, that enables them to build personal assets through tax-preferred individual development accounts, and that encourages the formation of microenterprises.
- * Begin to displace today's "poverty industry" by shifting social services funding into community-based initiatives, especially community development corporations.

7. The Challenge: Strengthening Families for the Twenty-First Century

The big idea: "Culture war" fights over "family values" should be replaced with a tangible, coherent policy to support two-parent families and give additional help to children in one- and no-parent families.

Proposals:

- * Create a family-friendly tax code through a refundable child tax credit and

elimination of "marriage penalties"

- * Conduct a review of divorce laws to make parenting responsibilities central to divorce proceedings

- * Create a national network of "second-chance homes" for teen mothers to help them raise their children while building independent lives

- * Enlist one million volunteers to "mentor" at-risk youth

- * Begin replacing today's failed foster-care system by expanding adoptions and encouraging "kinship care" by extended family members.

8. The Challenge: Launching a Second Generation of Environmental Action.

The big idea: The first generation of environmental policies, developed during the 1970s and relying on a highly centralized command-and-control regulatory model, is increasingly inadequate to deal with the most critical contemporary environmental problems. Today's left-right debate over perpetuating or discarding first-generation policies must be replaced by a drive to create a second generation, based on market-based incentives for corporate and community environmental improvements, and reliable research and information about environmental conditions and corporate environmental performance for use by consumers and communities.

Proposals:

- * Establish an annual joint resolution by Congress setting national environmental and natural resources goals and priorities that are binding on all federal agencies.

- * Require that EPA, the Department of Interior, and the Department of Agriculture to enter into performance-based agreements with companies, industries, States and local communities offering regulatory flexibility in exchange for achievement of environmental goals.

- * Make a major new investment in the collection and public dissemination of scientifically valid information on environmental conditions.

- * Launch "community stewardship" agreements with community-based groups that gives them leaseholds over federal lands (other than parks, refuges and wilderness areas) in exchange for an agreement to meet or exceed national environmental standards.

9. The Challenge: Restoring upward mobility in a knowledge economy.

The big idea: America needs faster economic growth and greater opportunities for upward mobility. Budget, tax and trade policy should be used aggressively to promote the higher workplace skills and constant innovation that are far more important than business investment in plant and equipment in stimulating growth in the Information Age.

Proposals:

- * adopt a "cut-and-invest" budget strategy that eliminates the deficit (thus holding down interest rates), cuts out wasteful subsidies to powerful industries, and invests in education, skills training, basic research and infrastructure
- * help strike a new bargain between labor and management aimed at promoting skills training and innovation
- * implement a tax policy that gives all workers, not just executives, access to tax-preferred corporate skills training and incentives to innovation
- * make an aggressive effort to open up global markets to our goods and services, giving our entrepreneurs access to world-wide innovations

10. The Challenge: Designing a New Compass for U.S. Global Leadership

The big idea: The bipartisan foreign policy tradition of "liberal internationalism," which ultimately produced victory in the Cold War, must be reinvigorated to guide U.S. leadership in a new world of characterized by new emerging powers, the spread of democratic and free market ideas, the rapid emergence of regional flashpoints, and the continuing threat of weapons of mass destruction. Our foreign policy framework, our defense strategy and structure, and both domestic and international foreign policy institutions must be systematically modernized to meet the new global conditions.

Proposals:

- * Create a new transatlantic partnership in which NATO expansion, European integration, and Russia's transition to democracy and capitalism are closely linked.
- * Develop a new regional balance of power in the Pacific built on a strategic bargain that draws China into international rules of military, diplomatic and economic conduct.
- * Continue global trade expansion and strengthen the new institutions governing trade and financial transactions.
- * Conduct a "top-down review" of our armed services to reflect post-Cold War realities, relying on smaller, more flexible forces that take advantage of our technological superiority.
- * Control the spread of weapons of mass destruction, in part through a mutual build-down of nuclear weapons.
- * Revamp our foreign policy institutions and refocus foreign aid to utilize non-governmental organizations.
- * Reform the United Nations while creating stable regional peacekeeping bodies.