

Introduction - Research Context of CPOP

The police are not simply nor primarily law enforcers.¹ Maintaining order, or keeping the peace, is their principal mission,² and it is the way they expend most of their time.³ Because of the ambiguity in the order-maintenance function, and because of the relative clarity, social acceptability and political utility of what have come to be called "law enforcement activities," police agencies everywhere have tended to shy away from consciously organizing their resources for effective order-maintenance. Instead, setting into a more reactive law enforcement posture, they have emphasized communications and rapid response to calls for service. The resulting mobilized patrol forces have become largely anonymous, from the perspective of the community residents, and have only a limited capacity to reverse their unawareness of and unresponsiveness to the problems of disorder which trouble the public.⁴

These facts, articulated and demonstrated effectively by other researchers, constitute a substantial part of the emerging knowledge base that informs present-day policy discussions about policing and that shaped the development of New York's Community Patrol Officer Program (CPOP). Additional propositions help to

¹Egon Bittner, The Functions of Police in Modern Society (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970). James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

²Michael Banton, The Policeman in the Community (New York: Basic Books, 1964); Egon Bittner, "Police Discretion in Emergency Apprehension of Mentally Ill Persons," Social Problems, 14 (27, #92, 1967); Mark Moore and George Kelling, "To Serve and Protect: Learning from Police History," The Public Interest 70 (Winter 1983), 22-48; Allan Edward Levett, Centralization of City Police in the 19th Century United States (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1975); Robert Fogelson, Big City Police (Cambridge, Mass.: Urban Institute, 1971); and Richard Ericson, Reproducing Order: A Study of Patrol Work (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

³Herman Goldstein, "Police Response to Urban Crisis," Public Administration Review (Sept./Oct., 1968) 417-423; Thomas E. Bercal, "Calls for Police Assistance," American Behavioral Scientist 13 (May/August, 1970) 681-691; and Albert J. Reiss, The Police and the Public (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1971).

⁴Moore and Kelling, supra note 2; Fogelson, supra note 2; and Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1967).

shape the current policy context for police reforms: (1) That the capacity of the police to control the volume of street crime directly is quite limited and that they can and should give more attention to the order maintenance, or quality of life problems that fester on the neighborhood level.⁵ (2) Police impact on these problems ought to be enhanced by their acting as problem-solvers, controlling some of the resources that should be applied to these local conditions.⁶ (3) Citizen fear of crime is a substantial problem in its own right and is more profoundly influenced by perceptions of disorder than by the actual volume of street crime,⁷ and there is a theoretical basis for believing that alleviating quality of life concerns on the neighborhood level will not only reduce fear, but may also reduce the actual volume of street crime in the area.⁸

This, then, is the general research context in which the New York City Police Department has launched the Community Patrol Officer Program. As other cities have also been moving toward "community-oriented" policing there have been several important, program-specific additions to this research context. The principles that shaped the Neighborhood Police Team experiments of the 1970s,⁹ also gave rise to the "community profiling" activities in San Diego,¹⁰ the foot patrol program of Flint, Michigan,¹¹ the Citizen Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE) program in Baltimore County,¹² and the Fear Reduction Experiments

⁵David Bayley, "A World Perspective on the Role of the Police in Social Control," in The Maintenance of Order in Society (Toronto: Canadian Police College, 1982); Wilson, supra note 1, Moore and Kelling, supra note 2; Bittner, supra note 2.

⁶Herman Goldstein, "Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach," Crime and Delinquency 25 (2, 1979), 235-258.

⁷Wesley Skogan, Dan A. Lewis, Aaron Podelsky; Frederick Dubow; and Margaret T. Gordon, The Reactions to Crime Project, Executive Summary (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1982.); and, Police Foundation, The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1981).

⁸James Q. Wilson and George Kelling, "Broken Windows," The Atlantic Monthly (March, 1982) 29-38.

⁹William Gay, Talmadge H. Day, and Jane Woodward, Neighborhood Team Policing (Washington, D.C.: NILECJ. LEAA, 1977.); Alfred Schwartz and Sumner Clarren, The Cincinnati Team Policing Experiment: A Summary Report (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation and the Urban Institute, 1977); and Lawrence W. Sherman, Team Policing: Seven Case Studies (Washington, D.C.: The Police Foundation, 1973).

¹⁰John E. Boydston and Michael E. Sherry, San Diego Community Profile: Final Report (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1975).

¹¹Robert Trojanowicz, An Evaluation of the Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program in Flint, Michigan (Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, 1983).

¹²Cornelius J. Behan, "The Comprehensive Robbery Impact

in Houston and Newark.¹³ Each of these researched police initiatives represented a different mechanism for providing community-oriented police services, reducing citizen fear, or both.

The growing professional interest in community-oriented policing is also a logical response to the prevalence of disorder and incivility on the neighborhood level and to the historical over-emphasis of police agencies on rapid, mobile response.¹⁴ Nevertheless, it raises a set of questions -- important policy and practical questions -- for which available empirical research is either insufficient or inadequate.

(1) The literature on community-oriented policing encourages community involvement with police in the process of problem identification and in the development of strategies to attack those problems. Yet there is little empirical data describing the nature and effectiveness of the various structures and processes that can shape or channel such public involvement, or how the police can best deal with information from the community when it is provided. Hence, the idea of strengthening the accountability of police officers to the communities they serve is not easily translated into practice.

(2) James Q. Wilson¹⁵ long ago established a useful typology of situations in which the amount of discretion exercised by patrol officers and the capacity of police administrators to constrain that discretion vary. The situation in which the discretion appears to be greatest, and the capacity to constrain it appears to be the least is, Wilson suggests, the "citizen-invoked, order-maintenance" situation. Community-oriented policing programs like CPOP encourage proactive approaches to quality of life problems and are likely, therefore, to increase the frequency with which the police officer encounters such highly discretionary situations. Thus, there is a need for empirical descriptions and analyses of what patrol officers, in roles like CPO, decide to do and not to do, how they reach these decisions, and how police agencies and communities influence and can effectively control and direct such officers' decision-making.

(3) Some researchers have suggested that the approach of the police to problems of disorder in the street vary importantly by the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of the community.¹⁶ In

Program of the Baltimore County Police Department," paper presented to the International Robbery Seminar, April, 1984.

¹³Police Foundation, Experiments in Fear Reduction: Houston and Newark Program and Evaluation Plans (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1983).

¹⁴Wilson, supra note 1.

¹⁵Wilson, supra note 1.

¹⁶Jonathan Rubinstein, City Police (New York: Farrar,

fact, this may apply not only to their identification of certain conditions as problematic, but also to the corrective strategies they undertake. These hypotheses need to be tested and the variations in conditions and strategies should be described empirically in the context of a program operating in a variety of communities.

(4) There is, most of all, a pressing need to know more about the community-oriented police strategies and programs that are actually developed by officers who attempt to relieve different classes of order-maintenance problems, the extent to which these strategies and programs are in fact implemented, and the effects they have -- if any -- on the problems to which they are addressed. Available research often fails to tie police officers' activities to specific problems, or to provide direct measures of the state of the problem after police officers have intervened. Thus, to the extent that conclusions have been reached about the effects of police patrol programs on order-maintenance problems, they have been, for the most part, inferred from citizen surveys.

(5) The Wilson-Kelling suggestion (that alleviating quality of life problems can reduce citizen fear and, perhaps, even the volume of crime in the community) has intrigued many police professionals, in New York and elsewhere; it is another hypothesis that cries out for empirical exploration. But to do so would require research measuring independently the impact of community policing programs like CPOP on the quality of life problems addressed, the public fear levels before and after introduction of the programs, and any changes in crime volume in the targeted neighborhoods.

(6) It seems reasonable to assume that some officers should be better able than others to exercise the discretion and initiative required to perform the order-maintenance function effectively on the neighborhood level. This individual function has not been closely examined in previous research, in part because of a program emphasis upon the activity of organizational units (e.g., Neighborhood Police Teams, COPE) rather than individual officers, and in part because few experiments have attempted to measure the effects of programs actually implemented by, or to evaluate the performance of, individual officers. There is, therefore, little empirical data on which to base an assessment of correlations between the performance of the officer and his or her background and attitude.

A. Research on the Pilot CPOP Project in New York City

In the summer of 1984, staff from Vera's Research Department (which reports to the Institute's Director and conducts its

Straus and Giroux, 1973).

research independently from Vera's planning and technical assistance staff) began an independent evaluative study of the Community Patrol Officer Program when it was in its pilot phase in the 72nd Precinct in Brooklyn. At that point, the major research concerns were whether the CPO role, as it had been designed, could in fact be implemented by regular patrol officers, and how they would react to its demands. This first, exploratory research effort relied primarily upon extensive field observations and field interviews with CPOP Unit members and with other officers of the 72nd Precinct.

A member of Vera's Research Department spent hundreds of hours walking the beat with each CPO in the 72nd Precinct and accompanying the CPOs on some of the occasions when they acted together as a tactical unit. In addition, each of the CPOs was the subject of in-depth interviews during the fall of 1984 and again in the summer of 1985. These observations and interviews focused on how the officers implemented the new CPO role and how their experiences affected their images of themselves as police officers, their perceptions of the communities in which they were working, and their relationships with other officers in the Precinct.

Another set of interviews were conducted with 25 regular patrol officers in the Precinct, to measure their perceptions of and attitudes toward the CPO program. To examine a different dimension of the pilot project, Vera researchers interviewed a random sample of residents in each of the 72nd Precinct's nine CPO Beat Areas. These interviews explored residents' perceptions of the quality of life problems in their neighborhoods, their awareness or lack of awareness of the CPO program and their overall assessment of police performance.

Statistics describing the volume and nature of crime complaints and arrests in the Beat Areas prior to the commencement of the CPO program and for a full year after the program began were collected, to determine whether any changes in official indicators of the crime problem occurred during the program's first year. And an analysis of changes in the volume of calls-for-service was conducted, based on calls received during sample periods before and after the program began.

Data collection for this preliminary CPOP research continued until late in the summer of 1985. Over the past year, these data were analyzed and a report was drafted; preliminary findings were presented to the Department at several points along the way, and served to help shape the development and the expansion of CPOP to its present 37 precincts. Useful findings from the pilot research included:

Police officers can in fact perform the CPO role, as designed, although they performed the problem-solving and information exchange dimensions of the role more effectively than the planning and community organizing dimensions.

CPOs are effective in rapidly identifying major problems in a beat and in devising, with the assistance of the CPO sergeant, strategies to address them. They appear to be somewhat less effective in analyzing the problems, systematically using community input and regularly recording the effects of their activities.

CPOs are quick to attack priority problems when they first survey their Beat Areas, and they rely heavily on their conventional law enforcement powers to do so.

Many CPOs engaged in community outreach with initial anxiety and hesitancy. The outgoing style required for effective CPOP policing is unusual and unfamiliar; it does not come easily to everyone. However, after a while, all of the pilot CPOs did it and they reported being surprised by the positive community and command responses they received.

CPOs seemed fairly good at identifying community organizations within beats and in assessing their strength and importance. However, their ability to assist local residents and merchants to organize, and their ability to motivate existing organizations to act in a coordinated fashion, varied considerably from one officer to another.

Many CPOs quickly developed a sense of personal responsibility for their Beat Areas and evinced a willingness to vary their tours and to put in extra time to address community needs.

The CPOs found their new roles more satisfying than conventional patrol. In part, this seemed to be because residents and merchants in the Beat Areas were quick to define the CPO as "their cop". The CPOs mentioned especially the opportunity the new role afforded them to follow-through and actually accomplish something with respect to local problems, the opportunity to exercise discretion and initiative (with the approval of their supervisor) in varying their tours and tactics, and the opportunity to get off the rotation chart and work relatively steady tours.

The CPOs believed that they enjoyed a great deal more support from the community than they would have had if they had been functioning as regular patrol officers. However, as time went on, the CPOs complained about what they perceived to be the inadequacy of civilian involvement in problem-solving strategies and the difficulties they

encountered in getting Beat Area residents and merchants to organize for that purpose.

There was much evidence that the CPOs were able to pick up important information about the neighborhood, local crime patterns and criminals operating in the neighborhood which they would not get if deployed in conventional patrol roles. They knew that information of this type was acted on, and/or passed on to other police units (e.g., Narcotics) which used it.

CPOs actively sought guidance, assistance and support from the CPO Sergeant, and the personal comfort of the individual officer in the role appeared to be strongly affected by his or her contacts with the Sergeant.

The CPO Sergeant was important also in bolstering the morale of the unit in planning, coordinating and directing tasks which involved more than one officer and in linking the CPOs to the supervisory command structure of the precinct.

The Community Board in the 72nd Precinct enthusiastically welcomed the program and actively supported the efforts of the officers to address quality of life problems in the Beat Areas. As a result, the CPOs were unusually successful in provoking other City agencies to cooperate in coordinated attacks on such problems.

Non-CPO officers in the pilot precinct, by the end of the research period, evidenced a good grasp of the CPO concept but not a deep familiarity with the day-to-day operations of the CPOs. They were supportive of the Department's decision to experiment with the role and they saw it as no more difficult than the RMP assignment.

The community surveys conducted toward the end of the data collection year indicated that approximately 35% of the respondents were aware that CPO had been operating in their neighborhoods. Generally, the respondents had rather positive attitudes toward the police and this was especially so for those who were aware of the CPO program.

Using as a measure of crime volume the total number of complaints in twelve categories of major felonies and selected misdemeanors, there was a 5.1% drop in crime reports in the CPO Beat Areas compared with a 7.4% decline in the non-CPO beats, over the research period. The difference seemed to be a function of increased police activity and

citizen reporting in the CPO Beat Areas. (For example, in a couple of Beat Areas CPOs focused attention on the problem of street narcotic trafficking. As a result, there was an increase of 93 drug complaints in these beats. Had the drug complaints remained at their pre-program level, the overall measure of crime reports would have declined by 8% in the CPO Beat Areas.)

Of course, nothing definitive can be said about the implementation or impact of CPOP, based solely on research of a pilot program operated in a single precinct. However, expansion of the program into dozens of other precincts around the City affords an opportunity to address a number of questions of interest not only to Department officials, but to police administrators and scholars across the nation. Toward that end, Vera has secured grants from the National Institute of Justice (\$120,000) and the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (\$100,000 a year, for two years), to supplement funds provided for this research program under the City contract, and has just begun a much more comprehensive and systematic study of CPOP. The design and potential utility of this research is described below.

B. Expanded Research on the Community Patrol Officer Program

The roughly 350 Beat Areas in which CPOP is now operating present an extremely wide range of neighborhoods, in terms of basic demographic characteristics and in the volume and types of crime and calls for service arising in them.

Vera will study the program as it operates in six selected precincts, consisting of approximately 50 beats, in six of the seven borough commands of the City. This strategy will create samples of approximately 50 CPOs and six Sergeants. By tracking the activities of each sampled CPO officer in his or her beat, the research staff will construct a sample of between 150 and 250 specified and verified crime or order maintenance problems and the same number of corrective strategies proposed by the CPOs. The strategies, in turn, are expected to include two or three times their number of specific actions or programs planned by the officers and approved by the Sergeants. The research is designed to identify those programs that were actually implemented and measure their effect on the crime or quality of life problems to which they were addressed.

This unique data base of related problems, strategies, programs and impacts provides an opportunity to address many of the crucial issues identified in the Introduction to this section of the Status Report. Vera researchers will also collect detailed information about the background, attitude

and performance of each of the sampled CPOs and CPOP Sergeants, and will assess the reactions of neighborhood residents to the activities of the CPOs and to changes in the conditions of their neighborhoods since the program began. Thus, this expanded, systematic CPOP research affords an opportunity to study not only the impact of various CPO attacks on crime and quality of life problems, but also the relationship between those impacts, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, public perceptions and street crime volume at the neighborhood level. (The research will also explore relationships between officer background and attitudes, officer's performance, and the impact of their CPOP work on the quality of life problems they attack.)

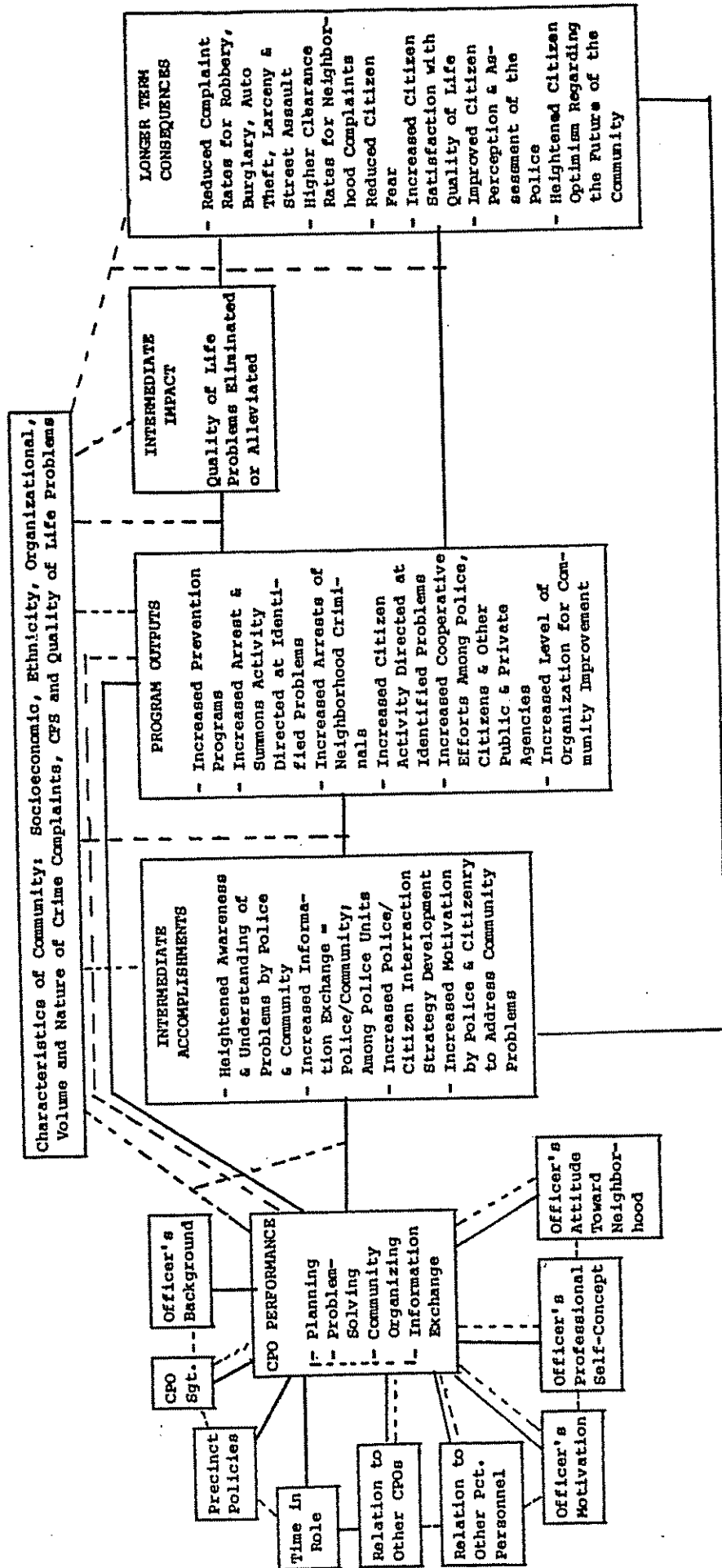
This research program is designed to produce immediate benefits as well as knowledge for long-term use in further development of community policing strategies in New York City. Thus, in addition to providing the Department with an evaluation of CPOP, the research will: provide a means of evaluating individual officers whose activities clearly differ from those of the regular patrol officer; help to identify those qualities which the NYCPD should seek in officers who might be assigned to this duty; provide the Department with information on which to estimate the length of time officers should be continued in this role and the kinds of support that should be given to them; provide means for assessing and structuring the performance of command personnel assigned responsibility for Community Patrol Officers; and provide the Department with information about alternative ways to define quality of life problems in the City and to estimate the effects of Departmental activities directed at them.

The research, which got underway in the summer of 1986, will be carried out over a two-year period, including a labor intensive data collection effort that will require approximately 14 months to complete. The project will be completed in July, 1988.

1. **A Working Model of Factors Effecting CPO Performance, Outputs and Consequences**

The structure and procedures of CPOP have been described in detail in the preceding section of this Status Report. Figure 1, on the following page, graphically summarizes the factors and processes which, from a research perspective, appear to effect the substance and quality of a CPO's performance and the paths by which that performance ought to produce the desired impacts.

FIGURE 1
A MODEL OF THE CPO PROCESS AND ITS OUTCOMES



a. CPO Performance - The CPO role consists of four major dimensions -- planning, problem solving, community organizing, and serving as an information exchange between the police and the community. A CPO may perform one or more of these functions well. The dotted lines connecting them in Figure 1 reflect a hypothesis that interactions among these functions affect performance, although it would be premature to further specify those relationships before collecting and analyzing the data. (For example, effective planning might improve the quality of a CPO's problem-solving and community organizing activity, although that relationship has not been demonstrated empirically. But it is conceivable that a CPO may be a rather poor planner but be extraordinarily effective at solving problems in his or her Beat Area.)

A working assumption would be that CPOs' overall performance is a function of how well they perform each dimension of the role. Yet this assumption should be tested. It might also be argued that the ultimate test of effectiveness is the extent to which the desired impacts of the CPO's performance are achieved. If the research succeeds in assessing the relationship between CPOs achievements and the CPO's performance of each dimension of his role, it will be possible to determine the relative weight that should be accorded to each dimension of the role and to establish, for the Department's routine use, a more impact-oriented evaluative measure of CPO performance.

b. Factors Shaping Performance - CPO performance is itself influenced and shaped by a variety of factors. The research will seek to identify and assess the factors that affect that performance. In the model, several of the variables thought to be the most likely influences are depicted as circles surrounding CPO performance. While most of these are self-explanatory, a few require special comment.

It may be that the single most important influence on the CPO's performance is the CPO Sergeant -- the content of his or her direction and assistance, the style of supervision and the nature of the relationship that grows between the two officers. Research on the pilot project underscores the importance of the sergeant, but those could be idiosyncratic to the circumstances and personalities involved in the 72nd Precinct.

Some of the variables identified in the model precede an officer's assumption of the CPO role. This is obvious with regard to background factors, especially the length and nature of prior experience as a police officer. It may also apply to the officer's reason for volunteering to be a CPO, his or her self-concept as a police officer and his or her relationship to other precinct personnel. However, because these factors are themselves in process, they may change with the CPO experience and continue to shape the quality of

performance.

Research on the pilot project also suggests that a CPO's relationship to other CPOs influences satisfaction with the new role, which may, in turn, affect the quality of his or her performance.

Finally, officers may or may not bring pre-conceived attitudes toward the neighborhood to their new role. It is clear from the pilot research that the CPO experience affects whatever attitudes a CPOP officer starts with. In the course of the pilot project, officers developed both knowledge and understanding of the people, problems and life styles found in their Beat Areas. It is reasonable to expect that these developments would be associated with more effective performance, and that their opposites would form a substantial obstacle to CPOP officers' serving the needs of the community.

The variables influencing performance are themselves interrelated, as indicated by the dotted line which connects them in the model. Several of these variables are also influenced by the experience the officer has as a CPO, as indicated by dotted lines pointing back to the box representing performance.

c. **Intermediate Accomplishments** - It is expected that a CPO's efforts will generate more information about local problems, heightened awareness of a commitment to correcting these problems both in the precinct house and in the community, and increased interaction between the police and public for the purpose of developing action strategies. The two-directional lines connecting CPO performance to intermediate accomplishments suggest that success or failure in achieving these goals will, in most cases, have a feedback effect on CPO performance.

The model also depicts dotted lines running through the intermediate accomplishments to connect performance directly to output. This describes the situation in which actual programs are undertaken in the absence of, or before, specific identification of problems and responsive strategies. This is a likely development at the beginning of a CPOP Unit, when the officers are anxious to make an impression in order to secure attention and credibility in their Beat Areas. This situation may continue even when a CPO is particularly ineffective in organizing the community and involving the citizenry in his/her planning. Specifically, under these circumstances, it is likely that the program outputs will involve unilateral action by the police.

d. **Program Outputs** - The main line of the model suggests that heightened levels of awareness, understanding, commitment and interaction should produce a variety of action

programs directed at the Beat Areas identified problems. The CPO program presumes that the nature of the priority problems varies from one Beat Area to another and that the action strategies and the means of carrying them out should be tailored to the problem in the context of the particular community. Thus, the model does not attempt to identify substantive problems or programs. It does recognize, however, that the range of programs is likely to include some which are implemented by the police alone, some which are implemented by residents and merchants with the awareness, but not the involvement of the police, and others which are implemented jointly by the CPOs, the public and perhaps other public or private agencies.

The lines connecting the intermediate accomplishments to the program outputs are two-directional, indicating that the experience of mounting the programs can feed back on the awareness, interaction and commitment of the police and the community. Another solid line represents the likely feedback effect of program implementation experience on CPO performance.

e. **Intermediate Impacts** - The tactical actions designed and implemented through the CPO program are intended to correct or alleviate quality of life problems in the beat. The extent to which they succeed in doing so is an important measure of the program's impact. The two directional lines running back from this type of impact, through program outputs and intermediate accomplishments to CPO performance, reflect the feedback of program impact on all the preceding stages.

f. **Longer-Term Consequences** - There are two reasons why impact on quality of life problems is not seen as the final goal of the CPO program. In the first place, the kinds of program outputs produced by the CPOP process may exert influences on crime and clearance rates, residents' fear, and residents' perceptions that are independent of any effect they might have on the quality of life problems in the community. Thus, the model provides two directional solid lines to connect program outputs to longer-term consequences.

At the same time, the thesis advanced by Wilson and Kelling in "Broken Windows" (1982) suggests a direct connection between quality of life problems on the one hand and crime rates, fear levels and citizen perceptions of the police on the other hand. Taking a cue from the Newark Foot Patrol research (1981) and the Northwestern research on fear of crime (Skogan *et al.*, 1982), Wilson and Kelling suggested that, by reversing the signs of disorder on the neighborhood level, community policing programs can increase the public's use of public space and its commitment to the future of the community and, thereby, contribute to a decline in the rates of conventional street crimes. Thus, two solid one-directional lines connect the intermediate impacts to the

longer-term consequences in the model. (It is important to note that testing this theoretical relationship requires measuring the actual impact of CPO programs on the quality of life problems to which they are addressed. That is rarely done, because the configuration of quality of life problems and the strategies employed to correct them vary greatly from one community to another. This makes the collection of impact data logistically very complex.)

g. Characteristics of the Community - Finally, the model indicates that the entire CPO process is carried out within the context of neighborhoods with distinctive social, cultural and economic characteristics and traditions. These community characteristics are seen as affecting both the content of the variables encompassed by the CPO process and the relationships among those variables. Thus, what works for a specific purpose in one neighborhood may be ineffective or even counterproductive in another.

2. Major Questions to Be Addressed by the Research

The model of the CPO process presented above yields a wide range of research questions. In general, the research seeks to describe and analyze empirically the content of the variables identified in the model and to determine whether the relationships among the variables actually operate as the model suggests.

The kinds of questions which the research will address are presented below, organized around the major categories of variables identified in the process model. The way these variables will be operationalized, the methods of data collection, and a plan for data analysis (including a model for statistically analyzing the effects of the CPO process on quality of life problems, citizen perceptions and the volume of conventional street crime in an area) are all presented in the next subsection of this Status Report.

a. CPO Performance - The very long list of specific questions to be addressed under this heading can be summarized as touching upon three general areas of concern: what are the range of activities which CPOs actually carry out in performing the various dimensions of their role; how do levels of effective performance on the major dimensions of this role correlate with one another; and what factors (from the officer's background and attitudes, the network of relationships in the precinct, the policies and procedures of the Department and the precinct, and the characteristics of the beat) influence the level of performance?

b. The CPO Sergeant - The Sergeant is the CPO's field supervisor and, based on the pilot research, may be the most powerful influence on a CPO's performance. Thus, this expanded research is concerned to describe and evaluate the

substance and style of supervision exercised by the CPOP Sergeants; to describe the relationship between supervisory substance and style and the effectiveness of CPO performance; and to describe how the Sergeants see CPOP (including their own role in it) as being influenced by formal and informal police policies, procedures, and structures, on the one hand, and by the characteristics, concerns and structures of the community, on the other.

c. **Intermediate Accomplishments** - The processual model in Figure 1 suggests that the CPOP process will first produce increased information-sharing between the police and the public, and then an increased level of problem recognition and motivation to correct those problems on the part of both parties. The research seeks to determine whether these intermediate states actually occur and the conditions, including the content and quality of CPO performance, associated with their occurrence.

d. **Program Outputs** - The CPOP process is designed to produce broad strategies and specific programs for solving the particular problems identified by the CPOs. The research will describe the strategies and programs undertaken, in their relation to various categories of problems, police and citizen involvement in them, the extent and manner of their implementation and the reactions of the CPOs, CPO Sergeants and involved citizens to that experience. Again, the purpose is to determine what qualities of CPO performance seem most closely associated with effective implementation.

e. **Consequences for Quality of Life Problems** - The essential threshold question under this heading is the extent to which the priority problems identified through the CPOP process are actually alleviated by the action strategies and programs that CPOs develop. The research will measure that effect and, thereby, permit an answer to the question of what actions work with respect to various classes of problems and under what conditions. It should also permit a clearer view of the extent to which CPOP's impact on problems varies with the content and quality of CPO performance.

f. **Longer-Term Consequences** - Here the principal challenge is to measure the levels of these phenomena in the Beat Areas (crime complaint rates, fear levels, citizen satisfaction with life in the community and with the quality of police services) and to determine the extent to which they vary by (1) the measured impact of CPOP programs on quality of life problems, (2) the demographic characteristics of the community, and (3) the effectiveness of CPO performance.

3. Sample Selection

The research design calls for the development of data bases that cover: CPO background, perceptions, self-

conceptions and attitudes toward various phenomena; the supervisory relationships between CPOs and CPO Sergeants; various perceptions and attitudes of the Sergeants; CPO role performance; characteristics of the beats patrolled by the CPOs; quality of life and order-maintenance problems identified and analyzed by CPOs; strategies developed by CPOs; programs undertaken by CPOs and civilians in the Beat Areas; levels of awareness regarding local problems evidenced by police and civilians, and their desire to act on those problems; the effects of CPOP action strategies and tactics on the problems to which they are addressed; crime complaint rates in the Beat Areas; levels of civilian fear and satisfaction with the quality of life in the neighborhood; and assessments of police services among residents of the Beat Areas.

The list of variables is long and the data collection process will be demanding. A sampling strategy is needed to permit relating all of the variables to the individual CPOs, to the quality of life problems identified by them and to the action programs they undertake. For that purpose, the CPO Beat Area is the most useful sampling unit. By sampling beats, the research will be sampling CPOs assigned to them, supervising sergeants, problems, programs, and community characteristics.

For this purpose, Vera staff first considered selecting a random sample of 50 beats from among the roughly 350 Beat Areas in which CPOP would be operating in the Fall of 1986. This strategy would involve running the data collection process in half of those beats for a six month period and then in the other half for another six month period. After further consideration, this strategy was rejected for both methodological and logistical reasons.

In the first place, the strategy is inconsistent with the nature of supervision in the CPO program. Typically, eight to ten CPOs operate in a single precinct under the supervision of a single sergeant. To study the style and substance of supervision, it is necessary, therefore, to see the sergeant interacting with all of his subordinates and to determine when and how he or she decides to commit the whole unit to assisting with a problem in a single beat. Analyses of this scope would not be possible using a sample selection strategy that pulled the beats out of their precinct contexts.

Secondly, it would be extraordinarily difficult to manage data collection simultaneously in twenty-five beats scattered randomly over the City, especially given the amount and complexity of the data to be collected.

For these reasons, it was decided to select six precincts for the research and include all of the beats and CPOs in each precinct. The first three will be selected from

among the 37 precincts in which the program will be operating in the Fall of 1986. Data collection will be carried out in each of the three precincts for a six month period. Another three precincts will be selected for a second data collection period. Six of the seven borough commands will be represented in the research, by selection of one precinct from each.

This strategy will still provide a sample of at least 50 Beat Areas and a similar number of CPOs. Taken together, the beats will encompass a wide variety in terms of selected demographic characteristics such as racial/ethnic composition, population density, socio-economic status and various crime statistics.

It is estimated that sampling 50 beats will produce a stratified sample of approximately 150 to 250 quality of life problems to be studied and an equal number of strategies of resolving them. Although this will not be a randomly drawn sample of problems, it should include the full spectrum of types of priority problems that occur in the larger universe of Beat Areas. The following procedure will be used to develop the set of problems to be studied in depth: Each CPO is required to maintain a Beat Book, in which he or she is expected to identify and analyze the major quality of crime and order-maintenance problems in the Beat Area, to set forth a strategy for addressing the three top priority problems each month, and to make at least monthly entries describing what has been done and what has been accomplished with respect to each of those priority problems. Vera research staff will carry out data collection in each Beat Area for a six month period. During that time, it is reasonable to assume that the CPOs would give priority status to an average of two additional problems in each Beat Area. Thus, 50 beats, averaging 3 to 5 priority problems within the data collection period, would yield a sample of 150 to 250 problems and strategies.¹⁷

¹⁷This strategy for sampling the problems CPOs identify and attack provokes questions about reliability. How do we know that the problem identified by the police officer as a priority actually exists, and why should we accept his contention that it is a priority concern in the beat?

When the problem is first identified by the CPO, the researcher will probe to find the officer's documentation of its existence. The researcher will ask similar questions of the CPO Sergeant and then go to the community to observe it. Thus, if the problem is not verifiable, it will not be accepted into the sample by the researcher.

On the other hand, a CPO might be tempted to identify as a problem a condition which is verifiable but is easily resolved and not a priority in the community. It is conceivable that the research will accept problems of this order and trace the effects

It is not possible to tell how many CPOP action programs would be sampled by this approach, because a given strategy may call for several programs implemented by different actors at different times. For example, a problem of heavy narcotics trafficking on several contiguous blocks within a Beat Area might be addressed with a strategy which includes: undercover investigations by Narcotics Unit personnel; subsequent efforts to monitor drug locations with an eye to closing them under appropriate city ordinances; outreach to users, to make referrals to public or private drug treatment agencies; drug use prevention workshops by the CPO at local schools; and a drug use awareness and prevention campaign carried on by local residents and citizen organizations. Each of these could be considered a program in its own right and the research would attempt to collect information about each. In light of this example, it seems reasonable to estimate that the sampling approach would produce a sample of at least 500 CPOP action programs.

This strategy results in selecting sample beats in which CPOP has been operating for varying lengths of time. The universe from which the sample is selected contains beats in which CPOP has been operating for as long as 21 months. This research would consider length of program operation as a variable, but would not stratify the sample selection by that variable.

On the other hand, because season of the year affects both the volume and nature of the problems in a community as well as the patrol techniques used by the CPOs, the research design controls for season. Specifically, half of the 50 sample precincts have been selected for data collection

of strategies and programs targetted toward them. However, it seems unlikely that this will happen very often. In the first place, the CPOP Sergeant would have to approve the CPO's designation of the problem as a priority and, thereby, expose himself to criticism from his or her superiors. In this regard, the Department has already instituted procedures which are designed as a check against any self-serving tendency of this kind. CPOP Sergeants are required to conduct weekly interviews with the public in each Beat Area. The Precinct Commander and the Zone Commander must also go out to interview people in the Beat Areas on a regular basis. And both of these officers, as well as the Precinct Community Affairs Officer, attend community meetings where they get independent input on what the community residents consider their priority concerns. The Precinct C.O., in turn, expects to see those problems identified and addressed by the appropriate CPOs and will demand an explanation when he does not. Therefore, while there almost certainly will be some ambiguity about the priority nature of some of the sampled problems, it is reasonable to assume that these will be relatively few.

during the period December 1, 1986 to May 31, 1987 and the second half of the sample data for collection from June 1, 1987 to November 30, 1987.

Splitting the sample in this manner offers additional advantages. The amount of data which must be collected and the variety of sources from which they must come are considerable. That process is made more manageable by focusing research resources on three, rather than six, precincts at one time. Moreover, this scheduling should enable the Vera researchers to complete and test all of the programming required for data analysis, and to undertake the analysis of the first group of 25 beats, even while the data are being collected on the second group of 25 beats. This will permit Vera to report some preliminary findings before data collection has been completed on the second half of the sample.

4. Data Collection Procedures

Data will be collected on the research variables as follows:

- a. CPO Background - Age, race/ethnicity, gender, education, time as police officer, prior assignments in the police department, time in precinct, time in CPO role, prior commendations, prior disciplining. These data will be called from departmental files on the officer and from personal interviews.
- b. CPO Perceptions and Attitudes - At the beginning and at the end of the data collection period, each CPO will be interviewed in depth with respect to his or her: professional self-concept; reason for volunteering for CPOP; expectations of the role; career aspirations; attitudes toward the community he or she is assigned to patrol; perceptions of the quality and utility of CPOP training; perceived relationship to the other CPOs and to other precinct personnel; perceived relationship to and assessment of the CPOP Sergeant. Some of these variables have been measured in other police research projects (e.g., professional self-concept). Whenever that is so, existing scales will be considered for adoption or adaptation. All of these variables have been explored through the interviews conducted on the pilot program in the 72nd Precinct and that experience has helped in constructing the necessary interview schedules.

When the CPOs are reinterviewed at the end of the six month data collection period, the interview schedule will be supplemented with a series of questions concerning the officer's experiences and perceptions over that period.

- c. CPO Performance - Data will be collected describing the CPO's performance as planner, problem solver, community organizer and information exchange link. The planner dimension is reflected in the officer's performance in identifying and analyzing problems, developing problem-solving strategies, and monitoring and, where appropriate, modifying the implementation of those strategies.

The problem-solver dimension is reflected by the officer's effectiveness in carrying out his or her responsibilities under each of the strategies, motivating relevant others to do the same, including other police units, and coordinating the efforts of all relevant parties to a particular strategy.

The community organizer dimension is reflected in the officer's effectiveness in soliciting and identification and strategic planning of remedial actions, identifying community resources that would contribute to problem-solving strategies, securing the involvement of these resources in the actions taken, and bringing local residents together to help define the interests of the community when there is an absence of existing information.

The information exchange dimension is reflected in the CPO's effectiveness in securing information not previously available regarding the community, its crime and quality of life problems, its criminals and its potential resources, and in the officer's presenting this information in useful form to the precinct command and the borough command, when appropriate. In addition, CPOs are expected to present information to the community regarding its problems, the problem-solving strategies he or she has developed, and the potential strengths and limitations of police resources for dealing with these problems.

Data on these dimensions will be drawn from several sources, including:

- 1) Beat Books - Especially those sections dealing with problem identification, strategic development and activity reporting.
- 2) CPO Monthly Interviews - In addition to the previously described in-depth interviews conducted at the beginning and the end of the data collection period, supplemented interviews will be conducted each month with each CPO. At present, the CPOs are required to review their problems and work plans (action strategies) with

the CPO Sergeants at least once per month. At that time the preceding month's activities are reviewed, the priority ranking of the problems is reviewed, new priorities are substituted and the coming month's work plan is agreed to. Research staff will observe in these reviews and ask additional questions as needed to track the CPO's performance.

- 3) CPOP Sergeant Interviews - During the monthly visits, the CPO Sergeant will be interviewed to describe his or her supervisory performance vis-a-vis the CPO and to record his/her ongoing assessment of CPO performance.
- 4) Citizen interviews with Members of the Public - Each month following the interviews with the CPOs and the community to verify, through observation and interviews with people affected by the problems identified by the CPOs, the CPOs' claims regarding progress made. These interviews will seek citizen assessment of the problem-solving strategy, the extent to which the CPO has involved the citizenry in development of the strategy and the CPO's own actions vis-a-vis the problem.

At the end of the six month period the data from all of these sources will be assembled to evaluate each CPO's performance. Vera research staff will develop various methods of rating performance, including, perhaps, the use of expert rating panels.

- d. CPOP Sergeant Supervisory Style and Rating - In addition to the monthly interviews with the Sergeant regarding the CPOs work plans and progress, two in-depth interviews will be conducted with the sergeants at the start and at the end of the data collection periods. These interviews will focus on the sergeant's perception of the CPOs and his or her own supervisory objectives and techniques, his orientation to the community and to the command structure and other police units in the precinct. These data will be used to construct categories that are descriptive of supervisory concerns and techniques.

In addition, CPOs' own assessments of the CPOP Sergeants' performance will be noted over the course of six months, and the Precinct Commanders will be interviewed about it.

- e. Perceptions and Attitudes of the CPOP Sergeants - The two in-depth interviews with the CPOP Sergeants will be used to collect data about his or her views

on the CPO role, the CPOP Sergeant's role, the Department's procedural directions for performing, regulating and evaluating each role, and the changes, if any, that he or she would like to see brought about in either role.

- f. **CPOP Sergeants' Backgrounds** - Age, race/ethnicity, gender, education, prior assignments, time as a member of the force, time as a Sergeant, time as a CPOP Sergeant, prior commendations, prior disciplining, any other notable elements in his or her police experience. These data will be collected from Department files.
- g. **Intermediate Accomplishments** - Data concerning the levels of increased awareness of problems, increased exchange of information, increased police/public interaction and increased determination to act against the problems will be gleaned from the monthly beat book entries and supplemental research interviews with CPOs, CPO Sergeants, and citizens affected by the problems.
- h. **Program Outputs** - As previously indicated, for each problem in the sample, a problem-solving strategy will be described, as will each of the action programs initiated to pursue the strategy. Thus, every program will be linked to its strategy and the specific problem it is intended to address. In addition, each program will be described in terms of its objectives, its actions, its implementing agents, the extent to which the program was actually implemented, and the major difficulties encountered in implementation. These data will permit careful categorization of strategies and programs in relation to particular types of neighborhood problems, and an assessment of the extent to which those programs and strategies were actually implemented. The sources for these data would be the beat books, the supplemental, monthly interviews with the CPOs and the CPOP Sergeants, and field observations and interviews with residents and merchants.
- i. **Quality of Life Impacts** - For each sample problem, the strategy will identify the objectives which the CPO seeks to accomplish with respect to it. At the beginning of the research, when the initial three priority problems are identified, research staff will examine relevant statistical data and will observe in the community, to verify the existence and scope of the problem. Thereafter, the researcher would track progress through the monthly supplemental interviews with the CPO and the CPOP Sergeant, through examination of entries in the beat

book, and through field observations and interviews with those affected by the problem. These data will be used to categorize impact on or progress toward alleviating the problem.

- j. **Longer-Term Consequences** - Crime complaint statistics will be collected in each beat for the three months before the study period through three months after it ends. This will provide an entire year of crime complaint statistics. These statistics will be collected only for the offenses of robbery and burglary.

Statistics will be collected describing the volume and nature of calls for service emanating from the beat during the three months following the completion of data collection for that beat. A random sample of all calls for service arising in each beat during ten days in this period will be drawn.

Research staff will interview merchants, service providers and residents who live or operate in the immediate vicinity of each of the problems that are included in the research. The purpose of these interviews is to assess the impact which the intervention strategy has on the problem.

A sample of community leaders in each precinct will be interviewed about community problems, fear levels, police services and the operations of the CPOP Unit. These data will be used in estimating the extent to which the operation of CPOP has any impact on community attitudes, and the CPOP strategies that are most useful in that regard.

5. Analysis Plan

Given the nature of the data collection strategy, there will be both quantitative and qualitative data to work with at every stage of the analysis. Analysis will be divided into three stages. In the first stage, the task is to examine the interrelationships among characteristics and attitudes of the CPOs and their beats, as well as interrelationships among these variables, CPO performance, intermediate accomplishments and program outputs. The goal here is to describe in qualitative and quantitative detail how the CPO process develops and to show how aspects of that process relate to each other, and to the characteristics of CPOs, their Sergeants and their beats.

Though qualitative interviews and observations would form the basis for a detailed description of every stage of the analysis, they play a particularly important role in the

first stage of the analysis. This is due both to the small number of "cases" at this stage (i.e., 50 beats, 50 CPOs, and approximately 6 Sergeants), and the complicated interrelationships hypothesized among the variables. Nevertheless, a content analysis of this material as well as of items drawn from survey and archival data will be used to present a statistical description of these processes. The analysis will depend primarily on simple cross tabular techniques.

In stage two is an examination of "problem outcomes" (i.e., the extent to which problems have been alleviated), using multivariate regression techniques as well as qualitative materials. Here the sample will comprise the roughly 250 "priority problems" identified by the CPOs. Problem outcomes would be measured both as an ordinal scale and as a nominal level variable comparing "success" or "failure." Accordingly, the analysis would include both OLS and logistic regressions. The independent variables examined in these regressions would be developed from what is learned in the first stage of the analysis and would reflect the varying issues examined there. As the collection of stage one data for each problem outcome will precede scoring of the dependent measure, there is assurance, for analytic purposes, that all of the independent variables in this analysis occur prior to the problem outcomes. Thus the naive recursive regression format is appropriate.

The final stage of the analysis examines official crime statistics. While complaint report statistics represent the best available way of estimating long-term effects of the program upon crime rates (short of a large scale victimization survey which is beyond the scope of this research program), particular caution must be exercised in this stage of the analysis. In the first place, police officers may encourage increased crime reporting as a problem-solving strategy.¹⁸ In addition to these problems, the fact that there will be again at this stage of analysis only 50 "cases" -- the 50 beats -- severely limits the number of control variables that may be used in examining the question.

With these cautions in mind, it is still important to attempt an analysis of the "long-term" influences of problem outcomes upon official crime rates. A multivariate regression approach will be used. The dependent measure would reflect the change in official crime rates between the three months preceding and the three months following the six-month data collection for each Beat Area. It is the influences of varying levels of problem solving performance during the six-month period upon crime rates that is of the most interest

¹⁸For example, a CPO may encourage citizens to more often report the less serious crimes that now go unreported, in order to encourage the flow of conventional patrol resources to an

here.¹⁹ Because the number of "cases" included in this analysis is small, it will be possible to include only three independent variables in the regression model. (Again, data for these variables would have been collected prior to data on official crime rates.)

Though interpreting the findings from this stage of analysis will be difficult, a significant negative effect of the problem outcomes upon complaint rates and calls for service would demonstrate the utility of CPOP problem-solving in reducing actual crime rates in the community. On the other hand, given the small number of cases in this analysis and the fact that complaint reports themselves are only a proxy measure of actual crime rates, a failure of this variable to show significance could not be interpreted as a definitive indication that CPOP problem-solving has no influence upon actual crime rates.

In summary, the analysis of this rather rich data base will be an intermingling of qualitative and quantitative approaches, reflecting the complexities of the theoretical model of the CPOP process, and the complexity of CPOP itself.

6. Schedule of Activities

The research will be carried out over the two-year period that began on July 1, 1986 and ends on July 31, 1988. It will involve work in four phases:

Phase I is devoted to final planning and extends for four months. Given the large number of variables involved in the research, this is a particularly busy period. The research precincts will be selected and prepared for the full-time presence of a Research Assistant over a six month period. The remaining data collection procedures and forms will be developed and pre-tested. These will include procedures for securing background data on the CPOs and CPOP Sergeants; for the in-depth interviews of these officers; for collecting and organizing the data needed to evaluate CPO performance and the CPOP Sergeants' supervisory activity; for interviewing citizens in the beats regarding program impacts

area.

¹⁹Accordingly, we chose not to construct a "control group" design for this problem. Such a design would have been extremely costly and probably impossible to carry out. In the first case it would have meant the independent collection of complaint reports from precinct files. It would demand that we both identify and extract data not classified by beats. A more serious problem, however, is presented by the fact that the beats examined will have had CPOs on duty prior to the advent of the research program. Finding control groups for most beats would thus demand that we end the CPO program in other beats. This

and citizen fears; and for collecting and coding crime complaints and CFS data in the beats. In addition, design materials will be reviewed and critiqued during a meeting of the research program's external Advisory Committee, and the management of the NYCPD will be briefed on the evolving details of the research plan. Finally, three Research Assistants will be trained for data collection work.

Phase II will be devoted primarily to the collection of data on the first half of the research sample (3 precincts, 25 beats and related officers, problems and programs). It will extend from December 1, 1986 through May 31, 1987. One meeting of the external Advisory Committee will be held during this period to review experiences with the data construction procedures and instruments. In addition, the construction of data files will be begun. The time commitments of most of the senior research staff assigned to the program will be reduced during this phase.

Phase III will involve the collection of data from the second half of the sample (another 3 precincts, 25 beats and related officers, problems and programs). This phase will also extend for six months from June 1, 1987 through November 30, 1987. In addition, the data analysis plan will be finalized during this period as will the related programming. The analysis plan will be run on the data from the first half of the sample, and the analysis plan will be reviewed again, on the basis of this experience. The external Advisory Committee will be convened once during this period to review the analysis plan before it is applied to the first half of the sample. The time commitments of most of the senior professional staff assigned to this research program will increase substantially at this phase and would continue at this level through the end of the research project.

Phase IV will last for eight months, extending from December 1, 1987 through July 31, 1988. During this phase, a statement of preliminary findings from analysis of the first half of the sample will be prepared and shared with the NYPD and funding agencies. Data from the second half of the sample will be analyzed, and the two samples will be combined and analyzed together. The final report will be designed and written. Management of the NYCPD will be briefed on the findings and their implications for police policy and practice. Similar briefings will be provided to the other funding agencies.

The external Advisory Committee will meet three times during this period. First, they will review the preliminary findings. Some time later, they will meet again to discuss the proposed plan for final analysis of the combined sample and the proposed outline of the final report. Finally, they will meet to review and discuss the draft final report.

The final report will be submitted to the Department in the fall of 1988.