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COMMUNITY BUILDING MEASURES: HOW POLICE AND NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS CAN MEASURE THEIR COLLABORATION

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COMMUNITY BUILDING

Police and community residents share a common concern for maintaining safe, quality neighborhoods. Practitioners and researchers assume that the police and groups in the communities in which the police work can "jointly produce" certain public safety outcomes, such as feelings of safety or fear, levels of disorder and crime, and levels of trust and cooperation. There is sufficient research on policing impacts to suggest that the police, even working alone, can effect crime, disorder, fear, and satisfaction with the police, for limited periods of time. This same research indicates that police alone cannot maintain those temporary improvements in communities unless something else occurs in the neighborhood. The ultimate goal in police-community collaboration is getting that "something else" to occur.[1]

That something else that sustains a community over the long-term is known as "community capacity".[2] We think of community capacity as, "*the extent to which members of a community can work together effectively, including their abilities to develop and sustain strong relationships, solve problems and make group decisions, and collaborate effectively to identify goals and get work done*".[3] Another way of thinking about community capacity is the old saying about the hungry peasant, "give him a fish, and he is full today but hungry again tomorrow; teach him to fish, and he need never be hungry again." Neighbors observing the police reduce crime is not the same as neighbors gaining experience in controlling crime with the police. Some things that the police do to reduce or prevent crime may promote dependency of the citizenry on the police and thereby reduce the strength of civic institutions, even if they have short term positive effects on crime. Other things the police may do to reduce or prevent crime may promote

neighborhood resident experience in civic engagement that strengthens civic institutions and allows residents to solve other problems in the future. When police make this contribution to civic engagement, we can talk about police community building. "Community building" processes are community activities that build community capacity.

"INSERT EXHIBIT 1 HERE"

The strategy of the Police Community Interaction Project (PCIP) has been to identify general processes of community building and then to ask how the police might be involved in such community processes.[4] PCIP has defined five major community building dimensions in which the police are often active. These dimensions recognize different ways in which the police can interact with community groups that improve community capacity. These interactions are highlighted in Exhibit 2. The five community building dimensions are interactions that police or neighborhood groups can strategically work to develop. Both police departments and neighborhood organizations may exert a degree of control over these interactions. They are also measurable interactions. Measuring them can help immensely in planning, implementation, and assessment.

"INSERT EXHIBIT 2 HERE"

There are considerable differences in attention to these police-community interactions across cities and among neighborhoods in a single city. The intensity of these interactions may ebb and flow over time. At some points, the interaction may be very intense, while at other times the interaction is dormant or almost non-existent. Discovering and measuring such variation in these processes across cities and within a

single city is very important for understanding how these processes relate to improved safety, quality of life, and citizen satisfaction. These processes are important for "measuring what matters" about policing.[5] One goal of PCIP is to develop user-friendly measurement tools, so police departments and community groups can individually assess their interactions along these five community building processes, with modest or no help from researchers.

DIMENSIONS OF POLICE COMMUNITY BUILDING

Steps to Improve Neighborhood Space. The first community building process listed in Exhibit 2, Steps to Improve Neighborhood Space, is a set of interactions that occur between thousands of police departments and communities.[6] For example, police and district residents in Chicago hold meetings to prioritize problems in each beat and set up projects to work on each one. With the help of researchers from Northwestern University, they examined how often these projects are successful.[7] In an effort to reduce crimes often attributed to negligent tenants and landlords, co-productive efforts between the police and community groups in Seattle, Portland, Indianapolis, and other cities have developed training for landlords in screening tenants.[8] Police in San Diego have developed problem solving teams who work with residents, beat officers, and other agencies to identify specific problems, examine why they occur, and take steps to remove the causes of these problems.[9] In some cities, the range of issues that police and neighbors work on are narrow. Perhaps their primary concern is a single issue like neighborhood beautification or targeting drug houses. In other cities police-neighborhood partnerships may involve coordination on multiple issues pertaining to

crime, economic revitalization, education, and cultural awareness. Research has found that groups with broader agendas attract and retain more members and last longer.

Steps to improve neighborhood space often represent attempts to break the disorder-fear-crime cycle that Skogan (1990) and others have linked to neighborhood decline.[10] Thus, for example, public housing residents in Spokane, Washington worked with the police, city officials, and local business owners to clean the streets, renovate and inhabit several abandoned buildings and close the neighborhood to drug dealing and prostitution. Survey and observation data indicated that these changes to the neighborhood resulted in greater use of public space and reduced fear of neighborhood crime.[11]

Steps to Identify with Neighborhoods. One of the most common recognizable developments in policing deployment and tactics over the past twenty years has been steps to identify with neighborhoods. Decentralizing police facilities[12], assigning beat officers to neighborhoods, utilizing geographically displayed crime data, and holding community meetings are all interactions that increase the recognition of neighborhoods as unique and deserving of individualized attention. Such strategies are often common components of a community or problem oriented policing strategy, although they may be used on their own as well. For example, in Spokane police in several districts introduced "COP Shops" staffed by police and residents in some public housing complexes.[13] The Indianapolis police department realigned almost all beats so that officers were not responsible for parts of several neighborhoods but instead worked within one neighborhood or with all parts of two neighborhoods. In several places, locations of major roads hampered the realignment. Indianapolis officers were unsure about who

should take ownership of the split neighborhoods, and discovered residents complained about not knowing the police as well as where alignment was successful. In Chicago, community meetings play a significant role in their Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). There are monthly beat meetings in Chicago attended by beat officers and residents of those beats, who then discuss what is happening in the area and work to solve problems. The Police District command staff in Chicago also meets monthly with District Advisory Councils. According to Chicago beat meeting attendance figures, the total accumulative attendance from 1995 through 1997 was more than 250,000 residents and a citywide survey in 1998 reported that 14% of Chicagoans attended at least one beat meeting in the previous year.[14] The CAPS effort is certainly working to improve identification with Chicago neighborhoods although the actual collaboration in the meetings still needs improvement.[15]

Steps to Encourage Resident Efforts. The third community building process listed in Exhibit 2, Steps to Encourage Resident Efforts, is critical to building community capacity and increasing civic engagement. Many departments have been spreading messages about the importance of community involvement and actively recruiting resident participants to assume active community roles. The Chicago Police Department and the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety trained thousands of residents across the city in the nature of "community policing" in that city and in problem solving processes.[16] Indianapolis Neighborhood Resource Officers in the West District provide neighborhood association leaders with letters of introduction and support that the leaders use in searching for contributions to neighborhood events from the business community. Residents in one Chicago neighborhood erected a lemonade stand on a block known for

drug dealing. Extra police patrols on the block helped this effort by ensuring the safety of the stand operators. In Houston, as part of a national fear reduction program, the Houston Police Department organized a resident organization in the Langwood neighborhood.[17]

Encouragement is not a "one-way" process; the active participation of neighborhood residents often encourages initial police partnerships, and reinforces police and resident commitments toward working together. The Fairlawn neighborhood of Washington, DC, implemented citizen patrols as a deterrent strategy to address increased drug dealing. Local police provided protection for the early citizen patrols by walking with them and soon realized the perseverance among the Fairlawn Coalition members. Resident perseverance in turn bolstered police activities in the neighborhood, which ultimately improved police-resident communication over drug investigations and helped further a creative, problem solving partnership.[18]

Steps for Resident Participation. The practice of police-community "partnership" and "co-production" would certainly need to involve Steps for Resident Participation, the fourth community building process. In Birmingham, businesses seeking licenses or zoning approvals must obtain approval of the relevant neighborhood association, whose leaders are elected in an open vote of neighborhood residents. For the Englewood District in Chicago, a District Advisory Council was established by the Chicago PD, co-chaired by the Police District Commander and a local religious leader.[19] The Englewood Council's agenda of issues focused on social and economic problems and police contributed to this broader agenda of community development projects. Although vitally important for the development of trust and effective co-production, building resident

participation can be contentious. For example, in Lawrence, MA, citizens who were organized by the Police Department to participate in community policing grew frustrated when the only action the police asked of them was to call the police when they knew of suspicious activity.[20] In the Marquette District of Chicago, in contrast to Englewood, the Advisory Council meetings were only open to members and special guests. Conflicts between African American and Hispanic members of the Council emerged and were not addressed. The Marquette Council focused almost entirely on crime issues and when citizen members of the Council wanted to compare approaches to crime in different beats in the district the police refused.[21] While meaningful resident participation is essential to building community capacity, agency attempts at limited or token avenues for participation can backfire.

Steps for Coordinating Organizations. The final community building process listed in Exhibit 2, Steps for Coordinating Organizations, is an interaction widely recognized as important for effective problem solving. Multiple resources and expertise may be needed to address complex neighborhood problems. In San Diego, officers involved a large number of public and private agencies in solving specific problems.[22] The Mayor's Office in Chicago devised an information system by which to track follow-up by other city agencies on problems identified by the police and residents in beat meetings.[23] Special police officers in Spokane worked with school officials to reduce problem behavior in and around schools.[24] Police in Fairfax, VA coordinated referrals to drug treatment agencies.[25]

In Indianapolis, former Mayor Stephen Goldsmith recognized that the city had many neighborhood organizations and leaders and a variety of public and private service

providers but that there were few mechanisms for coordinating the activities of the neighborhood organizations and these service providers.[26] Additionally, the neighborhood organizations were largely staffed by part-time volunteers with few resources for community building activities. Consequently, he initiated the Front Porch Alliance (FPA) that created a support mechanism within city government to coordinate neighborhood groups, city services, and service providers, and to provide training and technical assistance for neighborhood associations. The Alliance enabled the formation of the Indianapolis Ten Point Coalition, a group of inner-city ministers working with neighborhood leaders to address violence, gang activity, and youth crime. Modeled on a similar Coalition in Boston, Ten Point was based on the premise that churches represented one of the strongest institutions within these neighborhoods and that they could contribute to community building by working together.[27] Ten Point became very active in a wide variety of activities including mentoring, vocational training and job placement, and intervening in neighborhood conflicts.

Given these processes, police-community partnership efforts could be characterized by one or all of the five community building steps. Stressing only one of the community building steps in police-community coproduction efforts may not generate increased community capacity and impact public safety, or cause only short-term impacts. More comprehensive coproductive strategies, addressing all five police community building steps are more likely to create long-term, sustainable community improvements.

WHY MEASURE POLICE COMMUNITY BUILDING?

Reason # 1: To Better Understand Process

Police organizations interact with a variety of individuals and organizations to identify and address important goals in arrangements increasingly known as "partnerships". Partnerships sound good but partnerships frequently overlook the importance of process, or the assessment of how the partners worked together to achieve a goal or to solve a problem. Measuring or recording the steps taken, the persons and organizations involved, and the resources contributed to identifying and addressing neighborhood problems provides valuable information for future police and citizen efforts in problem solving. Information on the process of how groups worked together to solve problems is akin to a roadmap. In order to get from point A to point B it is more efficient to understand the processes used in the past to achieve that goal rather than having to improvise or devise a new route every time. Even asking partners to reflect on all the conceivable ways in which police and citizens can interact to coproduce public safety is a constructive goal, because the reflection may help them avoid partial and token efforts. For example the citizen frustration and anger reported in the Lawrence, MA case might have been reduced if police and citizens had examined a full range of options for citizen participation before implementing a program. In contrast, the relative success in Chicago is based in part on police and citizen groups doing their homework first and discussing what did and did not work in other cities.

Reason # 2: To Validly Link Police-Neighborhood Activities With Outcomes

Evaluation research on crime prevention strategies is good at identifying whether a positive or negative outcome was produced but struggles to identify the aspects of

implementation that created the measured outcome. Unfortunately, evaluation research often spends too much effort getting an experimental design in place or measuring reliable outcomes, and fails to provide a comprehensive examination of the quality or "dosage" of the strategy implemented. Implementations of crime prevention strategies do not always proceed according to plan and may vary dramatically across the jurisdictions attempting implementation. For example, the interactions and activities occurring in community meetings involving police and residents are not likely to be exactly the same in every jurisdiction in a city, across cities, or over time.[28] Only by measuring the varied steps that police may take to build community, can research better assess the types or quality of coproductive activities that are more effective for improving public safety, satisfaction with police, or community livability. Measuring police community-building records the interactions that connect strategic ideals to measured outcomes. Measuring process as well as outcome allows groups to determine *how* they got results, so they can learn from success and failure.

The value of evaluation data on the process of coproduction proved crucial in the Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership (IVRP). The IVRP was a multi-agency initiative, including partnerships with a variety of community groups and neighborhood leaders, to reduce firearms violence. One strategy, borrowed from the Boston Ceasefire program[29], that emerged involved face-to-face meetings with groups of probationers and parolees. The probationers and parolees would hear from both community members and law enforcement representatives about the concern with the level of violence in the community, sanctions available for illegal possession and use of firearms, and available services and opportunities. After several of these meetings, interviews were conducted

with community members that had participated or attended the meetings. The community members were extremely positive about the meetings, believing that they signaled a real concern with levels of violence in their neighborhoods and for the lives of these young men attending the meetings. At the same time, they believed that the style of several of the presentations made by law enforcement officials was too confrontational and that many attendees were "tuning out" to the message. As a result of this feedback from community members, the presentations were modified and the community members became strong proponents of the meetings and of the IVRP generally.[30] Without assessing how the process of these face-to-face meetings with probationers and parolees was linked to their perceptions, it is likely attendees would have continued to tune out the message resulting in a negative project outcome.

Reason # 3: To Aid Strategic Planning and Foster Continual Learning

Since measuring police community building improves our understanding of how police and communities interact and how such processes are linked to measured outcomes (Reasons 1 & 2), measuring community building provides valuable information for strategic planning and organizational learning. Measuring police-community building can establish a detailed "roadmap" of the interactions that connect problem identification stages to implementations of strategic interventions and measured outcomes. Police, community groups and researchers can share information regarding the qualities of successful and disappointing coproductive efforts in order to replicate desired effects or modify implementations.

The Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership surveyed community leaders after six months about the strengths and weaknesses of these meetings and probationers

were surveyed to see whether they were taking advantage of the opportunities discussed. Law enforcement learned that they were not providing enough time at the meeting for community members to talk about their services, that there were no opportunities for community members to meet informally to encourage probationers and parolees to use the services, and probationers were not taking advantage of any of the services offered. These results were used to refocus the meetings, as well as devise other strategies to provide information to probationers about services available.[31] Another example from the Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership involved a public education campaign intended to communicate a message of community intolerance of violence. These messages were relayed to the community using posters, billboards, and radio commercials. Following implementation of the campaign, interviews were conducted with individuals who had recently been arrested. Self-described gang members, who had been shown to be at high-risk for being involved in firearms violence, were much more likely to report having seen these messages on city busses. This finding then helped target limited resources to the use of posters on busses as a vehicle of communication with individuals most directly affected by firearms violence.[32] In Chicago, meeting measures of the quality and amount of resident participation provide the police and community groups with information about what parts of the problem-solving process can be improved.[33] The lessons learned by the IVRP and by the Chicago CAPS evaluation can be reiterated for the local stakeholders and also can be shared with other jurisdictions and agencies seeking to use a similar strategy.

HOW DO YOU MEASURE POLICE COMMUNITY BUILDING?

PCIP has devised 3 different measurement instruments. Each instrument measures the same five community building dimensions, but for different purposes, with different costs, and providing different levels of knowledge about community building. The choice of instrumentation for practitioners or researchers depends on the answers to three questions. What are the goals and purposes in measuring the community building processes? What resources (money, time, technical skills, and energy) are available to explore these goals and purposes? What degree of detail is necessary to meet the measurement goals and purposes?

Measurement Option 1 – "Quick and Simple Assessment":

This first measurement option, which we call the "Case Study Protocol", is likely to be most attractive to police departments and community groups for their own use because of its low cost and ease of implementation. The case study protocol is a paper and pencil assessment that asks informed individuals about different types of interactions that occurred among police-neighborhood groups in a specific community. The protocol asks the person(s) completing it to think about how police, residents, and other organizations have interacted over a given time period. The greater the time period that respondents are asked to recall, the more memory decay may influence the accuracy of answers. However, we have found the use of a two-year period to be feasible. The detail within the case study protocol requires that it be completed by someone who is deeply knowledgeable about police and community interactions. The level of detail about police community building obtained with a case study protocol is weaker than the observational method (option 3), but greater than a community survey (option 2). The case study

protocol can be used to highlight quickly critical planning and evaluation issues. It can be done on an ad hoc basis either at the beginning of a planning period or initiative, or after the completion of one, as an assessment of process.

The case study protocol can establish baseline data on the presence or absence of the five community building processes described in Exhibit 2. For example, police departments or community groups can use the protocol to assess whether regular police-community meetings occur, what community issues are being addressed in an area, whether and what problem solving steps are being used, if residents are being recruited, and what organizations are being coordinated. Police administrators and neighborhood resource officers could also use the protocol for planning new initiatives because the questions within the protocol describe the range of interactions that can be initiated. For example, the protocol asks about various organizations that the police are coordinating with, including other law enforcement agencies, other criminal justice agencies, business associations, schools, etc. This type of accounting procedure may encourage the police to initiate new partnerships with community organizations that they have never worked with before. For each of the five police community building processes, the protocol provides examples of interactions/activities that have been attempted in real cities. The protocol essentially provides a check list of interactions related to building community capacity that have been completed and identifies others that could be considered in the future.

The case study protocol also asks the person(s) filling it out to assess the dispersion of each of the five community building processes across space, people, and issues in a community. For example, the protocol can be used to assess how many neighbors have access to the police sub-station, whether the entire neighborhood has

permanently assigned officers, whether foot patrol is widespread or narrowly focused, and so on. Dispersion also relates to examining whether an interaction occurs across people. For example, the protocol asks the respondent to assess how representative the participants in a group meeting are of the area population or whether an initiative is attracting new resident participants beyond the usual neighborhood leaders. The protocol also examines how narrow or broad the police-community agenda is. Thus, the protocol is designed so that police, community groups, and researchers can examine how comprehensive, representative, or expansive a community building process was in a neighborhood area.

Finally, the case study protocol can be used to examine what amount of an interaction occurred and its fluctuation over time. For example, one may find that police encouragement messages to a neighborhood group about the importance of collective action was very high early in an effort but did not occur later in the initiative. Or perhaps resident involvement in determining neighborhood issue priorities dropped over time. Understanding fluctuations in interactions over time, which can be difficult to assess, is crucial for connecting an interaction with any measured outcomes. In terms of strategizing, it would be good for police and community groups to know whether very intense involvement in one area of community building was important to positive reductions in crime or improved satisfaction, or whether positive results could occur without such demanding attention to a particular community building process.

Exhibit 3 presents case study data on the presence/absence of several variables measuring the steps police and residents may take to improve neighborhoods. The data illustrate how the case study protocol can be used to contrast community building

processes across seven different neighborhoods. The data used for Exhibit 3 are from case study protocols that were sent to the original principal investigators/evaluators who examined community policing in these three cities. We examine 1) the breadth of improvement efforts (i.e. whether the effort was narrowly focused on a few issues or broadly focused), 2) whether police used problem-solving solutions to problems, 3) whether police officers were trained in problem-solving, and 4) whether residents were involved in problem-solving.

"INSERT EXHIBIT 3 HERE"

These data suggest that collaborative efforts between the police and residents to improve neighborhoods vary across these seven cases. Several of the case studies exhibited broad improvement efforts that focused on several crime, disorder, or improvement issues within the neighborhood while others tended to be more narrowly focused on one or two improvement issues. These cases also differed with respect to the degree to which problem-solving strategies were used to address these improvement issues. In the majority of the cases, the police utilized problem-solving solutions. However, there was considerable variation regarding the extent to which residents were involved in these problem-solving activities. The collection of these data across multiple neighborhoods in one city could assist in identifying where problem-solving is taking place, or where there may be a need for increased training and resident involvement in problem-solving. If different neighborhoods use the same instrument, they can learn from each other.

Measurement Option 2 - Annual Survey:

The second measurement option is a survey of neighborhood leaders. This survey is designed to assess police community building across neighborhoods, through the perceptions of community leaders, on an on-going basis. Thus, it is designed for citywide implementation on a regular basis to be done by police, a neighborhood umbrella organization, or a partnership. The survey asks neighborhood leaders a series of questions designed to assess police-community interaction across the five community building processes. Of the measurement options we propose, the survey is the most efficient PCIP measurement tool for examining cross-neighborhood comparisons. The survey is also capable of producing large sample sizes, which may be necessary for some kinds of analysis.

The survey data provide the least detail on community building characteristics and dynamics, but have the potential for the broadest coverage within and across cities. A cross-neighborhood record of community building is created with a single implementation of the survey. The dynamic nature of community building processes should be assessed by repeating the survey at regular intervals (such as in conjunction with an annual assessment process). The survey is a relatively cheap method for measuring community building processes, but the survey becomes more expensive but more valuable if it is implemented repeatedly over time, targets a large sample size, and uses telephone interviews rather than questionnaires. To implement the survey over time will require a strong commitment on the part of neighborhood organizations or police or both. Unfortunately, especially with mailed surveys, there may be a low response rate among resident respondents, *unless all groups to be surveyed are committed to the*

process up front and see the value in using the data. Similar to the case study protocol, data are still dependent on the respondents' knowledge and perceptions.

Information obtained from the survey could help police administrators assess how neighborhood leaders perceive levels of police community interaction. It could also help administrators differentiate neighborhoods according to perceived levels of police community interaction. The survey is equally as useful to neighborhood umbrella groups or coordinating councils because of its ability to differentiate neighborhoods according to perceived levels of police community interaction. If utilized over time, the survey data can illustrate temporal changes in police community building, which can be useful for strategic reassessments or linking community building variation to measured outcomes.

A survey option for measuring police community building was implemented by PCIP during the summer and fall of 2000 in Indianapolis. PCIP collected 143 block club and 83 neighborhood association surveys completed by the organization presidents. Exhibit 4 illustrates an aspect of police steps to identify with neighborhoods that was measured by the survey – perceptions of police accessibility to block or neighborhood residents. Police accessibility in Exhibit 4 is measured as the number of police organization levels (patrol, neighborhood, middle-management, upper-management) that the respondent reported as "very accessible". It is not uncommon in the answers to this police accessibility question to find organizations who perceive none of the police officer levels as highly accessible (0 levels). However, some neighborhoods have high ratings of accessibility across multiple levels of the department, while other areas experience high accessibility in only one or two levels. Exhibit 4 illustrates there were only small differences between block clubs and neighborhood associations in perceived police

accessibility in that city at that time. Police were generally not more accessible to neighborhood association leaders than to block club leaders.

"INSERT EXHIBIT 4 HERE"

Measurement Option 3 - Regular Monitoring in a Community (Observation Protocol):

The third measurement option, the observation protocol, provides the most detailed and dynamic information regarding police community building; therefore, it is the most complex, costly and time consuming tool. It is the measurement tool least likely to be utilized by practitioners and community groups unless they have considerable resources and assistance of trained researchers. The observation protocol assesses police community building by recording events happening in or reported in community meetings where police and citizens interact to plan and report neighborhood improvements. Police and citizens often use community meetings as forums to discuss neighborhood issues, implement responses to neighborhood problems, and provide feedback on community initiatives. Community meetings are a logical place in which to measure levels of police community building. The exact nature of the meeting might vary from city to city, depending on the kinds of resident organizations that are active.

Observations of community meetings provide the richest account of community building as it unfolds. Therefore, the observation protocol can examine very specific questions, such as whether specific issues are more effective than others in organizing the community or whether specific organizations contribute to narrow or broad neighborhood agendas. For example, the observation protocol enables one to examine whether police participation and decision making only occurs on crime related issues and is perhaps non-

existent on neighborhood redevelopment issues. The other measurement tools ask those who are filling it out to generalize about their perceptions of police community building. The observation protocol asks the observer specifically to code police community building characteristics/processes for *each separate issue discussed* at a community meeting.

Findings from the observations of police-community meetings in Indianapolis are illustrative of the value of expending the time and effort to collect these data. From July 1999 through June 2000, graduate student observers working for PCIP were present at all 26 community meetings in what is called the WESCO District of Indianapolis, IN. The WESCO district is comprised of three neighborhoods, located in the West District of the Indianapolis Police Department (IPD). Observing meetings showed that neighborhood improvement issues, especially crime and disorder, were top concerns of community leaders and residents. Nearly seventy percent of the issues discussed at neighborhood meetings were concerned with efforts to improve neighborhood space.

The observational data also provides the opportunity to assess the interaction between community building processes. For example, the data collected at the community meetings allowed us to examine who participated in raising specific neighborhood improvement issues, who made decisions about what should be done, and who has asked to respond to improvement concerns. It is interesting that a similar percentage of issues were raised by residents, police, and others (i.e., a category that includes non-volunteer organizations and non-municipal police organizations in attendance at meetings). Residents raised thirty-three percent of neighborhood improvement issues, police raised thirty-three percent, and other officials raised thirty-

four percent of neighborhood improvement issues. Residents would often attend meetings only in order to raise a neighborhood improvement issue.

There were interesting variations regarding who raised neighborhood improvement issues when we compared the types of improvements (neighborhood abuses or enhancements) that participating groups raised. These data are presented in Exhibit 5 and indicate that the police were more focused on raising issues about neighborhood "abusers", such as responding to drug dealers and prostitutes, when compared to other groups. Residents were more likely to raise issues focused on the enhancement of neighborhood space, such as the need for neighborhood cleanups, a community center, and a local library.

"INSERT EXHIBIT 5 HERE"

The observation method not only examines who raises issues, but also who helps to identify a neighborhood abuse or needed enhancement, which partners make decisions on how to achieve abuse and enhancement improvements, and who is to address such improvements. These additional aspects of participatory decision-making are illustrated in Exhibit 6. These data from WESCO indicate that when a neighborhood abuse issue was discussed at a meeting, the police contributed heavily to identifying the nature of the abuse and decided how the abuse should be addressed and decided who should address the abuse concern. The police, in contrast, were generally absent from decision-making processes involving neighborhood enhancement needs. Residents participated frequently in the identification of the enhancement, in deciding how to respond, and in deciding who should address an enhancement concern. It needs to be also noted, however, that the role of the residents in deciding what should be done in response to neighborhood

improvement issues decreased as the discussion moved from identification of a concern to what should be done, to who should be responsible for a response. Moreover, other data (not shown) indicate that when residents were expected to have some responsibility in responding to an issue, they were often told by either the police or other organizations in attendance what their role should be. When residents were assigned responsibility for a task, residents determined what their role would be only 28 percent of the time. In contrast, when the other organizations or the police were assigned a role, they decided what their role was going to be over 80 percent of the time. Such data might suggest that residents could be more active in decisions about solutions and implementation and that agencies could do more to promote that involvement.

"INSERT EXHIBIT 6 HERE"

CONCLUSION

The drive towards implementing police-community partnerships and co-productive strategies has outpaced our understanding of how and under what conditions police-community coproduction would create positive community outcomes.[34] It is the proverbial "cart before the horse" phenomenon, which is not uncommon to crime control strategies. The research of the Police Community Interaction Project (PCIP) has attempted to take a step back and ask what types of interactive and coordinative processes between police and communities may produce more long-term or sustainable public safety improvements in neighborhoods. Our research suggests that sustainable, safe communities are characterized by *community members who can work together effectively, and have the abilities to develop and sustain strong relationships, solve problems, and*

collaborate effectively to identify goals and get work done. We have identified 5 processes, which we call community building processes, that are related to creating community problem solving capacity (see Exhibit 2). **Our research over the past five years has consistently confirmed that police departments around the nation engage in community building processes**. **Moreover, the extent to which police departments engage in community building is measurable**.

We recommend three measurement tools designed to capture levels of police involvement in community building: a case study protocol, an annual survey, and regular observations of police-community meetings. The choice of a measurement tool depends on community goals and purposes in measuring community building processes, available resources (money, time, technical skills, and energy), and the degree of detail necessary to meet measurement goals and purposes.

Measuring the extent to which police departments engage in these community building processes is vitally important for furthering our understanding of the conceivable ways in which police and communities can interact to improve public safety. Ultimately, measuring police-community building will help to link police-neighborhood activities with outcomes, will aid in strategic planning, and will foster continual learning. Creating a "roadmap" of police-community interactions that increase the likelihood of positive community outcomes is critical, but can only occur if police, residents, researchers, and others take the time and resources to measure community building processes.

Exhibit 1. ***POLICE COMMUNITY INTERACTION PROJECT (PCIP)***

The project "Measuring the Community Interaction Variables in Community Policing" is supported by grant 97-IJ-CX-0052 from the National Institute of Justice to the University at Albany Hindelang Criminal Justice Research Center and the Indiana University-Bloomington Department of Criminal Justice. It was one of the first three projects funded under the Measuring What Matters Program. The staff decided the most accurate short name for this research is the Police-Community Interaction Project (PCIP), because we are trying to develop measures of the ways in which police departments and communities interact.

Origins of PCIP:
This project was conceived in the course of a year long Policing Research Institute convened by the National Institute of Justice and the Community Oriented Policing Service within the US Department of Justice in 1996. The Institute was comprised of a number of police executives, researchers, community organizers, advocates, and media experts who came together under the theme of "Measuring What Matters" in policing. A series of papers were commissioned and the group met three times to discuss the two major questions under that theme: what matters in policing and how can the things that matter be measured?[5]

In the course of the institute, consensus developed that standardized, reliable measures of community policing practices are very important but generally lacking. Moreover, in thinking about possible causal chains or sequences that might produce public safety outcomes, we know more about what to measure and how to measure it at both the front end and at the back end of the causal chain than in the middle.

The "front end" of the causal chain would usually include **causes and context** of neighborhood character and police behavior. For example, variables such as poverty, migration patterns, economic shifts, housing quality, neighborhood composition, nature of city politics, levels of racism have been used to measure neighborhood context. Police department context has included measures of police officer culture, department decision structure, officer morale and job satisfaction, training, and so on. At the "back end" of the causal chain, a variety of **outcomes** have been measured including fluctuations in crime, disorder, fear, resident satisfaction with the police, neighborhood quality of life, resident satisfaction with the neighborhood, neighborliness, and so on.

While we should certainly seek improvements in our thinking about what to measure and in our techniques for measuring context and outcomes, Measuring What Matters participants agreed that we are on even weaker footing about the "in between" aspects of the causal chain.

We need much more effort to measure how police and neighborhood residents get together to ameliorate the causes of neighborhood distress, to adjust creatively to neighborhood contexts, and bring about desired outcomes. We need to know about those in-between interactions because we can not determine whether the outcomes we measure are related to what was done, and how much of it was done, unless we can describe the doing itself.

Exhibit 1. ***POLICE COMMUNITY INTERACTION PROJECT (PCIP) cont. . .***

PCIP Goals:
PCIP has two broad goals. (1) We seek to **define** (or identify) **separate dimensions** on which police-community interaction can be described and to advance the **measurement** of these dimensions. Therefore, our first goal is to conceive, identify, or define recognizable patterns of interaction and to find ways to treat these ideas as quantities that vary in amount and can be shown to fluctuate over time or across places.

2) We seek to **facilitate the use** of measures of these interactions **by both police departments and by neighborhood groups, rather than only by researchers.** The rationale for this second goal is the belief that police departments and communities will often be on their own, without the assistance and collaboration of researchers to document and assess the nature of their actions. Consequently, if measures of the co-production process are to be deployed, either to assist those specific communities or to learn from those communities, then the police and neighbors will often have to do it on their own.

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Exhibit 2. ***Community Building Processes***

1) Steps to Improve Neighborhood Space

Definition: The ways and extent to which organizations and residents act to reduce abuses in the use of neighborhood space or to enhance the appearance and quality of neighborhood space as a place to live.

Steps to look at:

- ✓ What are the **priorities** in space issues? (e.g. crime, beautification)
- ✓ Is the **range of issues** narrow or broad?
- ✓ What **processes** are used to deal with the issues? (e.g. SARA model)
- ✓ What **results** are obtained? (positive, negative)

2) Steps to Identify with Neighborhoods

Definition: The manner and extent to which a neighborhood is recognized as a unique place to be considered separately from other neighborhoods in the city by agencies making policies that affect the neighborhood or providing services to the neighborhood.

Steps to look at:

- ✓ **Decentralizing police service physically** through the use of precinct stations, district stations, mini-stations, sub-stations, etc.
- ✓ **Assigning officers** to particular neighborhoods
- ✓ **Realigning officer beat boundaries** so that they are similar to neighborhood boundaries (depending on the size of neighborhoods)
- ✓ **Gathering and using neighborhood-specific information**, such as by mapping crimes geographically, or surveying citizens by neighborhood about their concerns
- ✓ **Holding meetings** with neighborhood residents or groups.

3) Steps to Encourage Resident Efforts

Definition: the types and levels of activities to encourage residents in a neighborhood to contribute their efforts to concerted or collective action to improve the neighborhood.

Steps to look at:

- ✓ **Spreading a message** that instills or promotes a belief in collective action. The elements of this message are (1) there are problems to work on or goals to achieve, (2) the residents in this area form a community, (3) collective action by community members may be effective in reaching goals.
- ✓ **Using the right forum** (broadcast media, news print, newsletters, informal conversation, formal meetings) for communicating that message to the intended audience.
- ✓ **Recruiting residents** to participate in activities.
- ✓ **Establishing** or helping to establish new resident organizations.
- ✓ **Suggesting particular tactics** for reaching objectives.
- ✓ **Providing training** in developing new skills or in running groups and organizations.
- ✓ **Providing support** such as material, facilities, funding, coordination or other assistance that might help the encouragement steps taken by other groups.

Exhibit 2 continued. ***Community Building Processes***

4) Steps for Resident Participation

Definition: the forms and degree of resident involvement and decision-making about the collective interests in a neighborhood.

Steps to look at:

- ✓ **Breadth of participation** across all members of a neighborhood: how representative are participants? What groups participate?
- ✓ The **size** of the resident group that participates.
- ✓ **Knowledge** by non-active residents about what active residents are doing.
- ✓ The **phases of community action decisions** in which residents participate:
  - **identifying** issues
  - **exploring** options or alternatives
  - **making decisions** about
    - what should be addressed (priorities and goals)
    - how to solve problems or achieve goals
    - who should do what
- ✓ **Residents involvement in implementing action**
- ✓ **Residents involved in assessing results**

5) Steps for Coordinating Organizations

Definition: The extent of coordinated interaction between two or more organizations concerning issues related to a specific geographic location in a city.

Steps to look at:

- ✓ The **number of organizations** involved in coordinated effort about a neighborhood.
- ✓ The **types of organizations** involved in a coordinated effort
- ✓ The **range of types** involved. (Is this a broad effort including a variety of criminal justice, social service, government, business, resident and other types of organizations, or a narrow one involving only a few types?)
- ✓ The **frequency** of organizational communication.
- ✓ **The protocol** for raising and conducting business among these organizations (Is this a formal or ad hoc coordination?)
- ✓ The **relative power and decision making patterns** among organizations.
- ✓ The **resources** including material, personnel, and information that are contributed to a neighborhood project or to neighborhood improvement by the organizations.

Exhibit 3. ***Steps to Improve Neighborhood Space Across Case Studies***

Case Study	Narrow vs. Broad Focus	Problem-solving Distinction	Training in problem solving	Problem solving w/ residents involved	Improvement Score Total
Spokane - ROAR	Broad (2)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	5
Spokane - NRO	Broad (2)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	5
Chicago - Englewood	Narrow (1)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	No (0)	3
Chicago - Rogers Park	Broad (2)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	5
Chicago - Morgan Park	Narrow (1)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	No (0)	3
Chicago - Marquette	Narrow (1)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	No (0)	3
Chicago - Austin	Broad (2)	Yes (1)	Yes (1)	No (0)	4
South Seattle	Narrow (1)	No (0)	No (0)	No (0)	1

Exhibit 4. ***Levels of Perceived Police Accessibility***
(levels = none, patrol, neighborhood, middle-management, upper-management)

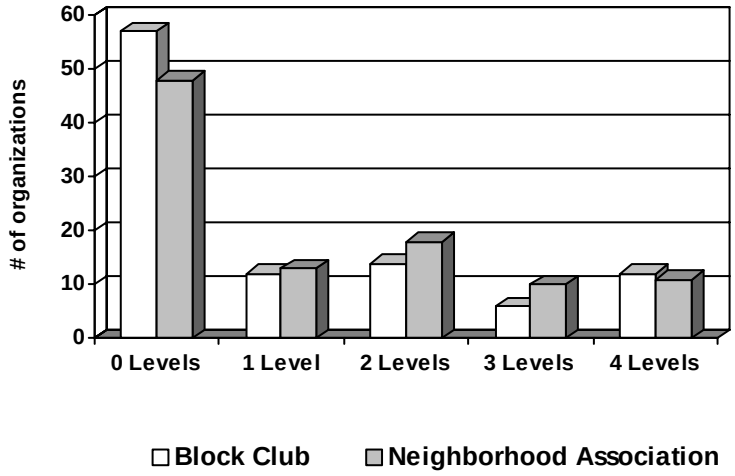


Exhibit 5. ***Type of Improvement Issues Raised by Participants***
(the % of neighborhood abuse (N= 96) or neighborhood enhancement (N= 33) issues raised by residents, other organizations, or police across all meetings attended)

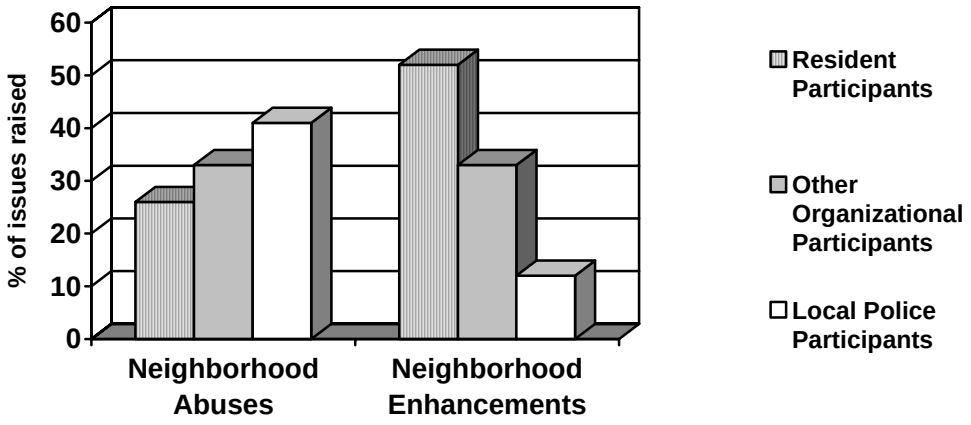
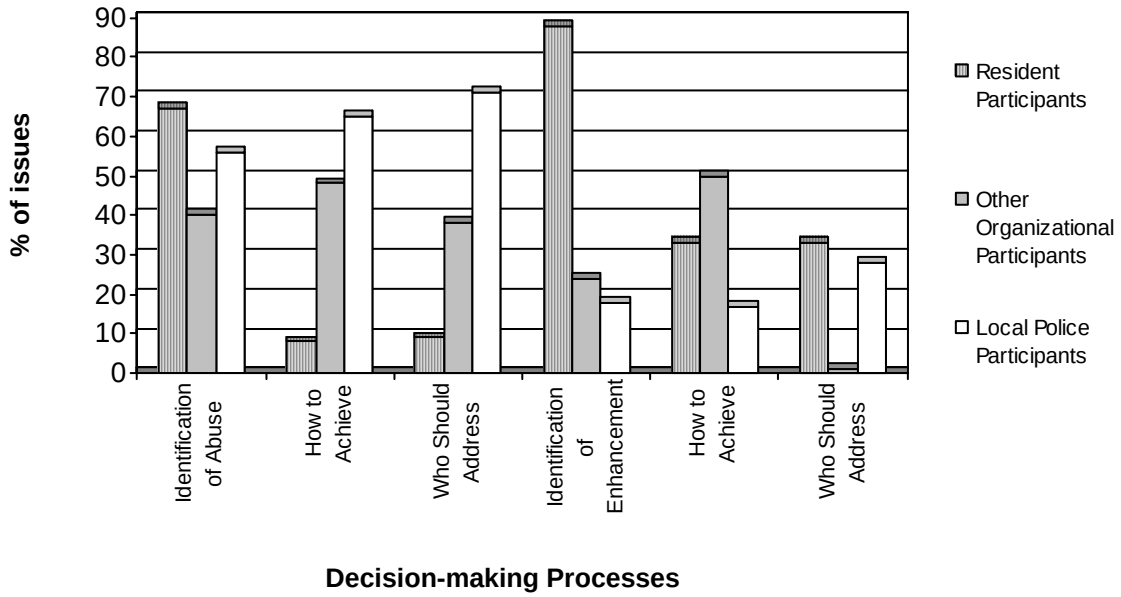


Exhibit 6. ***Participation in Decision-Making Processes Regarding Neighborhood Improvements***



ENDNOTES

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[2] We equate community capacity with "social capital" and "collective efficacy", in the sense that all three of these concepts are concerned with measuring social process that increase the likelihood of residents' engaging in social actions for the common good of their community. Despite a basic similarity, all three concepts focus on slightly different social processes and use different measurement techniques (Renauer, B.C. and J.D. Scott, "Exploring the Dimensionality of Community Capacity," A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA, November 2001.
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[12] Decentralizing command or decision-making in police departments is an important parallel to the identification steps discussed here. But decision making itself is an internal police characteristic. The identification steps are specific and direct ways of interacting with neighborhoods.
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