

**COMMUNITY POLICING:
LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE**

**A Report of the National Community Oriented
Policing Resource Board Meeting**

**Mayflower Hotel
Washington, DC
February 21-23, 1996**

Prepared for:

**Office of Community Oriented Policing Services
U.S. Department of Justice
1100 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20530**

Prepared by:

**CSR, Incorporated
Suite 200
1400 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was developed as a result of a day and a half-meeting of the National Community Oriented Policing Resource Board held by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice. The individual sections reflect the discussions and recommendations made by all 75 resource board members participating in this meeting. The group of participants represented a cross-section of the United States police departments as well as different communities, presenting each region of the U.S.

Valuable input was also provided by staff of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services attending the focus group meetings, especially Cynthia Caporizzo, Kim Greco, Leah Gurowitz, Dr. Ellen Scrivner, and Dr. Craig Uchida. The focus groups were facilitated by Robert Cohen, Dr. Gail Fisher-Stewart, Dr. Heike Gramckow, Edward Spurlock, and Dr. Terry Zobeck, all of which are staff and consultants with CSR, Incorporated.

The lead author of this report is Dr. Heike Gramckow, she was assisted by Dr. Yonette Thomas, Judith Coates, and other CSR staff who took notes during the meeting and provided editorial and graphics design support.

SUMMARY INTRODUCTION

"We, the staff of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, dedicate ourselves, through partnerships with communities, policing agencies and other public and private organizations, to significantly improve the quality of life in neighborhoods and communities throughout the country..." *Mission statement of the Office of Community Policing Oriented Services.*

This report summarizes the comments and recommendations made in four focus group sessions by members of the National Community Oriented Policing Resource Board during the first meeting of the entire Resource Board convened by the COPS office.

The Office of Community Policing Oriented Services (COPS) and the programs and services it provides are products of the bipartisan 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act. This legislation resulted from extensive input and guidance from the American policing community and local policymakers who recognized that traditional policing strategies are no longer the most effective approaches for fighting crime.

The overall objective of the COPS Office is to advance community oriented policing on a national level by significantly increasing the numbers of police officers working on the streets and by providing additional resources, training and assistance to agencies and their communities to reduce violence, crime, and disorder.

Recognizing that local jurisdictions have their own often quite specific needs that have to be reflected in their community policing approach, the COPS office's work and guidelines for grants must allow for this type of flexibility. As, Joseph Brann, Director of the COPS office stressed in his welcoming remarks his office acknowledges that the broad expertise in community policing cannot be vested in the COPS office or any other federal agency. That expertise exists throughout the country, since community policing has evolved over many years at the grassroots level.

To assist that the COPS office in meeting its objectives and being able to reflect the needs of communities throughout the U.S. in all its work, a National Community Oriented Policing Resource Board was created in early 1996. Comprised of knowledgeable experts on community policing including upper and mid-level police managers as well as line officers, local government representatives, members from community organizations, and researchers the Resource Board brings together the knowledge and expertise of individuals from a wide variety of backgrounds and perspectives. The idea behind the creation of the resource Board was to gain its members' input and assistance in examining current issues and challenges, related to implementing community policing, and in developing strategies to ensure the success of community policing throughout the U.S. In addition, the members of the Resource Board provide a network of individuals located in all parts of the country and in jurisdictions of all sizes and types to assist others in the development of their very own community policing effort.

In February 1996 the Resource Board convened for the first time in its entirety. The purpose of the meeting was to gain expert input from all members of the resource board to develop a strategy for COPS to further community policing in the U.S.

Members of the resource board met for a day and a half and addressed a broad range of issues related to the development of community policing throughout the U.S., the difficulties involved, and the progress made. Resource board members also provided some insight into their vision for the future of community policing and specific recommendations for the work of the COPS office.

The importance of this meeting to the COPS office and the administration's desire to further community oriented work was demonstrated by the Attorney General's appearance at the beginning of the meeting. Attorney General Janet Reno addressed the group, stressing the important role that the Resource Board plays in providing insight and expertise for the future of COPS. Joseph Brann, the Director of COPS and other key COPS staff further supported these remarks and introduced the purpose of this meeting by providing an overview of the current status of the work of the COPS office and the potential directions these efforts could take. These comments demonstrated the remarkable advancements the office has made in the short time it has been in existence by providing financial, training and expert information support to nearly 10,000 agencies after only little more than one year. There was also much concern expressed that Congressional support for the commitment to community policing may decline threatening the important first steps to building a modern police force that is capable of responding to the more rapidly changing needs of communities throughout the US.

The group coming together for this meeting consisted primarily of members of law enforcement agencies including chiefs of police, sheriffs, and line officers but also included an assistant city manager, researchers, and representatives of community based organizations.

MAJOR ISSUES ADDRESSED

The major issues discussed by the Resource Board Members during the meeting focused on 1) the issues involved in developing and implementing community policing, 2) the future of community policing and 3) the role of the COPS office in the development of community policing in the US.

With regard to the issues involved in developing and implementing community policing participants related their experiences and lessons learned. There was unanimous agreement that working in close cooperation with the community is a must for any department concerned about the welfare of its community and its officers. It was further stressed that full cooperation with other agencies, preferably under a community-oriented government concept, is vital to achieving long term solutions to community problems. As a result, strong political support is as important as well-developed marketing strategies to educate the public, other agencies, local government representatives, and law enforcement personnel about the meaning, benefits, and demands of community policing, what it stands for, what it can do for them, and what it requires. Since community policing generally requires fundamental restructuring of the entire department and its procedures, issues related to the departmental reorganization and the need to change the police culture itself were identified as essential areas that need to be addressed to implement successful community policing strategies. These essential areas included working with the community, gaining political support and the need for a community-oriented government, selling the concept of community policing, and a broad range of issues that need to be addressed for implementing community policing in the department.

Resource board members also shared their vision of the future of community policing, stressing that community policing should become a part of a broader, all encompassing movement toward community oriented government in which the role of police, the community and other agencies will be redefined.

With regard to the role the COPS office could play resource members stressed the importance of the office's work and support for policing agencies and communities throughout the US. Meeting participants recommended that the office especially focuses on research and evaluation, support for technology, training and education, information dissemination, networking and marketing. In a concluding round participants also discussed the role of the resource board and expressed their willingness to support the COPS office through their expertise and network.

Overall the meeting made clear that community policing is the wave of the future for policing in the US. The work of the COPS is a fundamental requirement for assuring that police agencies and communities throughout the country have access to the resources and information they need to build the best policing efforts for the future.

COMMUNITY POLICING - TODAY'S SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES

Community policing has been considered a viable law enforcement strategy for some time. As a result, a number of police departments across the United States have implemented and institutionalized community policing to a point where it is no longer a specialized approach or experiment, but a standard mechanism for policing on a daily basis. Most departments are, however, still in the early stages of evolving into a community-oriented police department and many others are currently undertaking their first steps to learn this different approach to policing. The Resource Board members participating in this meeting represented the entire spectrum of jurisdictions with law enforcement agencies engaged in or starting community policing. This meeting, therefore, provided a valuable opportunity to capture their experiences in planning, developing, implementing, and institutionalizing community policing to assist other jurisdictions in their community policing efforts.

During the first session of the meeting participants were asked to relate what has been instrumental in developing successful community policing efforts in their jurisdiction and to identify influences that are at work across the country that will help sustain community policing. During the second session participants were asked to relate their experiences and lessons learned while implementing community policing, and to identify strategies that have worked. The discussion during these two sessions often overlapped considerably and are combined in this report.

The following sections reflect the resource board members' consensus about the fundamental issues that need to be addressed by any jurisdiction involved in community policing. The discussion provided very helpful insights and recommendations for the development and implementation of community policing in various types of communities, i.e. the need for closely working with the community, the essential role of other government agencies and political leaders, the need for marketing community policing to the public and to the department, and the broad range of topics that require consideration and thorough planning for implemented community policing in a law enforcement agency.

WORKING WITH THE COMMUNITY

"One of the benefits of community policing is that community cooperation is the most promising way to actually reduce crime. Crime was increasing in Fort Worth, TX and we knew we could not do much about it alone. Since working with the community we had a 50% crime reduction in the last 4 years." Tom Windham, Chief of Police, Fort Worth, Texas.

Participants overwhelmingly stressed the importance of community involvement in community policing efforts and related some of their experiences and the strategies they developed for increasing community support and involvement. In general, community-oriented policing requires a change in attitude by both the community and the police about how policing services should be delivered and how the responsibility for control of crime and community problems can be shared. Both have to come to recognize that the police cannot solve community problems alone; the community has a part to play both in setting the agenda and in supporting police efforts. Community policing is most effective in those jurisdictions where it has resulted in a strong partnership between residents and the police.

When residents begin to take ownership of community problems, they have a greater sense of security and control. To develop and maintain this community sense of responsibility police departments need to develop a different approach than the traditional focus of engaging residents solely as informants. It requires their active involvement and participation in crime control efforts. In Portland, Oregon, for example, citizens are active partners with the police in problem solving. After a problem is identified, it is determined who in the city could best solve it and other agencies and citizen groups are recruited to help.

In many jurisdictions close cooperative partnerships between the police and citizens have led to positive changes in residents' attitudes regarding the police. Major Francy Chapman, of the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department shared how her community has come to know police officers as human beings who want to make a difference. Others related how community-oriented policing has been the catalyst for overcoming the general lack of trust many communities have in their police. A lack of trust which often developed from poor communication and the police's inability to deliver on former promises.

The effectiveness of and need for community involvement has been shown to be so important that Jan Marie Belle, a representative of the Southwest Improvement Center in Denver, Colorado recommended that Community Oriented Policing grant solicitations require mandatory collaboration with the community.

Listening To The community

"Traditionally [the] police has been forcing upon its customers what [the] police thinks it is they need. Instead [the] police needs to listen to them. The community may be more concerned about graffiti, public trash, etc. than a new armed robbery task force." Mike Petchel, Phoenix Law Enforcement.

An important element in effective community engagement is the police's ability to listen to the concerns of residents. Traditionally, the police determined its policing priorities alone and focused its efforts accordingly. When residents share their concerns about the community, they often express more worry about graffiti, public trash, and other local nuisances than about the more serious, but generally rare serious criminal incidents, such as homicides that were often the focus of traditional policing priorities. Nevertheless, while the community's priorities are often quality of life and fear issues, they also want crime eradication. The police needs to know the community's concerns to be able to meet its needs.

To identify community needs the Reno, Nevada Police Department uses a combination of informal community forums and regular community surveys. Every six months, the department conducts a community survey and compares the concerns of residents with official crime statistics. This information is published and disseminated throughout the department and to other city agencies and local politicians. The department also publishes a community newsletter which reports the findings to the community. These efforts inform everyone involved and take into account what the community has to say about problem areas and community policing. This information keeps officers aware of community problems, and documents the support they get from the community, which is especially helpful and reassuring during times when things appear to be going wrong.

Mike Farrell, Deputy Commissioner of Police in New York City cautioned, however, that working with the community is not as easy as it might appear. Precincts and neighborhoods can have conflicting interests, needs, and priorities and it is not always easy to identify them all and balance conflicting interests. In order to understand the community's needs, the police needs to know and understand the community's demographics, its members, and the cultural differences therein. It must be recognized that communities with diverse populations may have a range of different policing priorities. Resource Board members working in areas of high diversity noted the need to meet with each group and listen to their specific concerns. In addition, since different communities have different degrees of articulateness and organization, it is important to know what the silent majority needs and thinks. Community police officers must be willing, on a regular basis, to go to informal meeting spots such as the barber shop or the laundrette as well as formal meetings, to talk to community members.

Diversity issues are not just a problem for urban areas. In many rural communities people stress their cultural independence and are suspicious of outreach efforts by the government and the police, so it takes a lot to gain their respect and trust. Getting out into the community, communicating on a daily basis, and carrying out regular surveys may be the best way to gain the knowledge needed to build a good working relationship.

Communities with distinct neighborhoods and those with great diversity require police departments to respond to decentralized concerns and to tailor their approach to the neighborhood dynamics. Being "tuned-in" to the concerns of the community was found to be especially essential when police departments are implementing new ideas or specific strategies. As Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento, California mentioned, community-oriented policing should be customized to fit the needs of each community. The department has to assess what works and why. Such an assessment led the Sacramento, California police department, for example, to stop using police officers to conduct Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) programs in the schools, and instead to use civilian staff to educate the kids on drugs and related issues.

The need for tailoring community policing efforts to the community's needs also means that what has been a failure in one community can be a success in another based on the way in which it is introduced, how well it fits the needs of residents, and how it relates to existing strategies. For example, according to Chief Elizabeth Watson attempts to use neighborhood police trucks in Houston, Texas were a dismal failure. The trucks were perceived as too showy. However, use of the same strategy was a big success in Austin, Texas because they were introduced as part of a broader strategy within the context of community policing.

In areas where a high proportion of the crime is committed by youth, the need to focus on problem areas means officers have to become engaged with youth at several different levels. In Garden City, KS, for example, officers became members of school boards and developed street level programs to get kids involved in positive activities such as helping the elderly, removing graffiti and garbage from the street, and participating in student patrols in the schools. By knowing the kids, the police were able to prevent and solve crimes both in the schools and on the streets. In addition, officers found that patrolling efforts were more successful when they targeted specific problems in neighborhoods. They talked to gang members, improved lighting, removed trash, and stopped noisy parties. Also, they got kids organized to clear trash from the alleys after gang parties. All these efforts combined actually resulted in decreased gang activity in the area.

In many jurisdictions, the police work directly with schools to engage youth in community policing, help to build trust, decrease youths' fear of the police, and stem the growth of drug use and gang activity. While officer engagement with the schools is not necessarily a new phenomenon, several participants argued that schools should be thought of as focal points for community policing since juvenile delinquency presents a growing problem, and early intervention and crime prevention efforts seem to be a more promising strategy than traditional isolated enforcement efforts. Student academies developed by the police, for example, can help students be better citizens and to learn how to interact with each other and the police.

Educating The Community

"People who care about their neighborhood were identified by officers and we brought them into our academy. We asked them to identify others to participate in a citizens academy. The obstacle was we did not have enough space for all the people they wanted to bring in." Lt. Bill Fitzgerald, Joliet, Illinois Police Department.

There was general agreement among Resource Board members that community-oriented policing implies a commitment to educate the community about the status of community problems and their role in resolving them. This is an essential element in engaging residents in crime prevention as well as in other forms of problem solving. Sgt. Mike Pippin of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department argued that to appease community demands, departments in the past often promised to render solutions they could not deliver. Departments need to be able to articulate what can and cannot be delivered so that the community understands what can be expected from the department and why they and other agencies need to be involved. Several participants mentioned that well-informed citizens generally have an increased respect for the police and their role in the community, which is not only important for successful police work but especially helpful when budget cuts threaten the department. Captain Gary Tahmahkera of the Salt River Tribal Police related that his agency has gotten the average citizen who has benefited from police activities to become an advocate for the department.

Further, for community members to become active, they must feel that they can actually respond to a problem. Therefore, educating the community has to involve training residents to participate and take responsibility. In several jurisdictions, the addition of a citizens' police academy or other citizen training efforts were crucial factors in engaging community members in collaborative efforts. Several participants mentioned how, after residents were trained, they became more active in specific activities such as citizen patrols, neighborhood watches, and other policing strategies. Also, it is helpful to assist community members to develop some organization and structure for their efforts. The police department in Phoenix, Arizona has focused on organizing community members around key institutions in the neighborhood. By linking representatives of special interest groups or other outspoken community members to existing key community institutions, such as civic groups or churches, the department strengthens the community's efforts and focuses their work to speak with one voice.

The training of community leaders by the police department is not only important for assisting them in their efforts to identify and resolve community problems, but also to assure that community and police approaches are compatible. Being compatible can mean something as obvious as using the same tools. When members of block watches go out on patrol, for example, they may also want to carry communication devices. The department may be able to set aside resources or otherwise assist with the purchase through preferred vendors to assure that the communication devices are compatible with police communications. If the department is closely involved in developing a community capacity to prevent and control crime, they also have a better sense of who actually participates. While criminals generally do not want to participate in projects involving the police, the department may nevertheless want to screen who they train at citizen academies.

Specific Strategies To Encourage Community Involvement

You have to have specific things for people to do to get results. When the community-police partnership focuses on grassroots problem-solving, residents have the opportunity to build relationships while also doing something constructive for the community." Colleen Minson, Glendale Community Neighborhood Project, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Although the impetus for a police department to engage in community-oriented policing may have been a State or Federal grant, effective involvement of the community is what makes these efforts successful in the long run. The development of specific strategies for cooperation is important for fostering community involvement. In some cases, this may require establishing citizen advisory groups or conducting regularly scheduled community meetings. Further, the ongoing dialogue produced by these efforts helps to forge meaningful relationships as well as constructive results. In Chicago, for example, beat officers are required to meet at least monthly with community residents to discuss how problems may be solved. Together they select a community problem that needs to be addressed and try to solve it.

Resource Board members expressed the need for more involvement of police officers in community activities. The more involved the police are in community activities outside of their direct policing duties, the more the community responds to community-oriented policing strategies. For example, Corporal Tim Bullock from Greensboro, North Carolina, related that as a community policing officer, he was allowed to pick which community he wanted to work in. He selected an area close to his home and began attending community meetings in his off hours. When people in the community found out that a police officer was at their meeting, more community residents started to attend and became interested and actively involved in police efforts.

In Fort Worth, Texas the police department developed a community advisory group and then provided leadership training through a citizens' police academy to facilitate the members' involvement in community policing efforts. This led to the creation of a citizens patrol policy under which trained residents patrol their own neighborhoods while maintaining radio contact with police officers. The citizens' academy also trains church ministers, especially in minority communities. The result of these combined efforts has been a significant reduction in serious crime as well as strong community support for policing efforts.

In St. Paul, Minnesota police have civilian staff who coordinate and organize block clubs to develop approaches to enhance environmental conditions. This has led to greater citizen involvement in policing, providing solutions to community problems.

Several participants discussed the effectiveness of small grant initiatives as one strategy to engage local groups in community policing activities. In Phoenix, Arizona for example, grassroots organizations were awarded amounts ranging from \$500 to \$10,000 to conduct their own crime-fighting programs. The funds for these community grants came from a collaboration between police and firefighter unions to spark a citizens' initiative that would raise local taxes by 10 percent. The funds made available by this successful effort were used for hiring additional police and fire fighters and to provide money for community initiatives. The effects of the initiative could be seen directly in an increased response to specific community problems. For example, by placing a narcotics squad in designated areas of the city the police were able to work in cooperation with the community and to respond quickly to drug-related complaints such as a crack house or a dealer on the corner. Also, the department was able to implement a crime-free housing projects program by training property managers to take action which in turn made them eligible to apply for a small grant for special community projects. In St. Petersburg, Florida similar community grants have helped reinforce neighborhood planning.

Existing community level organizations, such as tenants' associations and neighborhood watch groups are a valuable source of support and good starting point to build community cooperation. Jan Marie Belle, of the Southwest Improvement Center, Denver, Colorado a community based organization, stressed that community oriented policing must strengthen relations with such organizations. These organizations are already located in and directly involved with, the community. As a result, collaboration can increase the quality of life in the neighborhoods and build a strong working relationship between the police and community residents. In Joliet, Illinois where community policing is not citywide, the neighborhoods where community policing officers are assigned make much more progress on community-designated concerns than other areas. The community learns to trust the police. In the words of Lt. Bill Fitzgerald, of Joliet, IL, "When the department tries to transfer an officer out of a neighborhood, the community is generally up in arms."

Community development corporations (CDCs) can be an asset in community policing. In some cities, such as Cleveland, Ohio, CDCs have been a positive influence. They assumed responsibility for certain areas not only by building houses, but by taking control of the streets at a time when the Cleveland Police Department was still traditionally oriented. Similarly, in Bellevue, Washington the police department teamed up with a CDC to work with buyers, building on crime and neighborhood safety issues even before the development started. However, not every organization is willing to cooperate with police in maintaining a redeveloped area. One department faced reluctance to get full involvement from a community development organization, but was able to convey the need for crime prevention programs, which then were implemented in newly redeveloped areas independent from the department. The Toledo, Ohio Police Department, on the other hand, successfully cooperated in a capital improvement initiative with the private sector and health institutions. They are especially working with neighborhoods in transition. Approximately eight health institutions are giving money to community policing because they see that having neighborhood offices and name visibility is in their own interest.

The consensus among meeting participants was that the community has to be engaged throughout the development of community policing. Also, success of any new strategy is more likely when community members are included in the planning process as well as during implementation stages. One participant stressed the importance of "making things transparent" to increase community involvement. Residents need to be aware of activities in the community and how they can and will be affected. They also need help in knowing how to get involved, not just by supporting the police but by taking responsibility and accessing other agencies for assistance.

Working With Special Sections Of The Community

"A positive atmosphere that comes from working with the community is healthy and supportive."
Lt. Bill Tegeler, Santa Ana, California.

Effective community-oriented policing requires developing different strategies for working with different sectors within the community. It is sometimes difficult to engage residents in affluent communities because they experience less crime. In disadvantaged communities, on the other hand, residents may have had little experience with exercising leadership and may be reluctant to become actively involved, requiring the police to take a stronger leadership role. In other areas such as Chicago, Illinois, the police experienced that poorest communities are most receptive to collaboration with police. Rural areas present their own problems. The low population density often translates into limited access to services. The wide territory that has to be covered presents special challenges. Rural communities often have their very own culture which frequently results in an isolationist attitude and little willingness to trust police and other government efforts.

Allan Ellingsworth, Superintendent of the Delaware State Police, shared how his troopers use police vans to foster collaborative efforts with social security and health and welfare agencies in operating tutoring and job programs, and summer camps in rural areas. Delaware State Troopers also learned to engage the captive audience of offices and businesses located in the malls and strip malls. Troopers interact routinely through e-mail and faxes, which helps them to track crimes as well as to keep the business community informed. Since crime is often situated in the business districts, the development of partnerships with the business community have proven to be very effective in many other areas as well. Ellen Hanson, Chief of Police in Lenexa, Kansas related that, as a result of focusing much of her department's effort on the business community, the department has been able to do "more with less," meaning it was able to build upon the resources available from and within the business community.

Several participants related problems of working in communities with extremely volatile populations and with those where confidence in the police and other government agencies was lacking. Attempts at community-oriented policing in these areas often required monumental efforts, which included officer retraining, hiring of new officers, expanding ethnic representation, and policing efforts focusing on more than on crime reduction. Also, some segments of the community sometimes need special attention in helping to heal wounds between the police and the residents. As Garrot Zimmon, a Commander with the Los Angeles Police Department stated, community distrust is at such a high level in some areas that community-oriented policing has to be the way of the future.

A number of departments found that decentralization, implementation of advisory committees, and the development of a community constituency is effective in reducing residents' fear of the police. These efforts have also led to increased confidence in government, in general. The police must be credible with the community. The effect of such an approach was related by a representative from the LA County Sheriff's Department. The department held its first town meeting right after the Rodney King incident and received a lot of complaints. After community policing was instituted they held the second town meeting and received no serious complaints.

Resource Board members further related that by focusing efforts on developing mechanisms through which the police can listen to the community, communities have also begun to help by taking responsibility for at least part of what happens in their neighborhoods. Also, Resource Board members stressed that citizen support is instrumental in ensuring that community-oriented policing continues even when the mayor and other city officials are not supportive.

POLITICAL SUPPORT AND COMMUNITY-ORIENTED GOVERNMENT

In 3 to 5 years, through community-oriented policing, we need to find new strategies for changing public perception of crime. Community-oriented policing is working great in our community, and crime is down, but surveys show the number one issue is still crime. What would make community-oriented policing more effective is if residents perceive they are safe and as a result will participate more often in community policing activities. We have got to work on folks' perceptions and fear of crime. To do that we need better partnerships throughout the local government in implementing the principles of team approaches and empowerment. That is the real work. *Dennis Campa, Community Services Director, City of Austin, Texas.*

Each focus group discussed the need for political support, close cooperation with other agencies, and, ultimately, an evolution toward community-oriented government as important features for successful community policing efforts.

Elected officials must be made aware of the fact that communities want community policing, which therefore represents an approach that will get them reelected. At the same time, all government units need to learn about the benefits of community orientation. If community policing is to survive and succeed the political aspect has to be recognized.

To develop community policing to its fullest potential, every part of the local government must operate from the same basic philosophy. Public housing authorities should, for example, have access to police records so that they can screen potential residents. Police need to be able to refer youth to programs that can assist them. Individuals working in community-oriented policing and in different community development programs, such as Empowerment Zones as well as other groups should collaborate.

Resource Board members also agreed that the combined government/community efforts have to have a greater emphasis on prevention. Prevention is the front-end of the criminal justice system. Police departments should seize the opportunity to become a driving force that helps create viable, economically sound communities.

The Impact Of Elected Officials

All city agencies have to be involved for community-based policing to work. Even parks and recreation and social services agencies should work with the police. They should even be in the same building or office complex. The political leadership needs to be forced to confront crime and allocate the required resources available...There needs to be a broader definition of police and police functions." - Bill Kirchhoff, City Manager, Redondo Beach, California.

There was general agreement among Resource Board members that the support of elected officials is essential to the effective implementation of community-oriented policing. According to Darrel Stephens, Chief of the St. Petersburg, FL, Police Department, "When leadership is not committed, it hurts." Political support brings increased attention to community policing, more cooperation with other agencies, and, in many cases, increased financing to do the job. However, from all accounts, gaining political support generally requires considerable effort on the part of the police. One city manager noted that it may be necessary to remind elected officials that their support for community policing is part of their overall responsibility to the community. Crime must be confronted as a major issue, and it is up to elected officials to make the needed resources available. With the support of elected officials, resources and a broad range of local government agencies can be focused and coordinated to develop solutions to crime, violence, and other community problems.

Participants also stressed the importance of working closely with the mayor or local council members to garner their support for the department's plan of work. For a Mayor, crime reduction is often the more important part of the community's perception of the viability of a neighborhood even compared to economic development or education. It is crime that makes people and business move out of cities, more than educational or economic issues. Taking the mayor along to talk to people in their communities also can demonstrate that the police department and the mayor can be good partners. The department's success will be the mayor's success as well. Elected officials will come to see that community policing can be what will get them reelected. As Tom Koby, Chief of Police in Boulder, CO related, his communities are demanding some say in government, and the department is the avenue to get them there. They want to take back control of their communities and if they want to get the city council's attention, they form a neighborhood association that is usually quite outspoken and can hardly be overlooked by elected officials.

Bill Kirchhoff, City Manager from Redondo Beach, California pointed out, that in the past, crime problems and social unrest have all been the sole responsibility of the Police Chief. This situation is mitigated when the Police Chief and the City Manager are both in the same building and both are aware of the situation on the streets. Locating the police department in a city administration building facilitates both frequent meetings with city management and informal contact between the city manager or mayor and the chief of police. Also, it can help keep the leadership informed about activities in the different neighborhoods, what responses are planned, and any problems that may occur in the process.

Strong political support can make a dramatic difference for community policing. Joe Polisar, Chief of Police in Albuquerque, New Mexico related that their city council took money out of general funds to set up 4 sub-stations in each neighborhood. They also brought a community planner to this effort. The only problem was that what he had envisioned as a long-range five-year plan became a short range plan, because once the department accepted the money, the city council expected the plan to be put into action immediately. He had difficulty hiring fast enough, or finding qualified people to hire.

It was mentioned also that consideration should be given to the fact that the average stay of police chiefs is generally no more than three and a half years. Without commitment and support from the local government, it is not unlikely that initial efforts to implement community policing will be reversed if a new chief with a more traditional orientation is assigned.

Involving elected officials is not without problems, however. It can politicize the issues that have to be addressed, heighten interagency or inter-community tension, and sometimes stall efforts toward collaboration. William Finney, Chief of Police, St. Paul, Minnesota explained his strategy to avoid political conflict as a result of getting too much media attention. He delegates communication with the press more to "the men down the line." This way the police department showcases individual officers and not just the chief. In his opinion it is vital to community policing that police chiefs are able to disengage.

Cooperation With Other Agencies

"We are having all of these discussions because we feel we have to provide all kinds of services to people. Yet we never talk to the other agencies which are set up to provide these services. For example, how often does the cop on the beat know anyone in agencies that deal with domestic violence, housing, or social services? Yes, the community police officer has to make the arrests - but then he should know how to network with these other agencies for needed services instead of trying to provide all of them through the police department." *Harry Dolan, Chief of Police, Lumberton, North Carolina*

The police department alone cannot do everything to create and maintain peaceful and viable neighborhoods. Other agencies have to be involved. The community police officers and managers have to learn to network with the other helping agencies. Harry Dolan, the Chief of Police in Lumberton, North Carolina recognized this need but also realized that he did not have the staff to go out to all the different agencies, so he requested that workers from other agencies come into the station. A department may not want to make a social worker out of a police officer, even though the officer may be capable of playing the role of social worker. The officer should, however, be able to refer cases to a trained social worker in a collaborating social services agency.

Some police departments have developed formal mechanisms for working with other city agencies while others rely on informal arrangements that may have been in place for many years. Resource Board members shared the inherent value of having regularly scheduled meetings with other departments to brainstorm, to resolve problems, and to develop and maintain close working relationships. There was frequent mention of the need for ongoing relationships with health, fire, and building inspection departments and in having the involvement of top level leadership from all agencies.

Some communities have developed community resource teams, comprised of personnel from different agencies, who interact with each other and with the community to develop coordinated problem solutions. Several examples were provided of how local agencies have collaborated to implement community teams or neighborhood service delivery teams for problems with multiple dimensions. In Arlington, VA, these teams consist of liaisons from each department involved, who then meet with the community to get feedback on the problem to be solved. The liaisons from the appropriate agencies equipped to provide the needed resources are then responsible for taking specific requests back to their agency for implementation.

It was also mentioned that the police station of the future may not be conceptualized as a community policing station alone, but as a multidisciplinary community service center with policing as a major function. It was, for example, related that efforts are currently under way in west Virginia to locate an office of the State Police in a newly develop service center combining a school, a post office and some other stores.

Increased cooperation with other agencies was seen by some participants as the only way to effectively resolve community-based problems, most of which are not the responsibility of just one sector of local government. Juvenile delinquency provided an excellent example. Shirley Whitworth, Executive Assistant Chief in Salt Lake City, UT, noted that although over 80 percent of juvenile delinquents are not violent, such cases tie up the system. To reduce this burden on the juvenile justice system, it is important to establish a group effort and develop alternatives. This might include establishing a group that involves residents, schools, police the juvenile justice system, and others to develop alternatives to the present system.

Chief Darrel Stephens of the St. Petersburg, Florida Police Department also stressed the need for stronger cooperation with the rest of the criminal justice system. Prosecutors, for example, traditionally see crime fighting as an integral part of their job. Their decisions are, however, often disconnected from the community, and only based on office policies and other justice priorities. Other participants related that there are a few examples where prosecutors, police, and other criminal justice agencies created a partnership to address community problems. However, as Captain Paul May of the Yamhill County, Oregon Sheriff's Department mentioned, more often police may develop great programs but the rest of the justice system is seldom required to respond accordingly.

Linking With Other Levels Of Government

"In many jurisdictions specific services such as corrections or health care are funded or provided by state agencies and not a county function. The state government could contribute more but management problems and state level priorities take them often far away from those issues communities are concerned with. That is something that really needs to be a part of the vision of community policing-how to link in with other levels of government." *Superintendent Thomas Kirk, West Virginia State Police.*

Local government agencies are not the only ones that can be tapped for collaboration. Resource Board members mentioned that currently few state agencies make the connection to community policing, but that they can have a considerable role. Positive examples are some pilot projects in Florida that involve state agencies in neighborhoods and communities and efforts in West Virginia where the state police not only developed its very own community oriented approach but also works closely with other agencies, such as the National Guard to conduct conferences, produce videos, and print documents on crime prevention and enforcement issues.

Lt. Dan Stebbins from the Connecticut State Police provided an excellent example of the important role state level agencies can play in bringing community policing even to harder hit neighborhoods. Their program named ROCCY (Reclaim Our Cities and Connecticut Youth) commits 30 individuals to a task force and gives local officers state police powers. This task force moves around the state serving, for example, as a resource to cities that have difficulty placing a community policing officer in high crime areas because of fear of drive-by shootings. The ROCCY task force provides intensive enforcement efforts supported by state-of-the-art surveillance equipment. The State Police also became part of a local/state/Federal gang task force which assured that those arrested received federal mandatory sentences. Once the task force overcame barriers in the system and cross-designated prosecutors, they were able to force drug dealers out of the neighborhood. Community officers were assigned to walk door-to-door with business cards to let residents know that the neighborhood was getting back to normal, but stressed that residents had to work with the police to keep the drug dealers out of the neighborhood.

The task force, community police officers and community members develop a list of problems and identified resources to be tapped. The FBI, ATF, and DEA participated and brought exceptional resources to the project. HUD, for example, taxed every housing project for overtime instead of charging for security. The task force succeeded in involving the entire community. For example, a construction company volunteered to clean parking lots and basketball courts; the YMCA opened on Saturday and Sunday nights; and Fleet Bank provided office space and equipment. As an alternative to incarceration, 800 to 1000 people were ordered to perform community service, doing trash pick up and graffiti removal. The Trinity College in Hartford provided day care and students are redesigning lighting and playgrounds. In addition, army reservists set up barriers and cranes. As a result of these combined efforts, the crime rate dropped 30 percent in targeted neighborhoods. This example shows that if agencies look around and look to the state and Federal government they will realize that it does not take much to build a comprehensive concept to revive communities.

Inspector Ted Balistreri, Inspector from the Madison Police Department mentioned that Madison has a similar task force. It's focus is not just to make arrests, but to walk the neighborhood, conduct surveys, and to actually be out in the neighborhoods and with a sense that they are helping out.

Police Departments As Catalysts

"There will be someone in every one of those offices, a city manager, a department head, from whom you will get cooperation. You force them into a certain form of pro-activity. If you keep calling eventually they see the light and start calling you saying 'I have this problem will you come?' 'I don't think we can do it alone.'" *Lt. Bill Fitzgerald, Joliet, Illinois Police Department.*

Focus group discussions highlighted the fact that the police often assumes the leadership role in coordinating community oriented efforts because in most communities they are the focal point of citizen contact. The reason suggested by some participants is that crime and crime mitigation are compelling needs and have the capacity to get people's attention over other issues. Also, the police department is the only government agency open 24 hours a day and on holidays.

The police department can become a conduit for other agencies such as the fire department, public works and housing, by leading the way in developing successful partnerships and by creating mechanisms that facilitate collaboration. Changes generally start as small-scale improvements in communication and/or informal strategies developed for specific problems. However, for community policing to really be effective a broad-based structural change has to occur that effectively changes the way the city government meets the community's needs. A primary example of structural change can be seen in Norfolk, VA, where Police Assisted Community Enforcement (PACE) was successfully implemented. PACE comprises many community programs and agencies (including the schools, several non-police agencies, and the city council) and continues to expand throughout the local government. PACE is a partnership between the community and the various agencies of local government that enables community residents to work on neighborhood problems and attend leadership training to learn new skills. Key to its success is the community's belief in its work and its overall mission.

In other communities, the police help other agencies respond to the community's needs. In Chicago, for example, this involves the police working through the mayor's office of inquiry and information and reporting back to the community on the activities requested. Sheriff Gary Haines of Montgomery County, OH, cautioned, however, that communication among different agencies is not the same as interagency collaboration. Specific efforts have to be made to get agencies and officials to actually work together, develop regular channels of communication on all agency levels, and agree on common strategies. Therefore, the leadership has to be committed to this philosophy to make it work.

Problems With Increased Collaboration

"By educating the community, you are empowering them to realize that they have the power to vote and that they can choose their government. After a while they will make demands for services that other agencies are not prepared to deliver." Lt. Susan Mowry, Newport News, Virginia.

Although few doubt the benefits of working in collaboration, the participants also discussed some of the problems involved in implementing community-oriented policing and facilitating increased collaboration among city agencies. For example, the shift to community-oriented policing is often accompanied by high expectations for change, yet it often takes considerable time to bring the community and other agencies on board. Jealousy and/or turf battles with other agencies may also develop. Several examples were provided in which successful and promising efforts were hampered by the unwillingness of other agencies to accept or support the policing efforts. Lack of success with collaborative ventures also can be the result of differing interests across agencies.

The question of how to deal with the heads of other agencies was addressed by Patrick Sullivan, Sheriff in Arapahoe County, Colorado. In his experience it is helpful to take them along into the community on individual cases. Using this approach other agency heads see first hand what the actual problems are and can better understand their role in developing a solution.

Resource Board members noted that the key to success is in selecting the appropriate partners and in forging a mutual understanding about the work to be done. For example, the city of Austin, TX developed a mission statement that applied to the police department, as well as other city agencies, clearly outlining expectations regarding service delivery in the city.

Overall, Resource Board members agreed that community oriented government is the most promising method for overcoming crime and other neighborhood problems in the long run. Community policing is part of community government and should be a part of a community government policy.

SELLING THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY POLICING

"Our police force has been committed to community orientation for many years and it was voted the "best buy" for the money by Norfolk's citizens." George Crawley, Assistant City Manager, Norfolk, Virginia.

Resource Board members agreed that community policing does not develop naturally in a department or a community. It has to be marketed internally and externally to make people aware of the advantages it offers. In this effort the chief has to make a personal commitment, be the champion of the cause and convince others that community-oriented policing is good for the agency and the community.

Internally, efforts to implement community policing may face officer reluctance, mid level and upper command resistance, and unionism. The biggest obstacle departments face in implementing community policing is time. Police chiefs who have gone through this process have learned that it requires patience and tolerance to achieve the considerable change that community policing requires.

Also, participants stated that using the term "community oriented policing" in itself may be an obstacle in getting people to participate. Since there is no common definition of community oriented policing people are unsure about the exact meaning of this different approach to policing.

Community policing must be sold to the department and the public alike. The public is generally supportive of community policing since it makes officers more visible in the community. In a discussion about marketing the successes of community-oriented policing, at a Major Cities' Police Chiefs Conference police chiefs expressed interest in hiring public relations staff to promote success stories and credit neighborhoods for their successes.

Stressing The Use Of Community Policing As A Crime Fighting Tool

"The words, community policing, have a nice, soft sound to them. Nowhere does it say anything about enforcing the law. But clearly, we do arrest offenders who break the law." Sheriff Chuck Maxwell, Yellowstone County, Billings, Montana.

Resource Board members also mentioned that in the effort to gain support for community policing it is important to stress that community policing is not just a mechanism to improve relations but that it is actually a terrific crime fighting tool. Often those who know little about community policing are astonished to learn that officers involved in community policing make at least as many arrests as those who concentrate on traditional policing strategies only. Good community policing can actually initially increase the numbers of arrests and citations made by officers.

There is too often the mistaken notion that community policing equates to social work and excludes strong law enforcement. Those unfamiliar with community policing often do not realize that arrests, citations, crack downs and other enforcement strategies remain a central part of police work. The difference is just that under community policing those strategies are included in the broader concept of working with others to develop more long term solutions and prevent reoccurrence of crime.

Working With The Media

"The news media has not always been a big supporter of police departments but the news and entertainment industry have to recognize their corporate role in the community. They too have to be a player in community policing. The Phoenix Police department established special relationships with individual reporters who are also interested in doing features on community oriented work and show the positive side of police work. Giving these reporters access boosts their career, helps the department, and informs the community." *Mike Petchel, Phoenix Law Enforcement.*

Although there has been considerable negative publicity about the police over recent years, several Resource Board members suggested that the power of the press can also be harnessed to support community policing. Participants expressed how sensationalist misinformation from the media is both a challenge and an obstacle. By working with reporters, educating them and making them allies, the police can use the media to inform and educate the community about policing strategies. For example, in New York City the department ensured that the New York Times crime reporters were well-educated in community policing, and received access to information that allowed them to develop focused and in-depth news reports.

While participants saw the need for special efforts to educate the media as an important tool in promoting community policing, they stressed that successful community policing is the best marketing tool. Several participants stated that the most successful marketing tools they used were those that involved residents directly in community policing efforts.

IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING IN THE DEPARTMENT

"Our department has been involved in community policing for 10 years. We have decentralized into neighborhood offices and police officers are assigned to special districts which has worked very well. Officers are re-energized. Community policing is evolving. Recently we have applied for a HUD grant to work with youth in public housing. We are constantly rethinking what we do. We are even moving some mini-stations because there is so little crime in some of the areas where they were originally located. We are finding other people to take on the less involved enforcement work needed in these areas." *Alex Longoria, Chief of Police, McAllen, TX.*

Resource Board members generally agreed that to truly develop a community focus aimed at solving neighborhood problems, community policing requires fundamental changes in how police services are delivered, how decisions about policing strategies are made. Further, it requires a redefinition of the role of police, the community, and other players in the effort to establish and maintain safe and livable communities. As a result the internal changes requires concern every aspect of a police organization be it management or organization or be it specific strategies and tactics applied. This requires a general change of how policing services are supported and delivered involving everyone within a law enforcement agency.

Leadership From The Top

"The police chief sets the tone and is an enabler for the process. He sends the message that this is a good thing to do." Gary Maas, Chief of Police, Sioux City, Iowa.

Several participants stated that the attitude of the police chief is often the key factor for how policing is implemented in the community. As one participant noted, officers often react toward the public the way they are treated within the department. When they have superiority complexes and/or behave in a degrading way toward the public, this may be a reflection of the general tone that characterizes the department and it is the chief's responsibility to change this. It was suggested that problems of this nature may be improved by involving the officers in decision making. Susan Mowry, a Lieutenant from Newport News, VA, suggested that there needs to be a clear vision communicated from the top about how policing is to be done in a jurisdiction. For effective community policing this also means addressing the lack of community-oriented training in top command positions.

Resource Board members agreed that top leadership commitment is important for community policing to flourish, but stressed the need for involvement of all levels of the police in the decision making process to avoid a backlash effect. The best way to do this is to assure that the community orientation is carried by others in the department in collaboration with other government agencies and the community.

Incremental development

I suggest there are three steps to developing community policing. First, look at the community and figure out what its needs are. Second, bring all staff together and sell community policing to them. Third, develop a public relations campaign to sell it to the community. (Don't forget to make friends with the press.) Sheriff Chuck Maxwell, Yellowstone County, Billings, Montana.

Resource Board members also discussed the need for an incremental development toward community policing and the necessity of developing realistic and achievable goals as a strategy for step-by-step change. Community policing requires a sequence of internal organizational changes in preparation for the external changes. There must be a community partnership based on community trust. At the same time, however, there has to be effective crime mitigation and law maintenance. Community policing should also be a department-wide, or better government-wide effort. Such an ambitious goal can, however, often not be realized initially. Accordingly, while Resource Board members generally discouraged the use of special community policing units as a means to apply community policing, it was also pointed out that this may be the only realistic mechanism for many departments to begin their efforts. It was also suggested that the pace of evolution may be dependent upon the size of the department and that every jurisdiction has to evolve at its very own pace.

Participants voiced different opinions about the need to develop community policing as a general method of policing from the very beginning versus having special community policing units. Several participants argued that implementing community-oriented policing by developing a special unit as the first step was the wrong approach. In Madison, WI for example, community policing started with a unit of six neighborhood officers. They gained the support of the community and locally elected officials, but problems arose because they worked separately from the department. In another case, troopers in the field saw the community policing units as taking resources away from uniformed services and performing social work. Chief Darrel Stephens, of St. Petersburg, FL related how having a separate unit created divisiveness within his department, taking away energy that could have been used to serve the community. In another community, where a limited number of officers were assigned to community policing, there was concern that the officers in the program would develop an elitist attitude. This problem was, however, resolved by making it mandatory that all community police officers attend regular briefings. It was the community policing officers' sharing of their experience with the rest of the officers that made a difference. Even though Resource Board members generally supported the need for department wide community policing efforts, it was recognized that the development one or multiple special units may be the only way for many departments to build a broader community policing effort in their jurisdiction.

All in all, Resource Board members stressed the need for developing and implementing strategic, long-term plans for institutionalizing community policing. Chief Phil Keith, from Knoxville, TN shared how having a strategic plan helped his department avoid many pitfalls. The plan also was used to make necessary changes within the department, including the development of a proactive community oriented work ethic. Other participants noted that a plan needs to address the organization, management and functions of a department in its entirety including setting goals and standards for recruiting and hiring as well as for promoting on the basis of problem-solving and training, including how it effects future leadership within the department.

Implementing Problem Orientation

*"I believe that community policing doesn't mean much unless you are about problem solving."
Caroline Nicholls, Superintendent, London, England.*

Resource Board members raised the concern that there is often no clear understanding in the police department about how community problems should be addressed. Some officers think they need to be out constantly providing crisis management, which is an attitude that becomes a barrier toward solving the problems the community faces. Problem orientation means much more than working with others to identify individual neighborhood problems, it means applying different strategies. This may include working with families as well as looking at risk factors and focusing on strengthening communities. To be successful, clear standards and expectations have to be established and all persons with the necessary skills to provide solutions need to be included. For example, rather than simply having officers attend community meetings to report back to their supervisors, they should be given authority to develop active collaboration with the community in identifying problems and developing solutions.

Operationally a problem orientation can mean using different enforcement tactics. In Los Angeles County, the Sheriff's Department found success in putting more emphasis on property abatement because that is where the community is concerned. Property abatement had not been the designated responsibility of any particular agency in this community so the police stepped in and are trying to make a difference. In Mike Pippin's words, "getting a crack house knocked down goes a long way with the community especially in comparison to busting drug dealers."

The police department in McAllen, TX approaches its work by mapping where the problems are and by developing strategies accordingly. When it was determined that the problems centered around the high schools, the department closed some neighborhood mini-stations to concentrate greater efforts in and around the schools. Chief Tom Frazier of Baltimore, MD, related how they used an intensive care unit concept to focus their attention. The department uses color coded neighborhood maps to provide a visual assessment of relatively crime free areas (green), where things are transitional (yellow), and where they are very distressed (red). He suggested that when attempts are made to organize the neighborhoods, the target area should include at least 4 percent green-coded blocks in order to gain the support of community members with more positive outlooks that also may provide for a more stable group to work with.

Officer Andrew Michaelson of Portland, ME also suggested that while the widely applied problem solving technique Scanning Analysis Response and Assessment (SARA) is an effective model for use in police departments the model implies that it is the police who identify problems, decide on the solutions, and implement them. Efforts need to be made to involve the community into this concept.

Participants reiterated that problem orientation means looking for solutions that are specific to the department and the community. It means that the role of the police varies according to the area. Upper-income communities often do not utilize the police in the same way as do low-income communities. Sheriff Chuck Maxwell, of Yellowstone County in Billings, MT stated that some of the mistakes his agency initially made came from trying to implement community-oriented policing according to a model rather than using the model as an example. Another example was related from Oakland, CA where the department tried unsuccessfully to force officers to live within a five-mile radius of the city to help them better understand the surrounding community. What worked instead was the institution of a cultural awareness program for officers working in a jurisdiction where several languages and dialects are represented. After experiencing a similar approach, Jim Trimble, a Lieutenant from Hayward, CA, stated that, "in the past, police officers did not consider the diversity. Now they talk about it everyday."

Decentralization and Generalization

"We first decentralize our police district geographically in patrol districts with substations which has worked well. In 1993, we divided up our detectives, taking them out of the specialist team and moving them to the geographical teams. We now have two to five detectives in each substation. This has worked out really well. They get to know the people and their problems quickly." *Sheriff Patrick Sullivan, Arapahoe County, Colorado.*

There was general agreement among participants that one of the biggest obstacles for instituting community-oriented policing is the existing organizational structure. Gary Maas, Chief of Police in Sioux City, IA related that most departments created an organization that is too bureaucratic to be responsive.

Participants cited the hierarchical structure of police departments as a hindrance to implementing community policing. Thomas Koby, Chief of the Boulder, CO, police department related that changing the hierarchy and rethinking titles is not an easy process even when it is up to the officers to make these changes. A hierarchical change was successfully made in Austin, TX, where the department restructured and implemented a sector lieutenant plan entrusting more responsibilities to the lieutenants. Austin Police Chief, Elizabeth Watson, noted that one result of giving lieutenants more responsibility has been a rise in citizen satisfaction indicated by surveys showing that citizen satisfaction has risen from 82 percent in 1992 to 93 percent in 1995.

On a general level, restructuring the department and breaking down traditional hierarchies helps to increase internal collaboration. Resource board members provided examples of increased communication and collaboration between patrol officers, detectives and analysts or between narcotics officers and patrol officers. Dr. Kelsey Gray, of Washington State University suggested, however, that there also needs to be more collaboration about budget decisions and sharing of resources within the department and with other agencies.

Gerry Williams of the Law Enforcement Management Institute, Sam Houston State University, Texas, noted that internal reorganization is essential, especially for the officers' own evolution, and before they are able to work effectively with the community. As William Finney, Chief of Police in St. Paul, Minnesota noted, in the past, many police departments used to do what was, in effect, very similar to what today is called community policing. However, technological changes such as the patrol car and the car radio changed the communication mechanisms. Incremental change is necessary, therefore, before the traditional veteran police officer can function as a community police officer.

In many communities, decentralization of headquarters and patrol has been the first step toward community orientation and officer empowerment. Participants noted that, in most cases, decentralization generally works well even in areas that are not particularly supportive of community-oriented policing. Several participants related how moving officers to substations and assigning districts had "reenergized the force" or helped people take ownership and become more involved in the neighborhoods. In McAllen, TX where decentralization took place approximately 10 years ago, the next stage has been to move mini-stations out of areas where there is little crime and shifting what they labeled "soft" enforcement to other agencies and the community. Mike Pippin, a Sergeant from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, suggested that decentralization especially provided a mechanism for getting things done in a jurisdiction that is lacking manpower. When the community has a responsibility to help the police and participates, great things happen.

Decentralization requires the department to rethink the current shift structure. Permanent beats and shifts seem to be more conducive to community policing. One participant related how his department is questioning whether to have shifts with or without a supervisor and if lieutenants should become watch commanders.

Resource Board members agreed that there was often more resistance toward generalization, the dissolution and integration of special units into neighborhood teams, than toward decentralization. While there was agreement that this is both necessary and successful, most participants related difficulty in implementing the process. Many agreed that it was easier for departments to generalize after decentralization had taken place. Generalization requires a commitment to training more officers for specialized tasks as well as retraining the former specialists in generalists skills. Cops on the beat is merely one aspect of community policing that is effective. Chief Harry Dolan of the Lumberton, NC Police Department stated that, "In the beginning there was a lot of resistance; but now people are happy. They have taken ownership of the new approach and have become involved with their neighborhoods."

There was general agreement among participants that some units, for example the homicide unit, are more difficult to decentralize than others. A number of departments, however, experience positive results from developing a team approach to address what was formerly done by specialist positions, such as narcotics enforcement. Examples were also given of issues that participants think are better handled by specialists. For example, sexual abuse of children. One participant suggested that the extent of specific crime problems in a jurisdiction may require that some specialist positions remain a part of the departmental structure even under community policing.

The problems related to bringing in non-sworn officers to assist with community policing were also highlighted. One participant noted that in an effort to expand the resources available community oriented police departments tend to bring in non-sworn officers for a number of activities ranging from dispatch to analytical support and information gathering. Without an established interactive process with the sworn officers who work in that area, intra-departmental divisions can arise.

Considering these different aspects, there was general agreement among participants that community-oriented policing has to change the whole culture of the department for it work.

Changing the Police Culture

"Because of the hierarchy of our department I was not able to do much with the information I received from the community initially. I had to write a memo and send it through the chain of command, but this took several days and the memo was usually not taken seriously. Hierarchy got in the way, and sometimes delayed work for weeks. Not much happened until I spoke to the chief involved in community policing and he helped me circumvent the chain of command. He even went on a watch with me and gained a lot of insight and respect for the process. It wasn't just me that made community policing work, but it was the community working with me. Decentralization helped a lot to overcome these problems." *Corporal Tim Bullock, Greensboro, North Carolina.*

Community policing redefines the role of police in the community and requires changes in the way police services are delivered. This fundamental redefinition of police work requires a change in the police culture. Resource Board members left little doubt about the difficulty of changing the police culture to embrace community-oriented policing.

Many references were made to the fact that a shift in police culture cannot be done in a short time. Changing the police culture from a hierarchical organization to an organization in which each individual officer and other agency staff are responsible and accountable for making a difference in the area in which they work in is one of the biggest challenges police departments face in their efforts to become a fully community-oriented agency. Department hierarchy was frequently mentioned as a barrier to commit to the concept of community policing. There was general agreement that the shift in thinking and style of policing was most difficult for supervisors, department heads, detectives and other specialists, who resisted until they had personal experience with its benefits. In general, the participants found that younger officers and community members were the most enthusiastic about the transition since they were the least likely to be entrenched in traditional police culture.

However, for community policing to be successful this cultural change has to occur and, as the many examples given by Resource Board members demonstrate, it can occur. Among the Resource Board were several who, in their own words, initially were "hardlined and dead set" against community policing while others realized early on that it would help them finally accomplish the work they always wanted to do-making a difference in the community. Those who said they had originally opposed community policing, related how they quickly changed their thinking when they began seeing the positive results of community policing.

Neil Behan, Executive Director (Chief) of Major Cities Chiefs suggested that the main reason for resistance against community policing lies in the fact that most police officers strive for their comfort zones. Leadership means they are pushed out of their comfort zones into a learning zone, until that learning zone becomes their comfort zone.

Some participants thought that the problems associated with changing police culture often stem from a lack of understanding of the philosophy of community-oriented policing. One obstacle to changing the police culture is the perception that there are "real" cops and "community" cops. This problem of perception and understanding has to be resolved. Absolute empowerment of line officers can be perceived as an opportunity or as a threat to middle management. Middle managers can be stifled by the concept of having to implement a philosophy without guidance as to how this translates into day-to-day work. They need a clear mission and focus.

Alex Longoria, Chief of Police, McAllen, TX reminded the group that officers in the middle of the organizational structure have often been left out of the community-oriented policing movement. Therefore, unlike upper management and line officers, they are less likely to be committed to change. Even in departments where a conscious effort is made to include them in the transition process, it has been difficult to get their commitment. In some departments early retirement programs have been the last solution to solve this problem.

Mike Petchel of Phoenix Law Enforcement explained that one of the reason for this difficulty is that sergeants have to make the biggest adjustment. They are the first line supervisor and they are going from being a taskmaster to a coach or facilitator. This is a difficult transition for many.

In many cases, specialists like narcotics and vice detectives do not take it seriously and are, therefore, quite resistant to being assigned to neighborhood teams. Barbara McDonald, Director of Research and Planning in the Chicago Police Department suggested that, to ease the transition for detectives, their role in community-oriented policing needs to be better defined. In many instances, retraining has been necessary to help resistors understand the new philosophy.

Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento, CA explained that in order to get officers to buy into the concept of community policing the department has to get them to understand the change that is needed. Officers must be educated and helped to acquire a commitment to community-oriented policing. They must feel that community-oriented policing will make a difference for them. Non-sworn staff must also support and have a commitment to community-oriented policing

There was strong consensus among focus group participants that one of the most helpful strategies for changing police attitudes toward community-oriented policing is the dissemination of success stories, providing examples and models of how other officers and communities have implemented the concept. Participants also mentioned the importance of bringing attention to and rewarding success within organizations to encourage new ideas for solving problems. Marty Tapscott, Representative of NOBLE (National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives), related that during his time as Chief of the Richmond, VA Police Department, motivation was fostered by changing the criteria for promotion to reflect community policing activities. Mike Petchel, of Phoenix Law Enforcement, stated his belief that success with community policing may be jeopardized if real-life experiences are not included in the training curriculum. His experience in training sessions was that presentations on community policing must include examples of practices that worked.

Giving officers a specific task to complete was mentioned as another successful strategy to introduce them to community policing. Lt. Bill Tegeler from Santa Ana, CA suggested that officers who have difficulty adapting could be placed elsewhere in the department where they would not necessarily have to interact with others outside the department. Corporal Tim Bullock of Greensboro, NC cautioned, however, that this would give the impression that that community policing is separate from other policing functions.

The community also plays a role in changing police attitudes. Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento, CA, stated that where neighborhood issues are important to the community, they are more likely also influence the officers' attitude toward community-oriented policing efforts because they are more willing to invest their own energy and time.

Changing the Organization of the Police Department

"I foresee no more specialty units. Community oriented policing will be externally driven by residents. We want every officer to be a community oriented policing officer and become skilled in community oriented policing, to the point where it's a part of the culture. If community oriented policing is conceptualized as standard policing for all and includes the community, it is not more expensive than traditional policing." *Larry Findling, Lieutenant, Portland, Oregon.*

There was general agreement that community policing is going to force an organizational change in addition to the needed cultural change. Many departments committed to community policing already eliminated unnecessary mid-level ranks to develop a flatter organization that would allow for greater interaction and a shift of responsibilities to the street level. As Mike Petchel, Phoenix Law Enforcement stressed, it might be a credibility issue for a department that is serious about community policing to actually say "no more specialty units, no more split force, everyone does community oriented policing."

Resource Board members also recognized that for such a complex effort even a five year period is a very short time. A number of departments have already been working on institutionalizing community policing for five or more years. They experienced that community policing undergoes a constant evolution and that it takes a long time to get the majority of the department to buy into the concept. Building strong working relationships with the community and a community oriented government also requires time.

Developing A Vision

"You must believe in community policing, if you don't, then it won't work. You absolutely have to have a vision, and that has to come from you. You have to create and nourish the vision, and share it. You have to do a lot of thinking around forming your vision before you do anything else." *Gary Cordner, Eastern Kentucky University.*

In order to gain the needed support from the department a system needs to be developed that the staff can believe in. Tom Frazier, Chief of Police, Baltimore, Maryland explained to his department that community policing focuses on four areas: arrest offenders, prevent crime, solve ongoing problems, and fight crime. It is important for the Chief to set an example and be a role model. The chief has to assess the specific culture of the organization they are planning to transform. The department may already have an idea of where it can and wants to go. The chief must then take that idea and build on it.

Barbara McDonald, Director of Research and Planning, Chicago Police Department related that their vision statement and components of change were articulated to each staff person. Similarly, Larry Findling, Lieutenant, Portland, OR stressed the importance of making sure that officers have a clear understanding of what is expected of them. Brent Larabee, Chief of Police, Framingham, MA related that his agency took staff on a retreat to outline the department's philosophical vision providing an opportunity for feedback from staff. The concept of community-oriented policing should not merely be introduced in writing.

Resource Board members recommended that the COPS office could offer technical assistance to facilitate the development of a vision statement specific to the department and help to sell community oriented policing internally. Miscommunication and lack of understanding and communication only creates unnecessary obstacles. Staff must be fully informed about the overarching goals of their work in order to participate.

Empowerment

The advantage to empowerment is that the officers get ownership and accountability. There is peer pressure to do their job. It creates better solutions. Colleen Minson, Coordinator, Glendale Community Project, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Since decentralization requires a change in roles and a redistribution of responsibilities, participants noted that it also requires a greater degree of officer empowerment. This need for officer empowerment is also the reason for some of the resistance toward community policing. Supervisors may feel that they loose control if it is up to each individual officer to decide on their actions. Line officers may feel they receive too little guidance and may feel abandoned by the department. Others may be reluctant to take on the responsibility that comes along with being empowered. There was consensus that this greater responsibility in day-to-day decision making should be accompanied by greater respect for the individual officer as well as more training to help them make good decisions. To Mike Scott, Chief of Police in Lauderhill, Florida, empowerment means allowing officers to act with compassion on the job without compromising their intelligence and personal judgment. To others, it means giving officers more freedom with their time, an ability to have a say in what they do and how they do it, and the capacity to divide their work load. Bill Tegeler, a Lieutenant from Santa Ana, CA, stated that it also means holding officers accountable for what they do and investing in officers at every level.

To empower its officers, the Salt Lake City Police Department created collaborative teams with rotating leadership. Everyone on the team participates in the decision making process, and the results are reported back to management. Others are using a "Cop of the Block" program as a way of encouraging officers to accept responsibility. Several participants mentioned that specific training for each officer and a commitment to quality were also ways to foster empowerment within a department. Jerry Sanders, Chief of Police, San Diego, CA stated that as a result of empowering line officers to make their own decisions they are much more responsible and thoughtful. Mike Scott, Chief of Police, Lauderhill, FL explained that in his experience empowerment leads to more effective policing. If every police officer is given 24 hour responsibility, then they will remain accountable.

Ray Martinez, Assistant Chief, Miami, FL, explained that in his experience as a lieutenant, mid-level managers traditionally did not take on community or even crime problems- they were there to deal with paperwork or calls. There was no ownership or responsibility for community conditions. If an officer was not on shift, then he/she did not care what happened. On the other hand, when given responsibility for a specific area, officers are generally concerned even when not on shift.

Empowerment can, however, also create problems. It requires that boundaries and limits for reactions are clear; about roles of line officers, mid-management and other supervisors.

Communication is essential.

Tom Windham, Chief of Police, Fort Worth, TX, stressed that the department should provide empowerment training that explains the individual responsibilities and shows that empowerment does not mean that the officer must be in charge of everything that is occurring on her or his beat.

It means that the officer is challenged to get involved and be responsible for the department's success.

Empowerment further requires that line officers, citizens, and other working or living in a neighborhood have access to tools and mechanisms to respond to and solve problems. Thomas Koby, Chief of Police, Boulder, CO explained that part of empowering officers is providing them with the resources and money to develop alternative solution. However, many police officers do not know the budget of their department. Generally, only the supervisors know the department's budget.

Patrick Murphy of the Police Public Policy at the U.S. Conference of Mayors reminded the group that community empowerment is as important as officer empowerment to get the community to respond. If communities are empowered, crime will be reduced. Harry Dolan, Chief of Police, Lumberton, North Carolina, acknowledged that initially he did not realize how dependent communities of any kind are on the police. Community policing is effective only in so far as the community as a whole gets involved, including the mayor and city council. He further argued, however, that giving officers and the community the power to identify priorities and develop their own solutions can be a double edged sword. When the community makes decisions as to what role the police plays, it is important to find a balance between the department's vision, mandate, and capacity and the community's needs and requests.

Tying Performance Measures To Community Policing

"What motivates the officer to do community policing? In many departments, they make their arrests, they get their promotions, but the neighborhood goes down. How do you get the officer to become interested in the community? By making quality of life in neighborhoods count in the evaluation of police officers going for promotion. Train them so that they understand that community issues and crime prevention are as important as the number of arrests that they make." Harry Dolan, Chief of Police, Lumberton, North Carolina.

There was some agreement among Resource Board members that evaluation and performance measures are important and necessary for community policing to become institutionalized and that such measures have to be established, both for the department as well as for individuals. In Framingham, MA, the police use internal and external surveys to determine satisfaction with police work. In the word of Chief Brett Larabee, how else can a police department say it's doing well? Others agreed that external evaluations can provide important feedback to the department about what the community thinks they are doing right and what they are doing wrong. The Chicago Police Department, for example, is using feedback from a community evaluation conducted by a university consortium to institute changes that respond directly to community concerns.

Several participants shared that they were having problems with establishing evaluation criteria specific to community policing. In New York City, for example, the department previously focused on measures such as the number of arrests and number of contacts rather than on results. Now there is a strong focus on "Quality of Life Offenses" as a measure of success in creating more livable neighborhoods. Mike Farrell stated that his department found a clear link between the less serious offenses (e.g., public drunkness, hanging out on street corners, and unruly behavior) and the growth of serious offenses like homicide. As a result concentrating police efforts on public nuisances or minor offenses becomes a viable tool for reducing more serious crime and this needs to be reflected in evaluations.

Others questioned whether it is really possible to define and measure the success and impact of community-oriented policing. One specific concern was that success is too often defined as reducing crime while community policing efforts expand far beyond that. The usefulness and relevance of arrest statistics was especially questioned. Although he strongly advocates establishing performance measures and is working with them in his department, Brett Larabee suggested that "we need at least 10 years of measuring to capture what is really going on."

Some Board members further explained that there also has to be a new distinction between measuring results and processes. Several participants mentioned that their concern with formal evaluations is that statistics alone might not capture the full picture. Successful police work goes beyond whether or not crime rates are going up or down. Lt. Bill Fitzgerald, from Joliet, IL questioned "how do you measure the sending of flowers, the thank you notes, and people feeling safe at night?" Lt. Susan Mowry, Newport News, VA explained that an initial problem in their department was the lack of a formal assessment of how effective the changes were. When the department finally assessed the community they found several gaps in the service delivery. As a result, they provided officers with additional training in basic community policing, problem solving, and meeting facilitation.

Chief Arturo Venegas, Jr. from Sacramento, CA suggested that the COPS office could assist by providing institutional bench-marking that would help communities measure their effectiveness, impact, and level of success in meeting their goals and objectives. Also mentioned was the need to develop some form of performance measures for local government effectiveness.

CHANGING TRAINING FOR COMMUNITY POLICING

"Community policing changes the job of the police officer on the street and they need to be trained accordingly. Our department also recognized that the community and other agencies need training in problem solving, community organization, and other skills to work together." Lt. Susan Mowry, Newport News, Virginia.

In addition to changing the overall philosophy of policing, community-oriented policing changes the job of police officers at all levels. As a result these changes need to be accompanied with appropriate training. Ron Glensor, Deputy Chief of the Reno, Nevada Police Department described that his department trained their Field Trained Officers as problem-oriented policing trainers and reconfigured the entire training program. Superintendent Tom Kirk from the West Virginia State Police stated that his department had its core instructors address community policing in each course. This reinforced community policing objectives across the entire curriculum, providing recruits with a strong philosophy on the importance of community policing.

There was some belief that the kind of training officers receive influences their choices when they are working in the field as well as how well they are able to do their jobs. Tim Bullock, a Corporal from Greensboro, North Carolina stated that it is those who are trained by a community-oriented sergeant were to go on to do community policing. From his perspective community policing is still too often looked at as the chief's program and some officers are being groomed to make the choice for community policing. He also questioned whether chiefs realized that the field training officers and other supervisors are often out of touch on these issues. One department middle manager suggested that when all of an officer's training time is spent riding around with another officer, it cuts short the time the officer can spend becoming familiar with the community issues.

Several participants noted the need for training officers how to work effectively in the community. This may mean learning how to foster collaboration as well as how to handle conflict and the restoration of working relationships. At least one participant saw the need to do ongoing training jurisdictionwide in response to changes in the community. Lt. Susan Mowry from Newport News, VA noted that it is often assumed that officers have mobilizing skills. Yet, having the police uniform does not give them the ability to mobilize communities. In response, Phil Keith, Chief of Police in Knoxville, TN, suggested that some community training only deals with how to go to community meetings. He suggested that training for officers should address how to use community systems and workload management.

Several participants shared the benefits of having peer examples and the ways in which their agencies structured this training effort into their programs. Several departments have implemented exchange visits or site visits with other locations. Resource Board members found the peer exchange especially helpful and informative, since they allow officers sufficient time to debate issues with their counterparts from other jurisdictions. In some circumstances, these departments especially send officers who are reluctant to accept community policing or who are hard core cynics to expose them to a positive image of community policing actively pursued. One participant shared how his department sent additional people to a community policing conference as a perk, with no responsibility to report back.

Networking was also mentioned as an effective tool for sharing success stories and increasing the effectiveness of community-oriented policing. Because face-to-face networking can be so expensive, participants suggested video conferencing as an effective and much less expensive alternative.

Resource Board members also stressed that everybody in the department needs to be trained in community policing. This includes dispatchers since they are the primary source of communication with the community.

Greg Cooper, Chief of Police, Sanger, California stated that he believes there needs to be more of an emphasis of training at the academies so the new recruits have the orientation before they go to work. Other participants related that the state training academy may not provide the required training. In that case the department, then has to be even more concerned with including community policing training in their in-house training. Robert Carter from the University of Southern California added that, in his opinion, community policing training only at the beginning of an officer's career is insufficient. It needs to be worked in throughout. If community policing is separated from other coursework, it won't work. Other participants reiterated that problem-solving is usually not considered an important part of training. Training usually teaches recruits when and how to write a report. Understanding the decision-making process is usually left out of training.

Although there was some agreement that current officer training for community policing may be too short, the views on what type of training and education is needed varied widely. Throughout the discussion, Resource Board members made a clear distinction between training and education stressing the need for improving both. For example, Patrick Murphy of the U.S. Conference of Mayors suggested that all officers should have a bachelor's degree. While not all agreed on this requirement there was overall support for developing a better educated force. Others mentioned that the complex and diverse requirements of community policing cannot all be covered through education and training but that teaming people with different skills together is the way to bridge knowledge gaps. Police officers may have a college degree, but may not have the specific training required for working with diverse communities. Therefore, police departments have to determine how to better train officers to equip them with the necessary skills. Also, the format of the training is as important as the substance, and training should be on-the-job and ongoing. Colleen Minson, of Salt Lake City, UT, related that the department she works with uses teams, which link officers with others who have more specialized skills such as social services. The thinking is that not every officer needs to and can have all skills and that the effectiveness of the police and the other agencies is maximized by having officers do what they are trained to do and allowing others to do the same.

Participants in each focus group stressed again and again the vital importance of developing the right training, not just for police but for the community, politicians, and other agency personnel. For example, Tom Windham, Chief of Police, Fort Worth, Texas related that neighborhood development training with different groups is an important aspect of their training.

Selection And Recruitment

"The definition of a good police officer may vary depending on the particular police department and different communities it is working in. Different communities have different values; each community wants their values supported. Therefore a person is needed who fits in with the department philosophy and its community. Departments need to recruit the type of person that is right for their needs, and training will enhance the traits necessary for police work." *Marty Tapscott, NOBLE*

Several participants emphasized that for community-oriented policing to become institutionalized, it is important how the selection of officers is conducted. In building a community-oriented force the question arises what makes a good police officer. What are their personal traits, personality, qualifications? Who's attitude is adaptable to community-oriented policing? What is the profile of a good cop? It was further mentioned that there is a need to distinguish between existing skills and potential skills in the selection process. For example, negotiation skills were once considered not to be important, but now they are, and there may be other skills that may be needed in the future.

William Finney, Chief of Police, St. Paul, Minnesota, reminded that taking a civilian and making him or her a cop means that the individual undergoes a deep cultural change. A department may need to rewrite job descriptions depending on the qualities recruiters are looking for in the person they want to hire. Gary Cordner, Researcher, East Kentucky University explained that most job descriptions are developed through the job analysis process, which is based on analyzed data. Therefore, the community should participate by providing feedback on what they would like to see in the job description, and their comments should be included in the job analysis. It was mentioned that allowing citizens to interview police academy trainees could be a useful addition to the selection process.

To find out whether candidates are suited for work in the community, they can be asked about how they would work in the community. Choosing the right ones for the job will rest on these answers. The Baltimore, Maryland Police Department makes, for example, very specific efforts to hire in the spirit of community service. Recruits are asked during their interview whether they have been involved in the community, a church, etc. Elsewhere departments have found that the best beat officers are the ones recruited for community-oriented policing. Thus, efforts put into the selection and recruitment process are thought to go a long way toward changing the police culture and for developing a climate more conducive for community-oriented policing.

Lori Scott-Pickens, Newark, New Jersey, related the experience of one jurisdiction where only community members were involved in selecting the officers who would work in the community. The selection board was composed of residents, representatives from community-based organizations, churches, and businesses. However, Greg Cooper, Chief of Police, Sanger, California reminded the group that it is important to try to strike a balance between the community's interest in being involved and the department's vision.

UNION INVOLVEMENT FOR COMMUNITY POLICING

"In order to establish a new model of line management and build relationships where everyone understands their responsibilities, unions should be part of the discussion." Thomas Koby, Chief of Police, Boulder, Colorado.

There was consensus among Resource Board members that it is difficult to implement community-oriented policing against any opposition, therefore, union involvement is critical to success. It has to be a labor-management partnership rather than something that is implemented from above. Several participants noted, in particular, the importance of involving labor in the planning phase, in contractual matters, and in decisions related to how things would be run. Those participants working in communities experiencing labor-management problems mentioned the frequency with which they heard "we" and "they" during arguments and the inflexibility of the union in areas of change. One Police Chief, who was hired specifically to do community policing, suggested that the unions often don't understand community policing and, therefore, may support some aspects of it but not all. Others shared how much of the confrontational relationship changed when they actively sought union involvement in all areas of decision making. A management representative mentioned, for example, how his department is trying to respond to labors' demands on some issues, such as 2-person patrol cars, whether management believes in it or not, because they know it has benefits for the officers. This type of flexibility appears to be the key for developing an effective working relationship. One participant stated, however, that even with union input there may still be a lot of resistance to change. A number of departments found it necessary to negotiate contract buyoffs in order to be able to implement community-oriented policing.

Several participants related that involving the official union from the very beginning is one way to avoid resistance later on. The best approach being an open and honest strategy to entertain the union perspective and develop a way to consider their concerns. Involving the union in this process fosters ownership on their part. Although some things may never be resolved, a lot can be accomplished to meet the department's goals.

Tom Kirk, Superintendent of the West Virginia State Police described how inviting the union to participate in an off-site retreat was an effective strategy used by his department. The union became an integral part of the planning process and is especially helpful in developing better recruitment procedures. Participants also pointed out that it is important to state up front if there are going to be some limitations in what is negotiable. Unions need to understand that certain areas are off limits. Robbie Robbins, Representative of the Fraternal Order of Police reminded the group that unions have always been willing to come to the table, and should be trained like everyone else.

One of the success stories of cooperation with police unions described was Madison, WI, which went from having 80 grievances a year filed against management in the early 1980s to the current 1-2 grievances a year. Ted Balistreri, from the Madison Police Department, stated that it is an issue of trust and having worked to reach consensus on the issues. The department set up officers' advisory councils and made sure that women and minorities were on them. Madison has also set up an experimental police district that operates like a think tank. A task force was created to design what the station would look like and which officers would be sent there. As a result of these efforts, labor and management get along much better and needed contractual changes can be made to support community policing.

Other participants mentioned how agreements on scheduling changes have been a positive factor for both sides. Since community policing may involve unpredictable schedules, flexibility was needed by management to put officers where they wanted them, when they needed them. It benefits the individual officers by giving them the ability to take off for a few hours to do things important to families such as seeing their kids' soccer games or going to school events. Both Phoenix, AZ and Madison, WI, have written the right to waiver on scheduling provisions into their contracts.

RESOURCE ALLOCATION FOR COMMUNITY POLICING

"I like the term "Doing More with More". "More" meaning more resources from the community, other agencies, private business." Block grants, unless given directly to law enforcement, would fail to improve law enforcement. Our residents are sold on community oriented policing. Regardless of election outcomes, people are committed to community oriented policing." *Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento, California.*

Whether community policing requires additional resources or changes in resource allocation were hotly debated issues. The discussion reflected the different positions taken by police departments nationwide. While Resource Board members generally agreed that community policing requires changes in resource allocation, they had different views about what type of resource allocation changes need to be made and how these resources can be acquired.

There was general agreement that since community policing requires new approaches and new partnerships, there are also new stake holders who can be harnessed for resolving resource problems. Ron Glensor, Deputy Chief, Reno, Nevada Police Department encouraged the group to discuss ways of being creative even when no funding exists. He urged participants to employ ideas like linking cops with other government agencies and making sure that police officers understand what resources are available. Officers need to be aware that working with residents, businesses, neighborhood watch groups, and other community-based agencies not only may require additional resources but increases the ownership of community problems and, often the resources available to do the collaborative work. For example, Gary Cordner related that his department received a COPS grant which was matched by a corporate donor. Then, in the spirit of community-oriented policing, the officers suggested that they could spend half their time on bicycles and save the department money. The proposal was taken to the Chamber of Commerce, a move which resulted in the bicycles being funded by corporate sponsors. As in many cases involving resources, police have to communicate their needs to the community, incorporating new partnerships into their work.

Other participants shared the value of developing a plan for identifying funds to support community policing. Developing an overall plan forces the department to think through and communicate what it is they want for the community, how it can be accomplished, and who should be involved. So that funds can be targeted appropriately, it is also important to get rid of the myths surrounding community policing, such as officers generally do not have enough time for working with the community or that crime reduction alone is progress. Participants shared how it is often a specific issue, such a youth gangs or juvenile delinquency, that can help get other agencies and other funding involved in community policing.

The discussion also focused on what happens when police department funding is changed in response to community policing. In the case of Albuquerque, NM, the police department was given an increase of \$10 million which was targeted toward the hiring of an additional 100 new police officers in one year. The department discovered it could not hire that quickly because it had difficulty finding qualified people. The increase in department funds also led to jealousy from other agencies; in the end this situation eventually resulted in other agencies getting more involved in collaborative efforts with the police department in order to tap into the new source for programming money. Resource Board members, however, also related that in many other communities, community policing was implemented at the same time as budget restraints, forcing departments to compressed work schedules.

Expanding The Capacity To Deliver Services

Community-oriented policing is about partnerships. Private security agencies can also become important partners. In Madison 10 to 15 years ago it was silly to think of having private security at police training sessions. They were seen as rent-a-cops. We still see them that way but they are beneficial to us. We even had them hired in neighborhoods. The union used to have an off-duty rate of \$2 less per hour. Now the money comes through the city and adds to pensions and benefits." Ted Balistreri, Inspector, Madison Police Department.

Resource Board members discussed that community-oriented policing actually is a way to expand a department's capacity to deliver services. Several participants shared how they expanded their capacity to work effectively by rethinking management systems and integrating training. Others mentioned that increased capacity to address neighborhood problems came from developing collaborative relationships. The common theme throughout the discussion was that connecting individuals from different groups and agencies and that building relationships increased the productivity of the police department. In a sense, police departments are finding that they can address the breakdown of social control by developing alternative response mechanisms. And the involvement of citizens and other agencies is often a key factor.

For some departments, the issue is one of finding ways to make the best use of existing resources, which may require shedding the notion of turf or police ownership of a problem. Although there may exist different cultures across agencies, each agency can contribute in a different way. Several participants mentioned how collaboration in the area of juvenile problems was especially successful. In Salt Lake City, UT, for example, comprehensive community action teams operated to resolve youth problems by dealing with individual youth in the context of family issues and neighborhood and system issues. In this way, the teams were able to access the whole system and utilize existing resources.

Mike Petchel, Phoenix Law Enforcement gave one example of how working with local auto dealers can help increase a department's resources to respond to crime and other neighborhood problems. The same is true with schools. Bringing schools in is the focal point of the neighborhood. They not only have input, but also they helped with funding. A first step, therefore, is to determine what resources are available and how they can be made available.

Corporal Tim Bullock, Greensboro, North Carolina related what most Resource Board members thought, that community policing requires officer more time. However, with appropriate time management much of the additional work can be handled without additional costs. Time management is very important, especially in terms of a call management system.

A different example that supports the notion that community policing can be cost effective was reported by Lt. Dan Stebbins, of the Connecticut State Police. He shared how all the towns in Connecticut have state police coverage, with each town paying for the extra coverage. The resident troopers are organized as a specialty unit under the control of a sergeant. Since 1947, the state police have had a system in which troopers compete for positions in specialty programs such as bike safety and Halloween safety which now has been expanded to include community policing positions. These positions of resident troopers have become the most popular institution for the department. When potential candidates for these positions come in for an interview the department pays special attention to the community-based activities they have been involved in. Many of those who are hired are committed to and have participated in community policing activities. At present, the program is at 95 percent of budget capacity but the communities still want more troopers to serve in their towns. Recently, his department put together a grant through the COPS office for 40 more officers. The cost to the community is \$12,500 to \$37,000 a year for one officer, considerably less than the \$40,000 per officer they usually pay. The problem, however, is that the State Police have become so effective in towns of 5,000 to 18,000 (which includes half of the towns in Connecticut) that town managers want to know why police coverage through state troopers can be provided for \$400,000 while coverage through a city police department costs the double. The resident officers have developed into the first line of public relations for the department.

Several participants related that they are starting to view their organization as a business. They have flattened the organizational structure of their departments and are experimenting with different technologies to streamline work and information flows. A representative from a state police agency mentioned that his agency has plans to further sell their services to areas that are incorporating and visualize a metropolitan police concept in 6 - 7 years. They will use community-oriented policing as a marketing tool and explain the vision of community-oriented policing. Many agreed that the concepts of privatization and out-sourcing are important tools and that departments need to take advantage of the best practices and experiences of other agencies and learn from them. Barbara McDonald, Director of Research and Planning in the Chicago Police Department argued the need for more non-traditional use of civilian personnel. Privatization may cause a difference in protection between affluent and low income areas. Nonetheless, privatization can complement community-oriented policing efforts.

Restructuring Responses to 911 Calls

"We need a delicate balance for responding to 911 calls. If we don't respond in time to an incident police may loose the backing of the citizens. We need, however, to re-prioritize how to respond to 911 calls and make sure the community understands why and what is involved. We must explain the process to them." Sgt. Jim Potter, Lake County, Utah.

The implementation of 911 was a technology change that brought new demands and new expectations to police work. Its widespread use for general purposes has imposed tremendous burdens on the police. Resource Board members agreed that this may be resolved by educating the community about the use of the 911 system as well as by restructuring the response to 911 within the departments. Since police cannot run from call to call and since many cases the problem does not require a police officer, new approaches have to be developed.

Many police departments experienced a tension between responding to 911 calls and community-oriented policing. As a result a number of agencies have begun to design different approaches to structure 911 calls and to develop alternative response mechanisms. For example, Caroline Nicholls, a Police Superintendent from London, England, related how her department staffed its 911 service with personnel trained in community policing. This resulted in a reduction in the number of calls officers had to respond to. It was noted, however, that changes in responding to calls require a delicate balance since 911 is a primary connection with the community. If police do not respond to an incident or do not respond in time, they run the risk of loosing public support.

Others suggested, however, that thinking this way may place the emphasis in the wrong place. The emphasize should be on finding alternatives that satisfy the community. Low priority calls, for example, may be responded to by citizens or non-sworn personnel. Some things may be handled over the phone. Police departments should however also realize that if officers only go to high priority calls they will have a difficult time developing a sense for the real needs of the community. So there has to be some balance between streamlining police responses and serving the community.

The issue of police responses to false alarms is a national problem that all departments wrestle with but also provides an opportunity for a department committed to community policing to rethink and restructure its response mechanism. Police departments can neither politically nor ethically afford not to respond to false alarms but there are a number of alternatives that can considerably reduce officer time required for handling these incidents. The Boulder police department was the first in the country to change their response to alarms because 99 percent of the calls were false. The department went to the companies that provided the alarm services and took over the paperwork. As a result the department had 12 more officers available. Other departments like the Portland police department opted for not responding after a certain number of false alarms have been reported from one site. Ron Glensor, Deputy Chief, Reno, Nevada Police Department related how his department reduced false alarm calls by educating the public about which situations required which type of response.

Since false alarms and the high police personnel costs related to them are a national problem, Tom Frazier, Chief of Police, Baltimore, Maryland suggested that the best models of response developed by police departments should be combined and made accessible to other jurisdictions.

THE FUTURE OF COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE ROLE OF COPS

"Community policing is here to stay. You won't hear the term in the future because it will BE the future." Bill Kirchoff, City Manager, Redondo Beach, California.

The final two sessions of the National Resource Board meeting were structured to capture the participants' perception of the future of community policing in the U.S. and their vision for COPS' role in support of community policing. Resource Board members were asked to describe how they envision community policing developing over the next three to five years. Then they were asked to consider the current financial and political constraints and discuss what the COPS Office can reasonably undertake to make this vision a reality

During the discussion of the future of community policing in the US some participants questioned whether community policing is just a cyclical development that will not endure since many of the attributes of community policing have been tried before in one form or another, such as decentralization and officers on the beat. others responded that there are considerable difference between community policing and other previous efforts applied to policing, such as traditional foot patrols or team policing. Mike Farrell, for example stated that he had not seen serious efforts at decentralizing until community policing came along and that he believes that New York City, for example, went from small crime to big crime when policing became more centralized. The view that prevailed among participants was that because of its success, community policing is the trend for future policing rather than a cyclical development that will fade away when national attention and funding decline.

There were two major issues that Resource Board members discussed with regard to the future of community policing, 1) the need for redefining the role of policing and 2) the move toward community-oriented government.

Redefining The Role Of Police

"In the next five years, we will have a lot of change: political, economical, social, educational, technical, etc. Change is inevitable and will require redefining the role of police vs. the role of a community and other agencies. I believe that for creating that different role core values are what's important. No matter how much stress and strain is placed on the system, the core values can remain unchanged. Implementation of community policing is one step beyond knowing your core values." *Robert Carter, University of Southern California.*

Board members agreed that a critical issue facing law enforcement administrators now and in the future, is defining the mission of law enforcement. Because the specific components of law enforcement have never been defined, it is essential to determine the core values that transcend across jurisdictions. As no single set of core values currently exist, these values vary depending on the jurisdiction. However, Resource Board members questioned whether it is the police departments' job to decide what the common core values are-rather it should be a concerted effort involving the department and the community as a whole.

The changed the role of police will be reflected in a changed focus of police work. For example, demographic data indicate that most jurisdictions will have increasing numbers of adolescents. An increase in the number of adolescents usually translates into increased crime rates. Unless localities get rid of crime, the rest of the quality of life in a neighborhood is at risk. Therefore, the mitigation of crime should be the number one priority for cities if they are to be viable economically and socially. The number one reason why people leave cities is not education or economics, but not being able to walk their dogs in safety.

Chuck Maxwell, Sheriff, Yellowstone County, Billings, Montana added that a number of departments and groups in departments have been developed over the years to work on crime prevention. While some cautioned that those departments do not represent the majority of agencies others pointed out that community oriented policing should include the four elements of law enforcement: arrest, prevent, solve problems, and improve overall quality of life.

Bill Kirchoff, City Manager, Redondo Beach, California added that while he likes a military type of agency structure, he knows that it does not allow for the level of officer involvement needed for working with communities. And, since the police officer cannot be all things to all people, locating social workers together with police officers is the right approach. The police station needs to be multidisciplinary. It needs to be a conduit for a full range of social services. You have to do more than solve crime.

Problems and needs differ from neighborhood to neighborhood, not just city by city. However, the problem solving strategies remain the same. Only the activities should differ. The main strategy should always be work with the community, and this means more than a foot patrol. The right attitude and the right approach are the most important and most essential, and these do not cost money. Further, communities have different needs. Some communities want a lot of interaction with the police. Others want no interaction because they have very little crime. Therefore, diversity must be considered in the planning process. And since needs are different for different communities, a department's core values should reflect those differences.

Patrick Murphy, Police Public Policy, U.S. Conference of Mayors, argued that change should occur at the state as well as the federal level. The role of the states and the federal government should be included in any strategic planning done by the COPS Board. Tom Kirk, Superintendent, West Virginia State Police, argued that COPS must be instrumental in effecting change in the perception that policing is basically crime fighting or "crime and grime." Policing now includes conventional ways, plus problem solving and motivation. Administrators need to create the police department out of the same fabric as the city and to bring people together to get things done to motivate others.

Community-Oriented Government

"I envision the model cities concept coming to community oriented policing. We could use COPS as a community investment model for change!! We would get all the players involved. This can be facilitated by the police participating in economic development issues, and be involved with economic development boards. The focus should be on business development. And the police department should hire someone to specifically market the police department to the community." Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento, California

There was consensus among focus group participants that in 3-5 years a comprehensive approach to solving complex problems could be established. The police will be more connected with the rest of the criminal justice system and other government agencies. The focus will be on developing a fully community-oriented local government and criminal justice system where the police is just one part of coordinated efforts to establish and maintain safe and viable neighborhoods.

In some communities the police may need to take on a leadership role in developing a coordinated community-oriented system. That such is possible has been proven by other systems (e.g. the health care system) that have improved their communication and removed barriers. Coming together on a regular basis improves communication and can make it easier to deal with issues. Getting the mayor and city manager involved is a vital part in building this connection and more should be done to reach out to them. All levels of government are focusing on neighborhoods. It is police and government at every level that are designing strategies to deal with that neighborhood problems and development.

Most Resource Board members expressed their hopes that the community will believe in community policing. As Greg Cooper, Chief of Police, Sanger, CA stated it, in the next three to five years, the police, politicians, and the community should gain a common understanding of what community policing is. Implementing community policing should not have to depend on whether or not Federal funds are available. And, as George Crawley, Assistant City Manager, Norfolk, VA stated, in the future there should no longer be a need for a highly structured organizations, such as the PACE support group developed in Norfolk to gain the cooperation and input from different agencies and community groups. As other participants he foresees incorporating community oriented policing right into the community's philosophy with a stronger role for community organizations and churches in this effort.

A VISION FOR THE ROLE OF THE COPS OFFICE

For the final session of the National Resource Board meeting participants were asked to provide their ideas on what the most important areas for the COPS office to concentrate on in the future should be. Resource Board members were asked to identify what the COPS office could provide that is most needed and most likely to be of maximum benefit in terms of supporting research, technology, training and technical assistance, communication and public education, and networking. Participants were also asked to identify any other areas that might be important for the COPS office's work.

During these sessions Resource Board members stressed the importance of the COPS office for assuring that policing in the US is prepared for the challenges of the future. Resource Board members went on to stress the need for active support on the Federal level for community policing and pointed out special areas for the COPS office to focus its work.

The Importance of the COPS Office

"What can the COPS office do over the next few years? Training! Training! Training! Especially with a broader focus on community-oriented government. Police departments need so much technical assistance in this area and access to research. The COPS office is the needed resource for all departments." Sheriff Patrick Sullivan, Arapahoe County, Colorado.

Resource Board members stressed the important role played by Federal funding and the COPS program. It was stated that COPS grants provided an opportunity to espouse the new philosophy and allowed for implementing important changes, such as geographically based assignments, which might otherwise not have happened as quickly. One participant stated that the bureaucratic structure in the administration of COPS grants was particularly helpful and, by cutting the red tape, showed that government can be effective.

A number of the participants expressed their concern that Congressional politics may significantly reduce or even shut down the work of the COPS office and that, as a result police will lose credibility with their communities who are expecting to more community orientation. Resource Board members were concerned that community policing may need a stronger lobby in Congress, especially since in their view, the need for COPS has not been sold as a non-partisan effort. As a result, its funding could be in jeopardy.

Sheriff Chuck Maxwell, Yellowstone County, Billings, Montana stated that since community policing is attracting political and financial support, it has a better chance of becoming the way of doing business in the future. Through this support community policing will be enabled to set the standards for good police work. The majority of police departments will buy into the concept of community policing. Federal funding will determine the shape of policing in the future especially since there is such a big need for continuing training and education about the philosophy of community policing and its meaning for the practice.

The Need for Federal Level Support

The principles of community policing will go on. It is not like LEAA. It is a mindset and the workload is always there. I was trying to do community policing long before COPS money was available and will do so even if no more Federal funding will be available. But I am glad that the Federal Government is focusing on helping us do community policing; that is what is important." *Jerry Galvin, Chief, Toledo Police Department.*

The need to sell community policing at the national level was extensively discussed. Some Resource Board members thought that one of the major problems was that members of Congress are unfamiliar with the concept of community-oriented policing and, therefore, are unlikely to support Federal funding for community policing. Mike Petchel of Phoenix Law Enforcement reminded the group that they have a powerful voice in these things. He stated that even though he is not a lobbyist, he is not ashamed of going to a Senator and expressing his concern that attaching politics to funding the solution to community problems has a real downside for communities and who are their constituency. Members of Congress usually get their information through their staff and, consequently, they appreciate receiving unfiltered information. He also noted that this is why organizations such as the National Association of Police Officers (NAPO) has an office in Washington, well positioned to respond to Congressional questions about rank and file or management perspectives on community-oriented policing.

Dennis Campa, Community Services Director of the City of Austin, Texas suggested that the Federal Resource Assistance Centers have regional sites where the Federal agencies come together and something similar could be developed for jurisdictions involved in community policing. The current fragmentation of funding, training and information sources and the different missions pursued do not facilitate the development of comprehensive community oriented approaches. The COPS office could become the focal point for all these efforts which would make it much easier for police departments and other agencies to identify what they need and where they could turn to for assistance.

COPS' Support for Research And Evaluation

"COPS can push the envelope and influence what police can do in the future. We need a model for performance evaluation. We want quality individual evaluation [tools], we want COPS to support evaluations which can tell us what's working and what's not, and provide this feedback on a regular basis." Barbara McDonald, Director, Research & Planning, Chicago Police Department.

Participants agreed that more and better research is needed to assist police departments in their community policing efforts and that COPS could play a significant role in determining the research needs of police departments. The office could also influence the type of research being conducted by criminal justice researchers. Resource Board members suggested that COPS mandate that agencies allocate a portion of the funding they receive for evaluation. In addition, the need for examples of and assistance with developing appropriate performance evaluations was stressed. George Crawley, Assistant City Manager for Norfolk, Virginia, for example, encouraged COPS and the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to address the issue of government bench-marking efforts on policing. As Robert Carter of the University of Southern California stated, police agencies need to obtain measures of success and efficiency.

Superintendent Caroline Nichols of London, England argued for the need of police departments to look for new and different measures of performance. For example, they need to collect and analyze repeat offender rates, which will be an important indicator to identify whether a department is ultimately addressing community policing. The same is true for the levels of fear and disorder in a community. If this type of information is not made available, the effect and strength of community policing will be diminished. Edward Flynn, Chief of Police, in Chelsea, Massachusetts pointed out that police departments have little experience and information about how to measure the health of a community. The COPS office could assist with this problem by developing measures of community safety and measures of effective community policing to name a few.

A number of specific research needs that should be supported by the COPS office were identified. These included the development of adjustable models of management structures that fit different types of departments and studies on effective recruitment strategies. Currently only limited information exists that informs agencies on how to recruit, select and train community police officers. Chief Longoria from McAllen, Texas reiterated the earlier suggestion that COPS focus on regional research on crime and the creation of an evaluation resource system that can be utilized by all police departments. It was especially stressed that the COPS office fund research and disseminate the findings in a language that police officers and other practitioners can understand. Other Resource Board members encouraged the identification of examples of empirical studies that can be turned into teaching materials to educate officers. Community-oriented police officers have a big need for an information base that they can readily access.

Diane McCoy, Executive Director of FOCUS Coalition, West Virginia called for a research agenda that will save law enforcement personnel from being blind-sided by new trends in crime or new types of crime. Research should be able to help departments anticipate and prepare for the crime of the future. In further support, Jan Marie Belle of Southwest Improvement Center, Denver, Colorado argued the need for a technological approach to making crime statistics on jurisdictions and lists of COPS funded programs and other information readily available. Access to such information will facilitate networking among police departments across and within regions and help departments in their efforts.

Elizabeth Watson, Chief of Police, Austin, Texas called for COPS to take the lead on studying customer satisfaction as well as providing information on the underlying causes of crime to assist departments in developing programs and approaches that target the roots of the problems in their communities.

Another need for specific research that was identified by Neil Behan, Executive Director of Major Cities Chiefs and several other meeting participants-the development of best practices. Community policing requires departments to generate innovative ideas to respond to community problems. The ideas and experiences developed in one department may assist others in creating their own efforts and avoid the same pitfalls. Gerry Williams of the Law Enforcement Management Institute at Sam Houston State University, Texas, suggested that COPS develop a set of "Best Practices" in the implementation, strategy and tactics of community policing.

It was further recommended that COPS develop a database of information on outreach mechanism and training resources that all departments could access. Mike Farrell, Deputy Commissioner of Police, New York City supported this suggestion by stating that COPS could begin to document experiences from different types of jurisdiction and communities, and use them for strategic training and technology enhancement.

Resource Board members indicated recruitment standards as another area for COPS to get involved and it was suggested that this would provide a good opportunity to involve unions, e.g. the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP). Variables such as the characteristics of a good community policing officer and characteristics of quality policing can be used to determine standards for screening and assessment, and organizations such as the FOP could be instrumental in the development of such indicators. Lt. Bill Tegeler of Santa Ana, California suggested that the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) that is used by many departments for selecting officers be replaced with an assessment tool specific to law enforcement. Such an effort would be an excellent task for a Federal agency such as COPS.

Other Resource Board members related that some departments have already develop new approaches to the selection process. For example, Greg Cooper, Chief of Police in Sanger, California related how he hired a consultant to develop a profile for his department that might be used to address issues related to community oriented management. It was also suggested that most departments could easily develop profiles of those officers that are exemplary community policing officers. This suggestion was taken with much enthusiasm. Tom Frazier, Chief of Police, Baltimore, Maryland, for example, offered his department as a test site for such an effort. Elizabeth Watson, Chief of Police, Austin, Texas suggested that a similar effort was currently under way in Chicago.

Training And Education

"The lasting legacy of the COPS office should be to enable us to look for our own solutions. It should leave some infrastructure, information, and education. It should build up a knowledge base." Mike Scott, Chief of Police, Lauderhill, FL

Resource Board members overwhelmingly supported the need for a broad array of training in community policing and recognized the COPS office's vital role in this endeavor. Jerry Sanders, Chief of Police, San Diego, California, and other Resource Board members stated that they expect COPS to provide them with education and training in specific topic areas that reflect the latest strategies in law enforcement. There was also consensus that the training currently available does not fulfill the needs of most jurisdictions around the country. Previous training developed on the national level provided introductory principles of community policing without incorporating instructions on organizational development and behavior.

Several participants argued that there is currently no formal mechanism for current and/or aspiring police leaders to receive leadership training, nor comprehensive instructions on strategic planning, organizational development, other management issues and systems development. Only a few sources such as the San Diego police department, the Florida Department of Law Enforcement and the Law Enforcement Management Institute at Sam Houston State University provide some leadership training.

Resource Board members also discussed the idea of a leadership institute, a national academy for leadership and development. It was stressed that leadership development for community policing is urgently needed. While there are already several courses in existence that address this, there are many chiefs and lieutenants and others at the executive level who are not versed in the principles of community-oriented policing. The COPS office could, therefore, develop several training programs that are designed for them.

It was also suggested that COPS could assist with the development of a national training curriculum that addresses the differing needs of personnel operating in big cities, small towns, and rural areas. Jan Marie Belle of Southwest Improvement Center, Denver, Colorado argued that any training should include such topics as strategies for problem solving, crime resolution, zoning code enforcement, conflict resolution training; prevention tactics; violence prevention; and about collaboration techniques.

Sgt. Jim Potter from Salt Lake County, Utah cautioned that there is a strong tendency to demand training in strategic and tactical planning and loose sight of officers who are good at their jobs. Officers who do their jobs well are valuable trainers for their fellow officers. To illustrate his point, he provided the example of an officer who brought a teddy bear with him to give to the kid living in a suspected drug house that was about to be invaded by the SWAT team. He got down to the kid's level, took his sunglasses off and talked with the child about what was happening. For Jim Potter, these types of officers need to be profiled and interviewed to find out what makes them exceptional, capture the information and pass it on to others.

Other participants argued the need to develop specific training for community members and other agency staff on how to work with the police. For example, lawyers should be required to take at least one course about collaboration and linkages with the police before graduating from law school. In addition, COPS needs to place a high priority on educating city managers, city department heads, city council members, city attorneys-prosecutors, municipal court judges, state prosecutors, state juvenile court judges, and public defenders in community policing.

John Mayfield, Detective, Bellevue, Washington Police Department further argued the need for basic training in community-oriented activities such as mentoring youth at risk, public speaking, and mediation facilitation. These are things officers will need and use while on the job. However, Ted Balistreri, Inspector, Madison, Wisconsin Police Department argued that in order to facilitate all the training needs, COPS should develop a trainer of trainers program or, at least, a set of training modules. Mike Petchel of Phoenix Law Enforcement suggested that COPS create a catalog of trainers that is updated on a regular basis.

Technology

Technology- we must use it in a smart way and get it to the beat officer in the community." Barbara McDonald, Director, Research & Planning, Chicago Police Department.

Resource Board members expressed high hopes for improvements in technology to support community policing but also realized the importance of utilizing technology within the context of law enforcement. Jurisdictions have to avoid the mistake of having technology drive police practices rather than the reverse. Susan Herman, Director of Community Services at The Enterprise Foundation argued that many software companies have made a fortune from police agencies, but have failed to deliver effective materials. However, while many participants stressed that police need computers, laptops, databanks, and other updated technology, they also felt that some funding should be made available for implementation and experimentation with new technologies. In addition, many departments have a shortage of resources for new technologies and need to have access to tested applications to upgrade existing technologies.

Chief Brent Larabee from Framingham, Massachusetts cautioned, however, that departments need to balance technology with the human component in community-oriented policing. He further cautioned that computerization can have an isolating effect for some members of the police. Sergeant Jim Potter, from Salt Lake County, Utah urged that agencies need to focus on making the officer more efficient, helping him to do more with less. The focus should be on the line-officer to determine what technology would make his job better. Chief Alex Longoria, McAllen, Texas also stressed that agencies as a whole need to become more technologically literate. Police departments should be electronically linked so that they can readily share information. It was further pointed out that the information sharing should extend beyond the criminal justice system.

Ron Glensor, Deputy Chief of the Reno, Nevada Police Department advised that the existing telephone geo-districting technology already provides police with many important options. For example, when a detective finds out about a burglary the computer automatically maps an area around the site of the crime. The system alerts police personnel and others in the area, informing them that there has been a robbery, provides the suspect's description, and identifies which residents should be interviewed for information.

Darrel Stephens, Chief of St. Petersburg, Florida Police Department added that the provision of technical assistance is critical to getting new technology to the officer on the street. Other participants urged that COPS drive the market for software with good demand access capability. This effort would also make it easier for information to filter down to the rank and file, providing them with easily accessible, user friendly resources. Other participants urged to explore the applicability of new technologies, such as wireless communications to develop an alternative to 911.

Mike Farrell, Deputy Commissioner of Police, New York City further advised that police officers need computer technology to assist them with analytic techniques such as geo-based targeting, so that they can plug their data into mapping software to better understand geographical patterns in crime for deterrence, prevention, and eradication. Also, they need technology to improve rapid response systems. However, all technology and training should be flexible enough to take into consideration changing conditions in communities. In addition, since police departments are generally hampered by cumbersome procurement processes for getting funding for technology, the COPS office could provide direct access to computer and mapping technologies.

Information Dissemination

The COPS office should build a comprehensive network for distributing information. This could include a database outlining the role and activities of agencies that received funding and a contact person so that other departments can get in touch with them. The use of videos of case studies in community policing would be another cost effective information distribution strategy. These videos can, for example, be shown and distributed at conferences and other professional gatherings. Gary Maas, Chief of Police, Sioux City, Iowa

The dissemination of information about community-oriented policing in all forms of print and media and in an electronic format was another topic Resource Board members identified as an important task for the COPS office. Several participants suggested that the COPS office allocate time and staff to the maintenance of a clearinghouse for exemplary models, data, and information. Clearinghouse staff could develop materials in the form of success stories, resource guides such as a catalog of trainers, site visit guides, a manual for identifying best practices, and a catalog of state and regional staff with contact information. In addition, the clearinghouse can be a resource base for supplemental information such as community outreach and training. These materials can be disseminated on demand to departments and agencies implementing new or updating existing programs in community policing. Also, they can be displayed at regional and national conferences and promotional events.

Networking

There are enough of us around the country that are working in community policing. We represent an untapped network of knowledge. We need to exchange experiences and our departments can all serve as hosts for site visits to show others community policing in practice. That way we don't have to send officers who need to learn on a costly trip to San Diego or Washington." Ted Balister, Inspector, Madison, Wisconsin.

Throughout the meeting Resource Board members discussed the need for better networking among each other and with other agencies that may want to learn from their experiences. Gerry Williams of the Law Enforcement Management Institute at Sam Houston State University, Texas suggested that COPS set up study tours and exchange programs so that police departments with well-established community policing programs can be visited by officers from departments needing technical assistance. This kind of activity will foster productive knowledge sharing, professional collaboration, and help departments identify resources available to fill their specific needs. Community leaders, elected officials, and members of the press could also be included in these activities.

Dennis Campa, Community Services Director of the City of Austin, Texas further suggested that four or five cities serve as demonstration sites, and agencies such as the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) could pool resources to replicate what was done in Connecticut, Pittsburgh, Florida, and California, for example. Police officers can learn best practices by actually visiting exemplary programs.

Other recommendations were that COPS sponsor regional conferences and mentoring programs to build a peer support network which would help to motivate officers and reinforce their efforts. The office could organize local or regional coordinating committees to train local and regional cadres of COPS trainees and to share ideas and strategies. Workshops and/or seminars for delivery at professional gatherings such as the National League of Cities Conference, National Mayors Conference, National Association of Counties Conference, and National Public Workers Association meetings could be prepared and delivered to facilitate inter-agency exchange programs among COPS member agencies.

Marketing

"We need to get national recognition for the positive things that are going on in police departments throughout the country. Bring in the media and provide the opportunity for creating awareness of what community policing is all about." Chief Rich Melton, Farmington, New Mexico.

Resource Board members suggested that COPS continue to educate the public and the press about community-oriented policing. COPS can network with the press at the national level through editorial board meetings and media events to garner interest in COPS. Also, they should campaign for sharing more services. Many dollars are wasted in duplicating services and resources.

Mike Petchel, Phoenix Law Enforcement added that the biggest problem for expanding community policing is elected officials who are unaware of the benefits of community-oriented policing. The same is true for community groups. It is helpful to engage them in discussions and activities that showcase community policing as well as COPS. Dennis Campa, Community Services Director, City of Austin, Texas suggested that the COPS office develop a canned presentation that departments can edit for public service announcements in their local media.

The Role Of The Resource Board

"We can be personal advocates in our communities. We can educate and involve others in this process. We can participate on coordinating councils and help share this information. We can also help by promoting discussions about community policing." Colleen Minson, Coordinator, Glendale Community Project, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Meeting participants suggested a number of specific ways in which they could assist COPS in the establishment of the various mechanisms they discussed. Officer Andrew Michaelson of Portland, Maine, for example, suggested that the members of the resource board help by opening up their departments for site visits. Also that the Resource Board continue to serve as an information dissemination entity and authority on community policing for local organizations and to network with community policing organizations. As Mike Farrell, Deputy Commissioner of Police of New York City reminded everyone, all participants have the ability to relate their experiences, successes, challenges, and future needs. The COPS office could then document these experiences and make them available as technical assistance resources for training and capacity building.

Edward Flynn, Chief of Police of Chelsea, Massachusetts added that Resource Board members also could provide effective advocacy in interactions with Mayors, City Managers, agency heads, elected officials, and Police Chiefs. They can encourage dialogue in different cities. Similarly, Bill Kirchhoff, City Manager of Redondo Beach, California stated that since community policing will have a significant impact on the city government, his contribution could be to promote community policing as a component of city government.

Diane McCoy, Executive Director, FOCUS Coalition, West Virginia listed several ways in which she as a community development specialist could support COPS. For example, she can help the police to understand communities, identify other communities in the nation that are similar to the community in which she works, and identify communities that are making a difference. Also, Marty Tapscott, Representative, NOBLE, related that his community perspective and understanding of community problems and how to work with communities enables him to provide training on how to interact with difficult communities.

Jim Trimble, Lieutenant from Hayward, California mentioned that many of the older Officers, Chiefs and Sheriffs see community policing as a fad that will only last until the money dries up. Board members need to reach that group. He has had experience with this group and can contribute to a re-education/outreach effort that should also include elected officials and the community. He could propagate the importance of cultural awareness within his organization and assist in coalition building between the police department, the community and other agencies.

R. Gil Kerlikowske, Police Commissioner of Buffalo, New York added that his knowledge of how to leverage resources from other community agencies and understanding of cost-sharing could provide expertise on training the trainers. Gerry Williams of the Law Enforcement Management Institute at Sam Houston State University, Texas suggested that he can assist by sharing his belief, commitment and vision that community policing is a fundamental change in the way police departments do business. It is the way of the future and has the potential to change our cities.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

FOCUS GROUP A

Focus group A was facilitated by Dr. Terry Zobeck.

George Crawley
Assistant City Manager
Norfolk, VA

Ellen Hanson
Chief of Police
Lenexa, KS

Jim Potter
Sergeant
Salt Lake County, UT

Rocky Watts
Sergeant
Greenville County Sheriffs, SC

Alex Longoria
Chief of Police
McAllen, TX

Brent Larabee
Chief of Police
Framingham, MA

Mike Pippin
Sergeant
L.A. County Sheriffs, CA (IUPA)

Dr. Mark Moore
Harvard University
Boston, MA

Gary Tahmahkera
Captain
Salt River Tribal Police, AZ

Barbara McDonald
Director - Research & Planning
Chicago PD, IL

Larry Findling
Lieutenant
Portland, OR

Arturo Venegas, Jr.
Chief of Police
Sacramento, CA (HAPCOA)

Jan Marie Belle
Southwest Improvement Center
Denver, CO

Kim Greco
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of Community Oriented
Policing Services

FOCUS GROUP B

Focus group B was facilitated by Dr. Heike Gramckow

Francy Chapman
Mayor
Kansas City PD, MO

Dr. Kelsey Gray
Professor
Washington State University

Gary Hines
Sheriff
Montgomery County, Ohio

Susan Herman
Director of Community Services
The Enterprise Foundation

Thomas Koby
Chief of Police
Boulder, CO

Ray Martinez
Assistant Chief
Miami, FL

Andrew Michaelson
Officer
Portland, ME

Colleen Minson, Coordinator
Glendale Community Project
Salt Lake City, UT

Susan Mowry
Lieutenant
Newport News, VA

Patrick Murphy
Police Public Policy
U.S. Conference of Mayors

Jerry Sanders
Chief of Police
San Diego, CA

Mike Scott
Chief of Police
Lauderhill, FL

Robbie Robbins
Representative
Fraternal Order of Police

Tom Windham
Chief of Police
Fort Worth, TX

Leah Gurowitz
Assistant Director, Congressional Relations
Office of Community Oriented Policing Services

FOCUS GROUP C

St. Petersburg, Florida

The focus group C was facilitated by Ed Spurlock.

Ted Balistreri,
Inspector,
Madison, Wisconsin

William Stover,
Chief,
Arlington, Virginia

Dennis Campa,
Community Services Director,
City of Austin, Texas

Jerri Zimmerman,
Neighborhoods United,
York, Pennsylvania

William Fitzgerald,
Lieutenant
Joliet, Illinois

Craig Uchida,
Assistant Director for Grants Administration,
Office of Community Oriented Policing
Services

Jerry Galvin,
Chief,
Toledo, Ohio

Ron Glensor,
Deputy Chief,
Reno, Nevada

Nathaniel Glover
Sheriff
Duval County, Florida

Paul May,
Captain,
Yamhill County, Oregon

John Mayfield,
Detective,
Bellevue, Washington

Rich Melton,
Chief,
Farmington, New Mexico

Mike Petchel,
Phoenix Law Enforcement

Dr. Jerome Skolnick,
Professor of Criminal Justice,
John Jay College, New York, NY

Dan Stebbins,
Lieutenant
Connecticut State Police

Darrel Stephens,
Chief,

FOCUS GROUP D

Focus group C was facilitated by Dr. Gail Fisher Stewart

Cornelius Behan
Executive Director
Major Cities Chiefs

Caroline Nicholls
Superintendent
London, England

Tim Bullock
Corporal
Greensboro, NC

Lori Scott-Pickens
Director, Newark Fighting Back
Newark, New Jersey

Dr. Robert Carter
Professor
University of Southern California

Mike Sylvester
Lieutenant
Little Rock, Arkansas

Greg Cooper
Chief of Police
Sanger, California

Bill Tegeler
Lieutenant
Santa Ana, California

Dr. Gary Cordner
Professor/Researcher
Eastern Kentucky University

Elizabeth Watson
Chief of Police
Austin, Texas

Tom Frazier
Chief of Police
Baltimore, Maryland

Shirley Whitworth
Executive Assistant Chief
Salt Lake City, Utah

Phil Keith
Chief of Police
Knoxville, Tennessee

Ellen Scrivner
Acting Assitant Director, Training &
Technical Assistance
Office of Commmunity Oriented Police
Services

Thomas Kirk
Superintendent
State Police, West Virginia

Gary Maas
Chief of Police
Sioux City, Iowa

Chuck Maxwell
Sheriff
Yellowstone County, Montana

Focus Group E

Focus Group E was facilitated by Robert L. Cohen, M.A.

Harry Dolan
Chief of Police
Lumberton, NC

Patrick Sullivan
Sheriff
Arapahoe County, CO

Alan Ellingsworth
Superintendent
State Police, DE

Marty Tapscott
Representative
NOBLE

Mike Farrell
Deputy Commissioner of Police
New York, NY

Jim Trimble
Lieutenant
Hayward, CA

William Finney
Chief of Police
St. Paul, MN

Dave Walchak
Chief of Police/Pres., IACP
Concord, NH

Edward Flynn
Chief of Police
Chelsea, MA

Dr. Gerald Williams
Law Enforcement Mangmt. Inst.
Sam Houston State University, TX

Robert Gonzales
Police Officer
Garden City, KS

Garrett Zimmon
Commander
Los Angeles, CA

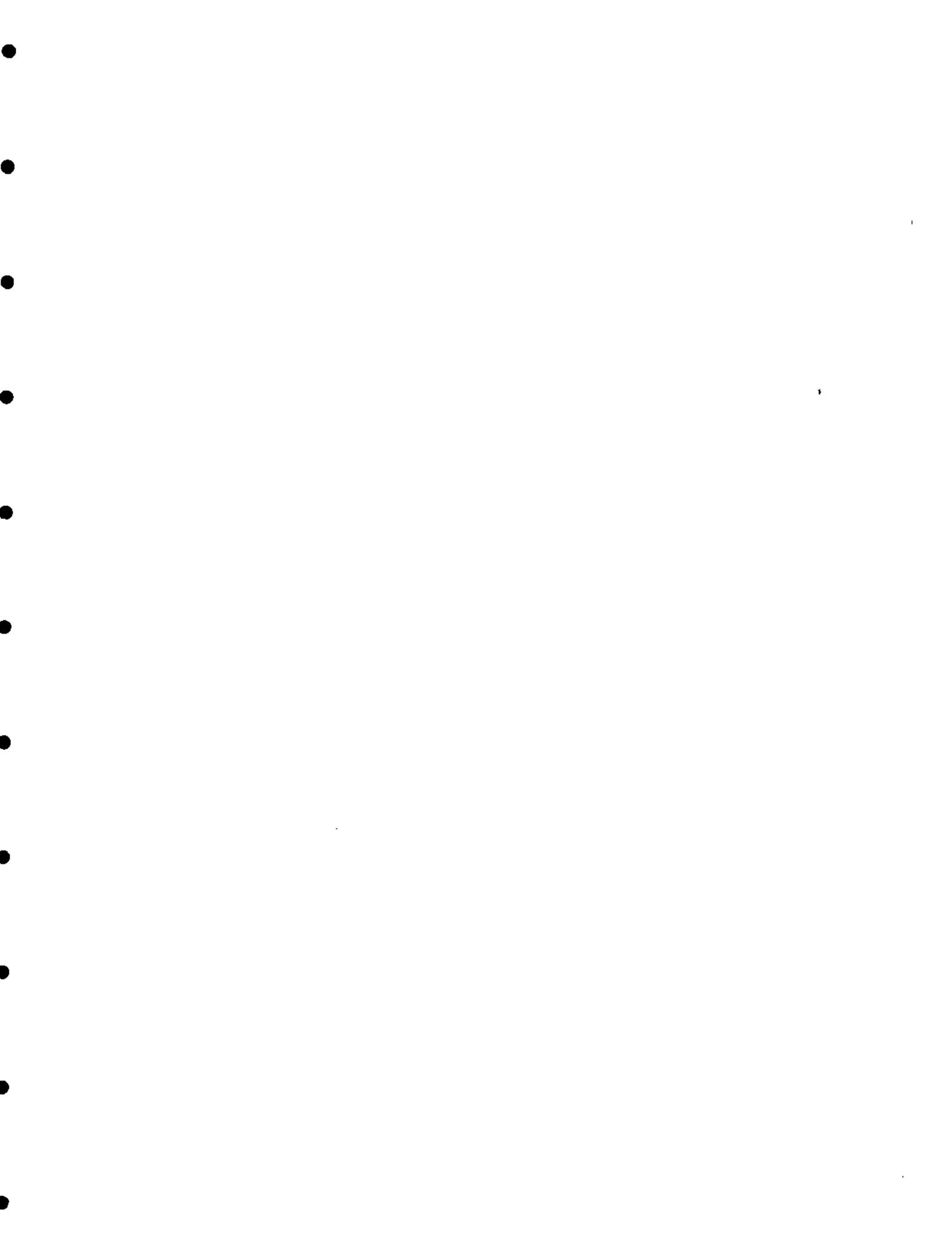
R. Gil Kertikowske
Police Commissioner
Buffalo, NY

Cynthia Caporizzo
Assistant Director, Intergovernmental
Relations/Public Liason
Office of Community Oriented Policing Services

Bill Kirchhoff
City Manager
Redondo Beach, CA

Diane McCoy
Executive Director
FOCUS Coalition, WV

Joe Polisar
Chief of Police
Albuquerque, NM



POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF CO-OCCURRING SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

Prepared for:

Executive Office of the President
Office of National Drug Control Policy
750 17th Street, N.W., Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20503

Prepared by:

CSR, Incorporated
Suite 200
1400 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

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Prepared for:

Executive Office of the President
Office of National Drug Control Policy
750 17th Street, N.W., Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20503

Prepared by:

Kate Malliarakis
Carmen Babá-Dijols
Nancy Dudley
Gail Shur Paulson
CSR, Incorporated
Suite 200
1400 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

■ October 1996 ■

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POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF CO-OCCURRING SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

For years I lived like a prisoner in my own home, fearing both my mother and father. When they wanted to get high and didn't have money for drugs, they took it out on me and my younger sister. They beat on us, and they beat on each other. I swore that when I grew up, I would never do drugs or raise my hand to another person. But here I am in drug treatment—suffering the guilt of having abused my own son for a fix.

Resident of the Amity program (Tucson, Arizona), 1990

In the last two decades, a growing body of research points to a strong association between substance abuse and family violence.* The data indicate that perpetrators of family violence frequently abuse drugs and alcohol, and their victims often abuse drugs and alcohol as well. The two disorders are similar in many respects. Both are cyclical, progressive, and escalate in their severity unless treated. Both may be passed from generation to generation, and both affect all aspects of a person's life, including family, friends, job, and home life. Both tend to involve isolation of the family. Both are often romanticized in the media. Finally, the destructive potential of both family violence and substance abuse is frequently minimized by society in general.

Whereas substance abuse and family violence behaviors do co-occur, the two are not always found together. Nor is there evidence that the nature of their relationship is causal. Some substance abusers never engage in family violence, and some perpetrators of family violence never abuse drugs or alcohol. Nevertheless, the strong relationship

*For the purposes of this paper, substance abuse is defined as abuse of drugs, including alcohol. Family violence is defined as abuse between intimate partners, spouses, siblings, elders, and children, ranging from nonphysical, controlling behavior, such as dominance, threats, isolation, and emotional abuse, to assault with weapons.

between the two behaviors warrants further research on their incidence and prevalence as well as how each can be more effectively prevented and treated. Indeed, rigorous research on the relationship between family violence and substance abuse provides a critical foundation for reaching out to the thousands of individuals and families whose lives are impacted by both.

The policies that the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) develops and implements need to be informed by the research of co-occurring substance abuse and family violence. For example, research reveals that family violence can exacerbate substance abuse behavior as well as trigger relapse.¹ By understanding more about the interplay between family violence and substance abuse, national drug policymakers will be better able to develop and implement effective law enforcement, drug prevention, and treatment approaches.

Enhanced knowledge about the connection between family violence and substance abuse will be useful in accomplishing goals 1, 2, and 3 of the President's 1996 National Drug Control Strategy. Goal 1, "Motivate America's Youth To Reject Illegal Drugs and Alcohol," involves supporting youth against social and other pressures to use drugs and alcohol. Growing up in a violent family clearly places a young person at risk for early illicit drug use and violent behavior.² A precise understanding of the association between substance abuse and family violence will help prevention specialists to further refine school- and community-based drug prevention programs.³

Goal 2 of the 1996 National Drug Control Strategy, "Increase the Safety of America's Citizens by Substantially Reducing Drug-Related Crime and Violence," refers

not only to drug-related violence on the streets, but also to drug-related violence inside the home. Many women, children, and senior citizens live in fear because of physical, emotional, or financial abuse perpetrated by a family member who is drug addicted. The first objective of goal 2 currently suggests that family violence be addressed through a problem-oriented policing approach.⁴ Additional research on family violence and substance abuse will help in educating law enforcement officers to respond more effectively to situations involving both substance abuse and family violence.

Goal 3 of the 1996 National Drug Control Strategy calls for a reduction in the "health, welfare, and crime costs resulting from illegal drug use."⁵ Improving drug treatment programs is an essential way to reduce these costs. At the very least, drug treatment professionals should be cross-trained to identify family violence issues, understand how they can function as an impediment to recovery, and work cooperatively with the family violence service delivery system. Family violence program staff, in turn, should be trained to recognize substance abuse problems, make referrals, and coordinate program efforts as appropriate.

The purpose of this report is to provide ONDCP with an overview of the pertinent issues surrounding substance abuse and family violence. This report presents (1) an overview of the problem, including the incidence and prevalence of co-occurring substance abuse and family violence; (2) the etiological or causal theories of both behaviors; (3) the modalities of prevention and treatment from both substance abuse and family violence perspectives; (4) service delivery needs for co-occurring substance abuse and family violence behaviors; and (5) a discussion of substance abuse and family violence research and data collection efforts. The final section of this report contains the following

recommendations for an ONDCP response to co-occurring substance abuse and family violence.

- Develop a compendium of research on substance abuse and family violence.
- Expand and update NIJ's PAVNET database to include the above compendium.
- Modify national surveys to collect data on co-occurring substance abuse and family violence.
- Integrate family violence and substance abuse research findings into National Drug Control Policy directives and the President's National Drug Control Strategy.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

For many years, sophisticated national survey mechanisms have measured the incidence and prevalence of substance abuse (e.g., the Monitoring the Future [MTF] study and the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse [NHSDA]). However, to date, only two national comprehensive surveys have been conducted documenting family violence—one in 1975 and the other in 1985. It should be understood that for several reasons, there are inherent difficulties in studying family violence. First, family violence includes child abuse, spouse abuse, elder abuse, and sibling abuse. Each of these aspects of family violence is usually studied separately. It is necessary, therefore, to present statistics from

a number of different sources and studies to indicate the overall degree of violence in American families.

It is also important to note that as of October 1996, no major studies have been conducted that explore the complex relationship between substance abuse and family violence. Those studies that have reported on the prevalence of substance abuse in perpetrators and victims have focused almost entirely on alcohol abuse. The few studies that have included drug use as a study variable have not produced consistent results. Because of the limitations in the existing research, the only way to present a "view" on the extent of the co-occurrence of substance abuse and family violence is through a broad range of statistics from a variety of studies.^b

Child Abuse Statistics

- The Third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NIS-3) estimated that 1,553,800 children were abused or neglected in 1993, a 67-percent increase from the 1986 estimate of 931,000. Based on the anecdotal evidence obtained through the data, illicit drug use was cited as a major contributor to this increase.⁶
- In 1975 family violence researchers Richard Gelles, Murray Straus, and Susan Steinmetz conducted the First National Family Violence Survey and

^bFor a detailed description of the major studies mentioned in this section, see the Research and Data Collection section of this report.

found that approximately 1.4 million children between the ages of 3 and 17 were victims of physical abuse.⁷

- In 1985 the Second National Family Violence Survey reported an almost 50-percent decline in child abuse reports, estimating that approximately 700,000 children per year were physically abused by their parents.⁸
- The National Incidence Survey (NIS-2) conducted in 1986 estimated that there were 507,700 physically abused children in the United States. In 1993 this number rose to 743,200.⁹

Spouse Abuse Statistics

- In 1985 a total of 30 out of 1,000 women (1.8 million or 3 percent) were severely assaulted, and 113 out of 1,000 women experienced overall violence.¹⁰
- The Commonwealth Fund's 1993 Women's Health Study conducted by Louis Harris and Associates estimated the number of women experiencing violence from their partners to be closer to 4 million.¹¹
- The Lieberman study, conducted by the Family Violence Prevention Fund, indicates that approximately 40 percent of all women report physical abuse or threats of abuse at one time or another, and 31 percent of all women report actual abuse.¹²

• The National Crime Victimization Survey, conducted for the Bureau of Justice Statistics, estimates that on average, women experience 572,032 cases of violent victimizations at the hands of intimate partners each year.¹³

Statistics on Substance Abuse as a Risk Factor for Violence

• An analysis of a subsample taken from the Second National Family Violence Survey revealed that several key risk factors for violence between intimate partners were substance abuse related, including a husband's drug use, a husband's drunkenness, and a wife's drunkenness.¹⁴

• According to Roberts,¹⁵ who conducted a literature review of early research in this area, the rate of alcohol abuse by batterers was approximately 60 to 70 percent, and the rate of drug use was between 13 and 20 percent. After marijuana, the most widely used illicit substances were cocaine and amphetamines.

• A study of 200 batterers in 4 regionally representative sites in the country revealed that although the rates of abuse were not consistent across sites, overall, 38 percent of men admitted to heavy alcohol abuse, whereas 20 percent used marijuana in the past year and 10 percent used other drugs. Consistent across sites was the fact that one-fourth of the men reported being in an alcohol or drug treatment program.¹⁶

- The National Treatment Improvement Evaluation Study, a major new study of the impact of drug and alcohol treatment on clients treated in public substance abuse treatment programs, found that approximately one-half (49.3 percent) of the respondents reported "beating someone up" in the year before treatment.¹⁷

Statistics Measuring the Effects of Substance Abuse on Violent Behavior

- Alcohol and drug use is reported to increase the severity of violent incidents.¹⁸
- A study conducted on a sample of 15,000 white men in the military who lived with partners measured severity of husband-to-wife aggression. Although alcohol and drug problems were only modestly correlated with physical aggression ($r = .50$), compared with physically nonaggressive men, more severely aggressive men reported a drug problem in the family. Drug use, even more so than alcohol abuse, appears to be a strong contributor to increased severity in violent episodes.¹⁹
- Of those wives who reported being victims of intimate violence in the Second National Family Violence Survey, 13 percent also reported having substance abuse problems.²⁰ In fact, a high proportion of alcohol- and drug-abusing women in treatment have been found to have experienced physical or sexual abuse sometime in their lives.

- Amaro and colleagues²¹ studied 1,243 pregnant women and found that 7 percent were victims of violence during their pregnancy. However, these victims were, on the average, twice as likely as nonvictims to use marijuana and cocaine and five times as likely to report moderate to heavy drinking during pregnancy.
- A longitudinal multisite study of 182 women and 148 men in outpatient substance abuse treatment reported high rates of physical abuse for both men and women. Approximately 62 percent of the women, compared with 45 percent of the men, reported having been physically abused at some point in their lives.²²

The studies described above point to widespread violence and substance abuse within American families. However, this piecemeal look at co-occurring substance abuse and family violence is inadequate and leaves many critical research questions unanswered. Fortunately, impressive and substantial new research is now being conducted in the field of family violence. At this writing, preliminary results are being compiled from a nationally representative, population-based study of 8,000 men and 8,000 women. Designed to determine the extent, nature, and consequences of various forms of violence against women, this study is the result of a collaboration between the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Specific questions within the study address alcohol and drug use behaviors by respondents and victims.²³ Clearly, until more research is conducted, the full extent of the problem of co-occurring substance abuse and family violence will not be known.

ETIOLOGICAL THEORIES

Most of what we know about the root causes, or etiology, of family violence and substance abuse has been obtained through studies that either examined the two separately or viewed them both as components of delinquency. For more than 20 years, researchers have conducted longitudinal studies examining changes in development and behavior and their attributed social, physical, educational, and environmental factors. These studies usually begin at an early stage in the developmental process and follow children and parents for a number of years. By observing individuals over time, researchers have discovered significant differences between youth and adults who become violent or turn to drug use and those who do not. In addition, researchers have been able to identify specific risk factors that contribute to violence and drug use. For example, a lack of impulse control has been noted early on in the development of violent and aggressive children, as well as in the development of substance abusers. This lack of impulse control may be attributed to a number of environmental factors, such as poor parenting practices, unstable housing or homelessness, or extreme stress in the school or community environment, as well as biological causes, such as attention deficit disorder or attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, or mental illness.

The following sections examine (1) risk factors for substance abuse, (2) risk factors for family violence, (3) shared risk factors for substance abuse and family violence, and (4) the role of substance abuse in violent episodes.

Risk Factors for Substance Abuse

Much has been written about the risk factors thought to lead to substance abuse, and several theories have been proposed over the years to account for the rise in drug use by youth. These theories include the problem behavior theory,²⁴ the social learning theory,²⁵ the social control/social bonding theory,²⁶ and the developmental stage theory.^{27,8} However, to date, the most widely accepted theory explaining substance abuse is the social development theory proposed by Hawkins and colleagues.²⁸ This theory integrates social control and social learning theories as well as child development. It describes the risk factors (antecedents) for and the resiliency factors that prevent drug use within the context of multiple societal domains—the individual, peers, family, school, and community. Exhibit 1 presents the risk factors that have been associated with substance abuse. Delinquency, physical and sexual abuse, family conflict, and low household income were frequently cited in the literature as risk factors for early involvement, and early drug use put both males and females at risk for later substance abuse.

Risk Factors for Family Violence

The social development theory proposed by Hawkins also has been used by violence prevention and juvenile delinquency researchers. Various family violence research studies were examined to find a set of risk factors that are believed to lead to family violence. Exhibit 2 shows that the risk factors associated with violent behavior are strikingly similar to those for substance abuse. The most frequently cited risk factors for family

⁸See Appendix A.

Exhibit 2 Risk Factors for Family Violence^a

Domain	Risk Factors	Male	Female
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor impulse control • Depression • Alcohol abuse • Drug use • Poor communication skills • Unemployment/low occupational status • Approval of situational violence • Pregnancy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ✓ ✓
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marital discord/marital conflict • Marital separation/divorce • Cohabitation • Authoritarian punishment styles of parents • Exposure to violence in the family as a child • Witnessing of physical abuse by father to mother • Emotional neglect • Physical abuse by parents • Alcoholic- or substance-abusing parents or family members • Physical abuse by parents with alcohol and/or drug problems • Criminal behavior by father • System of family values that devalues females • Normative approval of male violence • Low household income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
Peer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Isolation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for violent behaviors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural acceptance of family violence • Lack of social support system • General violence in the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

Shared Risk Factors for Substance Abuse and Family Violence

As Exhibits 1 and 2 indicate, not only do substance abuse and family violence share several risk factors, but it appears that substance abuse and violence function as risk factors for one another. Exhibit 3 presents shared risk factors for both substance abuse and family violence. Violent youth are more likely than nonviolent youth to use alcohol

^aKantor and Straus, 1989; Dryfoos, 1990; Amaro, Fried, Cabral, and Zuckerman, 1990; Pan, Neidig, and O'Leary, 1994; Gondolf, 1995; Bachman and Saltzman, 1995; Sedlak and Broadhurst, 1996; Shupe et al., 1987; Gelles and Straus, 1988; Carden, 1994; Roberts, 1988; Bennett, 1995; Gorney, 1989; Johnson and Belfer, 1995; Randall, 1990; Roth, 1995; Blount et al, 1994; Levy and Brekke, 1990; Fagan and Browne, 1994; Crowell and Burgess, 1996; Hotelling and Sugarman, 1990; Kandel et al., 1986; and Hotelling and Sugarman, 1986.

and other drugs, and youth who use alcohol and other drugs are more likely than non-substance-abusing youth to engage in violent behavior. Children and youth who are victims of abuse—whether they are physically abused or grow up in substance-abusing households—are more likely to use drugs; become later victims of abuse; and experience other problems, such as teen pregnancy, dropping out of school, suicide, running away, and homelessness.³⁰

**Exhibit 3
Combined Risk Factors for Substance Abuse and Family Violence¹**

Domain	Risk Factors	Male	Female
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Childhood aggression • Psychological depression, conduct disorder, or other mental illness • Unemployment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ✓ ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marital conflict/marital discord • Alcohol and drug abuse in family of origin • Approval of situational violence • Physical abuse • Sexual abuse • Low household income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ✓ ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ✓
Peer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolerance and acceptance of violence and substance abuse 		
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolerance and acceptance of violence and substance abuse 		
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence in the community • Belief in aggression-producing powers of alcohol and drugs 		

The Role of Substance Abuse in Violent Episodes

The role of substance abuse in increasing or triggering violent episodes has been examined by the research community in the context of (1) broad social and economic forces; (2) environmental settings, specifically the drug culture; and (3) the biological

¹Bennett, 1995.

processes that underlie all human behavior.³¹ Unemployment, underemployment, and poverty can act as stressors on family living and frequently are cited in studies of violence and substance abuse.³² The community as a whole may accept, tolerate, or deny the presence of substance abuse and family violence within their own ranks, creating a climate that may portray violence as a normal means of interaction with family members and friends. Tolerance of violence, in fact, becomes a matter of adaptation and survival in neighborhoods dominated by the drug culture, and, as could be expected, family conflicts arise from illicit drug involvement and increase the likelihood of violence in the home.³³ Finally, genetic factors have been proven to transmit a biological disposition for alcohol and substance abuse; research also has revealed that violence can result from severe mental illnesses (e.g., antisocial personality disorder).

Research points to differences between drugs and their potential role in violent episodes. Of all psychoactive substances, alcohol is the only one whose use has been commonly shown to increase aggression.³⁴ This finding should be noted with caution, however, because researchers also have observed that the combination of social and economic forces, along with a given environmental setting, can interact powerfully with almost any drug to produce increased and more severe episodes of violence. This is especially relevant to the use of cocaine and ice (i.e., methamphetamine).³⁵

MODALITIES OF PREVENTION AND TREATMENT

The treatment and prevention of both substance abuse and family violence are similar in many ways. Both emphasize the need to break the participant's denial of the consequences of their destructive behavior. Both approaches require clients to learn new

social and psychological skills to replace dysfunctional behaviors. Both emphasize group treatment in support groups and therapeutic treatment groups.³⁶ Finally, both often are mandated by the court system.

The philosophies of substance abuse and family violence treatment programs differ in several distinct ways. One major difference is that while substance abuse treatment stresses the addict's powerlessness over drugs and alcohol, recovery from family violence emphasizes the need for self-control on the part of the perpetrator and the need for empowerment on the part of the survivor. However, both treatment approaches stress personal accountability and the need for accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's behavior.

Family violence and substance abuse prevention professionals attempt to lower risk to and increase resilience against these two related problems. Key to both types of programming is a balance of teaching directed at knowledge, attitudes, and behavior, with an emphasis on practice and skills building.

Substance Abuse Treatment

The major types of treatment currently provided in the United States are chemical dependency (CD) programs, therapeutic community (TC) programs, methadone maintenance programs, and outpatient programs. In practice, each type of treatment is tailored to match the circumstances and needs of the patient; often, combinations of approaches are used.³⁷ The Center for Substance Abuse Treatment recommends that all

treatment programs include these five key components: assessment, patient-treatment matching, comprehensive services, relapse prevention, and program accountability.³⁸

This paper will describe two of the most widely used treatment modalities, CD and TC. Both program types share abstinence as a common goal, encourage the client to take primary responsibility for his or her recovery, and offer a supportive environment.

CD treatment programs—also known as the Minnesota Model, 28-day programs, 12-step program, or Hazelden-type treatment—adhere to the belief that alcohol and other drug addiction is a progressive disease. These programs use relapse prevention strategies and a variety of behavioral, cognitive, and educational techniques. Conversely, TC programs are more behavior-modification oriented and offer long-term residential treatment that includes housekeeping and other responsibilities as an important facet of recovery.³⁹

Both CD and TC treatment programs stress the need for approaching substance abuse recovery as a long-term process. Followup or aftercare usually extends the relapse prevention process begun in treatment. An effective aftercare program can strengthen the recovery process by preventing relapsive thinking patterns, in which thoughts of “controlled” drug use are entertained.

Substance Abuse Prevention

During the 1960s and 1970s, most primary substance abuse prevention programs were single-focused interventions aimed at increasing information about drugs and at changing attitudes by addressing the consequences of alcohol, tobacco, and other drug (ATOD) abuse. During the 1980s, many new school-based models focused on enhancing

individual deficiencies, such as poor interpersonal skills, peer resistance skills, decisionmaking skills, and knowledge of ATOD use and other health issues.⁴⁰ A consensus now exists among researchers that one intervention alone will not prevent ATOD use. Furthermore, most substance abuse prevention specialists believe that different programs are effective with different types of youth under various conditions.⁴¹

Researchers believe that substance abuse is most effectively prevented through a risk-focused approach.⁴² This approach involves identifying the risk factors for drug use and the methods by which risk factors have been effectively addressed and then applying these methods to appropriate high-risk and general population samples in controlled studies. Recently developed programs attempt to provide a variety of services at more than one level of intervention (e.g., individual, peer, family, school, and community).

Family Violence Treatment

The family systems model and the individual recovery model are the two current models for treating spouse abuse. Assumptions behind these two models differ greatly, and substance abuse treatment providers addressing these issues should be familiar with the differences. The family systems model operates on the beliefs that (1) domestic violence is the result of a dysfunctional family relationship; (2) violence is a learned behavior, but the interactions between the individuals are reciprocal; and (3) the unit of treatment is the interacting family members or partners. Proponents of the individual recovery model disagree with the family systems approach to treatment. They believe that (1) spouse abuse is the result of a perpetrator who uses violence to resolve conflict as a way to dominate and control another person; (2) violence is a learned behavior and can

be replaced by other behaviors; (3) family dysfunction is a result of the violence, not the cause of it; (4) treatment must be given to the victim and perpetrator separately; and (5) the dynamics of recovery are separate for each partner.⁴²

Family Violence Prevention

The violence prevention field has gleaned much from the more established field of substance abuse prevention. Often the skills promoted in violence prevention programs within schools and communities are similar to those included in substance abuse prevention. Parenting, decisionmaking, problemsolving, stress and anger management, and conflict resolution training provide children, youth, and parents with basic coping skills. In addition, violence prevention programs include discussions on family violence, victimization, oppression, power and control, and gender issues.

SERVICE NEEDS FOR CO-OCCURRING SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

When both substance abuse and violence occur within a family, the identification, treatment, and followup phases of recovery are even more difficult to manage. Violence and substance abuse damage the family system, making it closed, rigid, and shame-based. Families experiencing the dual disorders frequently function through unhealthy dynamics of denial and secrecy. Victims of family violence, in particular, tend to behave with a skewed sense of loyalty toward their abuser(s). This cloak of family dysfunction makes it hard to identify and assess the nature and extent of the substance abuse and family violence problem(s). Furthermore, when both family violence and substance abuse

behaviors must be uprooted, the work of relapse prevention becomes even more complex. Clearly, an active alcoholic or addict cannot work on issues surrounding power, control, and violence while drinking or using drugs, and a sober alcoholic/addict cannot remain in recovery while continuing violent or abusive behaviors.

Program Needs for Substance Abuse and Family Violence

Because substance abuse and family violence do co-occur, community treatment programs must be designed to address both issues. Adequate mechanisms must be in place for identifying family violence within substance abuse treatment programs and vice versa. It is also critical, however, that each behavior disorder be treated independently, because treatment of one behavior should not supplant treatment of the other. In fact, the belief that substance abuse treatment will extinguish violence is unsound and potentially dangerous. Assessment and intervention for cross-problems should be considered a quality assurance issue. Addiction programs that do not formally assess and intervene to terminate current violence are, at best, operating in an unsatisfactory manner and, at worst, are irresponsible. The same may be said of family violence programs that do not take substance abuse into account.⁴⁴ This is especially true in the case of women who admit to being victimized in abusive relationships.⁴⁵ For their treatment to be effective, individual therapy and single-sex group sessions can assist in dealing with highly personal and gender-based issues of abuse.

There are indications that coordination is increasing between the substance abuse and family violence service systems. Often court systems will refer male abusers to both substance abuse treatment and family violence treatment. However, many treatment

programs for batterers will not admit a spouse abuser who also has drug and alcohol problems until he has completed substance abuse treatment.

Barriers to Cooperation Between Substance Abuse and Family Violence Programs

A recent study of barriers to cooperation between family violence and substance abuse programs conducted by Bennett and Lawson found that substance abuse program staff were much less likely to link with and refer clients to family violence programs than family violence program staff were to link with and refer clients to substance abuse programs.⁴⁶ Differing philosophies on the issue of self-control were cited as the biggest impediment to coordination. Specific barriers to cooperation between substance abuse and family violence programs included the following:

- Lack of formal linkage and referral mechanisms;
- Competition for funding between the programs;
- Beliefs and attitudes of program staff; and
- Lack of cross-training opportunities for staff at family violence and substance abuse service programs.

Bennett and Lawson suggest that a study of attitudes and beliefs about family violence and substance abuse would provide insight on how the staff at substance abuse and family violence programs could more efficiently communicate with each other.⁴⁷

Examples of Coordinated Family Violence and Substance Abuse Programming

Substance abuse programs are just now beginning to screen for and identify family violence issues as a routine matter. Treatment programs for women in particular have taken the lead in this area. At this point, most substance abuse programs feature domestic violence issues as adjunct features to the basic CD program. Whether domestic violence and substance abuse services should be fully integrated deserves more research. At the very least, however, accurate identification and referral of substance abusers and perpetrators of violence should occur within the medical, criminal justice, and other social service systems on a routine and regular basis.

The following four programs share a common vision of coordinated service delivery. They were all established more than 10 years ago in response to the service needs in their respective communities.

The Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) of Duluth, Minnesota, brings together the legal system (e.g., police and prosecutors); the judicial system (e.g., judges, probation officers, and court clerks); and community groups (e.g., women's shelters and mental health agencies) to develop and implement a comprehensive community response to domestic assaults. DAIP also shifts the responsibility for imposing sanctions on the assailant from the victim to the community and develops a consistent interagency response to the assailant that communicates the message that such behavior will not be tolerated and, if continued, will result in harsher penalties.

DAIP coordinates with women's shelters to refer advocates to the victim to ensure her safety and to obtain vital information, including any history of violence and substance abuse within the family. DAIP facilitates court-ordered substance abuse treatment of offenders and closely monitors their compliance with policies, protocols, and procedures. DAIP coordinates "key players" meetings every 6 months to review the operations of the coordinated community response. DAIP's success has been documented in several evaluations, and the project is widely recognized as a model of integrated service delivery.

Womankind is an innovative program for battered women in a private suburban hospital in the greater metropolitan area of Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota. The program grew out of a need for a better system for identifying and treating battered women within the health care system. Initially women were referred only through the hospital emergency room; they now are referred from throughout the hospital and surrounding community. A large number of women are referred from hospitals' psychiatric units, where women undergo detoxification, substance abuse treatment, and therapeutic care for mental disorders. *Womankind* provides a 25-hour training program for health care professionals that includes separate educational modules on substance abuse and family violence. One of the program's key objectives is to connect women with a variety of services that they may need within the community, including substance abuse programs.

The Quincy Court Model operates within the superior court system of Quincy, Massachusetts. Its goal is to create a climate of intolerance for family violence within the criminal justice system and throughout the community. When appropriate, judges impose strict sanctions and comprehensive orders on perpetrators of family violence,

including mandatory abstinence from alcohol and drugs and random urine testing. The offenders often are required to pay for specialized treatment and alcohol and drug testing. The Quincy Court Model unites the activities of all criminal justice and social service agencies through joint training, shared office space, coordinated investigative and courtroom strategies, cross-referrals, joint administration, and regular communication.

The Milwaukee Women's Center is a woman- and minority-governed nonprofit organization. Founded in 1980 as a shelter for battered women and their children, the Milwaukee Women's Center has established comprehensive, quality services to support families affected by family violence. The center offers three programs designed to provide case management intervention. It also offers the "Safe at Home" Community Education and Prevention Program, which provides presentations, training, and in-service education on domestic abuse. The Resolutions Outpatient Clinic program, is a State-certified mental health and alcohol and other drug use outpatient clinic specializing in family violence.

New initiatives have begun across the country to raise awareness about the shared relationships between substance abuse and family violence and to bring together providers from different professions. One example is the Montgomery County Community Partnership Against Substance Abuse, which recently began a new effort to educate the community on the co-occurrence of substance abuse and family violence. The Partnership is currently sponsoring joint events and seminars with Montgomery County's Abused Person's Program.

RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION

The Family Violence Surveys conducted in 1975 and 1985 painted a picture of widespread violence and substance abuse within American families, but questions surrounding the nature of the relationship, the true extent of co-occurrence, and the effects of the interaction between the two remained unanswered. Recently, research on family violence and drug abuse was limited to preventing violent behaviors among youth involved in delinquency and drug use. With the passage of the 1994 Crime Control Act containing the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), the parameters of federally funded research on family violence and related behaviors were broadened. The VAWA specifically mandates several initiatives that will centralize family violence data collection efforts, increase survey research, and encourage exploratory research in causes and correlates. In addition, there will continue to be a need for systemic research on the increasing numbers of collaborative efforts springing up around the country.

The following sections discuss (1) measurement of substance abuse, (2) measurement of family violence, (3) family violence research initiatives, (4) limitations in the existing family violence research and (5) efforts for improving family violence research.

Measurement of Substance Abuse

Several indicators of the prevalence and incidence of substance abuse are used to guide national, State, and local policy. Two annual surveys, the MTF study and the NHSDA, are used to inform the public, government officials, researchers, and program

planners about the trends in drug and alcohol use reported by American youth and families. The NHSDA reports on the prevalence, patterns, and consequences of drug and alcohol use in the general U.S. civilian, noninstitutionalized population over age 12. The MTF collects data from high school and junior high youth. Both studies collect data on the use of illicit drugs, the nonmedical use of legal drugs, and the use of alcohol and tobacco products. The Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) provides semiannual estimates of the number of drug-related visits to hospital emergency departments based on a nationally representative sample of short-stay general hospitals. DAWN also collects data on drug-related deaths for 40 metropolitan areas.

Information about treatment facilities and services as well as client characteristics is obtained through the three components of the Drug and Alcohol Services Information System. The National Facility Register is used by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration and by many States as the main identification mechanism for treatment and prevention facilities. The Uniform Facility Data Set includes organizational, structural, financial, and services data on public and private substance abuse treatment facilities. The Treatment Episode Data Set includes data on clients admitted to substance abuse treatment programs. The Drug Use Forecasting survey, conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice, surveys inmates in the prison system on alcohol and drug use.

These data collection and monitoring systems can signal a change in drug-use patterns before survey findings are analyzed, and therefore policymakers can more accurately target prevention, interdiction, and treatment efforts.

Measurement of Family Violence

No comparable system of data collection, monitoring, and measurement exists for family violence. In fact, relatively few national population-based studies have been conducted on the prevalence of domestic violence. Although findings from these few studies form the basis for the statistical knowledge in the field and are widely used and cited, a number of problems exist with the research methods used, and it is important to understand their limitations.

Two national population-based surveys documenting family violence were conducted in 1975 and 1985 with American couples who were either married or cohabiting. In 1975 family violence researchers Murray Straus and Richard Gelles began to use a measurement tool, the Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS), to determine the prevalence and severity of abuse between intimate partners. The CTS was used in the First Family Violence Survey conducted in 1975 on a nationally representative sample of 2,146 family members. These interviews were conducted fact to face; however, in 1985 another nationally representative sample of 6,002 individuals were interviewed by telephone. Both surveys used the CTS to measure how couples resolve conflicts, but slight modifications were added to the 1985 survey instrument. To obtain the 1985 sample, researchers selected a representative sample of 4,032 households, with an oversampling in 25 States. African-American and Hispanic households also were oversampled.⁴⁸

More recent surveys include the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), conducted annually for the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS); The Commonwealth Fund Survey on Women's Health; and the Lieberman Study. The NCVS is based on a national

sample survey of women and includes 400,000 interviews, making it the most comprehensive source of information about the experiences and consequences of violent crimes against women. Family violence is covered specifically in questions that probe violence by intimate partners and family members. In response to claims that the study's findings regularly produced underestimates of violence between intimate partners, the BJS spent 10 years redesigning the survey instrument and began using a new instrument in January 1992. Questions were added to the instrument that asked greater detail about violence they had experienced at the hands of family members.⁴⁹

The Commonwealth Fund Survey on Women's Health was conducted by Louis Harris and Associates in the winter of 1993. More than 2,500 women and 1,000 men were interviewed across the Nation about health attitudes, behaviors, and practices. Questions were included about domestic violence and child abuse; mental health issues, particularly depression and suicide; and alcohol and drug use. To allow for a more detailed analysis of minority groups, the sampling frame included an oversample of 405 Hispanic women and 439 African-American women.⁵⁰

Lieberman Research, Inc., a national public opinion firm, recently conducted a series of surveys commissioned as a joint effort by the Family Violence Prevention Fund and the Advertising Council to assess prevalence of domestic violence, as well as public attitudes and knowledge about domestic violence, before launching a media advertising campaign. Wave II, conducted from November 1994 to February 1995, conducted telephone interviews of 982 women and men ages 18 to 65. The sampling frame included oversampling for Hispanics, African-Americans, and Asian-Americans. Wave III, conducted in November 1995, consisted of telephone interviews with a gender-stratified

national sample of 742 respondents ages 18 to 65. Two separate samples were used—a random national sample of interviews with 610 respondents and an augment sample of interviews with 132 respondents living in California.⁵¹

As mentioned in the Overview of the Problem section, the most recent research to date is as yet unreleased. Violence and Threats of Violence Against Women in America is a study being conducted by the Center for Policy Research in Denver with funding from NIJ and CDC. The study involves telephone interviews with a national probability sample of 8,000 Spanish-speaking and English-speaking women and 8,000 Spanish-speaking and English-speaking men in American households. While the findings from this study are not available for inclusion in this paper, ONDCP should be aware that respondents were asked specific questions pertaining to substance abuse:

- Both male and female respondents were asked about their alcohol and drug use during the last 12 months. Drugs included tranquilizers; amphetamines; antidepressants; prescription pain killers; marijuana; and recreational drugs, defined as crack-cocaine, heroin, or angel dust.
- Female respondents were asked how often their current partner drank alcohol.
- Both male and female respondents were asked about the events that triggered their most recent violent episode. According to Pat Tjaden, the study's principal investigator, respondents often cited drug or alcohol use as a precipitating factor in domestic violence.

Both male and female respondents were specifically asked whether their partner was using drugs and/or alcohol at the time of the most recent incident for both physical assault and sexual assault, as well as whether they themselves were using either substance at the time of the most recent incident.⁵²

Analysis of responses to these questions will enable researchers in the family violence and substance abuse treatment and prevention fields to learn more about the prevalence and incidence of the co-occurrence of these two problems.

Family Violence Research Initiatives

Family violence has been addressed in isolation at the local, State, and national levels, with very different viewpoints. In addition, the design of policies and approaches targeted at family violence has been based on how the problem is perceived at a particular time. For example, the *U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report* and the *Final Report of the Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence*—published in 1982 and 1984, respectively—represent the basis of legislative development that allows for implementation of programs, interventions, and services with different degrees of comprehensiveness and coordination.

The CDC also has focused attention on the study of family violence and injury prevention. In 1994 the CDC was funded to increase its efforts in family violence prevention. This approach responds to the view of violence as a public health problem

and the need for a comprehensive approach to violence that complements approaches used by criminal justice, education, and other disciplines.⁵³

NIJ, a long-time, lone supporter of this type of research through its Family Violence Research Program, has funded a number of small local and multisite studies that explore the relationship between substance abuse and family violence. NIJ has funded the following recently completed or ongoing research work related to substance abuse:

- *Parental drug testing in child abuse cases.*—This study examines the use of parental drug testing to assist service providers in preventing further maltreatment in child abuse cases.
- *Role of alcohol and drug use in domestic violence.*—This study examines assumptions about offenders, patterns of offending, and the role of substance abuse among offenders entering the court system.
- *Prevalence and consequences of child victimization.*—This project includes a survey of a nationally representative sample of adolescents and their parents assessing victimization and its consequences. Results should improve our understanding of the development of serious behavioral problems, including substance abuse and delinquency.

NIJ has led a collaborative effort to disseminate and share information on violence and violence-related efforts across the country. This project, the Partnership Against Violence Network (PAVNET), combines the resources of the U.S. Departments of Health

and Human Services, Justice, Agriculture, Housing and Urban Development, and Education to produce a database of prevention and treatment programs and funding sources. The data, which were produced in 1994 in a two-volume set, are available on the Internet.

Limitations in the Existing Family Violence Research

Limitations in the existing family violence research undermine the extent to which the field can successfully coordinate with other research specialists and service providers, including substance abuse researchers and providers. Three of the major limitations in existing family violence research are discussed below:

Exclusion of Populations From Study Samples

A leading family violence researcher⁵⁴ notes that most national surveys underestimate the problem of domestic violence, because data are obtained from self-reports during telephone interviews that exclude people who are poor or have limited English-speaking abilities; are in military families; have chaotic lives; and are hospitalized, homeless, institutionalized, or imprisoned.

Self-Report Bias

Self-report bias can contribute to an underreporting of family violence by both victims and perpetrators. Walker⁵⁵ found that survey instruments frequently are not sensitive to

issues of gender response styles; she believes that women tend to overreport their own violent behavior, whereas men underreport theirs.

Differing Philosophies

The differences in perspectives among the various types of researchers have led to many misunderstandings and have contributed to reported difficulties in working together toward common goals. For example, family violence researchers measure the amount of violence within the family environment and have concluded that both men and women commit acts of violence against each other.⁶⁶ Feminist researchers, however, find such units of measurement to be flawed; first, because respondents are not queried on the reasons why they use violence and, second, because "units of severity" contain several levels of violent behavior that are simply not comparable.⁶⁷

Efforts for Improving Family Violence Research

Various Federal agencies and private institutions convened workshops and meetings during 1995 to address the limitations in existing family violence research and fragmentation of delivery systems. Many of these meetings have included plans for further research efforts. Three of the major workshops/meetings effort are described below:

- In 1995 the National Research Council and the Institute of Medicine held a workshop entitled "Service Provider Perspectives on Family Violence Interventions." Participants noted that formal scientific evaluations often

are not available to determine the effectiveness of intervention programs in the domestic violence field. The participants stressed the need for more detailed descriptions of intervention goals, strategies used to achieve specific goals, institutional barriers to case recognition and service implementation, and hypothesized outcomes that could serve as a basis for further research and improvements in service efforts. This type of research would be useful particularly in the development of training efforts for service providers.

- In March 1995 NIJ convened a Violence Against Women Strategic Planning Meeting. One of the papers presented highlighted a research project that will examine the role of alcohol and drug use in domestic violence.

Specifically, the study will evaluate the impact of the specialized treatment court strategy on its misdemeanor target population. The research also will test the impact of a newly integrated treatment approach that combines substance abuse treatment with the violence reduction treatment approach. Finally, this study will test the hypothesis that substance-abusing domestic violence offenders who undergo this treatment approach, which integrates substance abuse treatment with domestic violence treatment, will record more favorable outcomes. This research recognizes that substance abuse plays an important role in this type of offense and that recent lessons about its treatment should be integrated into an overall approach to domestic violence offenses. Results from this study are expected later this year.⁵⁶

- In 1995 NIJ and BJS jointly sponsored a project to assess State and Federal data on domestic violence and sexual assault in response to two components

of the VAWA. The objectives of the study were (1) to identify the methods that States could use to collect and store information uniformly on the incidence of domestic violence and (2) to examine the problems of statistical recordkeeping at the Federal level for domestic violence-related criminal complaints. A panel of experts from diverse fields provided recommendations and guidance to the study. Each State was surveyed regarding domestic violence data collection systems, and the results were analyzed. Thirty-five States currently collect domestic violence data; however, survey findings indicated that broad differences existed in how offenses were defined, how counting was conducted, and how incidents were reported or measured. In addition, some States had statutes for family violence and included child victims, whereas others limited their data collection to adult victims. Some States collected data on both males and females, as well as on individuals in diverse living situations and in all possible relationships, whereas other States placed exclusive restrictions on the victims and abusers their data collection covered. These discrepancies resulted in the collection of data that may not be comparable or suitable for aggregation at the national level for estimates of prevalence and severity.⁵⁹

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN ONDCP RESPONSE TO CO-OCCURRING SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

Although a number of recent initiatives have been undertaken to explore the relationship between substance abuse and family violence, much work remains to be done. The fact is that illicit drug use has not been a regular variable under study in research examining the links between violent behavior and substance abuse. As a result, relatively

little is known about the causal and correlational effects of illicit drug use on family violence. What can be concluded at this time is that (1) more research is needed to determine the precise ways that the two variables of violent behavior and drug use interact with each other and (2) linkages must be formed between the substance abuse and family violence prevention and treatment communities.

The following recommendations have been prepared as a guideline for an ONDCP response to co-occurring substance abuse and family violence:

1. ***Develop a compendium of research on substance abuse and family violence.***—ONDCP and other key policymakers should be aware of all research linking substance abuse and family violence. While this white paper describes several past and present research initiatives into this area of study, it merely presents an overview of the major research efforts. Detailed information on family violence and substance abuse should be compiled in a directory with abstracts of research studies organized by year and funding source; the directory would also provide key contact information and dissemination of findings. In addition, an annotated bibliography of books, chapters, articles, and reports could be produced in an appendix. This compendium would serve as a companion piece to the ONDCP directory "Responding to Drug Use and Violence: Helping People, Families, and Communities."
2. ***Expand and Update NIJ's PAVNET database.***—The scope of the NIJ database, PAVNET, should be expanded to include the research abstracts compiled in the compendium described above, as well as working partnerships between substance

abuse prevention and treatment and family violence programs. PAVNET provides an ideal central location for up-to-date information and would be a natural link between the program and research communities. A possible manager for this component might be the National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors (NASADAD), which is well suited to surveying and extracting information from substance abuse treatment centers.

3. ***Modify national surveys.***—Most surveys question respondents on violence and substance abuse as separate matters. Few pose inquiries about family violence and substance abuse as it co-occurs. Currently the Department of Justice is working to modify various existing survey efforts. ONDCP could suggest that work already underway at the Justice Department be supplemented. A panel of national survey experts could be appointed to add appropriate family violence and substance abuse focused questions to existing national surveys. For example, the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, the Youth Risk Behavior Survey, and the Monitoring the Future Study could all include items on family violence. In addition, special efforts could be made to include representative data on special populations.

4. ***Integrate research findings into National Drug Control Policy and the President's National Drug Control Strategy.***—ONDCP could formally acknowledge the research-based association between substance abuse and family violence and integrate such findings into the President's National Drug Control Strategy. First, the Strategy could expand its current discussion of drug-related violence to include not only violence in the streets, but also within the home, with

a special focus on substance abuse-fueled violence within the American family.

Second, the Strategy could promote the enhancement of drug prevention and treatment services through (1) increased research on family violence and substance abuse and (2) increased coordination and collaboration between the two fields.

Specific recommendations for improving drug prevention and treatment efforts could include the following:

- *Strengthen collaborative efforts between substance abuse and family violence professionals.*—In general, because of philosophical differences, the substance abuse treatment and the family violence fields have rarely worked together to treat families. Collaborative efforts, such as jointly sponsored conferences, training workshops, and seminars, would provide opportunities for substance abuse and family violence professionals to become familiar with current issues and service needs. In addition, research and program efforts that address both problems should be encouraged.
- *Promote cross-training of family violence and substance abuse staff.*—All staff in substance abuse treatment programs should receive training in family violence identification, treatment, and prevention. Issues of abuse should be incorporated into the curricula of treatment programs.
- *Encourage protocols for family violence prevention in substance abuse treatment centers.*—Substance abuse treatment centers must establish procedures for assessing, identifying, and treating clients who have issues

relating to abusive family relationships. Batterers must be held accountable for their actions, but they also must be assisted in developing healthy ways to cope with stress, anger, and family relationships. Victims must be heard and acknowledged, and provisions for their safety should be firmly established in the program's structure. At the very least, treatment programs should be equipped to screen clients for issues of abuse and refer them to appropriate family violence providers in the community.

- *Recommend development and improvement of family violence and substance abuse assessment tools.*—Family violence issues can impede recovery from substance abuse and trigger relapse. For drug treatment programs to become more effective and comprehensive in their response, assessment tools must be developed and improved to assist clinicians in appropriately identifying and monitoring the respective problems. An example of this type of work is a project funded by NIDA, "Toward a Case Management and Crisis Prevention Software" which systematically analyzes case information over time on the events in women's lives that lead up to different types of crises, including domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, and homelessness. The goal of this project is to develop case management procedures to prevent these crises and to develop supporting case management software.
- *Require drug testing of all perpetrators of family violence.*—Tests for alcohol levels are generally administered to all perpetrators of family violence. A comprehensive law enforcement response to family violence, however, should

also include drug testing. ONDCP could recommend the routine administration of drug tests to all batterers arrested in family violence situations. Positive findings could assist judges in making appropriate referrals for substance abuse programming.

A comprehensive ONDCP response to co-occurring family violence and substance abuse will take time. Of greatest priority is the inclusion of the issue in the President's 1997 National Drug Control Strategy to be released in February 1997. Second, ONDCP could work throughout calendar year 1997 with DOJ and HHS, as appropriate, to accomplish: (1) the National Survey modification process; (2) the drug testing requirement for family violence perpetrators; and, (3) the enhanced collaboration between family violence and substance abuse service providers. Development of a Compendium of research on substance abuse and family violence and its integration with NLI's PAVNET will most likely require an 18 month time line and could begin in March of 1997.

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APPENDIX A

THEORIES OF ETIOLOGY FOR DRUG ABUSE AMONG YOUTH

Extensive research has been conducted over the past 20 years on the causes and predicating events or circumstances placing children and youth at risk of developing alcohol and other drug problems. During that time various etiological theories and models have been proposed to explain deviant behavior and to promote changes in behavior. Many of these theories were advanced through longitudinal research studies and built on the work of existing research from several fields. The following three theories developed by Jessor and Jessor, Nye, and Kandel have played important roles in advancing the field of substance abuse prevention research.

- The problem behavior theory¹ states that three systems (i.e., personality, environment, and behavior) interact to produce different degrees of problem behavior. The social learning theory² describes problem behaviors as learned through association with others who model the undesirable behavior. The rewards received for that behavior influence the likelihood that the individual will continue the behavior.
- The social control/social bonding theory³ sees life choices as a balance of controls and costs and proposes that social institutions, such as the family, school, church, and workplace, teach appropriate behaviors to children and that as children mature, they are rewarded by these systems and accept the rules of these institutions as their own. However, when these institutions fail to provide standards and teach acceptable behavior, children will not learn socially acceptable behavior.

- The developmental stage theory⁴ suggests that different antecedents and influences are associated with each developmental stage of adolescence.

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