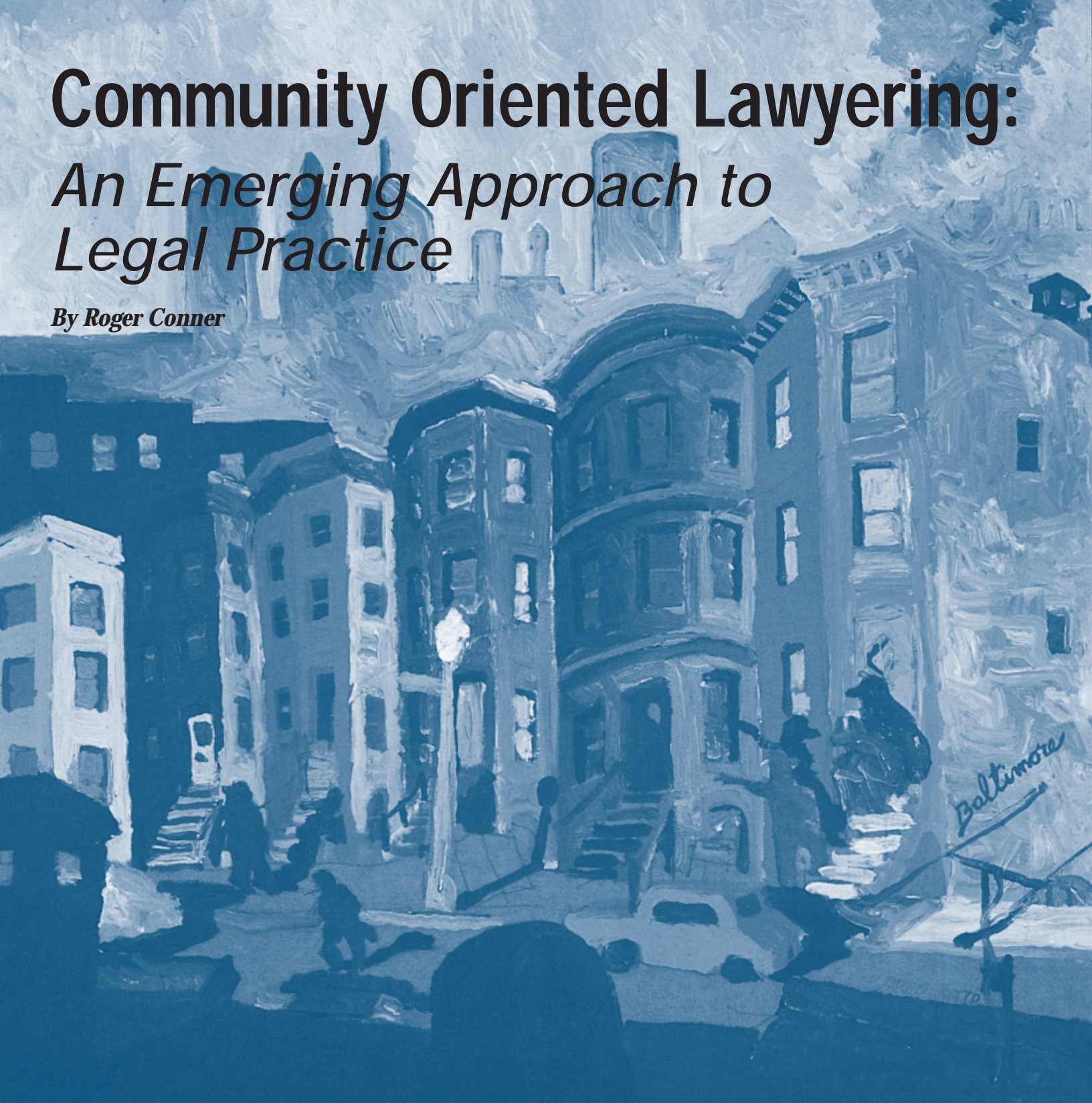


# Community Oriented Lawyering: *An Emerging Approach to Legal Practice*

By Roger Conner



## COMMUNITY LAW CENTER

Lawyers for Baltimore Neighborhoods



*“City Street,” by Greg Otto.  
Courtesy of the artist, with permission of the  
Baltimore Community Law Center*

In the 1980's, a number of police departments began to experiment with a new approach that shifted away from the traditional reactive response and toward proactive problem solving in partnership with the community. In the 1990's, a strikingly similar development has appeared among lawyers whose work affects public safety. Innovative practitioners have begun to move from an exclusive focus on case processing toward addressing problems in concert with neighborhood residents. There are now enough of these attorneys, and their work is so distinctive, that it appears a new form of legal practice is emerging: community oriented lawyering. Thus far, however, there has been little public or scholarly awareness of their work and the breadth of the changes under way.

## The Trinidad Story

Wilhelmina Lawson, a neighborhood activist in Washington, D.C.'s Trinidad neighborhood, has been at ground zero in one of the new lawyering experiments. She is convinced that lawyers hold a key to restoring hope and health to troubled neighborhoods.

## The War for the Neighborhood

To those who have traced the course of the crack crisis, Ms. Lawson is a familiar figure: An African-American grandmother with the courage of a warrior and the moral authority of a priest, battling drug dealers with a broom and a telephone. For years she and her allies fought against open-air drug markets, sweeping up beer cans and drug debris by night and deluging public officials with phone calls and letters by day. As she tells it, these efforts were going nowhere until prosecutors began to see their work through the eyes of

## about the author

Roger Conner, J.D., is a visiting fellow at the National Institute of Justice and former Executive Director of the Center for the Community Interest.

This article was adapted from a presentation made before the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) at a symposium sponsored by the NAS Commission on Social Sciences and Education, Committee on Law and Justice, held July 15, 1999. The author invites comments, which can be sent to [RLConner@aol.com](mailto:RLConner@aol.com), or mailed to Roger Conner, National Institute of Justice, 810 7th Street, NW., Washington, DC 20531. Support for this work was provided by NIJ grant 99-IJ-CX-0002.

Trinidad residents. Building on lessons learned from experiments in Portland, Oregon, New York City,<sup>1</sup> Kansas City, Missouri, and other places,<sup>2</sup> U.S. Attorney Eric Holder<sup>3</sup> created a "community prosecution" pilot project in 1996. He assigned a team of prosecutors responsible for developing crime-fighting strategies in partnership with the neighborhood and the police, in addition to screening and prosecuting cases from the police district that included Trinidad.<sup>4</sup> Police reorganization—along the neighborhood lines based on the Compstat model<sup>5</sup>—came shortly thereafter.

## Enter Reinforcements

Veteran homicide prosecutor Stephanie Miller, reassigned to work in Holder's community prosecution unit, recalls her response to early meetings with Trinidad residents. "They couldn't see much effect from what we were doing. At first I thought they didn't understand. My office downtown was filled with lawyers working incredibly long hours to get dangerous criminals off the street. But I came to realize there was a disconnect between the problems that made neighborhoods unsafe and the decisions we were making as prosecutors."

Community lawyering transformed the day-to-day work of line attorneys. Individual prosecutors began to discover how various actors, groups of actors, and places in the neighborhood were linked to crime. For example, while interviewing a witness to a crime, one of Miller's colleagues discovered that the leader

of a violent gang, who had eluded police for years, had lured several 12- and 13-year-old girls into sexual liaisons. Soon the gang leader found himself in prison for unlawful sexual relations with a minor. Violence in Trinidad plummeted.

## New Weapons and Tactics

Prosecutors also began to evaluate cases differently. Their charging decisions began to be influenced by the potential to solve neighborhood problems in addition to the potential years of incarceration. On learning that a chronic inebriate was intimidating two entire city blocks, the community prosecutor went to work and unearthed a pending charge on the verge of dismissal and an outstanding probation violation. Faced with the prospect of time behind bars, the defendant agreed to enter treatment. For the affected blocks, the results were immediate and noticeable.

Working with city agencies, prosecutors became advocates on neighborhood problems that lay beyond their jurisdiction, such as trash-filled lots, nuisance properties, and a park without lighting or play equipment. Trinidad's next big break, according to Lawson, came when one of the city's largest law firms "adopted" the neighborhood's civic group. In just 2 years, the firm, Shaw Pittman, helped Trinidad Concerned Citizens for Reform close 17 crack houses, prevent the licensing of a night club, negotiate a lease for a new neighborhood center, obtain nonprofit status, and persuade the parks department to



*New neighborhood center about to open in Washington, D.C.'s Trinidad neighborhood. The lease for the center, in an abandoned liquor store, was negotiated by a pro bono law firm. The Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) divided the city into public safety areas (PSAs), of which Trinidad is number 508. Photo courtesy of Lieutenant Robert Tupo, Washington, D.C. MPD.*

pick up trash and repair lights in the local park. “Now, people listen to us because we can make things happen,” Lawson said. “And I thank these attorneys from Shaw Pittman and the prosecutors’ office for that.”

Crime has declined markedly in and around Trinidad.<sup>6</sup> Murders fell from 12 in 1995 to 3 in 1999. Captain Ross Swope, the local Patrol Sector Commander, thinks he knows why: “There is a level of commitment and cooperation that was never there in the past” among police, prosecutors, and the community, he said. “Without community prosecution these relationships rarely develop.” Researcher Barbara Boland, who has studied community prosecution in several cities, including Washington, D.C., agrees. She notes that the partners worked together so closely that it is impossible to separate the lawyers’ contribution to this outcome—lower crime—from that of the police officers and the community.

## Integrating Old and New

Community oriented lawyering is distinctive in integrating a new approach with the conventional advocate’s role. (For a summary, see “Traditional Practice and Community Lawyering Compared.”)

The basic unit of work is different. Community oriented lawyers think in terms of the problems of particular people and places, not just crimes and cases. They think beyond the individual drug sale to the drug market itself; beyond the civil action for termination of parental rights to the woman who seems trapped in a cycle of abusive relationships.

The definition of success has changed. Previously, success was a simple concept: Win the case, secure the benefit, resolve the complaint in a way favorable to the client. For community oriented lawyers the bottom line is solving problems, increasing neighborhood

safety, preventing crime, improving the quality of life, and fostering economic development.

The relationship to the community is different. In the new paradigm, the community helps define what is important, what constitutes success. The new breed of lawyers are, however, not so much *controlled* by the community as *oriented* to it, listening actively to victims, service providers, criminal justice researchers, offenders (and skeptics). And they see the community as a potential partner in solutions, not merely a passive complainant.

Collaboration with other groups is frequent and intense. In more conventional practice, lawyers work alone or in small groups (of lawyers). Once they shift to solving problems and generating outcomes, they discover that success depends on educating, persuading, cajoling, meeting, sharing information, and even sharing power with other agencies and organizations, public and private.

The tool kit is larger. The new breed of lawyers treats conventional case processing as a tool, not an end in itself. They use civil remedies, invent new forms of action, create new organizations (community courts, for example), mobilize neighborhood residents, educate victims, use nonadversarial remedies; in other words, whatever it takes. They are much more likely than their peers to rely on negotiated, voluntary compliance.

The key question is different. The lawyer in conventional practice asks, “What happened?” Community oriented lawyers ask, “What’s happening?” In other words, the angle of vision is profoundly different: One is trying to assign responsibility for what *has* happened, the other to reshape what *will* happen.

## Why Now?

Perhaps the most important single factor setting community lawyering in motion is a growing sense of futility among lawyers who could not help noticing the enthusiasm generated by community policing. The lawyers involved note the convergence of several other forces as well: The crack crisis and the ensuing, more rigorous drug enforcement produced crushing case loads, convincing prosecutors, judges, and defenders to change their strategy. Increased understanding of the need for intervention to break the cycle of crimes rooted in addiction, childhood sexual abuse, and untreated mental illness also played a part.

Important constituencies were pressing for change as well. The continued hemorrhaging of human and financial resources from our older cities generated political and even monetary support. The growing demand from low-income neighborhoods for public safety and economic renewal forced public- and private-practice lawyers to shift priorities. The widespread movement to reinvent government has had its effect as well, as have timely investments of Federal funds for such locally based initiatives as the Office of Justice Programs' Weed and Seed program and the Bureau of Justice Assistance's Comprehensive Communities Program and Community Prosecution Program.

## Who Are the Practitioners?

The new approach is not confined to prosecutors and *pro bono* attorneys. The settings are remarkably diverse, but what all these lawyers have in common is a conscious effort to generate outcomes the community values, in ways consistent with their roles and professional ethics.

## Traditional Practice and Community Lawyering Compared

	Traditional— Case Orientation	New—Community Orientation
<b>Unit of work</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Crimes</li> <li>▪ Cases</li> <li>▪ Complaints</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ People</li> <li>▪ Problems</li> <li>▪ Relationships</li> </ul>
<b>Definition of success</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Win cases</li> <li>▪ Uphold rule of law</li> <li>▪ Be fair and impartial</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Reduce severity of the problem</li> <li>▪ Improve quality of life for individuals and micro-communities</li> <li>▪ Restore relationships</li> </ul>
<b>Community role</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Source of clients and witnesses</li> <li>▪ Complainants</li> <li>▪ Political support</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Influences priorities</li> <li>▪ Helps define what constitutes success</li> <li>▪ Necessary partner</li> </ul>
<b>Extent of inter-agency collaboration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Limited to high-visibility cases, “issue <i>du jour</i>”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Frequent, intensive</li> </ul>
<b>Tools</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Investigation</li> <li>▪ Negotiation</li> <li>▪ Litigation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Community mobilization</li> <li>▪ Training (e.g., police, citizens)</li> <li>▪ Civil remedies</li> <li>▪ Negotiated voluntary compliance</li> <li>▪ Motivating agency cooperation</li> </ul>
<b>Favorite question</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ What happened?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ What’s happening?</li> </ul>

**Prosecutors.**<sup>7</sup> Developments in two cities exemplify the work of the community prosecutor. In Portland, Oregon, “neighborhood district attorneys” work on quality-of-life problems in the neighborhoods where they are assigned. The problems have ranged from a sudden rash of car thefts near the downtown to chronic drug markets to street prostitution. For each, they have come up with innovative solutions. The drug markets, for example, were handled through stay-away orders issued to all dealers when they were arraigned. In Boston, attorneys working for the district attorney, the U.S. Attorney, and the State’s attorney general all contributed to the city’s dramatic

reduction in homicide. They did so by changing their charging practices to support police and probation officers’ warning to probationers, parolees, and released felons that infractions would mean certain prosecution and a high probability of a prison sentence if they persisted.<sup>8</sup>

**City/County Attorneys.** Seattle city attorney Mark Sidran believes municipal lawyers are well positioned to be advocates for solutions where police need cooperation from city agencies or when the law does not equip police with the tools they need. For example, Seattle police found that issuing criminal citations to people who violate alcohol and

noise restrictions in parks was not effective, since arrest warrants would not be issued until months later. Sidran came up with a solution that worked: Drafting an ordinance allowing officers to issue *civil* orders banning rule violators from all nearby parks for up to 7 days.

**Police Legal Advisors.** Most larger police departments have staff attorneys whose time is spent on such matters as union issues and abuse of force lawsuits. But in a handful of departments, they are being assigned to help officers with problem solving. In New York City, the police department now boasts more than 50 precinct-level lawyers who develop civil remedies to tackle problems ranging from noisy establishments to car theft rings to consumer fraud. The Charlotte and San Diego police departments have added lawyers to fashion civil remedies when properties such as liquor stores, nightclubs, and multifamily dwellings are not well managed.

**Lawyers in Other City Agencies.** In other municipal agencies there are lawyers who can choose to address neighborhood problems strategically. In Baltimore, civil and criminal housing code enforcement is the province of lawyers in the city's Housing Department who are cross-designated as city solicitors and State's attorneys. Staff Director Denise Duval has reorganized her staff along geographic lines, requiring that they get to know neighborhood leaders face-to-face. With more than 10,000 outstanding code violations, she has developed a simple priority system: The office's every action must be part of an overall strategy for neighborhood improvement that has the support of both residents and relevant city agencies.

#### Public-Interest Law Groups.

In Baltimore, a new kind of public interest law firm has emerged that represents neighborhood organizations rather than individual residents of low-income areas. The Community Law Center has used civil actions to close down hundreds of heroin shooting galleries and board up vacant houses, helped numerous neighborhood groups to incorporate and to develop comprehensive crime control strategies, and developed such new legal tools as nuisance abatement and receiver-ship.<sup>9</sup>

**Legal Services.** Legal aid lawyers frequently are faulted for protecting drug dealers, but in North Carolina, Piedmont Legal Services has taken a new route. They represent community groups that bring civil suits demanding responsible behavior from owners of properties that harbor drug dealing and spawn violence. One defendant was a community development corporation that had allowed its shopping center to fall into disrepair.

**Pro Bono Lawyers.** Lawyers are expected to volunteer a certain number of hours of service, and most of this *pro bono* work involves representing individual indigent clients. But some law firms in Washington, D.C., are taking entire neighborhoods as clients. The Shaw Pittman firm, noted earlier for its work in the Trinidad neighborhood, is an example. The District of Columbia Bar Association's Community Economic Development Project recruits lawyers to represent community development corporations and small, nonprofit developers.

Cadwalader, Wickersham and Taft, New York City's oldest law firm, wrote a 500-page manual on civil

remedies for attacking open-air drug markets. Davis, Polk and Wardwell, another major New York law firm, represented public housing resident associations in their struggle to tighten rules for evicting drug dealers. Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering has represented neighborhood groups throughout the country in upholding ordinances on crime and quality-of-life issues. The Los Angeles office of Latham and Watkins conducted the research for a precedent-setting civil suit to control gangs.

**Law School Clinics.** Here too, lawyers are finding ways to advance the interests of the community as well as those of individual clients. Harvard Law School's Community Enterprise Project helps small businesses as well as nonprofits to restore the economic health of low-income neighborhoods. At the University of Maryland, the Law School's Housing and Development Clinic represents community organizations in Baltimore's empowerment zone. Twenty percent of law schools have clinical programs that promote neighborhood economic development.<sup>10</sup> The Community Legal Resource Network, a consortium of four law schools, is developing models for private, fee-paid attorneys to help meet community needs.

**Defense Lawyers.** A growing group of public defenders is beginning to view their job differently.<sup>11</sup> Jim Hennings, director of the Metropolitan Defender Service in Portland, Oregon, explains why: "The same people kept cycling through my office, and the only change was the sentences got longer. My goal now is for the client to be better off after he leaves than when he came in, independent of the dis-

position of the criminal case.” In recent years he has chosen to spend precious budget dollars on addiction and education specialists rather than lawyers, and an evaluation of the client’s assets and social service needs begins with the first interview. The public defender’s office in Nashville, Tennessee, operates its own drug treatment program in jail and has a case manager to assist mentally ill clients after their release.

**Judges.** Generating outcomes the community values might seem at odds with the notion of having an impartial third party. By tradition, judges try to be insulated from community pressure. But in community courts, drug courts, and many family courts, judges maintain contact with offenders and sometimes victims over an extended period, taking on the roles of coach, parent, and mentor as well as impartial jurist.

In drug courts, for example, judges measure success by the number of recovered addicts, not by the number of cases processed. Such changes in judges’ behavior are not confined to specialty courts. One trial judge in New York routinely delays felony drug distribution cases for nonviolent offenders when she is convinced the defendant is making a commitment to drug rehabilitation. California Chief Justice Ronald M. George concedes that court-community collaboration “is not risk-free.” On the other hand, he said, it can give citizens “a sense of ownership...that will help ensure that the independence of the courts is maintained.”<sup>12</sup>

## The Risks

Community oriented lawyering is not without its pitfalls. The very attributes that distinguish it—the focus on outcomes, the collaborative approach, the flexibility—introduce new difficulties.

## For More Information

The following organizations can be contacted for information about their involvement in community problem solving:

### Community Prosecution

National District Attorneys Association  
99 Canal Center Plaza, Suite 510  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
703-549-9222  
<http://www.NDAA-APRI.org>

### Courts and Judges

Center for Court Innovation  
351 W. 54th Street  
New York, NY 10019  
212-373-8099  
<http://www.courtinnovation.org>

Judicial Council of California  
Special Task Force on Court/  
Community Outreach  
455 Golden Gate Avenue  
San Francisco, CA 94102-3660  
<http://www.courtinfo.ca.gov/programs/community>

National Association of Drug Court Professionals  
901 N. Pitt Street, Suite 370  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
888-31NADCP  
<http://www.drugcourt.org>

National Center for State Courts  
300 Newport Avenue  
Williamsburg, VA 23185  
757-253-2000  
<http://www.ncsc.dni.us>

### Defender Programs

Project for the Future of Equal Justice  
Holistic Services Project  
National Legal Aid and Defender Association  
625 K Street, NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006  
<http://www.equaljustice.org>

### Nongovernmental Community Oriented Law Projects

Community Law Center  
2500 Maryland Avenue  
Baltimore, MD 21218  
410-366-0922  
<http://www.communitylaw.org>

Community Legal Resource Network  
CUNY School of Law  
65-21 Main Street, Room 009  
Flushing, NY 11367  
718-340-4451

National Association for Public Interest Law  
2120 L Street, NW, Fourth Floor  
Washington, DC 20037  
202-466-3686  
<http://www.napil.org>

David Castro  
Neighborhood Legal Defense Project  
Center for the Community Interest  
115 Petrie Avenue  
Rosemont, PA 19010  
610-581-0143  
e-mail: [dc@communityinterest.org](mailto:dc@communityinterest.org).

### Community Lawyering

As part of his fellowship project, the author created a Web site to gather resources and encourage communication among specialties. Visit <http://www.communitylawyering.org>.

### Publications

Center for Court Innovation, *Overcoming Obstacles to Community Courts: A Summary of Workshop Proceedings*, Bureau of Justice Assistance Monograph, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1998 (NCJ 173400).

Judicial Council of California, *Dialogues: Courts Reaching Out to Their Communities—A Handbook for Creating and Enhancing Court and Community Collaboration* (includes video), San Francisco, CA, 1999. Copies are available by calling 415-865-7654, or by e-mailing [jack.urquhart@jud.ca.gov](mailto:jack.urquhart@jud.ca.gov).

Sigmon, Jane N., et al., *Adjudication Partnerships: A Guide to Successful Cooperation*, National Center for State Courts, National Legal Aid and Defender Association, and American Prosecutors Research Institute, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1997 (NCJ 178405).

Spangenberg, R.L., and M.L. Beeman, *Improving State and Local Criminal Justice Systems: A Report on How Public Defenders, Prosecutors, and Other Criminal Justice System Practitioners Are Collaborating Across the Country*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, October 1998 (NCJ 173391).

## New Outcome Measures Needed

The new lawyering plays havoc with standard tools of evaluation. It is easy to count cases won, lost, and processed as a measure of success, but there is no common language to describe what community oriented lawyers do, no taxonomy to classify problems. Research has produced some detailed descriptions of community prosecutors' work, but neither researchers nor practitioners have developed a metric for the increments of progress to be expected from good community oriented lawyering.

Practitioners need and want help from researchers to develop tools for answering hard questions about resource allocation: What proportion of the lawyers in an office should spend time on problem solving or strategic thinking in place of, or in addition to, case processing? Should a police department spend its discretionary budget dollars for an additional lawyer, another officer, or new technology? Should the housing agency add more inspectors or more attorneys? If a drug court is half as "efficient" at processing cases, is it worth the expenditure if another judge must be added to handle the case load? Is community oriented lawyering a specialty practice for a few or an approach that should transform entire offices? And so on.

## Ensuring Equity

At what point might a community focus threaten fairness and equal treatment? These lawyers have enormous discretion. Prosecutors decide whom to charge and for what crime. Municipal lawyers select which neighborhood problem will be the priority for their attention. *Pro bono* lawyers must choose which project will receive their time. When one drug dealer or nuisance property is

given special attention instead of another, on the basis of community impact rather than existing guidelines, charges of discrimination may arise.

## Confronting Skepticism

The new approach is not without its critics. Some of them contend the lawyers will not really listen. Others are concerned that communities will have undue influence. And, as with the introduction of community policing, there is substantial initial resistance among lawyers. Often lawyers report that their problem solving is not valued by their offices or their peers, and they are not recognized by the law schools, by their profession, or by their key constituents. Some endure ridicule; others are accused of "selling out." In more than one instance low "stats" have placed a project or office at risk for funding cuts.

## The Opportunities

Evidence collected to date is entirely anecdotal, but it suggests that community oriented lawyering could help address some very serious national problems.

## Maintaining Legitimacy

There is a growing concern among some scholars about a loss of legitimacy for the justice system, felt especially in low-income, minority communities.<sup>13</sup> Evaluation work by Catherine Coles and George Kelling indicates that community oriented prosecution in Boston dramatically enhanced trust in the entire justice system—not just the prosecutors—on the part of residents in minority neighborhoods.<sup>14</sup> It may be that the system appears arbitrary when the choices lawyers make are *not* oriented to outcomes the community values.

## Restoring Morale

There has been much hand-wringing by lawyers and academics in recent years about lawyers' unhappiness with their work. This is especially pronounced in offices where lawyers feel like cogs in an assembly line. By contrast, the single most common observation of those involved in community oriented lawyering is that they like their job. Salt Lake City prosecutor Cheryl Luke reports that before she adopted a community prosecution approach the typical line attorney left after 18 months. Now she cannot persuade her staff to accept promotions to more conventional lawyering jobs.

Harvard Law professor Mary Ann Glendon is not surprised. Lawyers face constant pressure to be "hardball litigators," but, she writes, "many of the most rewarding moments of law practice occur when a lawyer devises a viable solution to a problem that has brought a client to wit's end, or when [lawyers] resolve a conflict in a way that expands the pie for all concerned."<sup>15</sup>

## Ultimate Goals?

During a focus group session, one participant ventured that the goal of community oriented lawyering is "something like peace for troubled neighborhoods."<sup>16</sup> Wilhelmina Lawson agrees. She longs for the peace of mind that comes from having a safe place to live, worship, work, and play. "The big change in Trinidad," she said, "is that now we have hope that we can get there."

NCJ 180080

## Notes

1. Boland, Barbara, "Community Prosecution: The Portland Experiment," in *Community*

- Justice*, ed. David Karp, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998; and Boland, Barbara, "The Manhattan Experiment: Community Prosecution," in *Crime and Place: Plenary Papers of the 1997 Conference on Criminal Justice Research and Evaluation*, NIJ Research Forum, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, July 1998:51-67 (NCJ 168618).
2. For experiments in Kansas City and elsewhere, see Coles, Catherine M., and George Kelling, with Mark Moore, "Prosecution in the Community: A Study of Emergent Strategies—A Cross-Site Analysis," final report submitted to the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, September 1998 (grant 95-IJ-CX-0096). Copies can be obtained either from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service or by e-mailing [edward\\_gomeau@harvard.edu](mailto:edward_gomeau@harvard.edu).
  3. In Washington, D.C., the U.S. Attorney serves as the city's district attorney.
  4. An evaluation of the Washington, D.C., experiment was conducted by Barbara Boland. See her report, "Community Prosecution in Washington, D.C.: The U.S. Attorney's Fifth District Pilot Project," final report submitted to the National Institute of Justice, August 1999 (grant 97-IJ-CX-0058).
  5. The Compstat (computer statistics) model of crime control was pioneered in New York City. A special police department unit compiles and analyzes crime statistics by area, tracks crime patterns, and meets regularly with precinct commanders to devise responses tailored to area-specific patterns.
  6. Boland, "Community Prosecution in Washington, D.C."
  7. Two panels on community prosecution were presented at NIJ's 1999 conference on criminal justice research and evaluation. To obtain a transcript, e-mail [RLConner@aol.com](mailto:RLConner@aol.com) or visit <http://www.communitylawyering.org>.
  8. See Kennedy, David, "Pulling Levers: Getting Deterrence Right," *National Institute of Justice Journal* 236 (July 1998): 2-8. Some prosecutors are becoming more community oriented without significant reorganization or additional resources. See Glazer, Elizabeth, "Thinking Strategically: How Federal Prosecutors Can Reduce Violent Crime," *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 26, 3 (March 1999):573.
  9. Blumenberg, Anne, and Brenda Bratton Blom, "A Co-Production Model of Code Enforcement and Nuisance Abatement," in *Civil Remedies and Crime Prevention (Crime Prevention Studies, Vol. IX)*, ed. Lorraine Green Mazzerolle and Jan Roehl, Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press, 1998:261; and Artigiani, Erin, *Revitalizing Baltimore's Neighborhoods: The Community Association's Guide to Civil Legal Remedies*, Baltimore, MD: Community Law Center, 1996. The guide is available at <http://www.communitylaw.org>.
  10. This finding is from a survey conducted by the author as part of his fellowship project.
  11. Taylor-Thompson, Kim, "Effective Assistance: Reconceiving the Role of the Chief Public Defender," *Journal of the Institute for the Study of Legal Ethics* 2 (1999):199. An example of innovative defense work, the Neighborhood Defender Service of Harlem, is described in Anderson, D.C., *Public Defenders in the Neighborhood: A Harlem Law Stresses Teamwork, Early Investigation*, Program Focus, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1997 (NCJ 163061).
  12. Open letter to court leaders, April 15, 1999, in *Dialogues: Courts Reaching Out to Their Communities—A Handbook for Creating and Enhancing Court and Community Collaboration* (includes video), by the Judicial Council of California, San Francisco, CA, 1999.
  13. See American Bar Association, *Justice Initiatives: The Courts, the Bar, and the Public Working to Improve the Justice System*, Chicago, 1999; Cole, David, "Race, Policing, and the Future of the Criminal Law," *Human Rights* (summer 1999); and Moore, Mark H., "The Legitimation of Criminal Justice Policies and Practices," in *Perspectives on Crime and Justice: 1996-1997 Lecture Series, Volume I*, Research Forum, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1997:47-74 (NCJ 166609).
  14. Coles, Catherine M., and George Kelling, "New Approaches to Fighting Crime: Prevention Through Community Prosecution," *The Public Interest* (summer 1999):69.
  15. Glendon, Mary Ann, *A Nation Under Lawyers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994):106.
  16. The focus group session was conducted by the author as part of his fellowship project.