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179983

**Meeting the Needs of Racine Citizens:  
Evaluation of a Community Policing Program**

**Final Project Report**

PROJECT OF THE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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## **Introduction**

This project evaluates community policing in Racine, WI by examining multiple perspectives on community policing, using a multi-method approach. Products from this study include:

1. A three-time-point panel survey of citizen attitudes toward community policing in three community policed neighborhoods in Racine,
2. A comparison of citizen attitudes toward community policing between residents in community policed neighborhoods and residents in a control neighborhood, using the survey design,
3. A two-time-point survey of police attitudes toward community policing,
4. Qualitative analysis of focus group discussions with community leaders,
5. An analysis of crime statistics over the study period, and,
6. An analysis of health and building department statistics regarding calls for service in light of a newly instituted "sweeps" program in partnership with the Racine Police Department (RPD).

## **Background**

The foundation for implementing community policing in Racine began in 1992 in response to citizen concerns regarding deteriorating neighborhoods, increasing signs of gang presence, and issues of safety in high crime areas. One year later, two community-based field offices in two high crime areas of the city, the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall and the West 6<sup>th</sup> Street and North Memorial Drive areas, were established. In addition, changes in how police officers interacted with the community were instituted. Foot patrols throughout target areas were increased, rotation periods for officers in community policed areas were extended from 30 days to two years, and indigenous officers acquainted with the citizenry of Racine were hired to become part of a community policing unit (Hayman, May 23, 1993; Steinkraus, June 2, 1991). In 1994, community policing was instituted in the Martin Luther King neighborhood, another area plagued with high crime.

While changes in policing in Racine appeared dramatic, Assistant Chief John Ernst recognized the importance of evaluating the impact of this new program. Indeed, it has been recognized that use of systematic research designs, control areas where no new policing programs have begun, follow-up interviews in each area, and attainment of sample sizes that are large enough for statistical analysis are important components in understanding the impact of community policing (Skogan, 1994). It was with the common goal of measuring and understanding change in Racine that the RPD and the University of

Wisconsin-Parkside (UW-Parkside) agreed to become partners in the study of community policing.

This partnership began with the assessment of citizen attitudes toward community policing in 1993 and 1994, but was expanded to include residents of a control neighborhood, police, community leaders, and available statistics from the police, health, and buildings departments. The expansion of this study and the continuation of this partnership were supported through a locally initiated partnership grant from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) awarded in 1997.

### **Methods of Data Collection**

It has long been understood that multiple methods of data collection using multiple sources of information enhances the understanding of abstract social concepts. Dovetailing this, police administrators know that for community policing to be successful it must have the support of its citizens, police personnel, elected officials, the business community, and the media (Trojanowicz, 1992). It was with the goal of understanding these multiple perspectives that the various components of this study were executed. The following is a summary of the process of data collection:

#### **RPD Funding**

Summer, 1993	Survey of residents in 18 <sup>th</sup> Street and 6 <sup>th</sup> and Memorial areas
Summer, 1994	Follow-up survey of residents in 18 <sup>th</sup> Street and 6 <sup>th</sup> and Memorial areas
	Survey of residents in King area
Summer, 1995	Follow-up survey of residents in King area

#### **NIJ Funding**

February, 1997	Data collection on police survey – Time 1
Summer, 1997	Collection of statistics from Building Department
	Follow-up survey of residents in 18 <sup>th</sup> Street and 6 <sup>th</sup> and Memorial Areas
November, 1997	Focus group discussions
December, 1997	Individual interviews with neighborhood leaders
Summer, 1998	Follow-up survey of residents in King and control areas
September, 1998	Follow-up data collection on police survey – Time 2
Winter, 1999	Collection of statistics from Health Department
Summer, 1999	Analysis of crime statistics for communities in the study from 1993-1997

### **Findings**

#### Community Policing in Racine: Citizen Perspectives Over Four Years

##### Method

In 1993, researchers drew a 20% random sample of all households in two neighborhoods in Racine, the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall and West 6<sup>th</sup> and North Memorial Drive

areas. Students, receiving independent study credit, surveyed each household, returning completed interviews to be coded and later entered onto computer data files for analysis. The findings for this phase of the study were based upon 200 households surveyed, 81 from the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall and 119 from the West 6<sup>th</sup> and North Memorial Drive area.

In 1994, a new neighborhood was added to the community policing initiative, the Martin Luther King neighborhood. During the summer of that year, residents from the 200 households that had experienced community policing for one year were re-interviewed and residents of 57 households from the King neighborhood were also interviewed. In keeping with the design of this study, a 20% random sample of households was drawn from the King neighborhood and data collected in 1994 for this area were added to the first wave of data. In 1995, residents of the 57 households from the King neighborhood were re-interviewed following their first year experience with community policing.

In 1997, with the support of NIJ funding, a four-year follow-up of residents in the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall and West 6<sup>th</sup> and North Memorial Drive areas was conducted on the same households as were previously surveyed in 1993 and 1994. Similarly, in 1998, the original sample of households from the King neighborhood was re-interviewed, and in addition, a 20% random sample of households from a neighborhood bordering that of the King area was surveyed as a quasi-experimental control group.

The final report for this study is based upon findings from residents of three community police neighborhoods over a four-year period and one control neighborhood not part of the community policing program. Table One provides a summary of households included in each phase of this study.

## Results

### Baseline Year

Citizen concern with the quality of their neighborhoods, i.e., garbage in the streets and rundown property, gang presence, and drug use and sales was clearly evident at the baseline year of this study, 1993. Moreover, one-third of all respondents stated they felt unsafe at night and 16% said they did not go out at night. While residents overwhelmingly (80%) felt that police were respectful, helpful, and fair, they were split on their opinions regarding the capabilities of police to solve local problems, prevent crime, and keep order in the streets. Less than half of respondents stated police were doing a good to very good job, less than half stated that police were doing a fair to poor job, and about 10% could not assess the job police were doing. Most people in this study (91%) reported they saw police patrolling their neighborhoods in their squad cars, but only half saw a police officer walking in the neighborhood.

More than half the people surveyed knew about the new community based policing office in their area. Others were aware of the neighborhood watch program, police walking a beat, or riding bicycles through the neighborhoods.

Comparisons by neighborhood indicated that the 6<sup>th</sup> and Memorial area had more problems with youth, gangs, and neighborhood conditions than did the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall neighborhood. Comparisons by race suggested that whites, and to some extent, Latinos felt isolated in their neighborhoods. Secondly, it was apparent that whites and Latinos had much greater concerns regarding drug problems in the neighborhood than did African Americans. With regard to attitudes toward police, fewer African Americans than whites and Latinos felt that police were respectful, helpful, and fair. Concurrent with these attitudes was the feeling by more African Americans than whites and Latinos that police tend to stop people in the streets for no reason and that police are too tough on the people whom they do stop. Yet, more African Americans than whites and Latinos felt they could improve their neighborhood if they worked together.

At the onset of the community policing initiative in Racine, gangs, drug trafficking, and other youth related problems were clearly entrenched in both neighborhoods with more residential discontent focused in the 6<sup>th</sup> and Memorial area than in the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall.

### One-Year Follow-up

By the beginning of 1997, baseline information from the King neighborhood was added to baseline information from the two other community policed neighborhoods surveyed and follow-up information after one year reflects changes for all three community policed neighborhoods.

There was no change in people's perceptions of their feelings of unity with their neighbors. Most (70%) continued to report they spoke to their neighbors, but fewer than half felt they were part of unified community. Similarly, forty percent of people still reported dissatisfaction with the living conditions in their neighborhoods, stating their neighborhoods had gotten worse over the year, while another 40% reported neighborhood conditions had remained unchanged.

People continued to recognize unsupervised youth, gangs, rundown neighborhoods, and drugs as critical problems in their areas. Half of those surveyed reported that youth hanging out, unsupervised children playing in the streets, and gangs were big problems. This represented a slight increase in the number of people reporting these as big problems over the previous year. In addition, there was an increase in the number of people who reported that crime, drug use, and gang activity had increased. On the other hand, there was no increase in the number of people who reported garbage in the streets, drivers blocking traffic to talk, and rundown properties were big problems.

Over the year, there was little change in the number of people who reported they felt unsafe going out at night. In addition, those concerned about home invasions, cars being vandalized, robberies, and assaults remained stable, with those who reported these as big problems representing 20% or fewer residents.

Perceptions of police as respectful, helpful, and fair remained consistently good, while perceptions of the job police were doing to solve local problems, prevent crime, and keep order did not change. Fewer than half of respondents stating that police were doing a

very good or good job to solve local problems (48%), prevent crime (41%), and keep order (45%). Similar to the previous year, almost everyone surveyed had seen a police car in the area, but more people at follow-up knew police officers' names than the previous year.

Over the year, there was little change in people's awareness of meetings organized to discuss community problems, nor was there change in resident attendance at those meetings. Similarly, there was little change over time in people's perceptions of their ability to affect change in their neighborhoods. Sixty-one percent stated that community residents are at least somewhat capable of improving Racine and half stated that they could have a big effect or some effect in reducing problems in their neighborhoods.

Comparisons by neighborhood indicated that more residents of the 6<sup>th</sup> and Memorial and King neighborhoods were satisfied with these areas than were people in the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall. The discontent among citizens in the 18<sup>th</sup> Mall area is attributed to discontent about a residence where people believed drug activity was taking place. Increased attention to drug activity in the neighborhood by an organized body of residents provided the setting and opportunity for residents to come together and discuss problems. The study results, which show an increase in problems in the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall area, reflect the strength of the neighborhood, as neighbors united against residents living in the suspected drug house.

Whites more so than people of color reported concern with neighborhood conditions and drivers blocking traffic, while the numbers of people of color showing concern about gangs, drug use and drug sales increased from Wave 1 to Wave 2. At Wave 2, whites increased their attendance at community meetings, while attendance for people of color remained fairly constant. Awareness of police presence at meetings increased as well. Overall, it appears that racial differences in concerns about the communities were not as sharp as they were at Wave 1 of the study, with more whites feeling integrated into the community than previously reported.

#### Four Year Follow-up

People's sense of community varied little over the four years of this study. People know each other, and for the most part, will help their neighbors, but most continue to lack a sense of solidarity with others in their area. While there was little change in people's assessments of their neighborhoods between 1993 and '94, in 1997, fewer people are indicating that they have seen a decline in their neighborhood, suggesting that conditions have stabilized since the advent of community policing.

Concern with youth hanging out in the streets has declined over the four-year study period, while concern with unsupervised children and gang presence has remained stable. In addition, people have not changed their attitudes regarding drivers blocking traffic to talk or the presence of rundown properties in the neighborhood. However, over half of respondents, an increase in 10% from 1994 to 1997, still see garbage in the streets as a big problem in the neighborhood. Finally, concern regarding drug use and sales have remained about the same since 1994.

Police are still seen as respectful, helpful, and fair, for the most part. In addition, there has been an increase in the number of residents who see police at community meetings. On the other hand, residents are split on their assessment of police as good problem solvers, and their ability to keep order and prevent crime in Racine. Since most people still see police in squad cars, this suggests that police may not have changed their methods of relating to the community. This is reinforced by the fact that most citizen encounters with police are for law violations. Moreover, citizen evaluation of police effectiveness in improving their relationship with the community and in reducing drug problems in Racine indicates that most people feel police are not effective. In sum, citizens are still split in evaluating the crime fighting abilities of police, while at the same time feel that police contribute to the community by their presence and participation at neighborhood meetings.

Most police-citizen encounters continue to be violation based and respondents are uniformly negative in evaluating their last interaction with a police officer. In addition, most citizens see police in squad cars in the neighborhoods. On the other hand, three out of four citizens who attend community meetings are aware that police are also in attendance. This suggests that police are visible to citizens in some situations, but that police are still practicing law enforcement in the usual way in other situations.

In addition, 1997 saw a decline in the number of citizen who reported that they were aware of community meetings and subsequently attended those meetings. What has steadily increased over time is the knowledge that police are attending community meetings. Year four in the community policing program finds an increase in the number of people who report feeling safe at night and a decrease in the number of people who say they don't go out at night.

In sum, the data suggest that citizens are seeing stabilization in their neighborhoods with regard to gang presence, drug use, and crime and that they are feeling safer today than in the past. Yet, few are willing to say there has been an improvement in police-community relations and a reduction in the drug problem.

This study selected a control community that was believed to be similar to the community-policed areas except for the fact that community policing was not an institutionalized part of neighborhood life. What we found was a control area that is dissimilar to the community policed areas in terms of racial composition and absolute incidence of crime. Yet, a comparison between control and experimental areas sheds light on interpreting our findings of community policing. What is significant is that the control neighborhood seems to have more people than in the experimental areas who share similar values with their neighbors and would call police under threatening conditions. In addition, more people in the control area reported that they knew of and attended community meetings. Thus, the control area seems to have greater solidarity and participation among its citizens than the community policed area.

In addition, big problems with youth, neighborhood conditions, and drugs are not as problematic in the control area as in the experimental areas. Since more people see these

as big problems in the experimental areas, there seems to be more room for improvement. Indeed, we find more people in the community policed areas reporting a reduction in these problems than do people in the control area. Clearly, there was more room for change in the experimental area and, while many changes have been realized, there continue to be many problems that must be solved.

In 1997, we see that most people report their neighborhoods have remained stable over time. Yet, it is clear that the 6<sup>th</sup> Street area has the most people who are dissatisfied with the living conditions in the neighborhood and are the least likely to say they will be living there next year. Moreover, while more people report a decrease in the incidence of gangs, drugs, and crime over time in the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall and King neighborhoods, there has been little change in the number of people who have seen gangs, drugs, and crime decline in the 6<sup>th</sup> Street area. Clearly, while there have been improvements in neighborhood conditions in the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall and King neighborhoods, the 6<sup>th</sup> Street area lags behind these neighborhoods with regard to citizen satisfaction.

What is significant about outcomes with regard to race is that there isn't much of a difference across races for 1997. The report for Wave 1 of this study conducted in 1993 showed sharp differences in attitudes across race, some of which moderated in 1994. In 1997, some differences across races have remained the same and in some cases have continued to moderate. In only a few cases, such as with the sale of drugs and perceived safety when going out at night, are there marked differences in concern across racial categories.

### Conclusion

After four years of community policing, people's perceptions of their neighborhoods have not changed very much. Neighborhood conditions are perceived as no better or worse than they were when community policing was instituted in Racine. The same holds true for people's perceptions of police. While police are regarded highly as public servants, people continue to be split with regard to evaluation of the ability of police to fight crime and solve neighborhood problems. Moreover, most people continue to see police in their squad cars rather than walking in the neighborhood. Analysis of each community policed neighborhood suggests that special attention should be paid to the 6<sup>th</sup> and Memorial Drive area since this area lags behind the others with regard to citizen satisfaction with their community.

Caution should be taken when comparing the community policed areas to the control neighborhood. While community policing is not operational in the control area, this neighborhood is not plagued with the level of crime that is present in the community policed neighborhoods (Meyers, Rosenberg, and Upton, 1997). Indeed, fewer percentages of people in the control neighborhood than in the community policed areas report big problems with youth, rundown properties, and drugs. In addition, residents in the control neighborhood display greater feelings of solidarity and a greater percentage attend community meetings than do people in the community policed areas.

Some changes that have occurred are important. For example, more people today than in 1993 and 1994 report feeling safe when they go out at night. In addition, while most see police in squad cars, police presence at community meetings has received increased recognition by the citizens of Racine. Finally, differences across race have diminished over time. Whites can no longer be seen as ideologically separated from others in their neighborhoods.

### Acceptance of Community Policing Among Police Officers Changes in Attitudes over 19 months

#### Introduction

The study reported here focused on the measurement of attitudes toward community policing held by police officers. Findings are based on a survey of the population of police officers in Racine conducted in February, 1997 and then again in September, 1998. The survey instrument used for this study is a 40-item Likert scale measuring the extent to which an officer expresses support for community policing. There are six attitudinal sub-components of the community policing model examined in the questionnaire which reflect support for a flattened organizational structure, community policing substations, increased communication between supervisors and subordinates, community policing concepts, a community policing unit, and specific community policing programs.

#### Method

All officers in the RPD (N=209) were asked to participate in the survey. The first data collection was set for Wednesday, February 19, 1997 at which time the survey instrument was attached to a letter from the Chief of Police endorsing the study. Most respondents filled out the survey at roll call and placed completed questionnaires in one of two boxes located in the patrol roll call room or in the detective roll call room. Time 2 procedures mirrored those of Time 1. Surveys were distributed at roll call on September 24, 1998, 19 months after the first survey. Because of officers' complaints about wording of items and questions regarding the anonymity of the survey, only 40% of the original population chose to participate in the follow-up of this study.

Sixty-nine officers were matched between Time 1 and Time 2 of the survey. Of those who made up the final sample, about half were patrol officers and almost all were married, somewhat older, and had more years of experience on the force than those who participated at Time 1. Thus, the sample on which our findings are based is somewhat older and seasoned than is typical of the population of officers in the RPD, with fewer patrol officers represented in this study than are actually in the Department (See Table Two).

## Results

At Time 1, respondents took a neutral attitude toward community policing as a whole. At Time 2, 19 months later, there was little change in attitudes toward the concepts of community policing for our sample. When we controlled for demographic characteristics of police officers through statistical analysis, rank of officer was important in predicting the extent to which officers supported community policing.

Sergeants and higher ranking officers had more favorable attitudes toward community policing than did detectives and patrol officers. Over time, while attitudes toward community policing did not change for higher ranking officers, they declined slightly for patrol officers, and improved slightly among detectives on the Force. When officers were asked if they supported a change in the department toward decentralization, high ranking officers were least likely to approve of such a change, while lower ranking officers showed greater favor for such a change. Over time, support for department decentralization declined slightly for all ranks of officers. With regard to support for substations, detectives showed the least support for sub-stations, patrol officers showed greater support for substations than detectives, and high ranking officers had the greatest support for this concept. Over the 19-month period, detectives and high ranking officers' support for substations increased, while patrol officers did not change their rating. In addition, analyses indicate that married officers have a more negative view of substations in the community than do non-married officers. When we examined the relationship between rank and support for increased communication between supervisors and field officers, we saw greater support among high ranking officers for increased communication than we did among lower ranking officers. Change over time for this sub-scale is slight. The same trend holds for support of community policing concepts, with high ranking officers showing more support for this than lower ranking officers. In addition, officers with higher educational levels have greater support for community policing than do officers with less education.

While differences in rank seem to be consistent with regard to support for community policing, little change in attitudes occurred over time, with the exception of detectives' attitudes. Overall, high ranking officers show the greatest support for community policing concepts, including increasing communication among ranks of officers. Yet, high ranking officers show the least support for changing the structure of the department toward decentralization. It seems that high ranking officers want to maintain their positions of power in the department even though they support other aspects of community policing.

Change in attitudes toward community policing over time for officers in the RPD has been slight. Most notably, detectives show slightly greater support for community policing than they did at Time 1 of the study. One reason for this change can be attributed to the fact that detectives are now assigned to field offices throughout Racine, rather than working at Central Headquarters. This provides increased exposure to more aspects of community policing than was available to them at Time 1. A second reason for improved attitudes toward community policing among detectives is that Police Chief Polzin has

consistently supported community policing, sending the message than this program is “here to stay”. Finally, there has been a change in the personnel of the Department, with more officers who support community policing concepts hired, while other officers who did not support the program have retired since the beginning of the study.

### Community Leaders’ Attitudes about Community Policing: An analysis of focus group discussions

#### Introduction

Community leaders play key roles in influencing citizenry and local media in forming opinions on various topics. As part of an evaluation of community policing in Racine, the RPD and UW-Parkside contacted twenty-one community leaders from educational, political, social service, and neighborhood organizations to discuss community policing issues that were deemed significant to the community.

#### Method

There were four focus groups organized to participate in discussions in November of 1997. These groups consisted of business leaders (N=3), political leaders (N=2), education leaders (N=3), and service leaders (N=6). A fifth focus group, consisting of citizen leaders, could not be organized due to their unwillingness to participate. Upon phone contact, these leaders indicated that they preferred not to meet in focus groups and were subsequently interviewed on an individual basis. A total of seventeen people participated in some type of discussion on community policing, either by attending a focus group meeting, or by talking individually with Helen Rosenberg. All discussions were audio-tape recorded, with people identifying themselves by number rather than name. All discussions were transcribed and coded by thematic concepts.

#### Results

It is clear that there exist differing degrees of awareness regarding community policing and that there are differing attitudes toward the initiative among community leaders. Overall, most of the feedback regarding the program was very positive. Respondents liked how community policing is all about getting back to the streets and essentially, getting back to the people. Many talked about how they liked the idea of proactive versus reactive policing. Several respondents talked about how police officers no longer only come around when there is an arrest to be made. The consensus is that community policing officers care about the people they serve.

Respondents felt that community policing has brought a calming effect to their community. People feel safe knowing there is police presence in the neighborhood. They see that the children, as well as the elderly, are benefiting from more direct involvement by the police. Respondents used the words “wonderful,” “pleasing,” “impressive,” and “great” to describe how they feel about the program.

One of the strongest concerns that emerged from discussion was that of safety and how it might be improved for people in Racine. Discussants felt that community members need to take it upon themselves to help the community feel safe. The community needs citizens who care and are going to make it their business to be involved. One business leader stated that the business community should actively support the program because it keeps employees safe. Another respondent felt that the visibility of the community policing house has reduced crime in his neighborhood. Many of the respondents commented on the apparent decline in crime in the community policed areas. One respondent stated, "I think we are safer and crime is down." At this point, most of the respondents thought crime was on a decline. They felt this had to do with the visibility of the community policing officers.

Overall contributions of community policing expressed by opinion leaders included more positive views of police officers by citizens, perceptions of field offices as safe places for children to go after school as an alternative to the streets, and helping the schools raise funds through teamwork with the United Way, Neighborhood Watch, and Citizens Police Academy. In addition, people felt that community policing has been effective in the fight against drugs in the neighborhoods.

Some expressed concerns regarding the program. One respondent talked of how he believes the program is in place to mainly protect white children being bused to school in high crime neighborhoods. This respondent stated that the community police officers are present during the day when the white children are there and leave when the white children go home or get picked up by their parents. Another respondent stated that he believes an African-American officer in an African-American neighborhood would help officers relate to people in the neighborhoods. Related to this is the expressed support for hiring community police officers who live in the communities they police or have a relationship with people in the community.

An educational leader stated that the presence of a field office near his school has caused mixed feelings. Some parents are in favor of the location near the school, while others worry that having the office located in their community is stigmatizing. Another person felt that community police officers have to become more involved in the community. They can do this by going to the schools, "walking the beat," and having an open door policy when they are at their field offices. One political respondent stated, "When you've got someone out on the beat, when you've got the bicycle patrols and you're out there and you're visible and they can sit and talk to you and shake your hand, you're ahead of the game..." Involvement in the community is the key to crime prevention.

### Future of Community Policing

Through the course of the group discussions and interviews, many good ideas for the future of community policing surfaced. Some respondents spoke of how expanding the hours of the community policing outposts would be of great benefit to the neighborhoods. Overall, the community policing center should be open to the community for longer than eight or ten hours a day. It seems to be that regular staffing, between the hours of seven o'clock in the morning till three o'clock in the morning, seven days a week, is what is most desired. The decentralization of the police station was another idea that surfaced from the interviews. Over and over again, the respondents spoke of how they want the practice of a cop walking the beat to come back. They want officers to be assigned to one particular area and have that area be their special concern. The police department has become impersonal. What we have is a main police station in downtown Racine with the cops either working at that centralized center or driving around in their squad cars. The general consensus is that this approach is not effective. The respondents wanted to see more officers working directly in the neighborhoods. One respondent spoke of how he would like the police department mirror the fire department. He stated that he would like to see the development of police houses, just as there are firehouses.

### Changes in Crime Across Selected Areas of Racine

#### A comparison between community policed areas, other areas in the city, the state, and the nation

#### Introduction

The Racine Police Department (RPD) routinely collects data on percentage change in crime across the city of Racine. This report examines the percentage change in Part One crimes from 1993 through 1997 for areas of Racine which are part of a community policing initiative begun in 1993.<sup>1</sup> These areas include the 18th Street Mall, the 6th and Memorial neighborhood and the Martin Luther King Drive location. In addition, percentage changes in Part One crimes for the community-policed areas are compared to the percentage changes in Part One crimes in a control area, bounded by Summit, State and Albert Streets and the Northwestern Railroad tracks. We compare changes across these neighborhoods with the percentage change in Part One crimes for the remaining neighborhoods in Racine, the State of Wisconsin, and the United States. In doing so, we can compare local changes in crime with that of state and national changes.

#### Data Analysis

##### **Racine**

All together, the three community policed areas experienced a decrease of 23.7% in Part One crimes from 1993 to 1997 (See Table 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Percentage change is a measure that is independent of population size and, in this case, is based upon the absolute incidents of crime, regardless how large the population of a community might be.

Table 1

Percentage Change in Part One crimes for Three Community Police Neighborhoods

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	1073 V 1077	1077 V 925	925 V 843	843 V 819	1073 V 819
Percent Change	+ .4%	- 14.1%	- 8.9%	- 2.8%	- 23.7%

The 18th Street Mall had the least change in crime between 1993 and 1997, with Part One crimes decreasing by only 1.3% over the five years (See Table 2).

Table 2

Percentage Change in Part One crime for the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall Neighborhood

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	219 V 249	249 V 241	241 V 183	183 V 216	219 V 216
Percent Change	+ 13.6%	- 3.2%	- 24.0%	+ 18.0%	- 1.3%

The 6th and Memorial neighborhood experienced a 17.1% decrease in Part One crimes (See Table 3), while the King Area experienced a decline of 41.3% over the five year period (See Table 4).

Table 3

Percentage Change in Part One crime for the 6<sup>th</sup> and Memorial Neighborhood

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	421 V 412	412 V 358	358 V 364	364 V 349	421 V 349
Percent Change	- 2.1 %	- 13.1%	+ 1.6%	- 4.1%	- 17.1 %

Table 4

Percentage Change in Part One crime for the King Neighborhood

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	433 V 416	416 V 326	326 V 296	296 V 254	433 V 254
Percent Change	- 3.9%	- 21.6%	- 9.2%	- 12.1%	- 41.3%

The control group was made up of a community that did not have a community policing program. Part One crimes in this area decreased dramatically between 1994 and 1995, and then fluctuated over time. However, by 1997, the control group had an overall decrease of about 40% in Part One crimes between 1993 and 1997 (See Table 5).

Table 5

Percentage Change in Part One crime for the Control Neighborhood

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	93 V 94	94 V 49	49 V 61	61 V 56	93 V 56
Percent Change	+ 1.0%	- 47.9%	+ 24.5%	- 8.2%	- 39.8%

The overall percentage decrease in Part One crimes for the city of Racine for 1993 through 1997, including the community policed areas is 5.8%. However, when we subtract the Part One crimes for the community policed areas from the total city count, we find there is no change in crime for the city of Racine excluding the community policed areas (See Table 6).

Table 6

Percentage Change in Part One crime for the city of Racine, Exclusive of Community Policed Neighborhoods

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	4827 V 5065	5065 V 4762	4762 V 4949	4949 V 4835	4827 V 4835
Percent Change	+ 4.9%	- 6.0%	+ 3.9%	- 2.3%	+ .1%

The overall conclusion to be drawn from Table 6 is that the percent change in crime for the city, exclusive of the community policed neighborhoods has remained the same, while there is a large percentage decrease in Part One crimes for the community policed areas. This should be interpreted with caution for there may be some areas in the city in which percentage crime has increased or decreased, yet overall figures for the city of Racine, apart from the community policed areas indicate no change.

**Racine and the State of Wisconsin**

Our data indicate a 24% decrease in Part One crimes for community policed neighborhoods in Racine and no change in Part One crime for the rest of the city of Racine. An examination of change in Part One crimes for the State of Wisconsin shows a slight increase in crime between 1993 and 1997. According to the Wisconsin Office of Justice, Statistical Analysis Center, Part One crimes increased by 5.1% in the State of Wisconsin between 1993 and 1997 (See Table 7).

Table 7

Percentage Change in Part One crime for the State of Wisconsin

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	13,303	13,725	14,388	13,074	13,303
	v 13,725	v 14,388	v 13,074	v 13,992	v 13,992
Percent Change	+ 3.2%	+ 4.8%	- 9.1%	+ 7.0%	+ 5.1%

**Racine and the United States**

In comparison to Racine, the Uniform Crime Reports indicate a 15.1% decrease in Part One crimes for the nation from 1993 to 1997 (See Table 8).

Table 8

Percentage Change in Part One crime for the Nation

	93 V 94	94 V 95	95 V 96	96 V 97	93 V 97
Part One Crimes	1,926,017	1,857,670	1,798,792	1,682,278	1,926,017
	v 1,864,186	v 1,798,785	v 1,682,278	v 1,634,773	v 1,634,773
Percent Change	- 3.2%	- 3.2%	- 6.5%	- 3.2%	- 15.1%

**Conclusions**

There have been important changes in the incidence of Part One crimes in Racine. While crime has declined in community policed neighborhoods, these declines are due to changes in the 6<sup>th</sup> and Memorial and King neighborhoods rather than in the 18<sup>th</sup> Street Mall area. Moreover, while crime has declined in these areas, it has remained stable over the 5-year study period in the rest of the city of Racine. While the percentage of Part One crimes has decreased in Racine, it has increased throughout the State of Wisconsin.

Nationally, Part One crimes have decreased by 15%. This is a smaller decrease than Racine has seen for the community policed and control neighborhoods, but a greater decrease than was shown for the city of Racine.

Cleaning up the Neighborhood:

## Calls for service to a local building and health department as part of a community policing effort

### Introduction

While crime prevention and control are important foci of community policing, citizens are most concerned with property decline and the physical decay of their neighborhoods (Eig, 1996). When community policing programs empower citizens to initiate solutions to their problems and participate in implementing these solutions, this means that the citizens do not simply rely on the police to solve their problems, but go beyond them to initiate contact with other agencies that might serve their needs more appropriately. We examined calls made to the Racine Building Department (RBD) and Racine Health Department (RHD) because we wanted to find agencies outside the police department which dealt with citizen's concerns over property decline and the physical decay of their neighborhoods. This research examines two aspects of the community policing initiative in Racine: The partnering of the RPD with the RBD and RHD as a means of effectively dealing with code violations and the extent to which citizens initiate contacts to the Building and Health Departments on an individual basis.

The Sweeps program was started in the Fall of 1994, partnering the RPD with the RBD and RHD. Prior to the Sweeps implementation, the Building and Health Departments had been taking a reactive approach to neighborhood problems, simply waiting until a complaint was filed. As of 1994, inspectors from the Sweeps program chose an area in Census tracks 1-5 in the central city of Racine. These census tracks include both community policed and non-community policed areas of the city. Every property in the chosen area is inspected by the Building Department, an inspector from the Health Department, and a community policing officer, who accompanies inspectors into the area. Any violations found are documented, and an order is issued to the owner, usually giving him or her 30 days to make required repairs. By comparing complaints based in the Sweeps initiative with citizen complaints, as well as complaints made from other sources, we can examine the effectiveness of community policing on the basis of institutional partnerships as well as citizen empowerment.

### Method

The data for this study were provided by the RBD and RHD. While data provided by the RBD was computerized, a computerized system for the Health Department was not operational until 1998. Thus, coders took on the tedious task of entering data on complaints, referrals, and year from ledger books provided by the Health Department. We collected information on the address from which complaints originated, allowing us to determine if the complaint came from a community policed area or not, the type of complaint, and the year the complaint was filed for both the Building and Health Department. In addition, the Building Department had information on who reported the complaint.

The data drawn from complaints of violations made to the RBD numbered 8,220 between 1992 to 1996. Of these, 44% came from community policed areas. The data drawn from complaints of violations made to the RHD numbered 1,797 between 1993 and 1996. Data for 1992 was unavailable. In addition, data from the Health Department was scattered and we consider our findings for this Department unreliable. Violations reported to the RHD from community policed areas comprised 35% of complaints.

## Results

For both Building and Health Departments complaints have increased markedly over the study period. From 1992 to 1993, more complaints were filed from community policing areas than non-community policing areas for the Building Department. Since 1994, the year after community policing was implemented, complaints from non-community policing areas have increased. Results from the Health Department show an increase in the number of complaints coming from community policed areas after 1995.

In 1992, the City Assessor filed the most complaints to the Building Department (93%). During this year, the remainder of complaints were filed by the Health Department, the new Sweeps program, citizens, mayor/aldermen, tenants, and the community policing station. In 1993, complaints from the City Assessor decreased sharply and citizen complaints increased as well as complaints resulting from the Sweeps program. To sum, while the City Assessor initially made the most complaints to the Building Department, this gradually decreased and complaints resulting from the Sweeps Program significantly increased, accounting for the most complaints issued in 1995 and 1996. In addition, citizen complaints increased sharply in 1994 and stabilized in 1995 and 1996, but remained fairly high. Information from the Health Department regarding source of complaint was unavailable, but personal communication from the City Health Inspector reveals that individual complaints from citizens are declining in light of the proactive nature of the Sweeps program. However, data on these trends is yet to be made available.

The most common types of complaints to the Building Department initially involved house repairs. This gradually decreased and complaints regarding trash accumulation increased after 1993, and continued to account for the most complaints filed through 1996. Complaints to the Health Department have remained stable over time with about 60% concerning garbage in the home or yard and another 16% concerning cars or other vehicles on lawns or in back yards.

The data show that complaints to both the Building and Health Departments have increased over time and that most complaints derive from the Sweeps Program and from private citizens. Not only have complaints increased, but the sources of complaints have changed over time. From this perspective, community policing has succeeded in partnering with the Building and Health Departments to take over responsibility for documenting building and health code violations. These data support Eig's assertion that trash and the appearance of houses are becoming increasingly important to citizens, regardless of whether they are part of a community policing initiative or not.

One of the goals of community policing is not only to create institutional partnerships, but to empower citizens to become problem solvers on their own. While citizen complaints to the Building Department have increased over time, citizen complaints to the Health Department have not. We know that the Sweeps program, in its proactive role, has taken over part of the citizen role in addressing code violations in the city. But, it is unclear from our findings whether citizens themselves have become empowered to act in their neighborhoods.

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**TABLE 1**  
**Demographic Distribution of Sample**

	<u>1993-4</u>		<u>1994-5</u>		<u>1997-8</u>		<u>Control (1998)</u>	
	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Neighborhood</u>								
King	22.2	57	21.3	48	8.5	16		
18 <sup>th</sup> St. Mall	31.5	81	31.6	71	35.1	66		
6 <sup>th</sup> & Memorial	46.3	119	47.1	106	56.4	106		
Control						50		
<u>Race of Respondent</u>								
Black	65.8	169	66.2	149	58.5	110	38.0	19
White	14.0	36	15.1	34	17.6	33	26.0	13
Latino	17.5	45	16.9	38	22.3	42	34.0	17
Native American	0.8	2			1.1	2		
Other	1.6	4	1.3	3	0.5	1	2.0	1
<u>Gender</u>								
Male	28.8	74	27.1	61	36.9	69	38.0	19
Female	71.2	183	72.9	164	63.1	118	62.0	31
<u>Average Age</u>								
	41		41.3		39		42.5	
<u>School Completed</u>								
0-4 Years	3.1	8	4.4	10	2.1	4	4.0	2
5-8 Years	10.5	27	7.1	16	6.4	12	8.0	4
Some High School	28.8	74	27.6	62	24.5	46	28.0	14
Tech School	1.2	3	0.9	2	2.7	5		
High School	36.2	93	35.1	79	41.0	77	44.0	22
Trade School	5.1	13	7.1	16	3.7	7		
1-3 Years of College	9.7	25	13.8	31	14.9	28	10.0	5
College	4.3	11	2.7	6	2.7	5	4.0	2
Advanced Degree	0.4	1	0.9	2	1.1	2		
Refused	0.8	2	0.4	1	1.1	2	2.0	1

**TABLE 1**  
**Demographic Distribution of Sample**

	<u>1993-4</u>		<u>1994-5</u>		<u>1997-8</u>		<u>Control (1998)</u>	
	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>
<b><u>Yearly Income</u></b>								
10,000 or less	30.9	79	34.7	78	28.8	53	34.0	17
10,001 to 15,000	12.1	31	14.7	33	19.0	35	14.0	7
15,001 to 25,000	15.6	40	15.6	35	16.3	30	22.0	11
25,001 to 40,000	9.4	24	12.9	29	14.1	26	10.0	5
40,001 to 50,000	2.7	7	3.1	7	2.7	5	4.0	2
Greater 50,000	1.2	3	1.8	4	2.7	5	2.0	1
Refused	12.1	31	3.6	8	7.1	13	4.0	2
Don't Know	16.0	41	13.8	31	9.2	17	10.0	5
<b><u>Employment</u></b>								
Full Time	37.6	96	40.6	91	47.3	89	50.0	25
Part Time	8.2	21	8.9	20	13.3	25	10.0	5
Homemaker	16.1	41	17.4	39	5.9	11	2.0	1
Unemployed	15.3	39	10.7	24	10.1	19	10.0	5
Retired	12.2	31	12.5	28	12.2	23	20.0	10
Disabled	4.7	12	3.6	8	3.7	7	6.0	3
Other	5.5	14	4.0	9	5.8	11	2.0	1
Self Employed	0.4	1						
<b><u>Rent/Own</u></b>								
Rent	57.9	147	56.7	127	61.1	113	69.4	34
Own	42.1	107	43.3	97	38.9	72	30.6	15
Refused	1.2	3	0.4	1			2.0	1
<b><u>Median Rental</u></b>								
	\$355.11		\$360.21		\$406.62		\$380.80	
<b><u>Average Number of Kids in Household</u></b>								
	1.65		1.58		1.63		1.27	

**TABLE 1**  
**Demographic Distribution of Sample**

	<u>1993-4</u>	<u>1994-5</u>	<u>1997-8</u>	<u>Control (1998)</u>
<u>Average Number of Adults in Household</u>	1.88	1.24	1.31	1.39
<u>Average Numbers of Years at this Address</u>	10.3	10.4	9.7	7.3

**Table Two**  
Rank, Sex and Marital  
Status for Respondents  
and Non-respondents  
for Two Waves of Police  
Study

	Wave One		Wave Two with Respondents		Wave Two without Respondents	
	N = 167 %	N	N = 69 %	N	N=98 %	N
<b>RANK</b>						
Patrol Officer	58.1	97	46.4	32	66.3	65
Traffic Investigator	3.0	5	4.3	3	3.1	3
Investigator	16.8	28	15.9	11	14.3	14
Sergeant	12.0	20	17.4	12	7.1	7
Lieutenant or Captain	6.6	11	13.0	9	5.1	5
Inspector, Assistant Chief, or Chief	1.8	3	2.9	2	1.0	1
Missing Cases	1.8	3	0.0	0	3.1	3
<b>Total</b>	100.1	167	99.9	69	100.0	98
<b>SEX</b>						
Male	95.2	159	94.2	65	94.9	93
Female	3.6	6	5.8	4	3.1	3
Missing Cases	1.2	2	0.0	0	2.0	2
<b>Total</b>	100.0	167	100.0	69	100.0	98
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>						
Never Married	12.0	2	10.1	7	12.2	12
Married	75.4	126	82.6	57	73.5	72
Divorced	10.2	17	7.2	5	11.2	11
Separated	1.2	2	0.0	0	1.0	1
Windowed	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
Missing Cases	1.2	2	0.0	0	2.0	2
<b>Total</b>	100.0	149	99.9	69	99.9	98

Mean for Years of  
Service, Age and Years  
of Education  
for Two Waves of Police  
Study

	Wave One		Wave Two with Respondents		Wave Two without Respondents	
	N = 167 X	N	N = 69 X	N	N = 98 X	N
Years of Service	13.7	163	16.1	69	12.7	94
Age	37.7	163	40.3	69	36.8	94
Years of Education	15.0	164	14.9	68	15.1	95

**Meeting the Needs of Racine Citizens:  
Evaluation of a Community Policing Program**

**Summary of Major Findings and Implications for Criminal Justice Operations**

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## **Summary of Major Findings and Implications for Criminal Justice Operations**

Community policing, as a concept, has very different meanings across the United States and its implementation varies with city size, philosophy of police department, and perceived community needs, as well as other factors. This research highlights the fact that within each city, service providers and recipients have various needs from community policing as well, and these needs may juxtapose or conflict with each other. Thus, community policing to citizens and community leaders in Racine, WI means something very different from what it means to police officers. In addition, the services provided by Building and Health Department are now dependent upon their relationship with the Racine Police Department (RPD), and thus their perception of community policing takes on a special meaning. Finally, while crime has declined markedly in the areas of Racine which are part of the community policing effort, there are many concurrent social and crime prevention programs, such that crime reduction cannot be solely attributed to community policing. Thus, successes for the city must be viewed in terms of the many programs available to its citizens, one of which is community policing. With this caveat in mind, the following discussion will summarize major findings from each aspect of this study and then examine outcomes on the basis of community needs and implications for criminal justice operations.

### Citizen Perspectives on Community Policing over Four Years

Overall, it can be said that citizens see stabilization in their neighborhoods and that more feel safe in their areas than they did when community policing was initiated in 1993. People's perceptions of declining neighborhoods have been replaced by more citizens who feel their neighborhoods have remained the same since the initiation of community policing. This is evidenced by the fact that there has been little change in the number of people who report gang presence and drug use and sales as big problems in their neighborhoods. Moreover, there has been a decrease in the number of people who report that youth hanging out in the streets is a big problem. On the other hand, 10% more people in 1997 than in 1994 report that garbage in the streets is a big problem. One of the most encouraging findings from this research is that more people than ever report feeling safe going out at night.

Questions regarding police/citizen encounters added to the 1997 citizen survey indicate that about 25% of the sample had some contact with a police officer. Among those citizens, two-thirds report dissatisfaction with the encounter, presumably because most encounters between police and citizens were violation based. Despite this, most citizens still view police as respectful, helpful, and fair, although about half assess the abilities of police to fight crime and keep order as fair or poor.

A comparison between the opinions of citizens in a control neighborhood and citizens in the community policed areas indicates a greater sense of unity and more communication among residents in the control neighborhood. Moreover, crime in this area is low and citizen participation at community meetings is higher than it is for people in the community policed areas.

It is clear that residents of Racine want to clean up their streets and control gangs and drugs. Currently, the RPD is advised through the fire and police commission, aldermen, and representatives from Neighborhood Watch and meetings with police occur on a monthly basis. Yet citizen activism in community policed areas is lower when compared to activism in the control area. The questions remain as to how community power can be created among citizens and how cooperation can be facilitated between citizens and police.

### Acceptance of Community Policing among Police Officers

Part of the difficulty in changing neighborhoods is the lack-luster response of many police officers toward community policing. While there is support for community policing among high ranking officers, there is less support among patrol officers and detectives. Moreover, these attitudes did not change over the 19-month study period except for detectives' attitudes. In this case, detectives were moved to field offices where they had greater exposure to officers involved in the community policing unit. This suggests that separating officers by units may create rifts between officers' perceptions of the various roles others play in the Department. Interaction with various types of officers may foster greater understanding among them. In addition, the RPD has trained all officers in the community policing philosophy.

While it is clear that citizens see more officers at community meetings than ever before, citizens continue to see police officers in their traditional roles in the neighborhoods. This is evidenced by the fact that most officers are seen in squad cars and that most police/citizen encounters are violation based. These findings, coupled with police attitudes about community policing concepts, place doubt in the commitment that lower ranking officers have with regard to their community policing roles. On the other hand, high ranking officers were least amenable to changing the hierarchical order of the department. Thus, officers involved with community policing may be faced with the task of conducting a community policing program without the structural support that would allow them the authority to make decisions on their own.

### Community Leaders' Attitudes about Community Policing

Community leaders were overwhelmingly supportive of community policing. All were concerned with the safety of their constituents, be they students at school, employees of major companies, visitors to the community, or people in the neighborhoods. It was clear that business leaders wanted to reduce crime so that business could thrive and that educational leaders wanted to reduce crime so they could provide good teaching environments for the students in their schools. In addition, leaders applauded the role of police officers in helping raise funds for community programs, providing safe houses for students after school, and promoting citizen awareness of community needs. They wanted to see more involvement of the police department with the community, extension of hours that police patrolled neighborhoods, and greater

presence of officers in the schools. In addition, leaders wanted to see more African-American officers hired in primarily African-American constituencies.

### Changes in Crime across Selected Areas of Racine

The three community policed areas experienced a 23.7% decrease in Part One crimes from 1993 to 1997, while the control neighborhood had a drop in crime of 40% for this time period. While crime has declined in these areas, it has remained stable over the 4-year study period in the rest of the city of Racine. In sum, Racine can be proud of the decreases in crime in the community policed and control areas. In the community policed areas, numbers of crimes were very high in 1993 and declined markedly. In the control neighborhood, absolute crimes were much lower than in the community policed areas and continued to decline over time.

While the percentage of Part One crimes has decreased in Racine, it has increased about 5% throughout the State of Wisconsin. Nationally, Part One crimes have decreased by 15%.

### Calls for Service to the Building and Health Departments as Part of Community Policing

A partnership between the RPD and the Racine Building Department (RBD) and Health Department (RHD) began as part of the community policing program in 1993. Before this time, inspectors from both departments were fearful of traveling in areas where they felt unsafe and thus, did not cite buildings for health and building code violations. In 1993, a "sweeps" program was initiated whereby health and building inspectors, accompanied by a community policing officer would target neighborhoods in Census tracts 1-5, some of which were part of the community policing program and some of which were not. The partnership between the RPD and the Building and Health Departments was established with the purpose of reducing citizen calls for service to the police department, while empowering health and building department inspectors to perform their duties. Overall, outcomes of calls for service to the Health and Building Departments indicate that this program has been successful.

For both Building and Health Departments complaints based on the "sweeps" program have increased markedly over the study period. For the Building Department, complaints from private citizens have increased, as well. From 1992 to 1993, more complaints were filed from community policing areas than non-community policing areas for the Building Department. Since 1994, the year after community policing was implemented, complaints from non-community policing areas have increased. This suggests that services provided in community policed areas by the Building Department are controlling the number of complaints that emanate from these areas.

While the City Assessor initially made the most complaints to the Building Department, this gradually changed and complaints resulting from the Sweeps program significantly increased, accounting for the most complaints issued in 1995 and 1996. In addition, citizen complaints increased sharply in 1994 and stabilized in 1995 and 1996.

The data show that complaints to both the Building and Health Departments have increased over time and that most complaints today derive from the Sweeps Program and from private citizens. From this perspective, community policing has succeeded in partnering with the Building and Health Departments to take over responsibility for documenting building and health code violations. These data support Eig's assertion that trash and the appearance of houses are becoming increasingly important to citizens, regardless of whether they are part of a community policing initiative or not.

One of the goals of community policing is not only to create institutional partnerships, but also to empower citizens to become problem solvers on their own. While citizen complaints to the Building Department have increased over time, citizen complaints to the Health Department have not. We know that the Sweeps program, in its proactive role, has taken over part of the citizen role in addressing code violations in the city. But, it is unclear from our findings whether citizens themselves have become empowered to act in their neighborhoods.

### Conclusions

Specific group interests drive people's perceptions of community policing. From the perspective of community leaders, there has been improvement in conditions in the city that has promoted cooperative programs on the part of businesses, schools, community organizations and the RPD. Today, citizens feel safer in their neighborhoods than before the advent of community policing. Moreover, inspectors from the Building and Health Departments are working with the community policing unit to clean up neighborhoods and act upon building and health code violations. Crime has steadily declined since 1993, the beginning of the community policing initiative.

While attitudes of police toward community policing are neutral at best, their behaviors are changing so that citizens see more police officers at community meetings than before. Yet for the most part, police continue to patrol neighborhoods in squad cars and most citizens who have encounters with police report dissatisfaction with the experience.

In order to meet the needs of Racine citizens, we must recognize the diversity of interests across sectors of the community. Police must be responsive to a variety of needs. Yet, community leaders and citizens must recognize that crime reduction is a unified effort. It is both disturbing and telling that citizen attendance at community meetings is higher in the control group area than in the community policing neighborhoods.